June 19, 2008

The Honorable Nancy Pelosi
Speaker
United States House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20511

Dear Madam Speaker:

This letter presents the views of the Administration on the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 ("FISA") Amendments Act of 2008 (H.R. 6304). The bill would modernize FISA to reflect changes in communications technology since the Act was first passed 30 years ago. The amendments would provide the Intelligence Community with the tools it needs to collect the foreign intelligence necessary to secure our Nation while protecting the civil liberties of Americans. The bill would also provide the necessary legal protections for those companies sued because they are believed to have helped the Government prevent terrorist attacks in the aftermath of September 11. Because this bill accomplishes these two goals essential to any effort to modernize FISA, we strongly support passage of this bill and will recommend that the President sign it.

Last August, Congress took an important step toward modernizing FISA by enacting the Protect America Act of 2007. That Act allowed us temporarily to close intelligence gaps by enabling our intelligence professionals to collect, without having to first obtain a court order, foreign intelligence information from targets overseas. The Act has enabled us to gather significant intelligence critical to protecting our Nation. It has also been implemented in a responsible way, subject to extensive executive, congressional, and judicial oversight in order to protect the country in a manner consistent with safeguarding Americans' civil liberties. Since passage of the Act, the Administration has worked closely with Congress to address the need for long-term FISA modernization. This joint effort has involved compromises on both sides, but we believe that it has resulted in a strong bill that will place the Nation's foreign intelligence effort in this area on a firm, long-term foundation. Below, we have set forth our views on certain important provisions of H.R. 6304.

I. Title I—Foreign Intelligence Surveillance

Title I of H.R. 6304 contains key authorities that would ensure that our intelligence agencies have the tools they need to collect vital foreign intelligence information and would provide significant safeguards for the civil liberties of Americans.

Court Approval. With respect to authorizations for foreign intelligence surveillance directed at foreign targets outside the United States, the bill provides that the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (FISC) would review certifications made by the Attorney General and the Director of National Intelligence relating to these acquisitions, the reasonableness of the procedures used by the Intelligence Community to ensure the targets are overseas, and the minimization procedures used to protect the privacy of

Americans. The scope of the FISC's review is carefully and rightly crafted to focus on aspects of the acquisition that may affect the privacy rights of Americans so as not to confer quasi-constitutional rights on foreign terrorists and other foreign intelligence targets outside the United States.

We have been clear that any satisfactory bill could not require individual court orders to target non-United States persons outside the United States, nor could a bill establish a court-approval mechanism that would cause the Intelligence Community to lose valuable foreign intelligence while awaiting such approval. H.R. 6304 would do neither and would retain for the Intelligence Community the speed and agility that it needs to protect the Nation. The bill would establish a schedule for court approval of certifications and procedures relating to renewals of existing acquisition authority. A critical feature of the H.R. 6304 would allow existing acquisitions, which were the subject of court review under the Protect America Act or will be the subject of such review under the H.R. 6304, to continue pending court review. With respect to new acquisitions, absent exigent circumstances, Court review of new procedures and certifications would take place before the Government begins the acquisition. The exigent circumstances exception is critical to allowing the Intelligence Community to respond swiftly to changing circumstances when the Attorney General and the Director of National Intelligence determine that intelligence may be lost or not timely acquired. Such exigent circumstances could arise in certain situations where an unexpected gap has opened in our intelligence collection efforts. Taken together, these provisions would enable the Intelligence Community to keep closed the intelligence gaps that existed before the passage of the Protect America Act and ensure that it will have the opportunity to collect critical foreign intelligence information in the future.

Exclusive means. H.R. 6304 contains an exclusive means provision that goes beyond the exclusive means provision that was passed as part of FISA. As we have previously stated, we believe that the provision will complicate the ability of Congress to pass, in an emergency situation, a law to authorize immediate collection of communications in the aftermath of an attack or in response to a grave threat to the national security. Unlike other versions of this provision, however, the one in this bill would not restrict the authority of the Government to conduct necessary surveillance for intelligence and law enforcement purposes in a way that would harm national security.

Oversight and Protections for the Civil Liberties of Americans. H.R. 6304 contains numerous provisions that protect the civil liberties of Americans and allow for extensive executive, congressional, and judicial oversight of the use of the authorities. The bill would require the Attorney General and the Director of National Intelligence to conduct semiannual assessments of compliance with targeting procedures and minimization procedures and to submit those assessments to the FISC and to Congress. The FISC and Congress would also receive annual reviews relating to those acquisitions prepared by the heads of agencies that use the authorities contained in the bill. Congress would receive reviews from the Inspectors General of these agencies and of the Department of Justice regarding compliance with the provisions of the bill. In addition, the bill would require the Attorney General to submit to Congress a report at least

semiannually concerning the implementation of the authorities provided by the bill and would expand the categories of FISA-related court documents that the Government must provide to the congressional intelligence and judiciary committees.

Title I also includes provisions that would protect the civil liberties of Americans. For instance, the bill would require for the first time that a court order be obtained to conduct foreign intelligence surveillance outside the United States of an American abroad. Historically, Executive Branch procedures guided the conduct of surveillance of a U.S. person overseas, such as when a U.S. person acts as an agent of a foreign power, e.g., spying on behalf of a foreign government. Given the complexity of extending judicial review to activities outside the United States, these provisions were carefully crafted with Congress to ensure that such review can be accomplished while preserving the necessary flexibility for intelligence operations. Other provisions of the bill address concerns that some voiced about the Protect America Act, such as clarifying that the Government cannot "reverse target" without a court order and requiring that the Attorney General establish guidelines to prevent this from occurring. We believe that, taken together, these provisions will allow for ample oversight of the use of these new authorities and ensure that the privacy and civil liberties of Americans are well protected.

II. Title II—Protections for Electronic Communications Service Providers

Title II of the bill contains, among other provisions, vital protections for electronic communications service providers who assist the Intelligence Community's efforts to protect the Nation from terrorism and other foreign intelligence threats. Title II would provide liability protection related to future assistance while ensuring the protection of sources and methods. Importantly, the bill would also provide the necessary legal protection for those companies who are sued only because they are believed to have helped the Government with communications intelligence activities in the aftermath of September 11, 2001.

The framework contained in the bill for obtaining retroactive liability protection is narrowly tailored. An action must be dismissed if the Attorney General certifies to the district court in which the action is pending that either: (i) the electronic communications service provider did not provide the assistance; or (ii) the assistance was provided in the wake of the September 11 attack and was the subject of a written request or series of requests from a senior Government official indicating that the activity was authorized by the President and determined to be lawful. The district court would be required to review this certification before dismissing the action, and the provision allows for the participation of the parties to the lawsuit in a manner consistent with the protection of classified information. The liability protection provision does not extend to the Government or to Government officials and it does not immunize any criminal conduct.

Providing this liability protection is critical to the Nation's security. As the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence recognized, "the intelligence community cannot obtain the intelligence it needs without assistance from these companies." That committee also recognized that companies in the future may be less willing to assist the

Government if they face the threat of private lawsuits each time they are believed to have provided assistance. Finally, allowing litigation over these matters risks the disclosure of highly classified information regarding intelligence sources and methods. As we have stated on many occasions, it is critical that any long-term FISA modernization legislation contain an effective liability protection provision. H.R. 6304 contains just such a provision and for this reason, as well as those expressed with respect to Title I above, we strongly support its passage.

III. Title III—Review of Previous Actions

Title III would require the Inspectors General of the Department of Justice, the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, and of certain elements of the Intelligence Community to review certain communications surveillance activities, including the Terrorist Surveillance Program described by the President. Although improvements have been made over prior versions of this provision, we believe, as we have written before, that it is unnecessary in light of the Inspector General reviews previously completed, those already underway, and the congressional intelligence and judiciary committee oversight already conducted. Nevertheless, we do not believe that, as currently drafted, the provision would create unacceptable operational concerns. The bill contains important provisions to make clear that such reviews should not duplicate reviews already conducted by Inspectors General.

IV. Title IV—Other Provisions

Title IV contains important provisions that will ensure that the transition between the current authorities and the authorities provided in this bill will not have a detrimental effect on intelligence operations.

Title IV also states that the authorities in the bill sunset at the end of 2012. We have long favored permanent modernization of FISA. The Intelligence Community operates more effectively when the rules governing our intelligence professionals' ability to track our enemies are firmly established. Stability of law also allows the Intelligence Community to invest resources appropriately. Congress has extensively debated and considered the need to modernize FISA since 2006, a process that has involved numerous hearings, briefings, and floor debates. The process has been valuable and necessary, but it has also involved the discussion in open settings of extraordinary information dealing with sensitive intelligence operations. Every time we repeat this process it risks exposing our intelligence sources and methods to our adversaries. Although we would prefer that H.R. 6304 contain no sunset, a sunset in 2012 is significantly longer than others that were proposed and it is long enough to avoid impairing the effectiveness of intelligence operations.

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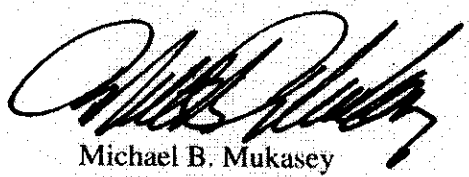
Thank you for the opportunity to present our views on this crucial bill. We reiterate our sincere appreciation to the Congress for working with us on H.R. 6304, a long-term FISA modernization bill that will strengthen the Nation's intelligence capabilities while respecting and protecting the constitutional rights of Americans. We strongly support its prompt passage.

Sincerely,



Michael B. Mukasey
Attorney General

J.M. McConnell
Director of National Intelligence

cc:

The Honorable John Boehner
Minority Leader
United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Harry Reid
Majority Leader
United States Senate

The Honorable Mitch McConnell
Minority Leader
United States Senate