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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

BEFORE THE HONORABLE VAUGHN R. WALKER, JUDGE

AL-HARAMAIN ISLAMIC FOUNDATION, ET AL.,

PLAINTIFFS,

VS. ) NO. C 07-109 VRW

GEORGE W. BUSH, ET AL.,

DEFENDANTS.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 2009

## TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

## **APPEARANCES:**

FOR PLAINTIFF: EISENBERG & HANCOCK

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BY: JON B. EISENBERG
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## (APPEARANCES CONTINUED ON FOLLOWING PAGE)

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1	<u>APPEARANCES</u> : (CONTINUI	ED)
2	FOR PLAINTIFF:	THOMAS HOWARD NELSON ATTORNEY AT LAW
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5	FOR DEFENDANT:	U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
6	TON DEFENDANT.	CIVIL DIVISION 20 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
7		ROOM 6102 WASHINGTON, DC 20530
8	BY:	ANTHONY JOSEPH COPPOLINO TIMOTHY STINSON
9		ATTORNEYS AT LAW
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1	WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 2009 9:00 A.M.		
2	THE CLERK: CALLING MDL NUMBER 06-1791, IN RE NATIONAL		
3	SECURITY AGENCY TELECOMMUNICATIONS RECORDS LITIGATION. AND		
4	THIS HEARING THIS MORNING RELATES TO THE CASE NUMBER 07-109, AL		
5	HERMAN ISLAMIC FOUNDATION VERSUS GEORGE BUSH.		
6	APPEARANCES, COUNSEL.		
7	MR. EISENBERG: JOHN EISENBERG FOR AL-HARAMAIN ISLAMIC		
8	FOUNDATION.		
9	THE COURT: GOOD MORNING, MR. EISENBERG.		
10	MR. EISENBERG: GOOD MORNING, YOUR HONOR.		
11	MR. GOLDBERG: I'M STEVEN GOLDBERG AND THE OTHER		
12	MEMBERS OF OUR TEAM THOMAS NELSON AND WILLIAM HANCOCK.		
13	THE COURT: VERY WELL. GOOD MORNING, MR. GOLDBERG,		
14	AND?		
15	MR. COPPOLINO: GOOD MORNING, YOUR HONOR.		
16	ANTHONY COPPOLINO DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE CIVIL DIVISION		
17	OF THE GOVERNMENT, JOINED BY TIM STINSON OFFICE GENERAL COUNSEL		
18	NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY.		
19	THE COURT: GOOD MORNING, MR. COPPOLINO.		
20	MR. EISENBERG, WHY DON'T YOU LEAD OFF. WE HAVE		
21	CROSS-MOTIONS, BUT I'D LIKE TO HAVE YOU LEAD OFF.		
22	AND IN PARTICULAR YOU MIGHT ADDRESS WHETHER IN THE		
23	PUBLIC RECORD THERE IS INFORMATION WHICH NEGATES THE		
24	POSSIBILITY THAT THE INFORMATION WHICH WAS DEVELOPED ABOUT YOUR		
25	CLIENT WAS THE RESULT OF SOME SURVEILLANCE OR OTHER ACTIVITY		

OTHER THAN ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE.

MR. EISENBERG: YES, YOUR HONOR.

THE COURT: AND ALSO NEGATES THE POSSIBILITY THAT

THERE WAS A FISA WARRANT DIRECTED TO YOUR CLIENT. AND IS THERE

ANYTHING IN THE PUBLIC RECORD THAT YOU POINTED TO THAT'S IN THE

RECORD WHICH WOULD NEGATE EITHER OF THOSE, EITHER OR BOTH OF

THOSE POSSIBILITIES?

MR. EISENBERG: YES, YOUR HONOR. I'LL SPEAK FIRST TO THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME SURVEILLANCE OTHER THAN ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE.

WE CAN START WITH ONE UNDISPUTED FACT AND MOVE FROM THERE. THAT IS, THE FACT THAT THE AL-HARAMAIN ISLAMIC FOUNDATION WAS SURVEILLED DURING THE 2003 INVESTIGATION.

THAT FACT IS UNDISPUTED BECAUSE IT'S POSTED ON THE FBI'S INTERNET WEBSITES. DEPUTY DIRECTOR JOHN PISTOLE SAID WE USED SURVEILLANCE IN THE 2004 INVESTIGATION OF AL-HARAMAIN.

FROM THERE LET ME MOVE TO THE NEXT UNDISPUTED FACT.

WENDELL BELEW AND ASIM GHAFOOR SPEAK ON THE TELEPHONE WITH

SOLIMAN AL-BUTHI DURING THE PERIOD OF THAT INVESTIGATION.

THEY TALK ABOUT THE REPRESENTATION OF AL-HARAMAIN AND A MAN NAMED MOHAMMAD JAMAL KHALIFA IN THE 911 LITIGATION, IN LITIGATION BY VICTIMS AND FAMILY OF THE 911 ATTACKS AGAINST MANY INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS. MR. KHALIFA WAS OSAMA BIN-LADEN'S BROTHER-IN-LAW.

AT THE END OF THE 2004 INVESTIGATION OFAC, THE OFFICE

1	OF FOREIGN ASSETS CONTROL, DECLARED DIRECT LINKS BETWEEN		
2	AL-HARAMAIN AND OSAMA BIN-LADEN. THE DIRECT LINKS EVIDENTLY		
3	BEING THE FACT AL-HARAMAIN AND OSAMA BIN-LADIN'S BROTHER-IN-LAW		
4	SHARED THE SAME LAWYER AS GHAFOOR.		
5	FROM THIS WE GET A REASONABLE INFERENCE AND, I		
6	BELIEVE, THE ONLY REASONABLE INFERENCE THAT OFAC RELIED ON		
7	SURVEILLANCE OF THOSE TELEPHONE CALLS DURING 2004 TO DECLARE		
8	DIRECT LINKS.		
9	THE COURT: WERE THESE COMMUNICATIONS THE ONLY		
10	COMMUNICATIONS THAT THESE LAWYERS HAD WITH THE INDIVIDUALS YOU		
11	IDENTIFIED?		
12	THAT IS TO SAY, CAN WE EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT		
13	THERE WERE COMMUNICATIONS OTHER THAN WIRE AND		
14	TELE-COMMUNICATION COMMUNICATIONS?		
15	MR. EISENBERG: PERSONAL CONVERSATIONS, PERHAPS?		
16	THE COURT: PERSONAL CONVERSATIONS, FACE-TO-FACE		
17	MEETINGS?		
18	MR. EISENBERG: I DON'T KNOW THE ANSWER TO THAT		
19	QUESTION, YOUR HONOR, I NEVER ASKED THEM.		
20	IF YOU MEAN SOLIMAN AL-BUTHI PERSONALLY, I PRESUME		
21	NOT, BECAUSE THE LAWYERS WERE IN WASHINGTON D.C. AND		
22	MR. SOLIMAN AL-BUTHI IN SAUDI ARABIA. I GUESS, IF		
23	THE COURT: ASSUME IT WOULD BE RATHER EASY TO GET THAT		
24	INFORMATION, WOULD IT NOT?		

MR. EISENBERG: IT WOULD BE, BUT I'VE HAD NO REASON

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TO. AND THE REASON WHY I HAD NO REASON TO IS BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT HAS PRESENTED NO OPPOSING EVIDENCE AT ALL, AND ON OUR MOTION FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT THE IMPORT OF THIS REASONABLE INFERENCE IS THAT WE HAVE MADE A PRIMA FACIE CASE OF ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE.

IT'S REASONABLE TO INFER THAT THE SURVEILLANCE

MR. PISTOLE ADMITTED WAS SURVEILLANCE OF THESE TELEPHONE CALLS.

THAT'S A REASONABLE INFERENCE, IT CREATES A PRIMA FACIE CASE.

THE RESULT OF THAT IS THAT WE'VE SUSTAINED OUR BURDEN
ON THE SUMMARY JUDGMENT MOTION. THE BURDEN SHIFTS TO THE
GOVERNMENT TO SHOW A GENUINE ISSUE OF TRIABLE FACT. THEY HAVE
NOT. THEY HAVE SUBMITTED NO EVIDENCE WHATSOEVER.

THIS COURT HAS GIVEN THEM AMPLE OPPORTUNITY TO SUBMIT CLASSIFIED EVIDENCE UNDER SECURE CONDITIONS. THEY HAVE NOT AVAILED THEMSELVES OF THAT OPPORTUNITY. THEY SUBMITTED NO PUBLIC EVIDENCE AT ALL.

SO WHAT WE END UP WITH IS A PRIMA FACIE CASE BEING UNDISPUTED FACTS, UNREBUTTED, NO TRIABLE ISSUE OF FACT AND I BELIEVE, THEREFORE, ENTITLEMENT TO SUMMARY JUDGMENT OF LIABILITY.

OF STANDING, EXCUSE ME, THIS GOES TO STANDING. I BELIEVE THE PROCEDURAL CONTEXT IN WHICH WE ARE NOW HERE IS CRITICAL. WE SUSTAINED OUR BURDEN, THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT RESPONDED.

I SUPPOSE, IT'S POSSIBLE TO ENVISION VARIOUS

THEORETICAL SCENARIOS WHEREBY THE SURVEILLANCE MR. PISTOLE

ADMITTED WAS NOT ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE OF THESE PHONE

CONVERSATIONS, BUT WHERE WE STAND RIGHT NOW IS WITH UNREBUTTED

INFERENCE AND THE INFERENCE, THERE IS NOTHING IN THE EVIDENCE

THAT WE HAVE PRESENTED THAT RAISES AN INFERENCE THAT

SURVEILLANCE WAS OF ANY OTHER SORT, NOTHING.

IF THEY WANT TO RAISE THAT COUNTER-INFERENCE THEY MUST PRESENT EVIDENCE. THEY HAVE NOT. I THINK THAT'S REALLY CRITICAL. NOW, WHY HAVEN'T THEY?

I CAN ONLY GUESS THEY GOT NOTHING TO PRESENT THAT WOULD REBUT THE INFERENCE.

SO NOW LET ME TURN TO THE ISSUE OF WHETHER OR NOT

THERE WAS A FISA WARRANT. I BELIEVE, THAT THE MERE

CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE CASE THAT ARE IN THE PUBLIC RECORD RAISE

THE INFERENCE THAT THERE WAS NO FISA WARRANT. THE GOVERNMENT

BELIEVES --

THE COURT: WHAT ARE THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES?

MR. EISENBERG: GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT AL-HARAMAIN HAS DIRECT LINKS WITH AL-QAEDA. AT THE TIME THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD A PROGRAM FOR WARRANTLESS WIRETAPPING OF PERSONS BELIEVED TO HAVE LINKS WITH AL-QAEDA.

IT'S UNFATHOMABLE TO THINK IF THE GOVERNMENT HAD THIS PROGRAM AND THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVED THAT AL-HARAMAIN HAD LINKS WITH AL-QAEDA THAT THEY WEREN'T WIRETAPPING THE PLAINTIFFS WITHOUT A WARRANT.

FRANKLY, I MYSELF WOULD BE SHOCKED TO KNOW THAT THE
GOVERNMENT THOUGHT THERE WERE TERRORISTS OUT THERE, HAD A
PROGRAM FOR WIRETAPPING THEM AND WASN'T WIRETAPPING THEM. THAT
WOULDN'T MAKE ANY SENSE AT ALL.

IT'S ALL IN THE PUBLIC RECORD. AGAIN, I BELIEVE THAT
RAISES A REASONABLE INFERENCE THAT THERE WAS NO WIRE -- THERE
WAS NO FISA WARRANT FOR THIS WIRETAPPING BECAUSE IT HAD TO HAVE
BEEN DONE UNDER THIS PROGRAM.

THE PROGRAM WAS THERE, THE PROGRAM WAS IN PLACE IN

ORDER TO EVADE FISA, THAT WAS THE REASON FOR ITS EXISTENCE.

WHY ON EARTH WOULD THEY GET A FISA WARRANT TO PERFORM

SURVEILLANCE THAT THEY BELIEVED THEY HAD NO NEED TO GET A FISA

WARRANT FOR?

AGAIN, I BELIEVE, THAT SHIFTS THE BURDEN. WE'VE
SUSTAINED OUR BURDEN UNDER RULE 56, OF PRESENTING A PRIMA FACIE
CASE AND THAT SHIFTS THE BURDEN TO THEM TO SHOW EVIDENCE OF A
WARRANT.

THERE IS A SEPARATE REASON WHY THEY HAVE THE BURDEN OF PRESENTING EVIDENCE OF A WARRANT, THAT WOULD HAVE, I BELIEVE, ARISEN IF WE HADN'T RAISED A REASONABLE INFERENCE, AND THAT IS THE FACT THAT THE EXISTENCE OR NOT OF A FISA WARRANT IS WITHIN THEIR EXCLUSIVE KNOWLEDGE.

AND I'VE SAID IT TO THE COURT IN MANY CASES IT'S ESTABLISHED, A VERY WELL ESTABLISHED AND LONG-STANDING RULE THAT SAYS, WHEN ONE OF THE PARTIES HAS PECULIAR KNOWLEDGE OF

THE FACTS TO THE EXCLUSION OF THE OTHER PARTY, THE OTHER PARTY

IT IS REASONABLE TO SHIFT THE BURDEN.

THE COURT: WELL, COULD THE GOVERNMENT HAVE,

CONSISTENT WITH FISA, DISCLOSED THE EXISTENCE OF A FISA

WARRANT?

MR. EISENBERG: UNDER SECURE CONDITIONS, YES. I
RECALL THREE YEARS AGO IN JUDGE KING'S COURTROOM IN OREGON
TELLING JUDGE KING SOMETHING TO THIS EFFECT.

ALL MR. COPPOLINO NEEDS TO DO IS TELL ME, UNDER ANY CONDITIONS THAT HE WISHES, THAT HE HAD A FISA WARRANT AND I'LL BE GONE. THIS CASE WILL BE OVER.

I BELIEVE, I'VE MADE CLEAR SINCE THEN, THAT'S REALLY

ALL WE NEED TO KNOW. IF THERE WAS A FISA WARRANT, I WISH I'D

KNOWN THREE YEARS AGO. I WISH THIS COURT HAD KNOWN THREE YEARS

AGO BECAUSE A TREMENDOUS AMOUNT OF WORK COULD HAVE BEEN SPARED.

THEY HAVE NOT PRODUCED EVIDENCE OF A FISA WARRANT

BECAUSE THEY DID NOT HAVE A FISA WARRANT. THAT'S GOT TO BE

VERY, VERY CLEAR.

THEY HAVE PRESENTED REPEATEDLY CLASSIFIED DECLARATIONS
IN THIS CASE, I CANNOT BELIEVE THAT IN THOSE CLASSIFIED

DECLARATIONS THEY SAID, OH, BY THE WAY, WE HAVE FISA WARRANT
FOR THE SURVEILLANCE BECAUSE IF THAT WERE THE CASE I CANNOT

BELIEVE I'D BE STANDING HERE TODAY.

AND I TRY TO GROUND MYSELF IN THE REAL WORLD IN THIS

CASE. IN THE REAL WORLD IF THEY HAD A FISA WARRANT THE

JUDICIARY WOULD HAVE KNOWN IT LONG AGO AND I WOULD HAVE BEEN
WORKING ON SOME OTHER CASES RIGHT NOW. PROBABLY SEVERAL OTHER
CASES IN PLACE OF THIS ONE.

I'LL SAY IT AGAIN TODAY, 1806F IS THERE, THIS COURT

HAS INDICATED TO THE DEFENDANTS THE PROVISIONS OF THIS STATUTE

ARE AVAILABLE TO ASSURE YOU, THE GOVERNMENT, THAT YOU CAN

PRESENT SENSITIVE INFORMATION TO THE COURT.

THAT TWO OF THE PLAINTIFF'S ATTORNEYS WHO HAVE

OBTAINED SECURITY CLEARANCE, TOP SECRET SCI SECURITY CLEARANCE

CAN SEE, AND YOU CAN BE ASSURED THAT IT WILL NOT BE DISCLOSED

TO THE PUBLIC, AND THEY HAVE NOT DONE THAT.

THEY HAVE REFUSED WHICH IS WHY WE ARE HERE TODAY

PROCEEDING ON NONCLASSIFIED EVIDENCE. THERE'S A REASON WHY

THEY HAVE NOT DONE THAT, THEY DIDN'T HAVE A FISA WARRANT.

SO THAT'S HOW I WOULD ANSWER YOUR QUESTION, YOUR HONOR. WHERE SHALL I GO FROM HERE?

THE COURT: WHEREVER YOU WANT TO GO.

MR. EISENBERG: I'D LIKE TO GO TO THE MERITS, THAT'S WHAT I'M REALLY INTERESTED IN. THAT'S WHY WE FILED THIS LAWSUIT, TO ADJUDICATE THE MERITS AND, I THINK, IT'S TIME.

THE STATE SECRETS PRIVILEGE, AS I UNDERSTAND IT, IS

NOT IN PLAY NOW, IT'S OUT OF THE PICTURE. WE'RE NOW PROCEEDING

ON NONCLASSIFIED EVIDENCE. WE PRESENTED --

THE COURT: WELL, THAT ASSUMES, OF COURSE, THAT
THERE'S VITALITY TO THE STATE SECRETS PRIVILEGE, BUT THAT

ASSUMPTION IMPLICATES THE SUBJECT THAT WE WERE JUST DISCUSSING,
NAMELY, THAT THERE MIGHT BE SOURCES OTHER THAN ELECTRONIC
SURVEILLANCE AND INTERCEPTIONS THAT GAVE RISE TO THE
INFORMATION THAT WAS USED TO OBTAIN THE CLASSIFICATION OF YOUR
CLIENT.

MR. EISENBERG: BUT THE GOVERNMENT HAS CHOSEN NOT TO PROCEED UNDER 1806F. THEY HAVE CHOSEN NOT TO PRESENT ANY NONCLASSIFIED EVIDENCE, EXCUSE ME, YOUR HONOR, ANY CLASSIFIED EVIDENCE. THAT IS A CHOICE THAT THEY HAVE MADE.

IN THE FACE OF THE COURT'S ASSURANCES THAT IT WILL NOT BE DISCLOSED TO THE PUBLIC, IT WON'T GO PAST YOUR HONOR,

MR. GOLDBERG AND ME, MR. COPPOLINO AND MR. STINSON, THEY'VE

CHOSEN NOT TO.

OKAY. SO MY TAKE ON THIS SITUATION RIGHT NOW IS THAT THE STATE SECRETS PRIVILEGE IS OUT OF THE CASE.

THE COURT: ONE OF THE SUGGESTIONS THAT YOU MADE,

EXCUSE ME FOR INTERRUPTING YOU, YOUR ARGUMENTS ON THE MERITS

WHICH I DO WANT TO HEAR.

MR. EISENBERG: WE'LL GET THERE.

THE COURT: ONE OF THE SUGGESTIONS YOU MAKE IN YOUR
PAPERS IS THAT WHATEVER RULING I MAKE I SHOULD BASE IT BOTH ON
THE PUBLIC RECORD AND ALSO ON THE CLASSIFIED INFORMATION THAT
HAS BEEN SUBMITTED.

BUT ASSUME THAT I'M WRONG ABOUT THE FISA PREEMPTION,
AND ASSUME FURTHER THAT THERE IS VITALITY TO THE NINTH CIRCUIT

STATEMENT IN THE CASE, WHAT WAS THAT NOVEMBER OF 2007, THAT THE PLAINTIFFS CANNOT PROCEED WITHOUT THE SEALED DOCUMENT, WHAT OBLIGATION AM I UNDER WITH RESPECT TO PRESERVING CONFIDENTIALITY OF THAT INFORMATION?

AND CAN I RELY UPON IT IN MAKING A DECISION, WHICH IS GOING TO BE A PUBLIC DECISION, THAT WOULD ALLOW A REASONABLE PERSON TO INFER THE CONTENT OF THE SEALED DOCUMENT?

MR. EISENBERG: WELL, AT THIS POINT IN THE LITIGATION,
THE POSTURE WE'RE IN CURRENTLY, YOUR HONOR HAS RULED THAT FISA
PREEMPTS THE PRIVILEGE.

THE COURT: BUT ASSUME I'M WRONG.

MR. EISENBERG: OKAY.

THE COURT: ASSUME THE COURT OF APPEALS SAYS THAT IS AN INCORRECT INTERPRETATION.

MR. EISENBERG: HERE'S WHY WE REQUESTED THE

ALTERNATIVE RULING. ASSUME YOUR WRONG ON THAT, ASSUME THE

COURT FINDS THE EVIDENCE WE'VE SUBMITTED, NEVER MIND FISA

PREEMPTION, I BELIEVE RIGHT NOW FISA PREEMPTION DOESN'T MATTER,

AND I BELIEVE THE REASON WHY IS THAT WE'RE PROCEEDING, AT

LEAST, SAY FOR THE MOMENT ONLY ON PUBLIC EVIDENCE. THE NINTH

CIRCUIT RULED THAT THE VERY SUBJECT MATTER OF THE TERRORIST

SURVEILLANCE PROGRAM IS NOT A STATE SECRET.

THE IMPORT TO THAT RULING WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE STATE SECRETS PRIVILEGE IS THAT WE CAN GO FORWARD WITH NON-CLASSIFIED EVIDENCE TO TRY TO MAKE OUR CASE, AND IF WE CAN

MAKE OUR CASE WITHOUT USING THE DOCUMENT, WHICH IS SUBJECT TO
THE PRIVILEGE IF IT APPLIES, IF WE CAN MAKE OUR CASE WITHOUT
USING THE DOCUMENT WE GO FORWARD.

THE COURT: OKAY.

MR. EISENBERG: SO WHAT THAT MEANS IS THAT --

THE COURT: BUT THEN WHY SHOULD I EVEN CONSIDER THE DOCUMENT FOR PURPOSE OF THE DECISION?

MR. EISENBERG: BECAUSE I AM WORRIED ABOUT MY
RETIREMENT. I AM WORRIED THAT WITHOUT A DECISION, AN
ALTERNATIVE DECISION CONSIDERING THE DOCUMENT, WE'LL BE BACK
HERE AGAIN IN A FEW YEARS FROM NOW. AND LET ME ELABORATE ON
THAT, WITH THE COURT'S INDULGENCE.

WHAT I'M ASKING THE COURT TO DO, IS MAKE A COMPLETE RECORD FOR APPELLATE REVIEW. THIS CASE IS GOING TO THE NINTH CIRCUIT CERTAINLY AND PERHAPS BEYOND, IT'S GOING TO HAPPEN.

WHAT I VERY MUCH WOULD LIKE TO SEE IS FOR IT TO GO UP
ON APPEAL ONLY ONCE MORE. THAT'S GENERALLY -- THAT'S THE
GENERAL THEORY OF APPELLATE REVIEW ONCE. YOU DO IT ONCE,
APPEAL FROM A FINAL JUDGMENT, NOT PIECEMEAL LITIGATION. OKAY.
SO MY CONCERN IS THAT --

THE COURT: IT'S ALREADY BEEN THERE ONCE.

MR. EISENBERG: I WOULD LIKE THE COURT TO MAKE A

COMPLETE RECORD THAT THE NINTH CIRCUIT CAN REFER TO IN THE

EVENT THE COURT, THE NINTH CIRCUIT FINDS THAT THE

NON-CLASSIFIED EVIDENCE, THE PUBLIC EVIDENCE ISN'T SUFFICIENT.

I BELIEVE THEY WILL, BUT BEING A VERY NERVOUS

APPELLATE TYPE I WORRY ABOUT THAT. AND IF THEY DON'T FIND THE

EVIDENCE SUFFICIENT, I WOULD LIKE THEM TO HAVE A RULING FROM

THIS COURT, AN ALTERNATIVE RULING THAT THEY CAN REVIEW WITHOUT

THE NEED FOR A REMAND, AND OUR ALTERNATIVE RULING AND THEN

ANOTHER TRIP TO THE NINTH CIRCUIT.

NOW, I RECOGNIZE THAT FOR THIS COURT TO ISSUE THE RULING PRESENTS AN ODD PROBLEM FROM MY PERSPECTIVE, FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE AL-HARAMAIN PLAINTIFFS AND THEIR COUNSEL.

I DON'T WANT US TO GET BACK INTO THE THICKET OF 1806F SIMPLY BECAUSE MR. COPPOLINO FOUGHT SO HARD DESPITE OUR SECURITY CLEARANCES, DESPITE THE COURT APPEARANCES, HE SAID WE'RE NOT GOING THERE, WE REFUSE TO GO THERE.

I DON'T THINK WE NEED TO GO THERE AND I UNDERSTAND THE COURT'S CONCERN. I APPRECIATE VERY MUCH THAT THE COURT DOES NOT FEEL COMFORTABLE WITH THE PLAINTIFFS LITIGATING WHAT I CALL BLIND, LITIGATING WITHOUT SEEING WHAT THEY'RE UP AGAINST.

BUT RECALLING THAT WE HAVE SEEN THE DOCUMENT, SOME OF US, WE DO FEEL COMFORTABLE PLACING IT, THE DECISION IN YOUR HONOR'S HANDS, WITHOUT US HAVING ANY NEED FOR FURTHER ACCESS TO THE DOCUMENT, WHICH MEANS WE DON'T NEED TO CRAWL BACK INTO THE 1806F THICKET.

WE ARE COMFORTABLE WITH YOUR HONOR ISSUING THE

ALTERNATIVE RULING BASED SOLELY ON YOUR HONOR'S REVIEW OF THE

DOCUMENT, WITHOUT US HAVING ACCESS TO IT OR PRESENTING FURTHER

ARGUMENT ABOUT IT.

I WOULD MUCH RATHER PRESENT SOME ARGUMENT BECAUSE I
BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL, I'LL LEAVE IT AT THAT. IT
WOULD BE HELPFUL, BUT I ALSO BELIEVE A CAREFUL READING OF WHAT
WE PRESENTED ALREADY WOULD ENABLE THE COURT TO UNDERSTAND HOW
WE WOULD ARGUE CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE DOCUMENT.

SO ULTIMATELY WHAT I AM LOOKING FOR, WHAT WE ARE LOOKING FOR IS A COMPLETE RECORD TO AVOID ENDLESS LITIGATION IN THIS CASE.

THE COURT: ALL RIGHT. YOUR MERITS ARGUMENT.

MR. EISENBERG: WE'RE THERE, FINALLY, AFTER THREE AND
A HALF YEARS WE'RE FINALLY THERE. I NOW GET TO ARGUE THE POINT
THAT WE FILED THIS LAWSUIT FOR, THREE AND A HALF YEARS AGO.

ISN'T THAT WONDERFUL, AND I VERY MUCH LOOK FORWARD TO MR. COPPOLINO'S RESPONSE ON THE MERITS. I'LL START WITH THE WORDS OF PRESIDENT OBAMA IN 2007.

"WARRANTLESS SURVEILLANCE OF AMERICAN CITIZENS IN DEFIANCE OF FISA IS UNLAWFUL AND UNCONSTITUTIONAL."

COULDN'T GET MORE CLEARER THAN THAT. AND THE PRESIDENT WAS RIGHT, EVEN THOUGH HE'S ONLY A SENATOR AT THE TIME, HE WAS STILL RIGHT, HE WAS RIGHT FOR TWO REASONS.

THE FIRST REASON IS PECULIAR TO FISA ITSELF. FISA
MAKES IT UNDISPUTED IT'S UNLAWFUL TO CONDUCT ELECTRONIC
SURVEILLANCE QUOTE "EXCEPT AS AUTHORIZED BY STATUTE."

NO STATUTE AUTHORIZED WHAT THE GOVERNMENT CALLS THE

TSP. NOW, THE BUSH DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ARGUED THAT THE TSP
WAS AUTHORIZED BY THE 2001 AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF MILITARY
FORCE AGAINST TERRORISTS, THAT'S THE AUMF, A-U-M-F, BUT IN OUR
MOTION FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT WE'VE SHOWN MULTIPLE REASONS WHY
THE BUSH DOJ WAS WRONG ABOUT THAT. AND I'LL SUMMARIZE THEM.

THE AUMF IS LIMITED TO INSTANCES OF WAR ON THE BATTLE FIELD. THAT DOESN'T COVER THE TSP.

THE AUMF DOES NOT ATTEMPT TO ALTER FISA'S WARRANT REQUIREMENT.

FISA'S EXCEPTION FOR ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE AS

AUTHORIZED BY STATUTE WAS INTENDED TO REFER ONLY TO STATUTORY

AUTHORIZATION BY FISA, I'M SORRY, BY FISA AND BY TITLE 7 OF THE

OMNIBUS CRIME CONTROL AND SAFE STREETS ACT OF 1968.

THE AUMF IS A RED HERRING. SOME MEMBERS OF THE

CURRENT OBAMA ADMINISTRATION HAVE CALLED IT, THEY CALLED IT THE

AUMF JIG, J-I-G.

THE MAIN EVENT HERE IS THE SECOND REASON WHY PRESIDENT OBAMA WAS RIGHT IN 2007. IT'S THE PRESIDENTIAL POWER ISSUE, IT'S THE HEART OF THIS CASE. THE QUESTION IS THIS:

MAY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES BREAK THE LAW
IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL SECURITY?

THIS QUESTION IS NOT PECULIAR TO FISA, IT GOES TO THE HEART OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL SEPARATION OF POWERS. AND WE'RE ASKING THIS COURT TO SAY, NO, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES MAY NOT BREAK THE LAW IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL SECURITY.

THIS IS NOTHING NEW IN AMERICAN JURISPRUDENCE, IT'S

BEEN SAID BEFORE. IT WAS SAID IN 1952 IN THE STEEL SEIZURE

CASE, YOUNGSTOWN CASE, WHERE JUSTICE JACKSON SAID IN HIS FAMOUS

CONCURRING OPINION THIS: IT'S THE THIRD PRONG FOR ASSESSING

THE EXTENT OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER, HE SAID THIS.

"WHEN THE PRESIDENT TAKES MEASURES INCOMPATIBLE WITH
THE EXPRESS OR IMPLIED WILL OF CONGRESS, HIS POWER IS AT ITS
LOWEST EBB, WHERE HE CAN RELY ONLY UPON HIS OWN CONSTITUTIONAL
POWERS MINUS ANY CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS OF CONGRESS OVER THE
MATTER." ONE WOULD THINK THAT WOULD SETTLE THE QUESTION.

BUT EVIDENTLY THIS STATEMENT OF CONSTITUTIONALITY
NEEDS TO BE SAID AGAIN IN THIS CASE AND WE ARE ASKING THIS
COURT TO SAY IT.

30 YEARS AGO CONGRESS EXPRESSED ITS WILL IN FISA.

CONGRESS SAID DOMESTIC ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE FOR FOREIGN

INTELLIGENCE PURPOSES REQUIRES A COURT ORDER, A FISA WARRANT.

CONGRESS INTENDED FOR FISA TO PUT PRESIDENTIAL POWER

AT ITS LOWEST EBB. IN THE WORDS OF JUSTICE JACKSON. IN <u>HAMDAN</u>

VERSUS RUMSFELD A FEW YEARS AGO JUSTICE KENNEDY SAID IN HIS

CONCURRING OPINION THIS. AND I'M QUOTING.

"CONGRESS IN THE PROPER EXERCISE OF ITS POWER AS AN INDEPENDENT BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT HAS SET LIMITS ON THE PRESIDENT'S AUTHORITY." IN THAT CASE INVOLVING THE UNIFORM CODE OF MILITARY JUSTICE.

THAT'S WHAT HAPPENED HERE. CONGRESS HAS SET LIMITS ON

THE PRESIDENT'S AUTHORITY TO CONDUCT DOMESTIC ELECTRONIC

SURVEILLANCE FOR FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE PURPOSES. THESE LIMITS

ARE BINDING ON THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

IN THE WORDS OF ANOTHER JUSTICE OF THE U.S. SUPREME COURT BURGER IN THE UNITED STATES VERSUS NIXON:

THE PRESIDENT IS NOT "ABOVE THE LAW." THE PRESIDENT MUST FOLLOW NECESSARILY FROM CONGRESS."

AS LONG AS I'M QUOTING FAMOUS PEOPLE LET ME QUOTE THE FATHER OF OUR CONSTITUTION JAMES MADISON, FEDERALIST NUMBER 47, IF I MAY BE SO POMPOUS. JAMES MADISON SAID THIS.

"THE ACCUMULATION OF ALL POWERS IN THE SAME HANDS MAY JUSTLY BE PRONOUNCED THE VERY DEFINITION OF TYRANNY. THE VERY DEFINITION OF TYRANNY". END OF QUOTE.

THE THEORY OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER UNDERLYING THE

TERRORIST SURVEILLANCE PROGRAM WOULD CONCENTRATE TOO MUCH POWER

IN A SINGLE PERSON'S HANDS, THE POWER TO BREAK THE LAW.

I THINK, THAT'S REALLY DANGEROUS. IT'S ACTUALLY

MONARCHICAL. IT'S WHAT THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION WAS ALL ABOUT

AND IT'S WHAT OUR CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES

IS INTENDED TO PREVENT, AN IMBALANCE OF GOVERNMENT POWER.

LET ME OFFER THE COURT ANOTHER QUOTE. THE INHERENT

POWER THEORY IS HERE, THE QUOTE BEGINS, "PARTICULARLY DANGEROUS

BECAUSE IT COMES AT THE EXPENSE OF BOTH CONGRESS' AND THE

JUDICIARY'S POWER TO DEFEND THE INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES OF

AMERICANS." END OF QUOTE.

THAT'S ACTUALLY FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. AT LEAST, ONE OF ITS MEMBERS, ASSOCIATE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL DONALD VERRILLI IN AN AMICUS BRIEF HE FILED IN THE <u>ACLU VERSUS</u> NSA LITIGATION.

LET ME QUOTE SOME MORE FROM THE BRIEF. HE SAID THIS

ABOUT THE STEEL SEIZURE CASE. THE SUPREME COURT -- BEGINNING

THE QUOTE "SUPREME COURT ESTABLISH THAT CONGRESS CAN, EVEN

DURING TIME OF WAR, REGULATE THE INHERENT POWER OF THE

PRESIDENT THROUGH DULY ENACTED LEGISLATION. THAT IS PRECISELY

WHAT FISA DOES." END OF THE QUOTE.

AND, FINALLY, THIS FROM MR. VERRILLI, "THE NSA SURVEILLANCE PROGRAM UPENDS THE BALANCE ALONG THE THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT AND THEREBY THREATENS BEDROCK LIBERTIES THE CONSTITUTION AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS ARE DESIGNED TO PROTECT." END OF QUOTE. AND I CANNOT POSSIBLY SAY IT BETTER THAN THAT.

SO I'D LIKE TO MOVE AWAY FROM THE MERITS BACK TO ONE
OF THE STANDING ISSUES. AND THAT'S REALLY THE ONLY NEW ISSUE,
I BELIEVE, THE GOVERNMENT HAS PRESENTED IN THEIR OPPOSITION TO
OUR MOTION AND IN THEIR CROSS-MOTION.

THAT'S THE QUESTION OF THE NINTH CIRCUIT MANDATE.

THEY ARGUE THE NINTH CIRCUIT MANDATE FROM BACK IN 2007

FORECLOSES AN ADJUDICATION OF STANDING IN THIS CASE.

THE CASE LAW SAYS OTHERWISE, ACTUALLY, AND RATHER THAN

JUST MOUTHING OFF WHAT I'D LIKE THE LAW TO BE I'LL REPEAT WHAT

THE LAW ACTUALLY IS. NINTH CIRCUIT AUTHORITY.

NGUYEN VERSUS UNITED STATES, IT'S N-G-U-Y-E-N, SAYS,
THAT UNLESS THE NINTH CIRCUIT AND THE COURT OF APPEALS SAYS
THERE SHALL NOT BE AMENDMENT OF THE COMPLAINT ON REMAND, THERE
MAY BE. THIS COURT HAS DISCRETION TO DISMISS WITH LEAVE TO
AMEND, WHICH IS PRECISELY WHAT THIS COURT DID, UPON THE REMAND
FROM THE COURT OF APPEALS.

SECOND CASE <u>CASSETT VERSUS STEWART</u> SAID THAT UNLESS

THE APPELLATE COURT DIRECTS A FORM OF DISMISSAL IT NOT NEED BE,

IT NEED NOT BE WITH PREJUDICE, AND THAT'S PRECISELY WHAT THE

COURT DID HERE.

BACK IN JULY OF 2008 THE COURT SAID I AM DISMISSING,
BUT NOT WITH PREJUDICE, I'M DISMISSING WITH LEAVE TO AMEND.

NOTHING IN THE NINTH CIRCUIT MANDATE PRECLUDES THE PROCEEDINGS
IN WHICH WE ARE NOW ENGAGED IN TODAY. WE CAN GO FORWARD AND WE SHOULD GO FORWARD.

THE COURT: I HOPE NOT.

MR. EISENBERG: ME, TOO, YOUR HONOR.

THE COURT: WE'VE BEEN SPENDING A LOT OF TIME NEEDLESSLY.

MR. EISENBERG: I FEEL REALLY CONFIDENT ABOUT THIS,

ACTUALLY. IT'S NOT THERE, IT'S JUST SIMPLY NOT THERE. THESE

PROCEEDINGS ARE CONSISTENT NOT ONLY WITH THE NINTH CIRCUIT

MANDATE, BUT THE SPIRIT OF ITS MANDATE.

MR. COPPOLINO HAS ARGUED IN A PAST PREVIOUS HEARING

BEFORE THIS COURT THAT IT DOESN'T MATTER WHETHER YOU FIND
LIABILITY, YOU STILL HAVE THE SAME SECRECY PROBLEMS WITH THE
TRIAL OF DAMAGES WHICH, I BELIEVE, WOULD BE OUR NEXT STEP. AND
I'M HERE TODAY TO TELL YOU, YOUR HONOR, THAT'S SIMPLY NOT TRUE.

WE CAN ESTABLISH DAMAGES JUST LIKE WE'VE ESTABLISHED STANDING, ON PURELY PUBLIC INFORMATION. THAT'S WHAT WE INTEND TO DO.

AND I WILL TELL YOU BRIEFLY, YOUR HONOR, HOW WE INTEND
TO DO THAT AND GET INTO IT FURTHER, IF YOU WISH, BUT I DON'T
THINK THERE'S A NEED FOR IT AT THIS POINT.

WHAT WE HAVE, IS WE KNOW THERE WAS SURVEILLANCE
BETWEEN THE BEGINNING OF THE 2004 INVESTIGATION OF AL-HARAMAIN,
FEBRUARY 2004, FEBRUARY 16TH, I BELIEVE, AND THE END OF IT,
SEPTEMBER 9TH OF 2004 WHEN OFAC ISSUED ITS TERRORIST
DESIGNATION AND DECLARED DIRECT LINKS.

THAT'S THE PERIOD AT THIS POINT IN THE LITIGATION

THREE AND A HALF YEARS AFTER WE FILED OUR COMPLAINT THAT WE ARE

FOCUSING ON FOR OUR DAMAGES PERIOD.

THE COURT: WHY ARE YOU FOCUSING ON THAT PERIOD?

MR. EISENBERG: WE KNOW FROM PUBLIC EVIDENCE THE

REASON WHY IT'S MOST CONVENIENT AND HELPFUL, I BELIEVE, TO THIS

COURT TO MOVE THE CASE FORWARD.

PERSONALLY I BELIEVE THEY SURVEILLED, I BELIEVE THAT

THEY CONDUCTED WARRANTLESS ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE OF THESE

PLAINTIFFS RIGHT THROUGH THE VERY END OF THE PROGRAM, BUT

PROBLEMS OF PROOF, TO THAT EXTENT, WOULD BE PRESENTED.

THERE ARE NO SUCH PROBLEMS OF PROOF IF WE USE A FINITE PERIOD, AND IN A MOMENT, I THINK, YOUR HONOR WILL UNDERSTAND WHY THAT'S ESPECIALLY TRUE, WE HAVE THIS FINITE PERIOD.

WE KNOW THEY RELIED OR WE INFER, AND THERE'S NO
REBUTTAL OF THIS INFERENCE, THAT THEY RELIED ON SURVEILLANCE TO
DECLARE DIRECT LINKS. ONCE THEY DECLARED DIRECT LINKS ON
SEPTEMBER 9TH 2004, LET'S STOP THERE JUST FOR THE SAKE OF ALL
OF US, FOR THE CONVENIENCE, FOR THE SIMPLICITY OF IT.

NOW, LET ME TURN TO THE INSPECTOR GENERAL'S REPORT
WHICH PROVIDES A CRUCIAL PUBLIC LINK, THAT HELPS US NAIL DOWN
THIS PERIOD AS OUR DAMAGES PERIOD. IT'S AT PAGE 30 OF THE
REPORT AND THAT WOULD BE IN MY SUPPLEMENTAL DECLARATION EXHIBIT
CC, PAGE 35.

THERE THE INSPECTORS GENERAL STATE PUBLICLY THAT THE TERRORIST SURVEILLANCE PROGRAM WAS TRANSITIONED, THAT'S THE WORD THEY USED, TRANSITIONED TO FISA OVER A TWO-YEAR PERIOD.

THAT'S A QUOTE FROM THE REPORT, QUOTE "OVER A TWO-YEAR PERIOD" UNQUOTE, AFTER WHICH OR UPON WHICH THE TSP WAS DISCONTINUED ON FEBRUARY 1ST 2007.

THAT TELLS US SOMETHING REALLY IMPORTANT. THE

TRANSITION DIDN'T OCCUR UNTIL EARLY 2005. BEFORE THEN NONE OF

THE TSP SURVEILLANCE HAD BEEN TRANSITIONED TO THE FISA COURT,

AND OUR DAMAGES PERIOD IS BEFORE THEN, IT IS FEBRUARY TO

SEPTEMBER OF 2004, BEFORE THE TRANSITIONING BEGAN.

THAT IS A PERIOD FROM WHICH WE CAN STATE WITH GREAT ASSURANCE BASED SOLELY ON THE PUBLIC RECORD WHEN OUR CLIENT WERE SURVEILLED WITHOUT A WARRANT UNDER THE TSP.

THE COURT: YOU'RE RELYING, AT LEAST, IN PART OF ON

MR. COMEY'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE THAT YOU INCLUDE IN THE

MATERIALS THAT YOU SUBMITTED?

MR. EISENBERG: HE KNEW -- WELL, YES, YES, THEY

BELIEVED THE PROGRAM WAS ILLEGAL, NOW WE KNOW WHY THEY BELIEVED

THE PROGRAM WAS ILLEGAL.

WE LEARN THAT FROM THE INSPECTOR GENERAL'S REPORT THE REASON WHY, ONE OF THE REASONS WHY THERE WAS THIS UPROAR IN MARCH 2004, ONLY ONE OF THE REASONS.

THE COURT: THERE WAS A WHAT?

MR. EISENBERG: ONE OF THE REASONS WHY -- UPROAR, THE UPROAR, THE BEDSIDE -- THE HOSPITAL BEDSIDE INCIDENT. A LOT OF IT REMAINS SHROUDED IN MYSTERY, BUT ONE THING WE KNOW FROM THE INSPECTOR GENERAL'S REPORT IS THAT MR. GOLDSMITH CAME IN REPLACING MR. YOO AS THE HEAD OF LEGAL COUNSEL, AND TOOK A LOOK AT YOO'S MEMO DECLARING THE LEGAL JUSTIFICATION FOR THE TSP, AND THAT LEGAL JUSTIFICATION WAS THE INHERENT POWER THEORY TO WHICH I JUST SPOKE, AND MR. GOLDSMITH DETERMINED THAT THE INHERENT POWER THEORY WAS FATALLY FLAWED, IT DID NOT SUPPORT THE PROGRAM.

MR. GOLDSMITH ALONG WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF MR. PHILBIN
PUT TOGETHER A NEW THEORETICAL JUSTIFICATION FOR THE TERRORIST

SURVEILLANCE PROGRAM, IT WAS THE AUMF THEORY.

THIS IS ALL IN THE INSPECTOR GENERAL'S REPORT AND WHEN THE PROGRAM WAS RECERTIFIED, I BELIEVE, IT WAS MAY 6TH OF 2004 BY THE DOJ, REMEMBER THEY REFUSED TO RECERTIFY IT IN MARCH, WHEN IT WAS RECERTIFIED IT WAS ON THE AUMF THEORY.

AND NOW I'VE FORGOTTEN WHY I'M MAKING THIS POINT, YOUR HONOR.

THE COURT: WELL, COINCIDE WITH YOUR DAMAGE PERIOD.

MR. EISENBERG: YES, YES, THAT'S RIGHT. THANK YOU VERY MUCH. SOMETIMES IT FRIGHTENS ME HOW I LOSE MYSELF IN THOUGHT.

COINCIDE WITH THE DAMAGE PERIOD. THEY KNEW DURING OUR DAMAGE PERIOD THAT THIS PROGRAM WAS UNLAWFUL, THAT THE SOLE JUSTIFICATION FOR IT CONCOCTED BY MR. YOO, THE INHERENT POWER THEORY WAS NO GOOD, IT WAS FLAWED.

NOW, THE THEORY THEY CAME UP WITH LATER WAS JUST AS BAD, MAYBE EVEN WORSE, THE AUMF THEORY. BUT DURING THIS PERIOD OF TIME THEY KNEW THAT THE LEGAL UNDISPUTED FACT UNDERPINNINGS FOR THIS CASE WERE BAD.

SO WE CAN DO THE NUMBERS. I COME UP WITH 202 DAYS OF SURVEILLANCE THE -- OF THREE PEOPLE. AL-HARAMAIN, ASIM GHAFOOR AND WENDELL BELEW.

THE STATUTE 50 U.S. CODE SECTION 1810 PROVIDES FOR A HUNDRED DOLLARS A DAY, YOU CAN DO THE MATH, THAT'S 20,000, \$200 PER PLAINTIFF. WE CAN TALK ABOUT PUNITIVE DAMAGES, I'M

MINDFUL, VERY MINDFUL OF THE GORE CASE, G-O-R-E, WHICH GENERALLY, THE CAP OF A RATIO OF 10 TO ONE GENERALLY, WILL KEEP THAT IN MIND.

WE HAVE A FAIRLY MODEST SUM OF DAMAGES IN THIS CASE

AND A VERY FINITE SUM, EXCEPT FOR THE PUNITIVES WHICH, OF

COURSE, CAN BE IN THIS COURT'S DISCRETION. AND ALL OF THAT'S

ON -- ALL OF THAT IS ON UNCLASSIFIED INFORMATION.

I DON'T BELIEVE WE EVEN NEED CLASSIFIED INFORMATION ON PUNITIVE DAMAGES, ALTHOUGH, AGAIN, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL. IT WOULD BE NICE TO HAVE, BUT WE WOULD JUST PREFER NOT TO GO THERE FOR THE SAKE OF SIMPLICITY AND WRAPPING UP THIS LITIGATION AND SENDING IT UP ON APPEAL ON A FINAL JUDGMENT.

I DON'T BELIEVE WE EVEN NEED AN EVIDENTIARY HEARING ON DAMAGES. EVERYTHING CAN BE AND, I BELIEVE, SHOULD BE DONE ON DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE, ON THE RECORD WE'VE ALREADY PRESENTED.

NO NEED FOR LIVE TESTIMONY UNLESS THE DEFENDANTS WISH

TO PRESENT IT AND THAT I CANNOT IMAGINE. SO ONCE DAMAGES ARE

ADJUDICATED THE CASE OVER, UP WE GO ON APPEAL.

THE COURT: LET ME --

MR. EISENBERG: HOPEFULLY ONLY ONCE. NOW, FINALLY LET
ME MENTION DEFENDANT ROBERT MUELLER. HE'S STILL OUT THERE.

YOUR HONOR ALLOWED US TO SERVE HIM WITH, FILE OUR

AMENDED COMPLAINT AND SERVE MR. MUELLER INDIVIDUALLY. WE

AGREED TO PUT MR. MUELLER ON THE SHELF FOR THE TIME BEING.

HE'S NOT BEEN SERVED. WE HAVE AGREED THERE WILL BE NO NEED TO

SERVE HIM UNTIL THERE'S AN ADJUDICATION OF STANDING.

IF THAT WERE TO OCCUR IN THE NEAR FUTURE, WHICH I
FERVENTLY DESIRE, IT WILL COME TIME FOR MR. MULLER TO ANSWER.
WE'RE IN NO HURRY FOR THAT TO HAPPEN. WE ARE PREPARED TO WAIT
AND WE'LL HAVE TO DISCUSS THIS WITH MR. MUELLER'S ATTORNEYS.

I JUST WANTED THE COURT TO KNOW WE ARE PREPARED TO WAIT ON MR. MUELLER UNTIL THE FINAL ADJUDICATION IN THIS CASE, STRAIGHT THROUGH ON APPEAL BECAUSE REALLY AT THIS POINT WE BELIEVE MR. MUELLER IS A COROLLARY WE NEEDN'T GET TO.

MR. GOLDBERG REMINDS ME THAT MR. MUELLER HAS ACTUALLY ACCEPTED SERVICE, BUT HE HAS NOT ANSWERED. SO WE CAN DISCUSS MR. MUELLER FOR WHEN THE TIME COMES, BUT I THOUGHT THE COURT SHOULD BE AWARE THAT RIGHT NOW WE REALLY DON'T SEE ANY NEED TO PURSUE THAT AVENUE.

THE COURT: BEFORE YOU CONCLUDE LET ME ASK YOU TO TELL ME THE BACKGROUND AND WHAT OCCURRED, EITHER IN THE PROCEEDINGS IN OREGON OR THE ARGUMENTS BEFORE THE NINTH CIRCUIT, THAT LEAD IN THE NINTH CIRCUIT'S NOVEMBER 16, 2007 DECISION TO STATE THAT AL-HARAMAIN CANNOT ESTABLISH IT'S SUFFERED INJURY, IN FACT, A CONCRETE AND PARTICULARIZED INJURY BECAUSE THE SEALED DOCUMENT WHICH AL-HARAMAIN ALLEGES PROVES THAT ITS MEMBERS WERE UNLAWFULLY SURVEILLED IS PROTECTED BY THE STATES SECRET PRIVILEGE.

AT ORAL ARGUMENT COUNSEL FOR AL-HARAMAIN ESSENTIALLY
CONCEDED THAT AL-HARAMAIN CANNOT ESTABLISH A STANDING WITHOUT

REFERENCE TO THE SEALED DOCUMENTS. WHAT'S THE BACKGROUND OF 1 2 THAT? 3 AND WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF THAT STATEMENT FOR PURPOSE 4 OF THE STANDING DETERMINATION HERE? 5 MR. EISENBERG: I MADE THAT STATEMENT A LONG TIME AGO. LET'S SEE, THAT WOULD BE OCTOBER OF 2007, THIS IS NOW -- EXCUSE 6 7 ME, AUGUST OF 2007 THIS IS NOW SEPTEMBER OF 2009, THE ORAL 8 ARGUMENT. 9 THE COURT: ARGUED ON AUGUST 15. 10 MR. EISENBERG: THANK YOU. 11 THE COURT: AND FILED ON NOVEMBER 16TH. 12 MR. EISENBERG: SO THE STATEMENT I MADE THAT WAS AT 13 ORAL ARGUMENT, WHICH SEEMS TO ME ALMOST A DIFFERENT LIFE TIME, 14 MORE THAN TWO YEARS AGO. 15 AT THAT TIME WE HAD THIS DOCUMENT, WE HAD A -- THE 16 OREGON DISTRICT JUDGE SAYING WE CAN USE OUR MEMORIES OF THE 17 DOCUMENT TO ESTABLISH STANDING, AND WE KNEW THAT IF WE COULD DO 18 THAT THAT'S ALL WE NEEDED. 19 WE DIDN'T NEED TO MARSHAL PUBLIC EVIDENCE, WE DIDN'T 20 NEED ANYTHING ELSE, AND THERE WASN'T THAT MUCH PUBLIC EVIDENCE 21 THERE IN THE RECORD AT THE TIME. 22 I ACTUALLY HADN'T REALLY MADE THE EFFORT BECAUSE I SAW 23 NO NEED AND I'LL TELL YOU, YOUR HONOR, IF I MADE THE EFFORT IN 24 THE SUMMER OF 2007 I WOULD NOT HAVE COME UP WITH VERY MUCH.

SOME OF WHAT WE PRESENTED TO YOU I HAD COME UP WITH,

25

BUT THERE'S -- THERE ARE TWO CRITICAL THINGS WE KNEW NOTHING ABOUT IN THE SUMMER OF 2007.

THE COURT: LET'S SEE, YOU DIDN'T HAVE PISTOLE'S

OCTOBER 22 SPEECH TO THE AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION AT ORAL

ARGUMENT.

MR. EISENBERG: RIGHT, WE DID NOT HAVE THAT. THAT

CAME OCTOBER 22ND AT ABOUT THREE WEEKS PLUS BEFORE THE NINTH

CIRCUIT ISSUED ITS DECISION.

BUT I DIDN'T FIND IT UNTIL . . . AUGUST OF 2008 WHEN WE WERE PUTTING TOGETHER OUR AMENDED COMPLAINT, THAT'S WHEN I FOUND IT. I ACTUALLY DON'T KNOW WHEN THAT WENT UP ON THE WEBSITE. I SUSPECT IT WAS NOT OCTOBER 22ND.

IN ANY CASE, WE DIDN'T HAVE THAT AT THE TIME OF ORAL ARGUMENT. THAT IS CRUCIAL. THAT'S WHEN I SPOKE TO YOUR HONOR'S FIRST QUESTION AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS HEARING, I STARTED WITH MR. PISTOLE'S ADMISSION THAT THEY SURVEILLED AL-HARAMAIN, WE PROCEED FROM THAT TO OUR ULTIMATE INFERENCE.

THE SECOND THING WE DIDN'T HAVE, WE DIDN'T HAVE THE
TESTIMONY BY MEMBERS OF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION BEFORE CONGRESS
THAT TOLD US HOW THEY INTERCEPT COMMUNICATIONS, WHICH IS THEY
DO IT ON A WIRE FROM ROUTING STATIONS WITHIN THE UNITED STATES,
WHICH MAKES IT ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE WITHIN THE MEANING OF
THE FISA SECTION 1801 DEFINITION.

THAT WAS A REALLY CRITICAL PIECE OF INFORMATION FOR US BECAUSE THAT MADE OUR CASE, THAT THIS WAS ELECTRONIC

SURVEILLANCE, THAT THE WAY THEY INTERCEPT COMMUNICATIONS OF THE SORT BETWEEN MR. AL-BUTHI AND THE TWO LAWYERS IN WASHINGTON IS BY TAKING THEM OFF OF A WIRE IN THE UNITED STATES. WE DIDN'T HAVE THAT IN 2007 AND IT'S REALLY CRITICAL.

SO WHEN I WAS ASKED THAT QUESTION IN THE SUMMER 2007 I DID SOMETHING THAT COMES NATURAL TO ME AND THAT, I THINK, EVERY GOOD APPELLATE LAWYER SHOULD DO, BUT SOMETIMES WE LIVE TO REGRET, I WAS HONEST.

I TOLD THE COURT WITHOUT THIS DOCUMENT I DON'T HAVE
STANDING BECAUSE AT THE TIME I DIDN'T HAVE THE TESTIMONY ABOUT
HOW COMMUNICATIONS INTERCEPTED AND I DIDN'T HAVE MR. PISTOLE'S
ADMISSION.

HAVING THOSE TWO THINGS MAKES AN IMMENSE DIFFERENCE.

I DON'T BELIEVE THE COURT OF APPEALS COULD HAVE DREAMED THAT

WOULD HAPPEN. WHO WOULD EXPECTED THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE

FBI TO POST ON THE FBI'S WEBSITE AN ADMISSION LIKE THAT.

THIS MIND YOU AFTER MR. BONDY STOOD UP, THE

GOVERNMENT'S APPELLATE ATTORNEY STOOD UP BEFORE THE NINTH

CIRCUIT AND SAID IT'S A STATE SECRET WHETHER ANYBODY HAS BEEN

SURVEILLED UNDER ANY PROGRAM, WE DON'T CONFIRM OR DENY

SURVEILLANCE UNDER ANY PROGRAM.

THEN A FEW MONTHS LATER THEY DO IT FOR THE WHOLE WORLD TO SEE ON THE WEBSITE WHICH I FOUND THROUGH GOOGLE. PRETTY REMARKABLE, ONE OF THE MANY REMARKABLE THINGS ABOUT THIS CASE.

SO WHEN I SPOKE IN 2007 I WAS SPEAKING HONESTLY. AND

1	I WILL TELL THE COURT HONESTLY TODAY TWO YEARS LATER THINGS ARE		
2	VERY DIFFERENT.		
3	AND, YOUR HONOR, THAT ABOUT WRAPS IT UP FOR ME, UNLESS		
4	YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS.		
5	THE COURT: VERY WELL. THANK YOU, MR. EISENBERG.		
6	MR. COPPOLINO, LET'S START WITH EXACTLY WHERE		
7	MR. EISENBERG LEFT OFF. THAT IS, THE EFFECT OF THE STATEMENT		
8	IN THE NINTH CIRCUIT DECISION IN NOVEMBER 2007, THAT		
9	AL-HARAMAIN CANNOT ESTABLISH STANDING WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE		
10	SEALED DOCUMENT.		
11	ISN'T THAT SIMPLY A CONCESSION FOR PURPOSE OF ARGUMENT		
12	THAT COUNSEL MADE AND NOT, IN FACT, A BINDING DETERMINATION BY		
13	THE CIRCUIT COURT?		
14	MR. COPPOLINO: I DON'T AGREE IT IS JUST A MERE		
15	CONCESSION AND NOT A BINDING DETERMINATION.		
16	THE COURT: DID THE NINTH CIRCUIT FORECLOSE THE		
17	POSSIBILITY OF THE PLAINTIFFS RELYING UPON PUBLIC INFORMATION?		
18	MR. COPPOLINO: I BELIEVE THAT THEY DID, YOUR HONOR,		
19	FOR THE REASONS		
20	THE COURT: WHERE?		
21	MR. COPPOLINO: I WAS ABOUT TO EXPLAIN THAT. I THINK,		
22	THE NINTH CIRCUIT ADDRESSED TWO ISSUES, TWO ISSUES AND		
23	DEFINITIVELY RESOLVED ONE.		
24	THE VERY LANGUAGE THAT YOU JUST QUOTED OR, AT LEAST,		
25	THAT'S ONE OF THE THINGS THAT THEY SAID, THEY SAID, AL-HARAMAIN		

1 CANNOT ESTABLISH ITS STANDING WITHOUT THE PRIVILEGED 2 INFORMATION. AND THEY ALSO SAID THAT ITS CLAIMS MUST BE 3 DISMISSED UNLESS THERE'S FISA PREEMPTION. NOW, I DON'T SEE WHAT IS NOT CLEAR ABOUT THAT. THE 4 5 NINTH CIRCUIT IS SAYING YOU LOSE, CASE OVER, UNLESS YOU HAVE THIS FISA PREEMPTION, AND WE'RE GOING TO REMAND THAT TO THE 6 7 DISTRICT COURT. 8 THAT WAS THE ROAD THAT WAS AVAILABLE TO THEM BECAUSE 9 OTHERWISE THE COURT RULED BASED IN PART ON WHAT MR. EISENBERG 10 SAID AT THE ORAL ARGUMENT. 11 THE COURT: WHERE WAS THE CONSIDERATION OF PUBLIC INFORMATION BY THE NINTH CIRCUIT? 12 13 MR. COPPOLINO: I THINK, THE PRINCIPLE CONSIDERATION 14 IS THE FACT THEY SPECIFICALLY INQUIRED OF MR.. EISENBERG 15 WHETHER THERE WAS ANY OTHER EVIDENCE HE WOULD BRING FORWARD TO 16 ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THAT WOULD IN ANY WAY SUPPORT 17 HIS ARGUMENT. THE COURT: HE'S SAYING HERE NOW THAT AT THAT TIME HE 18 19 WOULD NOT, BUT A LOT OF INFORMATION HAS DEVELOPED IN THE 20 MEANTIME WHICH HAS CHANGED HIS LITIGATION POSTURE. WHY ISN'T 21 THAT A PERFECTLY LEGITIMATE POSITION FOR HIM TO TAKE? 22 MR. COPPOLINO: BECAUSE IT'S DISINGENUOUS. 23 THE COURT: DISINGENUOUS NECESSARILY IS NOT A GROUND 24 FOR --

MR. COPPOLINO: LET ME POINT OUT --

25

THE COURT: IN OUR BUSINESS, MR. COPPOLINO, DISINGENUOUS IS ALL OVER THE PLACE.

MR. COPPOLINO: THIS IS HIS AFFIDAVIT. THIS IS DOCKET 99-1. EVERY SINGLE ONE THESE EXHIBITS EXCEPT FOR THAT PISTOLE SPEACH -- AND I CAN TELL THERE'S ONE OTHER, OFAC GAVE THEM SOME MATERIAL IN FEBRUARY 2008 -- EVERY SINGLE ONE OF THESE ITEMS WAS AVAILABLE BEFORE AUGUST 2007.

THE ONLY THING THAT HE'S RELYING ON TODAY IS THE PISTOLE SPEECH, THIS IS THE DEPUTY FBI DIRECTOR, THAT'S THE ONLY THING THAT HE IS SAYING IS NEW, SO THAT'S POINT ONE. WE CAN TALK ABOUT PISTOLE'S SPEECH IN A SECOND.

THE COURT: THAT'S ISN'T QUITE ACCURATE, IS IT?

MR. COPPOLINO: THREE THINGS I CAN DETECT. PISTOLE'S

SPEECH WAS OCTOBER 2007, THAT'S EXHIBIT S, EXHIBIT R WAS A

LETTER TO MR. NELSON AND MS. BERNABEI OF BY FEBRUARY 6TH 2008,

THAT'S EXHIBIT R AND EXHIBIT E.

EXHIBIT Z WAS A LETTER A MEMORANDUM FROM OFAC

REGARDING THE REDESIGNATION OF AL-HARAMAIN FEBRUARY 6TH 2008,

EVERYTHING ELSE PREDATES THE ORAL ARGUMENT.

THE COURT: LET'S LOOK AT THAT EXHIBIT Z, THE FEBRUARY 2008 MEMORANDUM. BATES STAMP 139, I'M SORRY, 130. IT BEGINS INTERCEPTS, INTERCEPTS DISCLOSED DURING AL-TIMINI'S TRIAL REVEALED A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AL-TIMINI AND AL-BUTHE.

AL-BUTHE WAS INTERCEPTED IN SOME FOUR CONVERSATIONS.

AL-TIMINI IN AN INTERCEPT ON FEBRUARY 1, 2003, AT 1538,

AL-TIMINI SPOKE WITH FMULMU SUBSEQUENTLY DETERMINED TO BE SOLIMAN AL-BUTHI.

SKIPPING TWO LINES. DURING THE CONVERSATION FMULMU
PROVIDED AL-TIMINI WITH THE FOLLOWING FAX NUMBER (966)

120-6331. DURING THE SAME INTERCEPT FMULMU PASSED THE
TELEPHONE TO AHMED MLNU. AFTER A BRIEF CONVERSATION AL-TIMINI
TOLD AHMED MLNU TO ASK SOLIMAN AL-BUTHI TO CALL HIM, AL-TIMINI,
THE NEXT DAY, AL-TIMINI COULD DICTATE SOMETHING TO SOLIMAN.

THAT SAME DAY AT 1620 AL-TIMINI AGAIN INTERCEPTED

SPEAKING TO FMULMU SUBSEQUENTLY TO DETERMINED TO BE SOLIMAN

AL-BUTHI. DURING THE CONVERSATION AL-TIMINI OR THE INDIVIDUAL

FMULMU, PROVIDED AL-TIMINI WITH THE FOLLOWING SURVEILLANCE

TELEPHONE, PROBABLE FAX NUMBER, (253) 981-9150.

AN INTERNET QUERY LINKS THE AFOREMENTIONED TELEPHONE

NUMBERS WITH MORE LINK ON HERE, THE LATTER INTERNET ADDRESS FOR

INTERNET SEARCH CORRESPONDENCE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE,

SUPPORT OF THE FINAL PROJECT IN THE OFFICE OF THE CAMPAIGN TO

DEFEND THE PROPHET. THAT'S ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE.

MR. COPPOLINO: THAT'S ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE OF

AL-TIMINI. THAT WAS ACKNOWLEDGED BY THE GOVERNMENT AT HIS, I

BELIEVE, HIS CRIMINAL PROCEEDING.

I ACTUALLY THINK THAT EVIDENCE CUTS AGAINST THEM

BECAUSE WHAT IT DEMONSTRATES IS THAT THERE WAS AN INTERCEPT OF

AN INDIVIDUAL ASSOCIATED WITH AL-HARAMAIN, MR. AL-BUTHI -- THAT

WAS BASED ON A TARGET WHO WAS NOT A PLAINTIFF HERE, BY THE WAY,

WHO WAS BASED ON A TARGET OF SOMEONE ELSE.

THIS DEMONSTRATES THAT THE SURVEILLANCE THAT MAY HAVE
BEEN AT ISSUE IN THIS CASE DID NOT, IN FACT, HAVE TO BE OF AN
INDIVIDUAL ASSOCIATED WITH AL-HARAMAIN, COULD HAVE BEEN OF
SOMEONE ELSE, COULD HAVE BEEN OTHER SOURCES.

AND SO, ACTUALLY, I THINK THAT PARTICULAR EXHIBIT

DOESN'T DEMONSTRATE, FIRST OF ALL, THAT ANY OF THESE PLAINTIFFS

WERE SUBJECT TO SURVEILLANCE, OR ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE, OR

ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE THAT WAS NOT AUTHORIZED BY THE FISA.

THAT SURVEILLANCE, FIRST OF ALL, COULD WELL HAVE BEEN AUTHORIZED BY THE FISA. I ACTUALLY BELIEVE IT WAS. LET ME JUST SAY, IF THAT WAS ACKNOWLEDGED AT THE PUBLIC TRIAL, WHICH TYPICALLY IT WOULD BE IF THE GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO USE THE SURVEILLANCE EVIDENCE. SO I THINK THAT CUTS AGAINST THEM.

YOUR HONOR, YOU KNOW, TO ADDRESS YOUR FIRST QUESTION,
IT SEEMS TO ME THAT, AS WE SET FORTH IN OUR PAPERS, THE NINTH
CIRCUIT DID CHART TWO COURSES. YOU CAN EITHER TRY TO PROVE
YOUR STANDING THROUGH PUBLIC EVIDENCE OR THERE'S FISA
PREEMPTION.

AND IT SEEMS TO US THEY SQUARELY ADDRESSED THE

PUBLIC -- THE EVIDENTIARY BASIS FOR WHETHER OR NOT THERE WAS

STANDING. THEY CONCLUDED, I THINK, CORRECTLY, THAT PRIVILEGED

INFORMATION THAT GOES TO WHETHER OR NOT AL-HARAMAIN WAS

SURVEILLED WAS PROPERLY PROTECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

AND SO IN THE FIRST INSTANCE OUR ARGUMENT TO YOU IS,

THAT THE VERY ISSUE OF WHETHER OR NOT AL-HARAMAIN WAS SUBJECT

TO SURVEILLANCE WAS RESOLVED BY THE NINTH CIRCUIT, AT LEAST,

INSOFAR AS THE STATE SECRETS PRIVILEGE WAS CONCERNED.

AND I DON'T THINK YOU CAN HAVE ANY MORE DEFINITIVE

STATEMENT THAN TO SAY YOUR CASE IS DISMISSED UNDER THE STATE

SECRETS PRIVILEGE, UNLESS THERE'S FISA SECRETS PRIVILEGE

PREEMPTION.

NOW, ASSUMING ARGUENDO YOU GO FORWARD TO A PUBLIC EVIDENCE OPTION, I HAVE A COUPLE JUST GENERAL POINTS TO MAKE ABOUT THAT.

WE CERTAINLY HAVE MADE THE POINT THAT THE EVIDENCE IS INSUFFICIENT, AND WE CAN DISCUSS SOME OF THE EVIDENCE, BECAUSE THE EVIDENCE IS FUNDAMENTALLY SPECULATIVE AND CONJECTURAL, IN OUR VIEW.

OBVIOUSLY, COURTS WILL EVALUATE THAT EVIDENCE AND MAKE
THEIR OWN JUDGMENT, BUT I BELIEVE THAT THE PROPER CONCLUSION
LOOKING AT ALL OF THIS EVIDENCE, IS THAT'S SPECULATIVE,
CONJECTURAL AND DOES NOT SATISFY THE STANDING REQUIREMENTS OF
ARTICLE III.

THE COURT: WELL, BUT DOESN'T IT ESSENTIALLY PUT THE BALL IN YOUR COURT, TO COME BACK WITH A RESPONSE THAT REBUTS

THE INFERENCE THAT IS LIKELY TO BE DRAWN FROM THIS EVIDENCE?

MR. COPPOLINO: I DISAGREE WITH THAT, YOUR HONOR. IN A NORMAL CASE, ON A NORMAL CASE INVOLVING SUMMARY JUDGMENT, IN RESPONSE TO A SUMMARY JUDGMENT MOTION I RECOGNIZE THAT THE

PARTY OPPOSING THE MOTION WOULD EITHER HAVE TO ESTABLISH A
GENUINE ISSUE OF FACT OR DEMONSTRATE SOMEHOW IT'S ENTITLED TO
JUDGMENT, EVEN IF THERE IS NO ISSUE OF UNDISPUTED FACT. THIS
IS OBVIOUSLY NOT A NORMAL CASE.

WHAT YOU HAVE IN A STATE SECRETS PRIVILEGE CONTEXT ARE NUMEROUS CASES, AND I'LL TICK SOME OF THEM OFF, HOLDING THAT IF THE EVIDENCE ESSENTIAL TO PROVE OR DISPROVE A CLAIM IS NOT AVAILABLE, IS PROPERLY WITHHELD, AND IF IT IS NECESSARY FOR PLAINTIFFS TO ESTABLISH THEIR STANDING, OR PRIMA FACIE CASE, OR RELEVANT TO THE DEFENDANT'S DEFENSE AGAINST THEIR ALLEGATION OF STANDING, THEN THE ANSWER IS NOT THAT THE BURDEN SHIFTS TO THE GOVERNMENT TO PRODUCE PRIVILEGED INFORMATION OR LOSE THE CASE.

JUST THE OPPOSITE. THAT IF THE INFORMATION IS NECESSARY TO LITIGATE THE CASE, THE CASE HAS TO BE DISMISSED.

THAT'S, OF COURSE, WHAT AL-HARAMAIN HELD LEAVING ASIDE
THE PREEMPTION ISSUE FOR THE MOMENT. THAT'S WHAT <u>CAZA</u> HELD IN
THE NINTH CIRCUIT. BOTH CASES SAID IF YOU CANNOT PROVE YOUR
STANDING OR IF -- AND THE OTHER PART OF THE STATE SECRETS
DOCTRINE, IF THE GOVERNMENT CAN'T DEFEND, THE CASE GETS
DISMISSED.

NUMEROUS OTHER CASES HAVE FOLLOWED. THERE'S ACLU CASE

VERSUS NSA IN THE SIXTH CIRCUIT. AGAIN, THE COURT RECOGNIZED

DISMISSAL IS REQUIRED WHERE THE STATE SECRETS PRIVILEGE

PREVENTS THE PLAINTIFF FROM ESTABLISHING WHETHER THEY WERE

SUBJECT TO SURVEILLANCE, OR THE GOVERNMENT FROM GETTING

EVIDENCE TO REFUTE THAT ALLEGATION.

THE TERKEL CASE JUDGE KENNELLY IN CHICAGO DISMISSED

ALLEGATIONS REGARDING ALLEGED COMMUNICATION RECORDS COLLECTION

BECAUSE HE SAID STATE SECRETS PRIVILEGE FORECLOSED PLAINTIFFS

FROM ESTABLISHING THEIR STANDING.

THE COURT: I'M QUITE FAMILIAR WITH THAT DECISION, YOU KNOW THE REGARD I HAVE FOR JUDGE KENNELLY, HOW I INTERPRET THE LAW IN A DIFFERENT FASHION.

MR. COPPOLINO: ELSBERG VERSUS MITCHELL, HALKIN VERSUS

HELMS 1 AND 2 BOTH, ALL THREE OF THOSE CASES UPHELD DISMISSAL

BECAUSE THE EVIDENCE NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH STANDING OR TO

ADDRESS THE ISSUE WAS NOT AVAILABLE.

SO MY POINT TO YOU SIMPLY IS, THAT EVEN IF THERE IS
BURDEN SHIFTING IN THE NORMAL CONTEXT, I HAVE YET TO SEE A CASE
WHERE THE BURDEN EVER SHIFTED TO THE DEFENDANT TO ESTABLISHING
STANDING.

AND CERTAINLY THE WEAST CASE THAT THEY CITED,

W-E-A-S-T, WHICH CONCERNING THE BURDEN OF PERSUASION DOEST NOT

HOLD THAT IN SOME INSTANCES THE BURDEN TO DISPROVE STANDING

FALLS TO A DEFENDANT. IT'S CERTAINLY NOT SOMETHING THAT OCCURS

UNDER THE STATE SECRETS PRIVILEGE. THE LAW IS JUST TO THE

CONTRARY.

YOUR HONOR, I THOUGHT, I GUESS, I'D LIKE TO STEP BACK

JUST FOR A MINUTE AND GIVE YOU KIND OF A THEMATIC POINT. I

RECOGNIZE THAT THROUGHOUT THIS LITIGATION THE GOVERNMENT HAS

TAKEN A FAIRLY FIRM POSITION IN THIS CASE, BOTH UNDER THE PRIOR ADMINISTRATION AND UNDER THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATION.

WE ARGUED OVER AND AGAIN, I THINK, TO THE ANNOYANCE OF THE COURT, THE PRIVILEGE ASSERTION STILL HOLDS. WE ARGUED THAT STANDING CAN'T BE RE-LITIGATED PURSUANT TO THE MANDATE IN THE NINTH CIRCUIT.

WE ARGUED IT'S NOT PREEMPTED BY THE STATE, BY FISA,

AND WE ARGUED THEIR EVIDENCE IS INSUFFICIENT TO ESTABLISH

STANDING AND THAT THE BURDEN DOESN'T SHIFT TO US.

I RECOGNIZE THAT THAT MAY STRIKE THE COURT AS A VERY HARD LINE, BUT THERE'S A REASON FOR THAT. AND I ASK THE COURT TO CONSIDER IT CAREFULLY IN ITS NEXT DECISION AND TO, PERHAPS, REORIENT YOUR THINKING ABOUT THE CASE.

THE REASON WE'VE DONE THAT, NOT ONLY UNDER THE PRIOR ADMINISTRATION, BUT UNDER THIS ADMINISTRATION, IS THAT WHAT IS AT STAKE ARE CORE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS, WHICH IS WHAT IS AT ISSUE WHEN THE QUESTION IS WHETHER OR NOT YOU SURVEILLED SOMEONE WHO, WHAT, WHERE, HOW, BY WHAT METHOD AND SO ON.

ALL OF THAT REVEALS, I THINK, THE <u>HAIKIN</u> CASE

DESCRIBED MOST COGENTLY CORE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES, METHODS THE

GOVERNMENT HAS CONSISTENTLY PROTECTED GOING BACK YEARS.

THESE CASES GO BACK TO THE 70'S AND UNDOUBTEDLY BEFORE
THAT, AND THE REASON FOR THAT IS FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE
SURVEILLANCE IS OF SUCH VITAL IMPORTANCE TO NATIONAL SECURITY.

IT'S CRITICAL THE GOVERNMENT BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN SECRECY IN THAT AREA.

NOW, THAT'S ESPECIALLY SO IN A CASE SUCH AS THIS WHERE ONE OF THE PLAINTIFFS IS DESIGNATED TERRORIST ORGANIZATION WITH LINKS TO AL-QAEDA. AND CONTRARY TO WHAT MR. EISENBERG SAID HIS OWN RECORD DEMONSTRATES THOSE LINKS TO AL-QAEDA WERE DOCUMENTED YEARS BEFORE 2004.

AND IT'S VERY VITAL TO THE GOVERNMENT THAT IN

PARTICULAR, GIVEN THE CONTINUING THREATS OF TERRORISM, WE NEED

TO PROTECT INFORMATION CONCERNING SOURCES AND METHODS BY WHICH

WE SEEK TO DETECT AND PREVENT FURTHER TERRORIST ATTACK.

AND COURTS HAVE RECOGNIZED AND ACKNOWLEDGED THAT VERY
MUCH OVER THE YEARS. THIS IS, THEREFORE, A CASE WHERE THE
PUBLIC INTEREST AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY INTEREST OUTWEIGHS
WHATEVER PRIVATE INTEREST THE PLAINTIFFS HAVE IN PURSUING THEIR
CLAIMS.

THE COURT: WELL, RECOGNIZING THAT, AND IN NO WAY,

AGAIN, SAYING THE IMPORTANCE OF PROTECTING NATIONAL SECURITY

AND PROTECTING SOURCES OF INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION, NO QUESTION

OF THAT AT ALL.

WHAT IS CURIOUS IS THE COURSE THAT THIS LITIGATION HAS

TAKEN. IF THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT AL-HARAMAIN WERE

OTHER THAN ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN QUITE

AN EASY PIECE OF INFORMATION TO HAVE DISCLOSED BEFORE.

SIMILARLY IF THERE WERE A FISA WARRANT THAT, AS

MR. EISENBERG PUTS IT, COULD EASILY HAVE BEEN DISCLOSED AND THE CASE WOULD HAVE BEEN OVER AND DONE WITH. AND YOU AND I WOULD NOT HAVE GOTTEN TO KNOW ONE ANOTHER AS WELL AS WE HAVE, MR. COPPOLINO.

AND YOUR PRINCIPALS WOULD BE ONGOING ONTO THE VERY IMPORTANT WORK OF PROTECTING NATIONAL SECURITY AND THAT YOU JUST DESCRIBED.

MR. COPPOLINO: IF I CAN JUST RECOUNT SOME OF THE HISTORY OF THE LAWSUIT WHICH, AGAIN, IS SET FORTH IN OUR PAPERS. WE SPECIFICALLY PROTECTED NOT ONLY WHETHER THEY WERE SUBJECT TO SURVEILLANCE UNDER THE TERRORIST SURVEILLANCE PROGRAM, BUT UNDER ANY AUTHORITY, INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR THE FISA, IN OUR STATE SECRETS PRIVILEGE.

BECAUSE AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS CASE WHEN IT WAS
STILL IN OREGON BEFORE JUDGE KING THEY SERVED INTERROGATORIES
THAT SPECIFICALLY ASKED US WHETHER OR NOT THEY WERE SUBJECT TO
FISA SURVEILLANCE.

IN THE RECORD IN CONNECTION WITH MY FOURTH MOTION THE DNI SPECIFICALLY ASSERTED PRIVILEGE OVER WHETHER THERE WAS ANY FISA SURVEILLANCE, BECAUSE AS YOU OBSERVED FISA SURVEILLANCE WOULD BE JUST AS MUCH A SECRET AS ANY OTHER TYPE OF SURVEILLANCE.

THAT, A, WAS COVERED BY OUR PRIVILEGE ASSERTION AND,
B, THEREFORE, WOULD BE JUST AS REVEALING OF INTELLIGENCE
SOURCES AND METHODS IF WE WERE TO DISCLOSE THAT IN THE PUBLIC

RECORD.

AND THE PLAINTIFFS ARE SIMPLY SPECULATING AS TO WHETHER, IN FACT, WE HAVEN'T PROVIDED THAT INFORMATION TO THE COURT IN THE EX PARTE MATERIALS.

BUT EVEN IF WE HAD, EVEN IF THERE WAS A FISA WARRANT
AND WE HAD TOLD THE COURT, WE CANNOT DEFEND ON THE MERITS BY
PUBLICLY DISCLOSING THE EXISTENCE OF A STATE SECRET IN ORDER TO
PREVAIL IN THE CASE BECAUSE THAT, OF COURSE, WOULD BE -- WOULD
RESULT IN THE VERY HARM THAT WE'RE SEEKING TO PREVENT TO
NATIONAL SECURITY AND WHICH THE PRIVILEGE REQUIRES BE
PREVENTED, SO I THINK --

THE COURT: WOULD THAT HAVE REQUIRED A PUBLIC DISCLOSURE?

MR. COPPOLINO: I THINK -- WELL, I THINK, WHAT COULD HAPPEN, WHAT SHOULD HAPPEN, IS THAT THE COURT SHOULD LOOK AT --

THE COURT: ISN'T THE ANSWER TO THAT NO?

MR. COPPOLINO: THAT DEPENDS. HERE'S THE ANSWER TO
THE QUESTION. YOU COULD LOOK AT THE STATE SECRET PRIVILEGE
ASSERTION AS THE NINTH CIRCUIT AND FIND THE DNI ESTABLISHED ITS
BURDEN, REASONABLE HARM TO NATIONAL SECURITY WOULD RESULT AND,
THEREFORE, THE CASE SHOULD BE DISMISSED FOR THAT REASON.

I CAN -- YOU DON'T HAVE TO SAY WHY THE CASE IS

DISMISSED. UPON REVIEW OF THE STATE SECRETS PRIVILEGE, IN THE

COURT'S MIND IT COULD BE THERE WAS A FISA WARRANT, IN THE

COURT'S MIND THERE COULD ALSO BE OTHER HARM TO NATIONAL

SECURITY IF INFORMATION UNDERLYING THESE ALLEGATIONS IS DISCLOSED.

SO, YEAH, YOU DON'T HAVE TO IDENTIFY THE BASIS FOR THE PRIVILEGE ASSERTION, BUT NEITHER CAN I, IN ARGUING THIS CASE ON THE PUBLIC RECORD, INDICATE THAT WE HAVE A DEAD BANG DEFENSE FISA WARRANT BECAUSE THAT WOULD, OBVIOUSLY, DISCLOSE INFORMATION WE HAVE SUCCESSFULLY PROTECTED PURSUANT TO THE PRIVILEGE ASSERTION.

YOUR HONOR, I'LL GO IN WHATEVER DIRECTION YOU WANT
WITH THIS, BUT I THINK YOU CAN TELL FROM OUR PAPERS, FIRST OF
ALL, WE THINK THAT THE NINTH CIRCUIT'S DECISION GOVERNS AND
THAT WE REALLY CANNOT WALK BACK FROM THAT BECAUSE IT'S SO VITAL
TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY INTEREST, NOT ONLY IN THIS CASE BUT IN
ANY OTHER CASE.

HAVING TAKEN THE PRIVILEGED INFORMATION AND SEALED

DOCUMENT OUT OF THESE MOTIONS THESE PLAINTIFFS ARE EFFECTIVELY,
IN A SITUATION THAT ANY PLAINTIFF WHO COMES INTO COURT AND SAYS
I'M A PERSON OF INTEREST, PERHAPS, ANOTHER DESIGNATED TERRORIST
ORGANIZATION OR AN ENTITY THAT MAY WELL HAVE BEEN UNDER
INVESTIGATION FOR ALLEGED LINKS TO TERRORISM, AND SAYS I KNOW
I'M OF INTEREST TO THE GOVERNMENT REGARDING TERRORISM, I KNOW
THE GOVERNMENT SURVEILS PEOPLE, I KNOW THE GOVERNMENT, PERHAPS,
UNDERTOOK SURVEILLANCE IN MY INVESTIGATION AT A CERTAIN TIME,
BUT I DON'T KNOW IF IT WAS OF ME, AND I DON'T KNOW IF IT WAS
ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE, I DON'T KNOW IF IT WAS WARRANTLESS

SURVEILLANCE OR UNDER THE FISA, I ESTABLISHED ENOUGH OF A PRIMA

FACIE CASE, SO I'M GOING TO MOVE FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT IN

FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT, THEN THE BURDEN SHIFTS TO THE

GOVERNMENT TO EITHER DISPROVE MY ALLEGATIONS WITH CLASSIFIED

EVIDENCE OR LOSE.

THAT'S NOT THE LAW AND IF IT WERE THE LAW IT WOULD EVISCERATE THE GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO PROTECT INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS BECAUSE THIS SCENARIO COULD EASILY BE REPLICATED.

SO BEYOND THAT YOU, AS I INDICATED A MOMENT AGO, I

DON'T BELIEVE THAT WE'RE PROCEEDING UNDER FISA'S SECTION 1806F

AT THE MOMENT.

SO WE ARE ESSENTIALLY BACK TO WHERE THE CASE WAS
BEFORE THE NINTH CIRCUIT AND I THINK DISMISSAL IS REQUIRED.
BUT IF YOU GO FORWARD AND LOOK AT THIS PUBLIC EVIDENCE AND TRY
TO EVALUATE WHETHER IT ESTABLISHES ARTICLE III STANDING, I
THINK, IT CLEARLY DOES NOT.

AND WE'VE GONE THROUGH IT LINE BY LINE, INCLUDING JUST THIS MORNING'S AL-HARAMAIN MEMO. BUT BEYOND THAT, I THINK, YOU KNOW, YOU'RE VERY FAMILIAR WITH THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF ARTICLE III STANDING, IT CANNOT BE BASED ON SPECULATION AND CONJECTURE, AND I THINK THE PLAINTIFFS ESSENTIALLY CONCEDE THEY HAVEN'T ACTUALLY PROVED THEIR STANDING.

THEY'RE RELYING ON A PROCEDURAL MECHANISM TO PUT THE BURDEN ON US. THEY UNDERSTAND, AND MR. EISENBERG IN TALKING

THIS MORNING HE SAID APPARENTLY THIS MEANS THIS, AND IT HAD TO BE THAT, AND WHY ON EARTH WOULDN'T IT BE THAT.

OBVIOUSLY, HE DOESN'T KNOW THE ACTUAL FACTS AND WHAT HE'S TRYING TO DO IS TO PUT THE BURDEN ON US TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT TO SOMEHOW PREVAIL ON SUMMARY JUDGMENT. THAT'S NOT HOW THE PRIVILEGE WORKS.

I THINK UNDER THE LAW OF ARTICLE III STANDING THEY
HAVE THE BURDEN. IF THEY CAN'T ESTABLISH THE BURDEN, AND I
CONCEDE THEY CAN'T ESTABLISH THEIR BURDEN BECAUSE IT IS
INFORMATION UNIQUELY HELD BY THE GOVERNMENT AND PROPERLY
PROTECTED AND HAS BEEN PROPERLY PROTECTED IN THE CASE, THE CASE
WOULD HAVE TO BE DISMISSED.

MR. EISENBERG WAS ACTUALLY RIGHT IN HIS ORAL ARGUMENT IN 2007. HE SAID IF HE DOESN'T HAVE PRIVILEGED INFORMATION I CAN'T ESTABLISH MY STANDING, I DON'T THINK IT WAS A BAD DAY, I THINK, HE WAS BEING HONEST.

HE WAS ALSO CORRECT ABOUT THAT BECAUSE ULTIMATELY TO PROVE WHETHER OR NOT SOMEONE IS SUBJECT TO SURVEILLANCE HAS TO COME DOWN TO A CONFIRMATION OR DENIAL BY THE GOVERNMENT. THEY ARE THE ONES THAT POSSESS THAT EVIDENCE AND WE HAVE VALID REASONS FOR PROTECTING THAT WHICH HAVE BEEN RECOGNIZED IN THE CASE.

AND SO ABSENT FISA PROCEEDINGS, WHICH WE ARE CERTAINLY NOT INVITING, WE OBJECTED TO THOSE AND HAVE CONCERNS ABOUT THOSE. AS MR. EISENBERG NOTED, ABSENT THAT, I THINK, YOUR BACK

TO ESSENTIALLY WHERE THE NINTH CIRCUIT BROUGHT US, EVEN IF YOU CONSIDER THEIR PUBLIC EVIDENCE.

SO I ADDRESSED THAT POINT, I ADDRESSED WHETHER THE BURDEN SHIFTS, IF YOU'D LIKE I CAN DISCUSS SOME OF THE SUFFICIENCY OF THEIR EVIDENCE, BUT I THINK I LAID THAT WELL OUT. I THINK, IF YOU LOOK AT ALL OF IT IT COMES DOWN TO SIMPLY AN ARGUMENT BECAUSE THE TERRORIST SURVEILLANCE PROGRAM EXISTED AND TARGETED AL-QAEDA, AL-HARAMAIN WAS DESIGNATED ASSOCIATED WITH AL-QAEDA, AND BECAUSE PLAINTIFFS HAD A PHONE CALL THAT MENTIONED BIN LADEN ASSOCIATE, THEN LATER THE SEPTEMBER 2004 DESIGNATION REFERRED TO LINKS WITH BIN LADEN.

THAT SOMEHOW THESE PLAINTIFFS WERE NOT ONLY SUBJECT TO SURVEILLANCE, BUT ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE UNDER THE DEFINITION OF THE FISA STATE SECRETS PRIVILEGE, WARRANTLESS SURVEILLANCE, THAT SIMPLY DOESN'T HOLD.

THE COURT: MR. EISENBERG AND HIS COLLEAGUE HAVE
RECEIVED SECURITY CLEARANCES, WHAT IS THE GOVERNMENT'S
OBJECTION TO DISCLOSURE FOR PURPOSES OF THIS LITIGATION AND
PRESUMABLY ANY LITIGATION OF A SEALED DOCUMENT AND ANY OTHER
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION?

MR. COPPOLINO: WELL, YOUR HONOR, YOU KNOW, WE HAD A LONG BACK AND FORTH ABOUT THAT EARLIER IN THE YEAR.

THE COURT: YES, WE DID.

MR. COPPOLINO: THERE IS NO MORE DIRECT ABROGATION OF THE STATE SECRETS PRIVILEGE THAN TO PROVIDE THE VERY

INFORMATION SUBJECT TO THE PRIVILEGE TO COUNSEL FOR THE PARTY THAT IS SEEKING IT.

OUR VIEW, WHICH WE SET FORTH IN OUR PRIOR PAPERS, IS
THAT THERE IS NO NEED TO KNOW, WHERE YOU'RE SEEKING TO SERVE
YOUR PRIVATE INTEREST AS A LITIGANT. OTHERWISE IN ANY CASE
INVOLVING NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION THAT THE GOVERNMENT
SEEKS TO PROTECT, A LITIGANT COMES IN AND SAYS I WANT TO FIND
OUT WHAT YOU'VE DONE TO ME, WHETHER IT WAS LAWFUL, AND I HAVE A
NEED TO KNOW.

THE COURT: YOU HAVE TO CONCEDE THAT MR. EISENBERG HAS DONE A LOT MORE THAN SIMPLY SAY I WANT THIS INFORMATION. HE HAS PRESENTED A SUBSTANTIAL ARRAY OF EVIDENCE, PUBLIC EVIDENCE THAT APPEARS TO INDICATE THAT HIS CLIENT WAS, INDEED, THE SUBJECT OF SURVEILLANCE, AND ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE.

MR. COPPOLINO: BUT I QUESTION, FIRST OF ALL, I QUESTION THE SUFFICIENCY OF THEIR EVIDENCE.

BUT, SECONDLY, THERE IS NO LAW THAT I AM AWARE OF IN
THIS AREA WHICH SAYS THAT A PARTY IS ENTITLED TO THE ULTIMATE
FACTS AT ISSUE IN A STATES SECRET PRIVILEGE IN ORDER TO PROVE
OR DISPROVE THEY HAVE STANDING OR WHETHER THEY HAVE A CLAIM ON
THE MERITS. AND SO --

THE COURT: WE'RE NOT DEALING WITH STATE SECRETS

PRIVILEGE FOR PURPOSE OF THIS PROCEEDING, AT LEAST, AS FAR AS

ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE IS CONCERNED, THIS IS ALL UNDER FISA.

MR. COPPOLINO: WELL, IF -- LET'S TALK A LITTLE BIT

WHETHER WE SHOULD REVERT BACK TO FISA AND THEN I WOULD JUST REITERATE ARGUMENTS WE HAVE MADE PREVIOUSLY.

FIRST OF ALL, WE DO NOT BELIEVE FISA PREEMPTS THE PRIVILEGE, WE HAVE A DISAGREEMENT ON THAT.

SECONDLY, AND MORE IMPORTANTLY, THERE ARE TWO, AT LEAST, TWO ALTERNATIVES IN WHICH YOU CAN PROCEED UNDER FISA ITSELF. EITHER ONE, IN OUR VIEW, EITHER RISKS OR REQUIRES DISCLOSURE OF THE VERY PRIVILEGED INFORMATION AS YOU OBSERVED IN YOUR COLLOQUY WITH MR. EISENBERG.

HOW COULD YOU RULE ON THE ISSUE OF STANDING BASED ON CLASSIFIED INFORMATION WITHOUT ULTIMATELY DISCLOSING, EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY TO THEM OR ON THE PUBLIC RECORD WHAT THE FACTS ARE IN THIS CASE.

BECAUSE, FIRST OF ALL, IF YOU DISCLOSE IT TO THEM THAT

IS DIRECT DISCLOSURE. IT'S ONE TO WHICH THE GOVERNMENT WOULD

OBJECT AND, I THINK, ONE TO WHICH WE HAVE AN APPELLATE RIGHT.

BUT, SECONDLY, EVEN IF YOU WERE TO PROCEED EX PARTE OR
ATTEMPT PROCEED EX PARTE, THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE IN THE CASE
CONCERNS THE EXISTENCE OF JURISDICTION, THE EXISTENCE OF
STANDING, THE EXISTENCE OF AN ALLEGED ACTIVITY IN THIS CASE,
ALLEGED SURVEILLANCE OF THE PLAINTIFFS.

NOW, IF YOU GO FORWARD EVEN EX PARTE THE MERE EXERCISE OF JURISDICTION WOULD INDICATE YOU HAVE FOUND FACTS SUBJECT TO THE PRIVILEGE ASSERTION.

IF YOU WERE TO REACH A JUDGMENT ON THE MERITS THAT

WOULD INDICATE THAT, IT COULD EVEN BE A JUDGMENT FOR THE GOVERNMENT, IT WOULD INDICATE YOU FOUND THERE WAS JURISDICTION.

IF YOU FOUND THAT THE MERITS OF THE CLAIM COULD BE REACHED AND THAT ALONE, EVEN IF YOU DON'T DISCUSS THE DETAILS, WOULD REVEAL THE EXISTENCE OF INFORMATION SUBJECT TO PRIVILEGE.

IF YOU RULED FOR THE GOVERNMENT HOW DOES THAT, HOW DOES THE PLAINTIFF KNOW THE BASIS OF THAT RULING AND APPEAL?

MY VIEW IS YOU CAN'T HIDE LITIGATION BEHIND THE VEIL
OF EX PARTE REVIEW, WHERE THE BASIC FUNDAMENTAL FACTS AS TO
WHETHER OR NOT THE CASE COULD EVEN PROCEED ARE ITSELF SUBJECT
TO THE PRIVILEGE ASSERTION.

AS THE NINTH CIRCUIT INDICATED, AS THE SIXTH CIRCUIT INDICATED IN <u>ACLU</u>, IF YOU CANNOT ESTABLISH WHETHER YOU HAVE STANDING WITHOUT THE DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN WOULD HARM NATIONAL SECURITY, HOW DOES A CASE PROCEED?

SO AS A RESULT OUR VIEW IS THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO PROCEED UNDER 1806F IS INHERENTLY RISKY AND IN OUR VIEW WOULD DIRECTLY VIOLATE 1806F, IF YOU WERE TO GIVE THEM THE INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROCEED.

WHAT WE HAVE ARGUED ALL ALONG IS THAT YOU SHOULD

CERTIFY THAT QUESTION BECAUSE IF YOU ARE WRONG ABOUT THE 1806F

ISSUE THE CASE WOULD BE OVER AND THERE WOULD BE NO FURTHER

PROCEEDINGS, THERE WOULD BE NO BASIS TO ESTABLISH STANDING, IT

WOULD BE DISMISSED JUST AS THE NINTH CIRCUIT HAD SAID.

SO I DON'T THINK REVERTING BACK IS THE PROPER COURSE,
FOR THOSE REASONS, I THINK, THE BETTER COURSE, IF YOU WERE
INCLINED TO, WOULD BE TO CERTIFY IT BECAUSE THEN WE WOULD GET A
RULING DIRECTLY ON THE ISSUE.

I CERTAINLY DON'T THINK IT WOULD BE PROPER FOR YOU TO RULE IN THE ALTERNATIVE ON WHETHER THEY HAVE STANDING BASED ON CLASSIFIED EVIDENCE. THAT IS EFFECTIVELY ASKING YOU AS THE DISTRICT JUDGE TO DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY REVEAL INFORMATION THAT'S BEEN SUBJECT TO A SUCCESSFUL PRIVILEGE ASSERTION PRIOR TO APPELLATE REVIEW.

THAT IS THE KEY ON THAT BECAUSE AS YOU SUGGESTED, AND
I THINK YOU ARE QUITE KEENLY AWARE OF THIS ISSUE, IF YOU'RE NOT
CORRECT ON THE FISA PREEMPTIONN ISSUE, THEN PROCEEDING IN ANY
WAY WHICH ABROGATES THE PRIVILEGE IN A LIMITED WAY -- BY
DISCLOSURE TO THE PLAINTIFFS, OR IN A BROADER WAY BY RULING
THAT THERE IS JURISDICTION, OR, IN FACT, THAT THERE ISN'T
JURISDICTION BECAUSE WE HAVE, IN FACT, ARGUED YOU CAN'T CONFIRM
OR DENY THE EXISTENCE OF STANDING IS NOT SOMETHING THAT
DISTRICT COURT OUGHT TO DO AND WOULD WANT TO BE IN A POSITION
OF DOING BEFORE ANY APPELLATE REVIEW.

SO, YOUR HONOR, I THINK, I HAVE ADDRESSED THE CRUX OF THE ISSUES THAT MR. EISENBERG HAS RAISED. NOW, I UNDERSTAND THAT HE WANTS TO REACH THE MERITS OF THIS CASE, BUT WE HAVE SET FORTH, I THINK, NUMEROUS REASONS, AND RECOGNIZING THE COURT DISAGREES WITH SOME OF THESE REASONS, BUT NUMEROUS REASONS WHY

WE THINK THAT IS SIMPLY INAPPROPRIATE AND WOULD LEAD TO AN ADVISORY OPINION. AND AS A RESULT WE URGE THE COURT NOT TO GO DOWN THAT ROAD.

YOU KNOW, JUDGE TAYLOR IN MICHIGAN WHO I ADMIRE

GREATLY, I LITIGATED THAT CASE BEFORE HER IN DISTRICT COURT,

SHE OPTED TO GO THAT ROUTE AND YOU SAW WHAT HAPPENED. IT WAS

REVERSED FOR LACK OF STANDING, CERT WAS DENIED, AND I THINK

QUITE PROPERLY SO, BECAUSE THERE AS HERE IF YOU CANNOT

ULTIMATELY ESTABLISH STANDING, YOU REALLY HAVE NO BUSINESS

REACHING THE MERITS.

THE FISA PREEMPTION ISSUE IS ANOTHER THRESHOLD PROBLEM
THAT WOULD FORECLOSE THE COURT FROM REACHING THE MERITS. WE
DON'T THINK THEIR EVIDENCE ESTABLISHES A RIGHT TO HAVE THE
MERITS REVIEWED ON ITS OWN.

WE DON'T THINK THE BURDEN SHIFTS TO US OR THAT AS A RESULT OF SOME PROCEDURAL CONCLUSION THAT BECAUSE WE HAVEN'T REBUTTED THEIR EVIDENCE ON STATE SECRET GROUND, THEY GET TO HAVE THE MERITS ADJUDICATION.

YOU KNOW, I WOULD ADD A COUPLE OF OLD ARGUMENTS IN THERE THAT WE RAISED A YEAR AGO, WHICH WAS THAT TERRORIST SURVEILLANCE PROGRAM HAS LAPSED, IT'S DONE, IT'S BEEN SUPPLANTED BY FISA ACT AMENDMENTS OF 2008, AS A RESULT THEY COULDN'T POSSIBLY ESTABLISH STANDING FOR PROSPECTIVE PERSPECTIVE RELIEF AT THIS POINT.

OUR VIEW, AGAIN, THERE IS NO BASIS FOR DAMAGES UNDER

1	SECTION 1810, WHICH WE DON'T THINK WAIVED SOVEREIGN IMMUNITY.				
2	IF WE'RE RIGHT ON THAT ONE ISSUE ON SECTION 1810, THE CASE IS				
3	OVER.				
4	SO IN THE FACE OF ALL THIS ARRAY OF JURISDICTIONAL				
5	ISSUE AND PROBLEMS AND THRESHOLD JUDICIBILITY PROBLEMS, I DON'T				
6	THINK IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE COURT TO REACH THE MERITS				
7	OF THE CASE.				
8	UNLESS THE COURT HAS FURTHER QUESTIONS, I THINK, I				
9	ADDRESSED ALL OF THE ISSUES THAT YOU RAISED AND THAT				
10	MR. EISENBERG RAISED.				
11	THE COURT: VERY WELL. THANK YOU, MR. COPPOLINO.				
12	VERY, VERY BRIEFLY, MR. EISENBERG, REBUTTAL.				
13	MR. EISENBERG: YES, YOUR HONOR. JUST A FEW MINUTES.				
14	YOUR INDULGENCE.				
15	THE COURT: I ASSUME, MR. STINSON HAS NOTHING TO				
16	OFFER?				
17	MR. COPPOLINO: NO, HE'S JUST MY AGENCY COUNSEL. NOT				
18	JUST, BUT HE'S NOT GOING TO BE MAKING ARGUMENT.				
19	THE COURT: ALL RIGHT.				
20	MR. EISENBERG: I SUPPOSE, I COULD BE DISINGENUOUS AND				
21	SAY I CAN'T UNDERSTAND WHY THEY WON'T ADDRESS THE MERITS. THEY				
22	DID IN THEIR WHITE PAPER, THERE'S NO FACTUAL ISSUES.				
23	YEAH, I COULD BE DISINGENUOUS. I WON'T BE. WE KNOW				
2.4	WHY THEY WON'T ADDRESS THE MERITS.				

THE COURT: WHAT'S THE FUN OF EVER BEING A LAWYER IF

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YOU CAN'T BE DISINGENUOUS ONCE IN A WHILE.

2 MR. EISENBERG: I DO TRY TO AVOID IT, YOUR HONOR, I
3 TAKE THIS LITIGATION VERY SERIOUSLY.

THE COURT: IT IS SERIOUS, ALL KIDDING ASIDE. THE ISSUES HERE ARE QUITE SERIOUS AND I APPRECIATE THE VERY ABLE GUIDANCE OF COUNSEL ON BOTH SIDES.

MR. EISENBERG: THANK YOU, YOUR HONOR. WE KNOW WHY
THEY WON'T ADDRESS THE MERITS BECAUSE THERE'S NOTHING THEY CAN
SAY TO JUSTIFY THIS PROGRAM.

BRIEFLY, MR. COPPOLINO REFERRED TO THE NINTH CIRCUIT'S DECISION ASSERTING ITS MANDATE FORECLOSES THESE PROCEEDINGS.

LET ME READ A QUOTATION FROM THE NINTH CIRCUIT'S DECISION, 507

FED 3D AT 1204.

"LITIGATION CAN PROCEED IF PLAINTIFFS CAN PROVE THE ESSENTIAL FACTS OF THEIR CLAIM WITHOUT RESORT TO MATERIAL TOUCHING UPON MILITARY SECRETS."

THAT'S OUR CASE. THAT'S THE SPIRIT OF THE NINTH CIRCUIT'S MANDATE, HOW WE'RE PROCEEDING NOW.

MR. COPPOLINO ARGUES THAT, WELL, THE SHIFTING OF THE BURDEN OF PROOF THAT'S BEEN -- SOME HUNDRED PLUS YEARS DOESN'T APPLY TO STATE SECRETS CASES, THAT DOESN'T HAPPEN IN STATE SECRETS CASES, THERE'S NO CASE THAT SAYS THAT CERTAINLY.

BUT I WOULD ALSO SAY THIS. FISA PREEMPTION AND THE APPLICATION OF 1806F IS THE VEHICLE FOR THEM TO SUSTAIN THEIR SHIFTED BURDEN OF PROOF. IT'S THERE, THEY CAN DO IT.

UNDER SECURE CONDITIONS. MR. COPPOLINO ARGUES WE HAVE
TO TAKE THIS HARD LINE POSITION, WE, THE GOVERNMENT, BECAUSE
INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS ARE AT RISK OF PUBLIC
DISCLOSURE HERE.

THAT'S NONSENSE. UNDER 1806F THE DOCUMENT CAN BE REDACTED TO PREVENT SUCH DISCLOSURE, AND BESIDES THE DOCUMENT'S NOT EVEN AN ISSUE IN THIS CASE RIGHT NOW, ALL WE'RE ASKING FOR IS ADJUDICATION OF THE FACT OF OUR CLIENTS' WARRANTLESS ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE.

I HAVE NO INTEREST WHATSOEVER IN THIS COURT OR ANY OF
THE ATTORNEYS IN THIS CASE REVEALING TO THE PUBLIC INTELLIGENCE
SOURCES AND METHODS. AND THIS CASE CAN BE LITIGATED UNDER
1806F IN A MANNER THAT DOES EXACTLY WHAT MR. COPPOLINO WANTS TO
DO, HE WANTS TO PROTECT THAT INFORMATION.

IT CAN BE DONE. HE SAYS HE CANNOT DISCLOSE ANY DEAD BANG DEFENSE THAT HE HAS LIKE THE EXISTENCE OF A FISA WARRANT, BUT OF COURSE HE CAN UNDER THE PROTECTIONS OF 1806F.

MR. COPPOLINO SAID, WELL, IF THEY CAN PROCEED IN THIS
CASE THEN ANYBODY CAN DO IT. THIS IS A QUOTE FROM
MR. COPPOLINO. "THIS SCENARIO COULD EASILY BE REPLICATED."
UNOUOTE.

WELL, HE CAN'T BE SERIOUS. THERE WILL NEVER BE

ANOTHER CASE LIKE THIS ONE, I ASSURE YOU, WITH THE GAFFS AND

PUBLIC ADMISSIONS IN THIS CASE. THIS CASE IS UNIQUE, IT WILL

NOT BE REPLICATED AGAIN, AND FOR US TO GO FORWARD UPON A

SHOWING OF STANDING TO LITIGATE THE MERITS WILL NOT OPEN THE FLOODGATES.

FINALLY, THE REFERENCE TO THEY'RE ONLY SEEKING TO
PROMOTE THEIR PRIVATE INTERESTS, AS MR. COPPOLINO PUT IT. THAT
IS NOT TRUE, WE ARE NOT SEEKING TO PROMOTE OUR PRIVATE
INTERESTS IN THIS CASE, WE ARE SEEKING TO CHALLENGE THE
LEGALITY OF A PROGRAM OF SURVEILLANCE THAT GOES TO THE HEART OF
THE CONSTITUTIONAL SEPARATION OF POWERS.

AND WE ARE SEEKING TO VINDICATE WHAT JUSTICE ROBERTS

SAID IN 1952 AND THAT I THOUGHT I LEARNED WAS THE LAW WHEN I

WENT TO LAW SCHOOL AT HASTINGS DOWN THE STREET, THAT THE

CONSTITUTION SETS FORTH A DELICATE AND CAREFULLY CRAFTED

BALANCE OF POWERS THAT SHOULD NOT BE UPENDED.

THAT'S WHY WE FILED THIS LITIGATION, NOT OUT OF OUR OWN PRIVATE INTEREST, BUT TO VINDICATE THE CONSTITUTIONAL SEPARATION OF POWERS.

THE COURT: REFERRING TO JUSTICE JACKSON.

MR. EISENBERG: ROBERT, ROBERT JACKSON. THREE PART TEST.

THE COURT: I THOUGHT YOU SAID JUSTICE ROBERTS.

MR. EISENBERG: I PROBABLY DID. I'VE BEEN MAKING THAT
MISTAKE A LOT LATELY. I APOLOGIZE. YES, THANK YOU, JUSTICE
JACKSON, NOT ROBERTS. ALTHOUGH, I WOULD LIKE VERY MUCH FOR
JUSTICE ROBERTS, TO SAY IT, TOO, SOMEWHERE DOWN THE LINE.

MR. COPPOLINO: JUDGE WALKER, I JUST WANTED TO ADDRESS

PROCEDURAL TYPE ARGUMENT. YOUR JUNE 5TH ORDER, AS I READ IT,
EFFECTIVELY FORECLOSES US FROM SUBMITTING ANYTHING TO YOU EX
PARTE, IN CAMERA OR OTHERWISE IT WOULD TRIGGER A PROTECTIVE
ORDER UNDER WHICH THE PLAINTIFFS WOULD OBTAIN ACCESS AND
THAT'S, OBVIOUSLY, SOMETHING THAT WE CANNOT AGREE TO AND DO NOT
AGREE TO.

AND IN GENERAL THE PROBLEM WITH THAT IS THAT IF WE WANT TO PROVIDE THIS COURT INFORMATION, ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ABOUT ANY OF THE ALLEGATIONS IN THIS CASE, WE ARE INHIBITED FROM DOING SO, EVEN IF WE WOULD LIKE THE COURT TO BE AWARE OF IT AND TO REVIEW IT.

I WOULD NOTE AS A PRACTICAL EXAMPLE, THEY RAISED AN ISSUE REGARDING AN INACCURACY THAT HAD BEEN SUBMITTED IN A PRIOR SUBMISSION EARLIER IN THE CASE. AS YOU MAY RECALL IN FEBRUARY I SUBMITTED SEVERAL DECLARATIONS ON THAT ISSUE. THE DNI IN OUR REPLY BRIEF ADDRESSED THE ISSUE, BUT ONLY IN AN UNCLASSIFIED DECLARATION.

AND WE WOULD LIKE TO, AT LEAST, HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY

TO PRESENT ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THAT, BUT WE CANNOT AGREE

TO DO THAT UNLESS THEY WERE SUBMITTED FOR EX PARTE REVIEW,

WHICH I ASK THE COURT TO CONSIDER. AND WHICH I WOULD ALSO JUST

POINT OUT, I WANT THE COURT TO BE AWARE THIS, IS INFORMATION

THAT WE THINK WE MAY ADVISE THE COURT OF APPEALS OF AS WELL.

SO WE WOULD NOT WANT TO HAVE THE SITUATION WHERE YOU WERE NOT AWARE OF INFORMATION THAT THEY MIGHT BE AWARE OF. SO

I WOULD JUST ASK THE COURT TO RECONSIDER THAT.

I DON'T THINK THIS IS -- WE'RE NOT GOING TO BE
SUBMITTING TO ANYTHING TO WIN ON THE MERITS, WE'RE NOT
SUBMITTING IT TO WIN BASED ON THE STATE SECRETS PRIVILEGE
ASSERTION, BUT TO ADDRESS THIS ISSUE, AND I WOULD ASK THE COURT
TO CONSIDER THAT BECAUSE WE CANNOT SUBMIT IT JUST TO YOU,
THAT'S THE PROBLEM FOR US.

THE COURT: WHAT'S YOUR POSITION, MR. EISENBERG, ON THIS?

MR. EISENBERG: YOUR HONOR, THE QUESTION WHETHER OR NOT THERE'S BEEN A MISREPRESENTATION, I DON'T KNOW WHAT INACCURACY MEANS. IT SOUNDS TO ME A BIT LIKE MISREPRESENTATION.

JUSTICE LAMBERTH FORMER JUSTICE WITH THE FISA COURT SITTING IN D.C. DISTRICT COURT RULED RECENTLY IN HORN VERSUS

HUDDLE THAT'S A BASIS FOR DECLINING TO GIVE A HIGH DEGREE OF DEFERENCE TO THE GOVERNMENT'S ASSERTION OF THE STATE SECRETS PRIVILEGE, IF THE GOVERNMENT HAS ASSERTED A MISREPRESENTATION TO THE COURT.

WE DON'T KNOW WHAT THE INACCURACY IS, WE HAVEN'T SEEN THESE CLASSIFIED DECLARATIONS. IF MR. COPPOLINO WISHES TO LITIGATE THE POINT, WE WOULD LIKE THE OPPORTUNITY TO LITIGATE IT AS WELL.

AGAIN, IT'S NOT FAIR AS A MATTER OF DUE PROCESS TO REQUIRE US TO LITIGATE BLIND. ON OCCASION WE MAY CHOSE TO DO

SO BECAUSE WE FEEL CONFIDENT WE'LL BE OKAY. IN THIS SITUATION

I DON'T FEEL ANY SUCH CONFIDENCE AT ALL.

I DO NOT FEEL IT WOULD BE FAIR TO US, FOR THIS COURT
TO DETERMINE WHETHER THERE'S BEEN A MISREPRESENTATION TO THE
COURT, WITHOUT US BEING PRIVY TO THE CLASSIFIED INFORMATION
THAT THEY SUBMIT TO YOU TO TRY TO CONVINCE YOU THERE'S BEEN NO
MISREPRESENTATION.

MR. GOLDBERG AND I HAVE TOP SECRET SCI SECURITY

CLEARANCE. I ASSURE YOU, NOT JUST THE FBI BELIEVES WE CAN BE

TRUSTED, WE OURSELVES BELIEVE WE CAN BE TRUSTED WITH THIS

INFORMATION.

IT WOULD BE FAIR TO US, FOR THIS COURT TO MAKE SUCH AN IMPORTANT DETERMINATION, HAS THE GOVERNMENT PERPETRATED A FRAUD ON THIS COURT, A MISREPRESENTATION THAT AMOUNTS TO A FORFEITURE OF THE STATE SECRETS PRIVILEGE.

I DO NOT THINK IT WOULD BE FAIR FOR US, FOR THIS COURT TO LITIGATE THIS QUESTION WITHOUT OUR INFORMED INVOLVEMENT.

THE COURT: VERY WELL. I'LL TAKE THAT MATTER UNDER CONSIDERATION AND I APPRECIATE COUNSEL DRAWING THAT TO MY ATTENTION.

I MUST SAY, I NOTED THE SUBJECT THAT MR. COPPOLINO RAISED, I APPRECIATE HIM DRAWING ATTENTION TO THAT IN ARGUMENT.

ALL RIGHT, COUNSEL, THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR VERY ABLE AND HELPFUL ARGUMENTS.

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## CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER

I, THE UNDERSIGNED, HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THE FOREGOING PROCEEDINGS WERE REPORTED BY ME, A CERTIFIED SHORTHAND REPORTER, AND WERE THEREAFTER TRANSCRIBED UNDER MY DIRECTION INTO TYPEWRITING; THAT THE FOREGOING IS A FULL, COMPLETE AND TRUE RECORD OF SAID PROCEEDINGS.

I FURTHER CERTIFY THAT I AM NOT OF COUNSEL OR ATTORNEY
FOR EITHER OR ANY OF THE PARTIES IN THE FOREGOING PROCEEDINGS
AND CAPTION NAMED, OR IN ANY WAY INTERESTED IN THE OUTCOME OF
THE CAUSE NAMED IN SAID CAPTION.

THE FEE CHARGED AND THE PAGE FORMAT FOR THE TRANSCRIPT CONFORM TO THE REGULATIONS OF THE JUDICIAL CONFERENCE.

FURTHERMORE, I CERTIFY THE INVOICE DOES NOT CONTAIN

CHARGES FOR THE SALARIED COURT REPORTER'S CERTIFICATION PAGE.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I HAVE HEREUNTO SET MY HAND THIS 30TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 2009.

/S/	JAMES	YEOMANS	

JAMES YEOMANS, CSR, RPR