

June 12, 2017

Dear Chairman Goodlatte and Ranking Member Conyers:

Please see attached a letter from a bipartisan group of 33 organizations, urging Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats to reconsider his decision to not provide your Committee and the public with an estimate of the number of Americans whose communications are collected under Section 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), despite previous ODNI commitments. If Director Coats remains steadfast in his efforts to evade oversight by the public and this Committee, we urge you to use all powers at your disposal to obtain this number.

It is clear, as you have written in prior communications with the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, that “Section 702 surveillance programs can and do collect information about U.S. persons, on subjects unrelated to counterterrorism.” Given this, we agree with you that “it is imperative that we understand the size of this impact on U.S. persons” as Congress debates the upcoming expiration of Section 702.<sup>1</sup>

Equally important, however, is the principle that our intelligence agencies’ responsibility to remain accountable to the public and Congress is not contingent on which way the political winds blow. Director Coats’ decision to disregard the prior commitments made to members of this committee is alarming. Indeed, after over a year of being briefed by intelligence agency staff on potential methodologies to obtain this number, we hope you are as unconvinced as we are by assertions that obtaining an estimate is “infeasible.”

The abrupt reversal of this commitment suggests that politics – not practicalities – are the true motivation. As such, we hope you will exercise your oversight authority to the fullest extent and demand that the intelligence agencies provide the information necessary to ensure accountability. It is critical to allow the American people and their representatives to fully understand the impact Section 702 has on their privacy and civil liberties as Congress considers reauthorization of the law.

Sincerely,

Access Now

Advocacy for Principled Action in Government

American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee

American Civil Liberties Union

American Library Association

Brennan Center for Justice

Center for Democracy & Technology

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<sup>1</sup> See Press Release, Bob Goodlatte, Chairman, House of Representative Judiciary Committee Goodlatte & Conyers Seek Answers on Americans Swept Up Under Foreign Intelligence Programs, (Apr. 7, 2017). <https://judiciary.house.gov/press-release/goodlatte-conyers-seek-answers-americans-swept-foreign-intelligence-programs/>

Competitive Enterprise Institute  
The Constitution Project  
Constitutional Alliance  
Defending Rights & Dissent  
Demand Progress  
Electronic Frontier Foundation  
Electronic Privacy Information Center (EPIC)  
Engine  
Free Press  
Fight for the Future  
FreedomWorks  
Government Accountability Project  
Human Rights Watch  
Liberty Coalition  
National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers  
National Security Counselors  
New America's Open Technology Institute  
Niskanen Center  
OpenTheGovernment.org  
PEN America  
Project on Government Oversight  
R Street  
Restore The Fourth  
Sunlight Foundation  
TechFreedom  
World Privacy Forum

Cc: All Members of HJC

June 12, 2017

Dear Director Coats,

The undersigned organizations write to express our dismay at your decision to abandon the effort to estimate the number of Americans whose communications are incidentally collected pursuant to Section 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. We ask that you reconsider.

When you announced your decision, you failed to explain why you suddenly concluded that providing such information would be “infeasible,” despite months of briefings to civil society and Congressional staff on methodologies that suggest that just the opposite is true. In making this choice, you are renegeing on a commitment that your predecessor, Director James Clapper, made to civil society organizations and members of Congress, and that you assumed when you testified at your nomination hearing: “I’m going to do everything I can to work with Admiral Rogers in NSA to get you that number.”<sup>1</sup>

This debate began in 2011 when Senator Wyden first asked Director Clapper to provide an estimate.<sup>2</sup> In 2012, the Inspector General of the Intelligence Community claimed that such an estimate would not be possible because the process of establishing the estimate would violate the privacy of U.S. persons, and require too many resources.<sup>3</sup> In October 2015, however, a bipartisan coalition of 32 organizations dedicated to preserving privacy and civil liberties wrote Director Clapper about this “significant and conspicuous knowledge gap [concerning] the impact of Section 702 surveillance on Americans.”<sup>4</sup> The letter made clear that the privacy community is supportive of conducting an estimate, and it addressed how the estimate could be performed in a manner that would protect civil liberties.

We still roundly reject the notion that an estimate, even by orders of magnitude, is infeasible.

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<sup>1</sup> Open Hearing: Nomination of Daniel Coats to be Director of National Intelligence, Sen. Select Comm. on Intelligence, 115th Cong. (2017). <https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/hearings/open-hearing-nomination-daniel-coats-be-director-national-intelligence>

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Sen. Ron Wyden and Sen. Mark Udall, U.S. Senate, to Dir. James Clapper, U.S. Gov’t, (July 14, 2011) <https://www.wyden.senate.gov/download/?id=351e298f-134c-4a24-9128-e61f5aa54727&download=1>.

<sup>3</sup> Letter from Inspector Gen. I. Charles McCullough, III, U.S. Gov’t, to Sen. Ron Wyden and Sen. Mark Udall, U.S. Senate, (June 15, 2012). [https://www.wired.com/images\\_blogs/dangerroom/2012/06/IC-IG-Letter.pdf](https://www.wired.com/images_blogs/dangerroom/2012/06/IC-IG-Letter.pdf); Senator Wyden, joined by 12 Republican and Democratic Senators, responded to the Inspector General by writing Director Clapper again to ask for an estimate, noting that “if generating a precise estimate would require an inordinate amount of labor, we would be willing to accept an imprecise one.” The Senators stressed that the number of Americans whose phone calls or emails have been collected is not “trivial or unimportant” information, and asked the Director to, at least, “estimate the order of magnitude of this number”, asking if it was “closer to 100, 100,000, or 100 million.” Letter from Sen. Wyden et al., U.S. Senate, to Dir. James Clapper, U.S. Gov’t, (July 26, 2016).

<https://www.wyden.senate.gov/download/?id=0C962BEA-1385-42B2-A6E4-B70779448EEB&download=1>

<sup>4</sup> Letter from the Brennan Center for Justice, et. al, to Dir. James Clapper, U.S. Gov’t, (Oct. 29, 2015). [https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/analysis/Coalition\\_Letter\\_DNI\\_Clapper\\_102915.pdf](https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/analysis/Coalition_Letter_DNI_Clapper_102915.pdf)

First, the NSA previously undertook an effort to provide the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (FISC) with a similar estimate, and “there is no evidence that this undertaking impeded any NSA operations.”<sup>5</sup> There, in order to address the FISC’s concerns about the number of wholly domestic communications that were being collected under Section 702, the NSA “conducted a manual review of a random sample consisting of 50,440 Internet transactions taken from the more than 13.25 million Internet transactions acquired through the NSA’s upstream collection during a six month period.”<sup>6</sup>

Second, as privacy experts we have consistently rejected the spurious claim that estimating or sampling the Section 702 dataset is itself an insurmountable privacy violation. As we stated in 2015, one possible technique could include examining “routing information – the IP address for Internet communications and the country code for telephone communications – that provide a rough, albeit imperfect, indication of the communicants’ U.S.-person status.”<sup>7</sup> According to the Privacy and Civil Liberties Board, the NSA uses IP addresses, in combination with other techniques, to filter out wholly domestic communications when conducting Upstream surveillance of Internet transactions. The FISC found that such filtering was constitutionally required, and the NSA apparently considers this method of identifying the location of communicants sufficient for purposes of complying with the Constitution and with the FISC’s orders.

To the extent routing information might not work for some kinds of communications, we also emphasized in the 2015 letter that “[i]n light of the overriding need for Americans to know how this massive surveillance program affects them, the undersigned groups, including many organizations whose missions are centrally focused on protecting privacy, believe that a one-time, limited sampling of these communications would be a net gain for privacy” as long as adequate safeguards (which we outlined in the letter) were adopted.<sup>8</sup>

The civil liberties community is not alone in this position. The Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board -- which was fully briefed on the Section 702 programs -- suggested the NSA “count and disclose the number of telephone communications acquired in which one caller is located in the United States, as well as the number of Internet communications acquired through upstream surveillance that originate or terminate in the United States.”<sup>9</sup>

More recently, members of the House Judiciary Committee have written to you and former Director Clapper three times to obtain an estimate. Chairman Goodlatte and Ranking Member

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<sup>5</sup> *Id.*

<sup>6</sup> United States Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court, *Memorandum Opinion*, (Oct. 2, 2011). [https://www.eff.org/files/filenode/fisc\\_opinion\\_-\\_unconstitutional\\_surveillance\\_0.pdf](https://www.eff.org/files/filenode/fisc_opinion_-_unconstitutional_surveillance_0.pdf).

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* note 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* After receiving a reply from ODNI that was not responsive to our requests, we wrote a second letter, reiterating our concerns and our inquiries. See Letter from the Brennan Center for Justice, et. al, to Dir. of National Intelligence, U.S. Gov’t, (Jan. 13, 2016). <https://www.brennancenter.org/analysis/letter-director-national-intelligence>. For the ODNI response, see Letter from Alex Joel, ODNI, to Elizabeth Goitein, Brennan Center for Justice, (Dec. 23, 2015). [https://www.scribd.com/document/295340256/ODNI-Reply-to-NGO-Letter-Regarding-702-Transparency#from\\_embed](https://www.scribd.com/document/295340256/ODNI-Reply-to-NGO-Letter-Regarding-702-Transparency#from_embed).

<sup>9</sup> *Id.*

Conyers' most recent letter memorialized representations they say were made by NSA and ODNI in briefings for the House Judiciary Committee on the progress of fulfilling their commitment to provide an estimate, including discussions of the methodologies that would be used. Those commitments included an assurance that “[t]he ODNI and the NSA will provide us with the estimate ‘early enough to inform the debate’ about Section 702,” and that both the estimate and a description of the methodology used would be provided “in a form that could be shared with the public.”<sup>10</sup> Before he retired, NSA Deputy Director Richard Ledgett also confirmed that an estimate would be made public by the end of 2017.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the progress that has been made, you relied entirely on the Inspector General's specious reasoning from 2012 in your explanation for why you are abandoning this commitment. Your actions are at odds with the Principles of Intelligence Transparency adopted in 2015, which, among other things, promised to provide “timely transparency on matters of public interest.”<sup>12</sup> Before he left office, Director Clapper wrote of the important role that transparency plays in the intelligence community's ability to do its job, stressing that “responsible transparency is becoming increasingly inseparable from public trust, and consequently, from mission success...Transparency is difficult, but also, in my view, essential.”<sup>13</sup>

Your refusal to provide this estimate leaves congressional overseers and the public back where we started in 2011: in the dark, and with justifiable and significant concerns about the effect of Section 702 surveillance on Americans' privacy and civil liberties. This omission is particularly striking given that Section 702 is set to expire at the end of the year, and the White House is urging Congress to make the authority permanent. Your decision diminishes public trust in the work the intelligence community undertakes and in its ability to adequately protect Americans' privacy and civil rights, and as a result, will undermine mission success. We urge you to reconsider.

Sincerely,

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<sup>10</sup> See Press Release, Bob Goodlatte, Chairman, House of Representative Judiciary Committee Goodlatte & Conyers Seek Answers on Americans Swept Up Under Foreign Intelligence Programs, (Apr. 7, 2017). <https://judiciary.house.gov/press-release/goodlatte-conyers-seek-answers-americans-swept-foreign-intelligence-programs/>

<sup>11</sup> Warren Strobel et al., *Top NSA Official Says Telephone Surveillance Should Have Been Disclosed*, Reuters, (Mar. 21, 2017 8:55pm EDT), <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-intelligence-nsa-idUSKBN16T034>.

<sup>12</sup> *Principles of Intelligence Transparency for the Intelligence Community*, Office of the Director of National Intelligence, (Oct. 27, 2015). <https://www.dni.gov/index.php/ic-legal-reference-book/the-principles-of-intelligence-transparency-for-the-ic>.

<sup>13</sup> *DNI Clapper's Introduction to the 3rd Annual SIGINT Progress Report*, IC on the Record, (Jan. 18, 2017). <https://icontherecord.tumblr.com/ppd-28/2017/introduction>.

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Demand Progress  
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Electronic Privacy Information Center (EPIC)  
Engine  
Free Press  
Fight for the Future  
FreedomWorks  
Government Accountability Project  
Human Rights Watch  
Liberty Coalition  
National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers  
National Security Counselors  
New America's Open Technology Institute  
Niskanen Center  
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PEN America  
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R Street  
Restore The Fourth  
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