1	IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT		
2	FOR THE DISTRICT OF OREGON		
3	AYMAN LATIF, et al.,		
4) Case No. CV-10-750-BR Plaintiffs,		
5	v.) December 9, 2015		
6 7	UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF) JUSTICE, Eric H. Holder, Jr.,) Attorney General, et al.,)		
8	Defendants.)		
9) Portland, Oregon		
10	TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS		
11	(Oral Argument)		
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13	BEFORE THE HONORABLE ANNA J. BROWN, DISTRICT JUDGE		
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(Wednesday, December 9, 2015; 9:06 a.m.)

PROCEEDINGS

THE COURT: Good morning, everyone. Please be seated.

We are here for oral argument on many pending motions in the matter known as Latif against the United States

Department of Justice. This is Civil No. 10-750.

In June of 2014 I granted in part plaintiffs' motion for summary judgment, focused only on the procedural due process and APA claims plaintiffs then had pending. And, in particular, I concluded that there was not an adequate process then in place for the plaintiffs to seek meaningful redress of their challenges to the defendants' inclusion of the plaintiffs on the so-called No Fly List.

Following that order, the defendants, at the Court's direction and with the standards I concluded were required as a minimum, undertook a review of the status of each of the plaintiffs who were then in the case. And, in that process, initiated a new set of procedures for redress.

As a result of that effort, many plaintiffs of the original group were notified by the defendants that they are -- were or are, as of the date of that notice, not on the No Fly List and they are are no longer litigating that issue in this

case.

The remaining plaintiffs were notified by defendants that they remain on the list. And the remaining plaintiffs then were engaged with defendants in a process that plaintiffs did not approve but defendants asserted was compliant with procedural due process standards required by the United States Constitution. And, in any event, compliant with the underlying legislative authority by which the No Fly List process was initiated following the terrorist attacks in 2001.

I want to commend the parties for all of the work that has been done since that June 2014 order. And I don't have any doubt that the defendants have tried in good faith to respond meaningfully to the Court's articulation of the standards I determined were minimally necessary and to try to meet them.

And I want to commend the parties for working together on these very important and complicated issues where, despite your significant briefing, no one has been able to give me any particularly controlling precedent because this hasn't been done before.

If ever I needed oral argument on a matter, this is the case. And I'm here to listen to you as advocates for the positions you're taking.

With respect to seven sets of motions, one combined set of motions for partial summary judgment where all

plaintiffs have moved against the process that the defendants undertook after June of 2014, asserting that process is inadequate to meet procedural due process standards and violates the APA; and defendants, in turn, cross-move to say it is too sufficient. And then in addition to that comprehensive combined set of cross-motions, for each of the six remaining plaintiffs there is an individualized motion for summary judgment and a cross-motion for summary judgment.

And finally, after those motions were fully briefed, plaintiffs filed, last week, a motion for partial closure of oral argument -- of the hearing -- this hearing on oral argument on the motions.

And as I understand the plaintiffs' position, they're concerned that there be a public discussion of the matters that were disclosed to plaintiff -- each of the plaintiffs by the defendants as part of this new process. And, in turn, the plaintiffs' responses to those specific issues.

As I understand it, plaintiffs wish in part to close these proceedings, to the extent it is necessary to argue particulars with respect to each of the individual plaintiffs.

Defendant opposes that motion.

And I notified counsel that I would deal with this first because I think it's an important matter that ought to be addressed before we begin.

And I want to also just acknowledge that I don't have

any idea how long it is going to take to give you all a fair opportunity to argue today. I am fully resigned to spending the entire day with you, if that's what it takes. We'll take reasonable recesses along the way.

If any of you who have traveled from away have already made plans to leave, that you need me to know about, I would like to know now. But I would really rather not worry about the clock. I would rather us do what we need to do to get you to a place where you can tell me what I need to hear.

Does anybody have any time concerns I need to be notified about?

Okay. And for those of you who are out of town, really, this is not typical weather.

(Laughter.)

THE COURT: It really is not. We're all suffering from some unusual changes here.

With respect then to this motion to close, this is a public proceeding, this is a public court, and I am loathe to close it. I think there are steps that can be taken to avoid closure.

To the extent any plaintiff or defendant wishes to make reference to any particular fact that is presently in the record under seal, I think you can speak about it in a circumspect fashion. You can point to it by page and line, and then can I be sure I know what you mean. But I certainly don't

want, in the context of this important matter, to begin by closing the court.

If at any point along the way somebody believes we are at a point where there is an issue being discussed that is not to be referred to in an open and public record -- and here I'm looking, Mr. Bowen, primarily to you to help guide me. Certainly it is not my intention to make any reference to classified information or to other information that is protected from public disclosure. But I really can't see why we can't argue the issues -- the legal issues here openly and publicly.

Am I missing something, from plaintiffs' perspective?

MR. HANDEYSIDE: Your Honor, I'm prepared to -- Hugh

Handeyside for the plaintiff.

I'm prepared to address any further questions you may have. We agree we filed this motion --

THE COURT: Protectively.

MR. HANDEYSIDE: -- publicly. We do feel that the proceeding can go forward fully and openly without referring specifically to the allegations.

Our clients do have some very serious, weighty concerns, particularly -- particularly in this -- this environment, after the events in Paris and San Bernardino; and given the climate of fear and the threats of violence that have been directed at Muslim Americans, none -- many of whom -- all

of whom have not been, at this point, labeled as suspected terrorists. So we do feel that the personal consequences of disclosure for our clients are particularly dire in this environment.

We agree, we think the hearing can proceed fully and openly without reference to that information, but we do -- we would appreciate an opportunity to argue the issue further, should there be a real dispute about whether or not those allegations have to come out.

THE COURT: All right. Ms. Powell? Mr. Bowen?

MS. POWELL: Yes. We do think it's important for us
to at least try to describe for the Court why we think the
standard for notice is met. And the easiest way to do that is
to walk through at least a few of the illustrative examples of
why this notice satisfies the standard for due process.

We're willing to proceed however the Court orders.

We can try to avoid the information being disclosed on the public record if the Court so orders. But we don't think there's any basis for withholding that information from the public at this point, which is why we opposed the closure. And we do think it's useful to be able to talk about -- openly -- how specifically the standards were met in particular instances.

THE COURT: All right. Well, I think what we'll do is proceed openly.

To the extent any party is about to address a specific factual matter that is presently under seal, I want notice of it in advance. I want someone to say that they're about to do it. And then I want a lawyer from each side to talk to each other about what you propose to say and if there is a way to say it without my having to close the courtroom, and then we'll deal with it as we go.

Yes, Ms. Powell.

MS. POWELL: Just one quick point. With the Court's permission, we would like to split up the argument between Mr. Bowen and I. He'll handle the general arguments about due process. And then to the extent we get into the individual records, I will address that. And that should separate out those issues —

THE COURT: I'm fine with, you know, eight of you multi-teaming me however you're going to do it.

MS. POWELL: Just for the Court's notice, I'll handle the individuals and the vagueness arguments, to the extent we reach those.

THE COURT: All right. So I will hopefully remember, at the end of the day, to make a formal ruling on the motion to close. But, for now, I'm requiring the proceedings to remain fully open.

Where to begin? It will be helpful to me as you go forward today, regardless of what particular issue you're

arguing, to assure me you are keeping in mind the standard for summary judgment. To the extent any party is relying on a factual assertion that is material to a legal ruling on summary judgment, I want you to assure me, by example, that there is not any issue of disputed fact around any such fact that is necessary for a ruling on summary judgment.

This is procedurally a very odd set of motions. It's not the usual summary judgment motion. This is not a criminal proceeding where the Court is making preliminary findings of fact based on a contested record potentially, which findings which then would result in a — an order suppressing evidence or an order admitting evidence. This isn't a Rule 104 hearing where I'm presently being asked to vet the expert presentations with respect to their reliability or their competence.

In particular, with respect to the expert presentations, I'll be interested in your input as to the extent to which these presentations are as to material facts that the Court must find to be undisputed in order to resolve any particular part or the totality of a motion. Or whether this issue of predictive judgments is more along the lines of something analogous to a circumstance in the totality of circumstances that the Government might take into account in determining whether a person meets the criterion and ends up being one who may — in quotes, may be placed on the No Fly List, as contemplated by the original statutory authorizations.

In the end, I think the -- really, what I will want is an argument of the **Mathews** factors, but I cannot permit you to argue all of them on one side only and then -- and then, and only then, have the opposition. I really do want a point-by-point counterpart on issues. And even sub-issues, probably.

So, as we go forward, I'm thinking perhaps each side might like to make a general opening presentation, or not. If not, we can go directly to the -- the primary Mathews factors. Because that, for me, is the road map of how to look at procedural process and to identify what particular interests are at stake, how they're to be valued.

I need you to give me your best case, your best precedent on every point you make. Because, again, what you've given me, of course, is by analogy. And I want to know how — how much weight I can place on cases decided in different contexts. So that — that's about all I can say with respect to how I'm approaching these matters.

I wish I could have given you a list of issues and questions. There is just too much for me to be able to reduce it to some concise list. So I'll be interrupting you as I need clarification.

Would you find it helpful to make some kind of opening points? Or do you want to just right -- go right to, say, the private interest factors -- factor of the **Mathews**

test?

MS. SHAMSI: Your Honor, it would be helpful to make some opening points, and then perhaps to frame for you -- I should apologize. Hina Shamsi for plaintiffs, your Honor.

THE COURT: You're all over the media now. If I ever forgot your name, all I have to do is turn on the radio. On the way to work this morning, even.

On other matter, of course.

MS. SHAMSI: On another matter, again.

So to frame these issues and then propose or to give you sort of a walk-through of how we plan to address all of them, to -- to provide a little bit of a road map; recognizing, your Honor, the number of issues that are before you. That's how we would propose to proceed.

THE COURT: Does that work for you, Mr. Bowen?

MR. BOWEN: That's acceptable, your Honor.

THE COURT: And so for every one of those issues, we'll take a pause, once you're finished on an issue. Then we'll hear the counterpoint, and we'll do this back and forth.

And when they're all finished with their issues, if there are more issues that haven't been addressed, then you'll have the opportunity to identify those. And we'll do this until we're finished with the combined motions and the issues raised there. Okay?

All right. You may proceed.

MS. SHAMSI: Thank you, your Honor. 1 And, your Honor, I just want to be very clear for the 2 3 I will begin by framing the case and do so on behalf record. of all of the plaintiffs. 4 5 You know, I think, your Honor, that Mr. Steven Persaud is not represented by the ACLU or Tonkon Torp. And he 6 has separate counsel, Mr. Genego, who is --7 8 THE COURT: You're welcome to come closer, if you 9 would like. 10 MR. GENEGO: I think I'm fine, your Honor. 11 THE COURT: All right. Very good. MS. SHAMSI: -- who will address issues specific to 12 13 him. I just wanted to be very clear --14 THE COURT: I'm having a little trouble hearing you, 15 and I know you've got papers near. 16 Can you pull the microphone a little closer. 17 MS. SHAMSI: Is this better? 18 THE COURT: Not much. 19 Just a moment. Maybe Ms. Boyer can adjust the 20 volume. 21 MS. SHAMSI: Is it better now? 22 THE COURT: A little. Go ahead. 23 MS. SHAMSI: So, as I said, what we propose to do is 24 I -- I'd like to begin preliminarily just framing the case. 25 would like then to address the defendants' arguments with

respect to secrecy, followed by the arguments with respect to plaintiffs' entitlement to notice. I then want to move on to the parties' arguments with respect to error, which we think is the major **Mathews** act — factor which is before you today, and address the plaintiffs' experts in that context.

Mr. Arulananthan will address plaintiffs' entitlement to a hearing. And, in that context, the burden of proof issues that have been raised, followed by the vagueness of the criteria.

That's how we propose to proceed, your Honor; just as we thought the issues might map out. We're happy to go in any other order that makes sense to you, and obviously answer any questions that come along the way.

THE COURT: No. That's as good as order as any.

There are many issues. We could push here, it would pop up there. Let's just start.

MS. SHAMSI: Okay. Great.

THE COURT: And so you're going to make a brief opening statement.

MS. SHAMSI: Absolutely.

THE COURT: And then Mr. Bowen.

Very fine. Go ahead.

MS. SHAMSI: So, your Honor, as we begin today, we are mindful of the recent tragic attacks in Paris, the Planned Parenthood shooting in Colorado, and the attacks in -- in San

Bernardino and the national debate over responses to violence, including mass shootings and political violence, terrorism.

These are very serious issues, as is -- as

Mr. Handeyside talked about -- the backlash against American

Muslims and people perceived to be Muslim. And even as we are

mindful of these current events, I think it's important to

emphasize that you and the parties have focused in this case on

the claims of these specific plaintiffs.

Each of the plaintiffs in this case has filed a declaration before the Court, swearing that he does not pose a threat to civil aviation or national security. None of the plaintiffs — and we think this is very significant, obviously. None of the plaintiffs has ever been charged, let alone convicted of a violent crime. And for five years now — over five years, actually, each has sought to prove that he should not be blacklisted, stigmatized, and banned from flying.

Your Honor, you've previously recognized the importance of the Government's interest at stake, as well as the importance of the plaintiffs' liberty interests at stake. And we don't propose to belabor each one of those points because we don't see a need to reraise issues that you have already decided. We're happy to address any questions, but we don't think that those issues need to be dwelled on before we move on to the Mathews factor with respect to erroneous deprivation and the procedural safeguards that guard against

it.

I do want to say so -- though, that the harms that plaintiffs have suffered continue. And we have for you -- or you have before you the declaration of Mr. Meshal, one of the plaintiffs -- as you know -- in this action; who explains that he has been unable to obtain employment. He has been repeatedly hounded by the media. And that he and his wife and their baby have been subjected to a pretextual unlawful traffic stop by state police that was occasioned by his placement on the No Fly List. And that left Mr. and Mrs. Meshal scared and humiliated.

Your Honor, this is a day and age, as you know, in which the terrorism threat label is a very, very serious one. And it is perhaps the most stigmatizing one that the Government can impose on a person, and our clients are still asking for a meaningful process to recover their constitutional protective liberty interests in their reputations and their right to travel.

In response to your order requiring that process, the Government has created what we think of as an anomalous and unprecedented one. Here, I think the record is clear that the Government is making predictions about future dangerousness.

Now, among the things that I would like to talk to you about -- once we're done with the opening, I just want to provide you with a little bit of a road map here -- is that

there are a number of contexts in the case law in which predictions are made and upheld by the courts.

There's pretrial detention. There's civil commitment. There's the sentencing context. There's the classification of segregation in prisons. In virtually every context, the determination is made in connection with a criminal charge or conviction to support the finding. And even then, there is process to safeguard against the likelihood of error inherent in any future dangerousness assessments.

And it doesn't matter so much. I think it ends up being an issue of semantics about whether you're talking about a prediction of future dangerousness that someone presents as a threat today or at some point in the future. That's a distinction without a real difference. It's the kinds of things that courts do in the future dangerousness context, assessing present and future threat. And — but there are benchmarks that the Supreme Court and the Ninth Circuit have provided along the way about what kinds of process is due in that context, and those are the kind of things that I'm going to address more specifically.

It is true, your Honor, that both parties are arguing by analogy, and the reason for that is because this is such an anomalous process. But I think there are analogous and directly on-point national security cases, as well as nonnational security cases that all fundamentally say the same

thing. That when a significant liberty or even property interest is at stake, individuals must have notice of all the reasons that the Government relies on; the bases for those reasons, and a hearing — bases for those reasons; exculpatory information; and a hearing at which credibility can be tested, including of the Government's witnesses, and where hearsay can be subject to review and testing as well. These — and an appropriate standard applied on review.

The requirements that we're asking for, your Honor, the analogies that we draw, these are all bedrock requirements under the due process clause. And courts have routinely applied them, including in the national security context, as well as outside of the context. Courts have applied them in contexts in which there are greater and lesser liberty interests. And they have set a constitutional floor through the property cases that we've referred you to, which is a floor but not the right standard. Because as the Supreme Court has recognized and as the Ninth Circuit also recently recognized, there is a higher liberty interest at stake when you're talking — there's a higher interest at stake when you're talking about liberty, as opposed to property.

Those are just some general points, your Honor. And I would like to be able to address, when I come back, the specifics with respect to the analogous context, notice, and error.

THE COURT: Thank you.

Good morning, Mr. Bowen.

MR. BOWEN: Good morning, your Honor.

To begin, I want to go back to the Court's prior decision, in which the Court had opportunities to analogize the various contexts, and selected what -- as a guiding principle, effectively -- what is perhaps the most analogous context in a civil context for when the Government takes an action that is rooted in national security concerns against an individual and that person comes or organization comes and challenges those determinations on the basis of due process. And the Court's order, followed in -- in fairly significant ways, the decisions that had come earlier in those cases. And I'm speaking particularly of the terrorism sanctions cases. And, most notably, the Al-Haramain case of the Ninth Circuit.

It is no accident that the parameters that the court outlined in its June 2014 order look very similar to the -- the context of the parameters of due process that were identified by the court in **Al-Haramain**. And it is, again, no accident that the -- that the process that the Government has provided follows those contours fairly precisely.

My primary response to Ms. Shamsi's argument and to the plaintiffs' briefs in general is that the plaintiffs are coming up with bedrock where there is none. And they are ignoring bedrock where it is exists and is contrary to their

interests, in demanding additional process.

The most notable bedrock, we think, that is critical to the Court's determination here — which has been repeated both by this Court and by similar cases — is that the Government is not required, in the name of due process, in the context of some civil action outside the context of — of actually putting someone away and incarcerating someone, to put its national security information at jeopardy or at risk in the name of due process. That is the clear holding of cases like Jifry, of cases like NCRI, of Ralls, and Al-Haramain, and Reynolds, and all down the line.

So plaintiffs are fabricating a bedrock that simply does not exist, when in fact the bedrock favors the Government in this case. And the Court has recognized our compelling interest in protecting this type of information from disclosure.

And, therefore, when you take the plaintiffs' interests and weigh it in the balance against that compelling interest of the Government, the plaintiffs' interests necessarily must give way.

And the Government has taken extraordinary steps, we believe, to accommodate the plaintiffs' interests by designing a process that can give them the information, to the extent we're able to do so without compromising the national security.

I want to point the Court to one particular and very

important line in the **Al-Haramain** case that talks about what due process contours are in this kind of a context. And the **Al-Haramain** case describes the issue that was resolved there as plaintiffs were asking for accommodations from the Government that do not implicate national security and impose only a minimal burden on the Government. And so we think that is where the bedrock is to be found.

And when you recognize that bedrock, when you recognize, in fact, that ceiling on the information that the Government, in an administrative process, can fairly be required to give to individuals in this context, the -- the flimsiness of the plaintiffs' arguments all become apparent. And you can walk through each of those -- and we will do so today -- to demonstrate why the plaintiffs are wrong. And I will give you only a brief preview of this.

Ms. Shamsi refers to her No. 1 item on her list is that the plaintiffs are entitled to, quote, all the reasons for a Government action. This is clearly not a correct proposition of law. And the Ralls case states this expressly, as does the Al-Haramain case.

In the administrative context, the Government is not required to disclose its national security information and put it at risk; even when it is relevant, and even when it is not disclosed to the individuals.

The Court recognized that same principle in its June

2014 order when it recognized that in fact in some cases no information may be provided at all, and that could in fact satisfy due process.

Related to that is the second category that plaintiffs refer to, which is the bases for the reasons. Well, that's the same issue and the same problem.

evidence. Again, by using very inept analogies — primarily for analogizing to **Brady** in the criminal context, the plaintiffs are demanding that we must turn over all of our exculpatory information. We have much more to say about that, but in the context where there is, in theory, exculpatory information, that is protected information and it need not be disclosed. It would be against the constitutional bedrock principles that inform the need to protect that information to require us to disclose that.

And, finally, the notion that individuals are entitled to a hearing in every case as a matter of bedrock is simply not true. It is in fact settled case law that that is not the case. That ultimately, as the core of the Mathews decision, is that the notification of due process is flexible and is not informed by the concept of bedrock so much as it is by flexibility.

More to the point, we have pointed the Court to numerous cases, including the **ASSE** case, which just recently

decided that paper hearings can be sufficient in various contexts. And we'll talk about that more as we go along.

At bottom, plaintiffs are demanding far more than what the case law demands. And their method of doing that is by poor analogies to inapt circumstances, under the auspices of an imagined bedrock principle.

We can talk also — and we will — about the plaintiffs' putative experts. We think the experts can be done away with relative ease, primarily because the experts are not even asking the correct question. They are fabricating a fanciful and incorrect question about what the task is that the Government is undertaking when it identifies threats; threats of violence that warrant a placement of an individual on the No Fly List. And they can be dismissed out—of—hand. And to the extent the Court believes there is some value in consulting that information, we think the Government, at a minimum, is entitled to subject them to the scrutiny of the Daubert principles.

 $\label{eq:components} \mbox{I'll reserve most of my other arguments for the --} \\ \mbox{for the individual components.}$

THE COURT: Mr. Bowen, there was one other point that occurred to me, in reading all of the briefing, that I failed to just note in -- as a general issue; a question I'm curious about. And that is the extent to which the information on which the Government's relying needs to be not stale

information.

And I borrow this from the context of criminal law.

The analogy of reasonable suspicion and probable cause

typically are based on information that is not stale. A judge

cannot issue a warrant based on old information, except when

there are reasons to believe it's still valid.

And so as we proceed today, and we get to the sufficiency of the process in general and then in particular as it respects -- Ms. Powell's got the individuals.

MS. POWELL: (Nods head.)

THE COURT: The individual plaintiffs, I would appreciate your perspectives -- everyone's -- on the extent to which the information that I've been told about in these secure -- in these sealed filings has to meet some kind of currency standard.

Currently -- currency in terms of time. Not -- not -- so please include that as we go forward. All right?

MR. BOWEN: Absolutely.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you.

All right. Counsel.

MS. SHAMSI: Thank you, your Honor.

So let me -- let me start by addressing -- or start again by addressing some or all of the Government's secrecy arguments.

Your Honor, in your June 2014 decision you quoted

Al-Haramain, quoting the American Arab Anti-discrimination

Committee case. Specifically stating, with respect to classified information, without disclosure, one would be hard-pressed to design a procedure more likely to result in erroneous deprivation. And the same thing, I think, holds true today.

In **Al-Haramain**, the Court specifically found, with respect to reasons — just to address quickly a point that Mr. Bowen made — that when the Government provided only one of three reasons it relied on to designate the corporate entity, it had violated due process.

It is undisputed that every single one of the plaintiffs has not been provided all of the reasons that the Government has relied on in order to place them on the No Fly List. It is undisputed that the Government hasn't provided the evidentiary basis or all of the evidentiary basis for those reasons. It is undisputed that the Government has not admitted or provided information that, in the language the parties negotiated for the joint statement of stipulated facts, information that contravenes the Government's basis for placing them on the No Fly List. We used the term "exculpatory" for that. And it is undisputed that none of our client had a hearing, a live hearing.

But let's talk about some of the Government's secrecy arguments.

In important ways, the arguments are similar to the ones the Government made before; before you issued your June 2014 decision. Before the Government — if you'll recall — argued that it could provide no notice at all, no reasons because of security and national security consequences. It was essentially an argument that the sky would fall. And you ordered more public information to be provided to our clients, including to the seven clients who were notified that they were able to fly. And they've been moving on with their lives. The sky did not fall.

There's similar categorical arguments being made here concerning secrecy, harms, and chilling effect. And we think that the defendants overstate the harms that full notice would entail. Because if you look at their declarations in their briefing, they assume that notice would mean full and public disclosure of classified information. And we don't think that that assumption is merited. We think that in fact it is false. And that defendants' interests in protecting legitimately secret and classified information can still be preserved and need not be compromised through a protective order process, such as Congress anticipated in deportation cases and through the CIPA-like process that the Ninth Circuit anticipated in this particular case, knowing full well that it is a civil case and -- and not a criminal one.

Before I get to the specifics of case law, I just

want to address a couple of practical and pragmatic issues.

Defendants' arguments with respect to categorical secrecy might have some more weight if we were asking for pre-deprivation notice. We're not. We're asking for post-deprivation notice.

And people, therefore -- to the extent that the Government is concerned, we understand the concern about tipping off people who are subjects of investigation. Look -- look at the process the Government has now put in place.

People know that they are on the No Fly List when they are banned from flying, and often told that they are on the No Fly List. This is no different from the issues that you saw before, your Honor. They know that they are or likely are the subjects of investigation.

And the steps in the redress process that the Government has established mitigate, one would think, their concerns. Because through this redress process, a person who is on the No Fly List must contact the Government three times and provide information about themselves virtually every time, including the Government — including Government—issued ID, contact information, why they think the Government might have put them on the No Fly List. And when they get notification through this redress process that they are in fact on the No Fly List list, again, providing this kind of information.

So to the extent anyone might be chilled from knowing

that they are a suspect, it seems rather absurd to imagine that someone who is willing to go through this process, contact the Government, provide information over and over again, would not think that they are being investigated by the Government.

These are steps in a process that require people to contact the Government repeatedly, and therefore people know that they're going to be inviting Government scrutiny.

But it's still not a process in which people are provided -- and I'm now going to talk about our specific clients and the specific process.

THE COURT: Before you do --

MS. SHAMSI: Yeah.

THE COURT: -- I thought you were heading to make the point that the Government's justification for previously asserting it should have to provide no information because it wanted to avoid tipping off a person that they were being suspected and, thus, permitting that person to alert others and the like, that that wasn't a risk here. Now. Now that your clients know they are on the list, not just by suspicion but affirmative statement.

I'm still not clear how the Government's interest is rendered irrelevant or their argument is rendered irrelevant.

Because even though your clients clearly know they've been designated by the Government, why does the fact that they have engaged in this process somehow mitigate a risk that assuming

the Government is correct, that there is a justified basis to suspect your clients, why is -- why is the fact that they've been identified mitigating the risk that there is other information collateral to them particularly that would be at risk? I completely agree with you -- and I have all along --that once a person is denied boarding, there isn't any value in arguing that person somehow shouldn't be told the truth, that he or she is on the list.

But part of the concern here about revealing sources and methods and people with whom the networks may deal are far beyond the individual. So I don't think the point that your clients know they're on the list is really the point at all, when it comes to protecting — or this risk of exposing sources and secrets that seems to be at the heart of the Government's concern about protecting their ability to protect us.

MS. SHAMSI: Right.

THE COURT: So what am I missing here?

MS. SHAMSI: You're not. And I was just getting there, your Honor.

THE COURT: Oh, sorry.

MS. SHAMSI: Not at all. And I'm just going to address that, and then go back to a couple of other issues.

THE COURT: Okay.

MS. SHAMSI: Which is that it may be the case that there is information that legitimately goes to sources and

methods.

We actually don't know that. And, more importantly, you don't know that because the Government hasn't specifically invoked any privilege. And it would be -- and that's part of what I was talking about, when talking about the categorical nature of the Government's secrecy assertions at this stage.

So there are a number of things that could happen. And putting aside right now for the purposes of responding to your question, your Honor, putting aside all of the other kinds of information that hasn't been provided, and really focusing on what happens if their sourcing method, certain information — that's certainly part of the — the balancing test and to be taken into account. But it is not the case that that is a categorical basis for denying the additional process that we think our clients are — are due.

The Government has multiple ways in protecting that interest that it has. First, it can specifically invoke the privileges. And, as would happen in any context, when privileges are actually invoked, we get a chance to respond and you adjudicate — the neutral fact—finder, decision maker adjudicates whether the implication of the privilege is legitimate.

Say you determine that the invocation of the privilege is legitimate. You could still use CIPA-like procedures, as we have urged, and that would not mean ordering

the Government to turn over all classified information to the plaintiffs. Rather, it would mean using time-tested mechanisms for managing access to classified information. We're just now talking about classified information; not other kinds of information, not at that level of secrecy, because I'm taking that extreme example.

The Government could provide meaningful summaries that are actually consistent with due process. And CIPA -- CIPA regulates the kinds of disclosures that are necessary for a fair process through protective orders.

Defendants could seek to replace disclosures about specific source or method information with factual stipulations in lieu of evidence, as long as there's no -- as long as the plaintiffs have substantially the same ability to respond as with disclosure of specific information. And that's not so anomalous, your Honor. I understand that it may be rare, but it's not the case that this has never happened.

Take, for example, In Re Sealed case. This is 494 F.3d 139. It's a D.C. Circuit case from 2007.

In that case, a DEA agent named Horn got into a dispute with a man named Huddle, who was a State Department employee, over policy goals that each of their respective agencies wanted to pursue.

And Horn, in a **Bivens** civil action, alleged that Huddle had engaged in electronic eavesdropping, in violation of

the Fourth Amendment. So it was against Huddle, of the State Department, as well as an apparent C.I.A. employee. And in that case the Government invoked the state's secrets privilege, and over portions of an internal investigative — two internal investigative reports.

And the D.C. Circuit said nothing in their opinion, quote:

Forecloses a determination by the district court that some of the protective measures in CIPA would be appropriate, so that the case may proceed.

And that was the order of the D.C. Circuit.

The case went back down to the district court, and it was then called **Horn versus Huddle**. It's at 647 F.Supp 2d 55. And there, the district court judge determined that CIPA-like proceedings were important.

Now, there's some differences between our case and that one, in that the plaintiff's attorneys already knew the information; the defense attorneys did not.

But there, the case -- the court said when parties have security clearances and when the court has to fashion a way for the case to go forward -- especially when it involves this kind of information -- then CIPA-like procedures are appropriate. And --

THE COURT: Well, let me just talk about one of those $\ensuremath{\mathsf{--}}$

MS. SHAMSI: Sure, yes.

THE COURT: -- hypotheticals.

Protective orders, in the context of a case involving classified information, where only lawyers who receive a proper clearance receive the noted information, how can a lawyer meaningfully assert a response to the opposing party when the lawyer's precluded by the protective order and a clearance from conveying that information to the -- the client?

This whole process, that is a variance from the adversary procedure our system is based upon, creates difficulties. And I will say from experience that when I'm required to see only an ex parte, in camera submission and the circumstances prevent the disclosure to the opposing party of anything about what I am to see --

MS. SHAMSI: Right.

THE COURT: -- it is extraordinarily difficult to assess what the other side of the story might be. What the opposing parties' advocacy might be.

And I cannot imagine it's any easier for the lawyer, subject to a protective order -- well, maybe it's a bit easier because the lawyer knows about the client's interests and the case.

But the -- the notion that somehow this protective order is a substitute concerns me. I think it's a false -- false protection in the sense that if the -- if the point is

that there ought to be a meaningful opportunity to respond to the substance of the criticism, somehow the lawyer who's gagged by a protective order can do that. I don't see that as meaningful at all. If the information is really that critical, potentially the outcome is that it cannot be disclosed. Potentially to the judge it can be disclosed, who has the clearance and who can look at it, in theory, anticipating what -- what an adversary might say. But I question the protective order process is anything other than a small token of opening the window. Because the lawyer is still bound, not just by just an order, but potentially by criminal penalty to not disclose.

I saw in the record one reference. And I saw the Government point to one example where it was known that a lawyer defied the order and made a disclosure. I don't know if there are other examples of that. But I -- I wonder just how serious the plaintiffs are about arguing this protective order process as some kind of meaningful step, when the client's deprived of actually knowing what -- what the issue is.

MS. SHAMSI: So you're raising, I think, at least three points that I want to respond to because -- which are embedded, I think, in your question.

One is that I think we're still talking about a quantum of information we don't yet know --

THE COURT: Yes.

MS. SHAMSI: -- because the Government hasn't invoked -- described how much of it is classified, versus not.

And then even with respect to that quantum -- unknown quantum of information, which may be small in some cases, nonexistent in other cases, maybe greater in yet other cases, there are at least a couple of answers.

CIPA provides one, which is that it doesn't alter the principle that the Government must disclose information both to the plaintiffs and their counsel. And this goes to your concern, your Honor, of what does a fair process look like.

And -- but it does regulate the kind of disclosures so that counsel are able to be able to adequately represent their -- their clients.

And with respect to the question about protective orders and -- sorry. Let me back up. Regulate those disclosures. It can do it through summaries. It can do it through provisions of other kinds of information. But, again, let's talk about the more extreme context.

Protective orders are used all the time with counsel who have security clearance, whose security clearance depends on their ability to be able to maintain these secrets. And they are a way of guarding against the kinds of unfairness the Ninth Circuit recognized in Al-Haramain and American Arab -
Arab American Discrimination Committee that you recognized. It may not be perfect, but it's better than not providing that

information at all, which is, I think, what was animating the D.C. Circuit's concern in **In Re Sealed** case; and, I believe, Judge Lambert's concern when that case went back down to him as **Horn v. Huddle**, on remand.

THE COURT: All right.

MS. SHAMSI: It is true that the Government -- and I think I'm on the second or third thing that your question raised, which is how do we ensure that information won't become public?

Again, sticking with protective orders, protective orders prevent the information from being public with respect to the world at large; tipping off people who may be engaged in wrongdoing. People who, as you said earlier when we started this colloquy, are not our clients but might be other subjects of investigation. That's what protective orders do. They impose a barrier between what is known by counsel and the parties and the rest of the world.

I think the Government has hinted -- perhaps more than hinted in their briefing about not being able to guard against violations of protective orders. And there is no basis in the record for the Court to make a determination that counsel with appropriate security clearances might violate a strict order of the Court. It seems unseemly, is the best word that is coming to mind at this point.

And I would also say, your Honor, that this is the

kind of information that the D.C. Circuit -- the district courts in the D.C. Circuit are used to seeing and determined had to be provided in the **Bismullah** case.

And **Bismullah** is somewhat analogous here as well because that involved the courts trying to make a determination of how they would fairly adjudicate whether a combatant status review tribunal proceeding had made fair determination. Now, it is true, in that context, judicial review is mandated by statute; the Detainee Treatment Act. And there were stringent standards put in place here, which we think should analogously apply, as you've seen from our briefs.

But there, also, the Court had the same concerns that you have here. Which is what is the fairness of a process when counsel do not have what -- defendants' counsel or counsel for the detainees in that context did not have access to information? Because it has ramifications both to the rights of individuals and it has ramifications for the ability of the Court to conduct meaningful judicial review. And that's why the Court in <code>Bismullah</code> said that counsel had to have access to all of the Government's information in that particular context.

And, again, that context is with alleged combatants, not citizens.

THE COURT: But, again, as you've noted, that arises in the context of a very particular and different statutory scheme.

MS. SHAMSI: That is true, your Honor, but -
THE COURT: I am not a legislator. This judicial

officer can only do so much. And that -- if the process is

inadequate, then it is inadequate. But it's not, I believe,

the function of the judicial branch to create the system. If

it is failing in one or more significant ways, then our

congressional partners have to address that. But I really am

concerned about the notion that you're expecting this trial

Court to create a process that was not addressed by Congress,

was not anticipated in the legislation that gives rise to us

all being here. And I'm concerned about the lack of precedent

for that, too.

MS. SHAMSI: Your Honor, we're asking you to do what -- what we think that the Constitution asks Article III judges to do.

THE COURT: I'm not unwilling to uphold the Constitution.

MS. SHAMSI: I know you're not. But if I may -- and I know you have endeavored throughout to be able to fashion a path forward, and that's what we're really talking about here.

And that's what the D.C. Circuit and In Re Sealed case and Horn versus Huddle was talking about as well, which is what is the path forward when the Government says that that classified information is -- is at issue in a particular case?

And here it is true that there is no regulatory

framework. It may very well be true that it would be better for Congress to provide that framework. When and if that happens, I don't think any of us know. Meanwhile, you have our client's cases before you, and they've been on this list for over five years. And that's part of -- I understand that it is challenging. And we certainly all -- as you've seen through the briefs -- tried to propose how to fashion a path forward.

But I think as a fundamental matter -- as a fundamental matter, classification is an executive branch function. We understand, certainly, that courts give deference to those determinations. But that deference cannot and does not override the requirements of due process.

And it is also true that in a variety of contexts courts look with deep skepticism at the use of classified information to determine outcomes. That was true -- I've already cited these cases. But that was true in Al-Haramain. It was true in Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee.

You've recognized that, also, yourself your Honor.

But I do think it is also important to take into account that the fact that information may be privileged or classified, and the Government says that it is, is not determinative of the outcome. Nor is it determinative of the role the judiciary will play.

If you recall in the **Ibrahim** case, the no fly case, the Government sought to invoke state secrets to dismiss the

case entirely. And the judge in that case said that the invocation was overbroad. That, in fact, it needed to be invoked with specific pieces of evidence; some of which were upheld and some of which were not.

The same thing happened in the **Gulet Mohamed** case, which is also a case involving the No Fly List. The Government invoked both the state secret privilege and the SSI sensitive information — sensitive security information. And Judge Trenga, in that case, questioned the invocation at two points.

First, he questioned it on a motion to dismiss, at which point he reviewed the information over which the Government had invoked both state secrets privilege and law enforcement privilege. And he concluded that they weren't so related to the claims before him that the case could not go forward, and he denied the Government's motion to dismiss. He reviewed again, at the summary judgment stage —

THE COURT: He viewed it ex parte and in camera.

MS. SHAMSI: He did. But, again, he determined that some aspects were protected by the privilege and other aspects weren't.

And I say this for two points. One is that at this point the categorical specter of invocation may not determine the fairness of the process that is due. And that there are ways in which, if the Government makes an invocation of the privilege and if you adjudicate it and it is legitimate -- and

those are big ifs, and we would -- obviously I'm not conceding anything. Then you still have the CIPA-like process that other courts at least have followed.

And if I may, I would like to just -- unless you have other questions in that context, I want to talk --

THE COURT: (Shakes head.)

MS. SHAMSI: -- talk a little bit about the other kinds of -- sort of notice interests that are at stake here.

MR. BOWEN: Your Honor, I prefer to be heard before we get too far into the weeds.

THE COURT: Well, why don't we do that. Why don't we give Mr. Bowen a brief opportunity to address this one point at a high level. We'll then take the morning recess, and then we'll come back to you.

Yes, Counsel.

MR. BOWEN: Thank you, your Honor.

Ms. Shamsi's arguments are deeply, deeply confused about what we are actually assessing here.

Ms. Shamsi's arguments go immediately to questions about what sort of remedies might, in theory, be created at a judicial review phase of a litigation challenge to a substantive determination.

What we are reviewing now, what is before the Court is an administrative process. And the weakness of the plaintiffs' arguments can be made bare when you consider what

it is that it appears to be that they are trying to require the Government to do. They're saying your administrative process, the exchange of letters that you've designed, that happens all in theory — in most cases, before you have entered the courtroom and have those determinations challenged — are unfair and are wrong because you have failed to assert the state secrets privilege. That, your Honor, is an absurdity. We do not assert the state secret's privilege in a letter to a private individual who's engaging in an administrative process.

That privilege, while -- while the plaintiffs are correct to draw a distinction between the fact of an information being classified pursuant to the executive order and the question of whether or not privilege is rightly asserted and what the consequence of that assertion in a judicial process should be, those are -- those are enormously separate questions.

And, essentially, what they are effectively asking the Government to do is, in order to satisfy the demands of due process, we have to waive our privileges at the administrative phase.

There is a judicial review phase. This is an important aspect of the Court's order. And we haven't actually briefed what exactly that phase would ultimately look like. What we are talking about now is the administrative phase, where it would be absurd to require the Government to -- to

enter into a protective order signed by what judge? Right?

Presumptively in the administrative process.

The question is, is the administrative process fair?

The secondary question --

THE COURT: Let me just observe one point because I believe it bears refreshing everyone.

There -- this Court's authority in this case has to do with six individuals. This is not a class action. This is not an undertaking intended to change the entire system. That the defendants chose to change broadly was their choice.

I was focused on the six claimants and I continue so. So I want to be clear that I need you to keep your arguments focused on this case, not the larger set of problems that could be raised in a variety of fora.

MR. BOWEN: I agree, your Honor, but I still don't think that changes the point.

THE COURT: No.

MR. BOWEN: The question is --

THE COURT: I'm wanting -- I'm wanting to be clear that there's not any implication that the point of this lawsuit is to change the entire process. That's not before me.

MR. BOWEN: I completely agree, your Honor.

THE COURT: Go ahead.

MR. BOWEN: But the bottom line is that to the extent a privilege is required to be asserted at the point where a

determination is subject to ultimate judicial review, this is a separate question of whether or not the Government should be presumptively required to turn over its sensitive records.

And that, your Honor, we -- that -- that question, we think, is clearly answered by the core cases that have given rise to the process that the Court contemplated.

Government is routinely required to turn over its classifieds.

Well, it was not required to do so in Al-Haramain. Al-Haramain said that it was in the interests of due process to consider mitigation measures to include unclassified settlements and the possibility of their consulting, but not to turn over its classified information. And this Court also recognized that that information needs to be protected.

I also heard Ms. Shamsi argue that we should turn this information over to the plaintiffs themselves. That, again, demonstrates just how far afield the plaintiffs are in making these demands.

The notion that the Government would turn over classified information to individuals the Government has determined pose a threat of terrorism is absurd.

But I want to speak shortly about the -- the

Bismullah case. Again, the Guantanamo case, as the Court

pointed out, is not only a creature of statute, but in those

cases -- because it so directly mirrors incarceration and a

criminal process -- the Government agreed to submit to a process by which information was shared.

This is a very different case, and we think the answer to the question of whether CIPA can be applied -- let me back up and make sure I'm -- make sure I'm clear on what I'm talking about. Again, this gets to the question of what judicial process would be due at the back end, but we think the question of whether that should be applied is answered by a number of cases, most notably the Reynolds case, which draws the distinction between a criminal case -- which is what CIPA was designed for -- and a civil case when the Government doesn't have the luxury of withdrawing an Indictment, being the instigator of the underlying case. The Government is on the defensive in a civil case. It doesn't have that luxury.

And the settled law about how to handle national security information in civil cases is not some made-up process that the -- that the plaintiffs demand but is actually governed predominantly by the fact that there is the state secrets privilege.

And, again, of course we have not asserted state secrets privilege because we are trying to litigate these cases in a way that is — that allows us to answer this due process question, to vindicate the process that we've created without having to go down that road. But we think that is a question for later.

So, essentially, all of the plaintiffs' arguments are effectively premature. They are arguing about what process the Court should design for itself in — in addressing the substantive challenge at the back end, when the real question, we think, before the Court is was the administrative process provided to the plaintiffs fair and in — and did it comport with due process as contemplated by the case law?

And, again, I will note that the **Al-Haramain** decision doesn't talk about state secrets information. It talks about classified information. The same is true of the **Ralls** case and the same is true of this Court's opinion. All of those cases reflect the recognition that there is a distinction between classified and state secrets.

And classification is the rule that governs when you're in the administrative phase. And it's only when you're at the back end, the judicial review phase, do you test the question of whether privileges are appropriately asserted, et cetera.

I think the reliance on the In Re Sealed case is deeply flawed. And, of course, the Government has never agreed that the ultimate determination by Judge Lamberth on remand was correct; that he could sort of simply invoke CIPA in a Bivens action. And, in fact, Judge Lamberth's decision was ultimately vacated on the motion of the Government. And I think it stands for zero proposition, other than the fact that it took place.

Give me one second. I want to make sure I've talked about everything else.

Again, so -- and then we can go not only to CIPA but to the sort of overall question of whether you can enter a protective order.

In theory, through the -- the tug and push and pull of a litigation process, it may ultimately be the case that a judge reviewing a substantive challenge to some sort of claim implicating an interest may enter a protective order over appropriate information. We strongly disagree with the notion that that -- such a protective order could be entered over classified or over information that's subject to the state secrets privilege. It was not ordered in Al-Haramain, it was not ordered in Ralls, and it should not be ordered here.

I'll cede the podium for the moment.

MS. SHAMSI: May I just respond before we take a break?

THE COURT: Yes, you may.

MS. SHAMSI: So a couple of points.

One is that in **Al-Haramain** the court made a merits determination and didn't have to rely on classified information to do that. And there the Court had both merits issues and procedural due process issues before it at the same time. And, again, made the merits determination without needing to rely on classified information. And — and yet still found that the

nonprovision of all of the reasons was a violation of due process. And I'm -- hopefully, after the break, we'll get back to, I think, more concrete ways in which all of this plays out.

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But one other thing I think is important with respect to Al-Haramain and also with respect to KindHearts, both of which are property cases, when the Government is making determinations about designating corporate entities, I think it's probably a different context than when it is making assessments about the threat capability of human beings, where it is more likely that it might be relying on information that it is going to argue is protected under a different number of privileges. But that's where we get back to the a -- anomalous point that I was talking about earlier, which is, in this context, the Government is seeking to limit a constitutionally protected liberty interest about threat information while saying that it cannot provide all of the reasons or the bases for that information. And that is a very perilous undertaking. It is also rare that this kind of determination would be made through a purely administrative process. And that's why it's important, your Honor, to look to the deportation context in which -- in an area of the law in which courts give unique deference to the political branches.

And that's part of why we're bringing this up, right?

Because the Government is arguing for deference. And even in

this area of the law, where courts give unique deference to the

political branches, courts have said that you may not deprive people of their liberty interest based on secret evidence.

One quick final point here, which is that Judge Lamberth's decision was vacated. That is correct. But that was as part of a settlement reached between the parties and I think that that would be important to take into account.

> THE COURT: With that, we'll take a 15-minute break.

Thank you.

(Recess taken.)

THE COURT: Thank you. Please be seated.

Ms. Shamsi, before you continue, Mr. Bowen's last point leads me to asking you to clarify plaintiffs' position as to the following:

To what extent does plaintiff -- do plaintiffs contend at least the Court must review the information withheld from the plaintiffs in this new process in determining not a substantive due process challenge which is yet to come but the procedural issues on which we're focused?

Is there a way the procedural process can -- the procedural issues between the parties can be resolved without at least the Court reviewing in camera and ex parte the nondisclosed information?

MS. SHAMSI: Your Honor, may I have just a minute?

THE COURT: Yes.

(Pause, conferring.)

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THE COURT: From your perspective.

(Pause, conferring.)

MS. SHAMSI: So -- thank you, your Honor.

Let me begin by responding to that question.

We think that it is both premature and unnecessary for you to review information that has been withheld from the plaintiffs. We think that you could find, as a matter of law, that -- whether or not the process has been adequate or not.

And we think that --

THE COURT: How could I do that, if I don't know what was withheld?

MS. SHAMSI: Because I think it would be -- it would be making a merits determination at a procedural due process stage. And I don't think we're there, and that's not what the record is before you.

I think another way of putting this is -- it's similar, in some ways, to the posture we were in before -- with you before, which is that the agency is refusing to provide information to our clients. They're telling you that they don't have to do it. We're -- we're saying, therefore, that we don't have a fair process. So the question is, as a matter of law -- both under precedent and given the specific facts of this case -- is that specific facts of what is provided and what is not provided, is that true? And the issue is that we don't think that you really have a meaningful record before you

to make a merits determination in similar ways to the way that in June 2014 you thought that a record that went up for 46.110 review was overly one-sided.

And so it is true, to some extent, what Mr. Bowen was talking about. That in our colloquy, we have gone almost immediately to the remedy issue, and I just want to round that out a little bit before stepping back, if I may, to talk about the case law with respect to the kinds of notice that we are asking for because we've sort of skipped over that. And I want to make sure that I touch on —

THE COURT: I didn't realize we had skipped over anything. I thought we were still talking about your general introductory point on secrecy and your notion there.

MS. SHAMSI: I guess when I was talking about how to conceptualize it, which is remedied after what -- the process --

THE COURT: Well, it is clearly appropriate for Mr. Bowen to remind all of us about the administrative focus of the current motions, and I do not want to be heard as going beyond that.

Nevertheless, if the Government's position -- if the defendants' position is that which we have given the plaintiffs is sufficient for a procedural due process purpose, and the plaintiffs' position is it is not, not only because that which we gave -- they gave us, we've denied; but because they say

there's more, and we've never had a chance to see it.

MS. SHAMSI: Right.

THE COURT: Those are interesting and narrow positions for cross-movements on the summary judgment, is all I'm saying.

MS. SHAMSI: They are. And perhaps it's sort of -- I think it goes to something of the unusual nature of where we find ourselves.

THE COURT: Sure.

MS. SHAMSI: Because you didn't remand this back to the agency, and this is still a process that is under your jurisdiction because that -- as all of the litigants -- as -- as we have proceeded and you have proceeded, that is how we're -- we've been approaching this case.

And I think when the Government says that during the quasi-administrative phase of this process we're going to take what I've been talking about as a categorical approach, which is this much and no more — and just as a reminder, your Honor, as soon as we saw that we said we need more. And we were — we would like to jointly ask the Court for an extension, so that you can provide the more that will allow our clients to be able to respond in a meaningful way. And it's been sort of a one-way train ride until we get here to you today. And so the posture that we're in now is an agency determination in a very unusual circumstance where we don't have a full record to

respond to and you don't --

THE COURT: Well, you have more of a record than you had --

MS. SHAMSI: I absolutely understand.

THE COURT: You have more of a record than you had before I said the district court didn't have jurisdiction. You have a record.

And a question, frankly, before me is whether the matter now should go to the Ninth Circuit because there is a determination on a record that should jurisdictionally be before the appellate court.

MS. SHAMSI: So a couple of responses because I think there's Ninth Circuit case law that you could apply now as a matter of law to find that this is inadequate, one.

THE COURT: Okay.

MS. SHAMSI: And, two, that you have the authority, under Article III, to be able to fashion a remedy that is specific to our clients.

And so I'm jumping ahead again, for which -- I'll ask you to just give me this bracketed period to jump ahead. But the remedy that you could order, and we would ask you to do it, is that this process does not meet the requirements of due process. And the Government has to provide all of the reasons and information that it is relying on to place plaintiffs on the No Fly List to us.

And to the extent -- as well as, you know, exculpatory information that contravenes the basis for -- for its placement of plaintiffs on the list. And to the extent that the Government seeks to invoke any privileges, it should do so, and it should do so with a privilege log itemizing the specific information with enough detail that allows us to be able to decide whether we want to contest that privilege for you to be able to adjudicate it going forward.

And so that -- that is a very specific way in which you have the ability and the authority to make the determination. But I'd like to talk about, if I may, why we think the process has not been adequate before --

THE COURT: That would be good, since that's the premise of your motion.

MS. SHAMSI: Exactly.

And so with respect -- one -- one very quick thing, your Honor, because I don't think I was crisp enough about it before, and I don't want to confuse the record. I want to just very clearly lay out our view on analogous cases.

One is that the property cases we cite, including

Al-Haramain and KindHearts -- both in the national security

context -- establish a procedural floor. Because, as the

Supreme Court has indicated, courts generally regard property

interests as less weighty than liberty interests. And the

Ninth Circuit has similarly said that in a recent Rodriguez

case -- and I'll give you the cite. That there's a heightened burden in civil proceedings, in which the individual interests are both particularly important and more substantial than mere loss of money. That's why -- and this is in the deportation context. There are two reasons why we think deportation cases are analogous.

One, because those cases don't involve incarceration, but they do separate — they do have the consequences that are directly like the consequences for people, for our clients, which is that they separate family members. They preclude participation in life events. They interfere with employment. They limit access to medical care and education, and limit the ability to carry out religious obligations.

The second reason that the deportation context is analogous is because the immigration context is one in which courts give unique deference to the political branches and still require more process.

The liberty cases that we rely on, your Honor, are both in the national security context as well as in the criminal context, where courts find that the Government has a compelling interest in security and protection of the community. And those include the future dangerousness cases of Salerno, Foucha, as well as Hendricks.

Salerno involving pretrial detention, Hendricks involving prediction in the sexually violent predator context,

and Foucha involving civil commitment.

Finally, we're not asking for all of the indicia of criminal cases. But we are saying that there are fundamental fairness guarantees derived from the criminal context in cases that have been applied in a civil context. So I just wanted to put that out there, and let me very quickly go through reasons.

With respect to due process entitlement to all of the reasons, again, I think **Al-Haramain** is very clear.

Constitutionally adequate notice involves all reasons.

There is no dispute that the Government did not provide all of the reasons to any of the plaintiffs for putting them on the No Fly List. Nor is there any dispute that the Government didn't provide reasons for rejecting our explanations, which limits what goes forward up to you for review.

And, again, I'm talking about reasons the Government relied on. Not all of the reasons that could exist out there in the world, but reasons that the Government relied on.

And the issues here are the same as the ones that troubled the Ninth Circuit in **Al-Haramain**. Individuals can't respond to what hasn't been alleged, and the Court can't meaningfully adjudicate it.

And, inevitably, when there is an inability to respond to all of the reasons, there is a heightened risk of error.

We're also asking for the evidence that the Government relied on. We're asking very specifically for statements by the plaintiffs themselves.

The Government's notifications quote in some instances selectively from alleged statements by plaintiffs, but they don't provide the full statements by plaintiffs.

They appear to rely on information from third parties, as well as informants, as well as Government agents. Any of whom could have particular biases one way or the other. And to the extent that the defendants — the Government is relying on that information — it doesn't have to. But to the extent it is relying on that information, we believe we're entitled to it. And, again, it is undisputed that the DHS trip process didn't disclose any of the Government's evidence, and the notification letters make very clear that it is being relied on.

And I just want to be very clear here, also, your Honor, about what we're talking about when we're talking about evidence.

What we were provided is indented information which hasn't been authenticated, hasn't been signed by anyone. It's not clear where it's coming from. There's a very limited ability -- hobbled, I think is how we referred to it before -- to rebut misperception, error, lies, or potential biases.

And we have a number of cases, your Honor, that

support this. The **Ralls** case, in which a designated foreign terrorist organization's bank account was at stake.

The Government's -- the Court required an evidentiary basis. The **Bismullah** case, which I already talked about before. **KindHearts**. And the Court said that a party must be able to know the conduct on which the Government bases its actions, so it can explain its conduct or otherwise respond.

And there, I think one of the things that the Court found troubling was that one of the allegations against **KindHearts** was that funds were provided to Hamas. The Court said, Well, the Government hasn't actually said — it hasn't estimated the amounts that were provided to Hamas. It hasn't said how much was, so that the entity cannot rebut whether amounts that it was disbursing as a charity were related to this or not.

The other case that we think applies here is **Dent**; the Ninth Circuit case in the deportation context at 627 F.3d 365. We think it's important that in that deportation context, by regulation, Congress has said that the Government may not be able to rely on secret evidence for people who assert a right to remain in the United States. So that's for people who are not, unlike our clients, citizens.

I think the other cases you could -- that we urge you to look at is **Kiareldeen**. Again, a national security case.

There, the issue was the Government's classified information

with regard to the allegation that the -- the person who was about to be -- who was subject to bond and removal proceedings was a member of a terrorist organization and a threat to national security.

And the Court said that it violated due process for there to be secret evidence that the decision maker relied on from the F.B.I. joint terrorism task force, even where unclassified summaries were provided.

Similar concerns in the D.C. Circuit's decision — sorry. Similar concerns in the Rafeedie case, where the Court found that secret evidence used against a legal permanent resident in exclusion proceedings violated due process. And all of those cases, your Honor, rely on basic principles of fairness, such as in Greene versus McElroy, which is that the due process requires the opportunity to rebut testimony and the case against you.

Two -- two concrete examples from our clients about the prejudice that arises in this context. Mr. Knaeble was provided the reason of concern about his travel to a particular country in a particular year.

He responded with the reasons for his travel to that country, all of which were innocuous. There was nothing remotely unlawful either about the Government's reason or his basis for going there.

And he also said, By the way, I didn't go in the year

that you alleged. I went in a different year, the previous year. And he provided that information.

It is clear that the Government is relying on information that is either disclosed — undisclosed or other reasons. If you look at the statements of undisputed facts in both — both — with respect to all plaintiffs, as well as with respect to him specifically, it's clear that the information that the Government is relying on has not been provided. He does not know what to respond to, and he's left virtually in no different a place. And with all respect and recognition of what you — you, your Honor, ordered in — before, in June 2014, he's in virtually the same place. He knows he's on the No Fly List, but the information that he's been provided does not allow him to meaningfully contest his — his placement.

We think it's very important, your Honor, that the -that the Government disclose material information that
contravenes its basis for putting people on the No Fly List.

It is apparent from a number of our clients' cases that the Government has that information, but it doesn't -- it hasn't provided it. And it is fundamental that due process rights are either in jeopardy or violated when procedures don't allow for the presentation of potentially exculpatory information, including that in the Government's possession.

It is true that **Brady** is in the criminal context. It is equally true that we have cited to you cases that apply the

principles of Brady in civil contexts, including in civil administrative enforcement actions and penalty proceedings, in deportation context, in naturalization context, and extradition cases. Again, I would refer you to **Dent** and **Bostick**, as well as the habeas cases.

And here, your Honor, another concrete example, which is the case of Mr. Meshal, who, from the face of the notification that was provided to him, it would not be clear that the information the Government is apparently relying on was all derived from a four-month-long period in which he was subjected to over 30 integrations by F.B.I. agents while he was unlawfully detained in the Horn of Africa and threatened with torture, death, and disappearance if he did not confess. That is core exculpatory **Brady** information. And regardless of his ability to provide that in the record, it is information that a decision maker needs to know.

Mr. Meshal was also pressured to become an informant, and told he would be helped if he became one. The ineluctable conclusion is that there must be exculpatory information in the Government's files. He has never been charged with a crime. And the decision maker should know and he should be able to respond to the information that the Government has, including from the F.B.I. officials who told him repeatedly to sign a waiver of rights form when he asked for a lawyer.

I think that is all I have, your Honor, on the notice

aspects, unless you have questions --

THE COURT: No, I don't, in the sense of asking you to continue. I clearly have many questions. But I want to hear the counterpoint while I still have your -- your points in mind.

Mr. Bowen.

MR. BOWEN: Thank you, your Honor.

THE COURT: Could I ask you one question before you go forward, and that is this idea about whether for procedural process -- for the procedural due process analysis, that's required in these cross combined motions, whether you believe I should not have -- I should or shouldn't have available ex parte and under seal the Government's undisclosed information on which it relied.

MR. BOWEN: The position of our motion, your Honor, is that the record before the Court wholly demonstrates the propriety of the process. And the Court can look at the record and look at the policy, which requires that we disclose to the maximum extent possible, without compromising national security on classified information that can be provided. So the short answer is we think this record supports judgment for the defendants on that basis.

THE COURT: On process only. And that's any review by the Court, even in an ex parte scenario, has to be reserved for the substantive evaluation?

MR. BOWEN: That's correct, your Honor. But let me caveat it in a couple of ways.

Mr. Bowen.

One is we really don't have a precedent in the context of an ordinary civil proceeding for the -- the Court to take submissions ex parte and in camera. It has been disfavored by some courts. There's a case in the D.C. Circuit called Abarast (phonetic), that suggests that to take care of that itself is a due process problem. But that's all to say we don't necessarily have a position on whether -- if the Court felt that that was necessary in order to satisfy the process -- THE COURT: Here's the problem I'm concerned with,

You've asserted -- and Counsel's repeatedly noted -- that with respect to each of the six plaintiffs there is information withheld on which your clients relied in the process of reconsidering their status on the No Fly List.

You're also asserting that I should be able to conclude as a matter of law, by looking at what you did disclose, that the process is inherently fair. I'm having trouble with those notions in concert.

MR. BOWEN: So the first thing I would point to is the question of whether or not the Government has been fair. The determination about what information falls over that line and properly needs to be protected is a determination to which --

THE COURT: But how do I know that the Government has disclosed all that fairly should be disclosed, even under your policy, if you haven't made any showing, at least by declaration or otherwise, that there are other reasons?

They're not disclosed. They are in fact on the sworn statement of a person with actual knowledge, the kind of information that — that does cross the line, as you're using that term.

How do I know that?

MR. BOWEN: Right. So we think that our submissions demonstrate that all of these matters were taken into consideration. The question of whether the information crossed the line has been made. And, again, we think the record --

THE COURT: How do I know who did that? How do I know that person's level of responsibility? How do I know what that person did to cull that which was disclosed from that which is known to defendants, and played a part in the decision but was not disclosed? How do I know that, on this record?

MR. BOWEN: Well, those particulars, your Honor, are not in this record. And if the Court is of the mind that it needs those particulars in order to make that assessment, we will take the Court's determination in that respect under advisement. Again, our position is that it's not necessary.

But to the question of whether the Court could review that information, I think our fundamental position is that that ultimately really goes to the substance that -- that there is

some process for review, and we really don't know what that looks like. It could include those --

THE COURT: Counsel, the test isn't some process.

It's procedurally due process. And for me to be able to grant defendants' motion, I would have to be able to say the process that was chosen by your clients following the June 2014 order is procedurally fair process, due process.

How can I know that on the record you've given me?

How can I know that?

 $$\operatorname{MR.}$$ BOWEN: Again, we think the record -- again, so if the Court is saying --

THE COURT: No. I'm asking you, as the proponent of the motion --

MR. BOWEN: Right.

THE COURT: -- on whom the obligation rests, to show defendants are entitled to judgment as a matter of law. How can one look at this record and conclude it is procedurally due process that has in fact occurred when it's not even disclosed to the Court in camera that that which was a material part, evidently, of the defendants' determination has not, (A), been disclosed, so the Court has no way of knowing whether it's important or not? There isn't any way to determine, even by declaration here by a person of authority that there was information, it was reviewed, it was evaluated.

This is a very summary, very -- very high level,

conclusory sort of record. I'm having a hard time seeing how one could say, as a matter of law, this is procedural due process.

MR. BOWEN: I understand the Court's frustration with that. And, unfortunately, I'm not in a position to provide clear answers, in part because we don't have a settled position within the Government as to what to do when -- when the Court is dissatisfied with the record we have submitted --

THE COURT: Okay.

MR. BOWEN: -- and the Court feels the compulsion or the need to ask the very question you're asking.

THE COURT: So I deny defendants' motion,

potentially, on the basis that the record does not reflect as a

matter of undisputed fact and law that the process is due

process from a procedural perspective. And I deny the

plaintiffs' motion on --

MR. BOWEN: Well, that's my --

THE COURT: -- due process grounds because what the plaintiffs are asserting is entirely not precedented in terms of that which is required.

And what does that gain us?

MR. BOWEN: Well, it gains us further proceedings, your Honor. I mean, I think --

THE COURT: Well, I think we're guaranteed those one way or the other, but a lifetime appointment may not be enough

here.

MR. BOWEN: I understand the frustration, your Honor.

And, unfortunately, I am sorry to be in the position of not
being able to answer that particular question.

THE COURT: So your position today, however, as your client's advocate, is that the record does in fact sufficiently reflect a process the Court ought to endorse as commensurate with constitutional requirements and procedural due process?

MR. BOWEN: Right. And there are two particular aspects to that that we think are important.

One is that the law instructs that when you are assessing a process you are actually looking at the generality of cases. You're asking whether the process on the whole is fair. And the deep dive that asks whether in this particular instance a person received every single bit of information they could have had is not necessarily part of that analysis. It tends to creep into the analysis, frankly, because courts — they just tend to lean that way. But, as a technical matter of law, it's not part of the process. The question is whether they received a process —

THE COURT: So why is it fair? Why is this procedurally fair, this conclusory, incomplete process that doesn't even allow the reviewer of the procedural fairness to know what in fact the Government relied upon to reach -- why is that -- should I conclude that is legally fair?

MR. BOWEN: So one component we've not really discussed is that we agree -- and we all agree, and this is part of the Court's prior order, is that there is judicial review. There is back-end judicial review.

THE COURT: Am I the judicial review or is it the Ninth Circuit?

MR. BOWEN: Well, again -- again, I'm in the unfortunate position of not being able to necessarily answer that question because we haven't fully briefed it. There are very difficult questions about jurisdiction, about the handling of classified information in civil cases, which generally doesn't happen because --

THE COURT: But can you at least tell me your client's position as to whether the record is complete and now ready for judicial review on this procedural due process question?

MR. BOWEN: Whether the record is complete.

THE COURT: Are you ready to rest upon that which you've given in support of your motion, your cross-motion, as the full record that is to be subject to the judicial review to which you refer, even though you're not able to tell me where that judicial review is supposed to happen?

 $$\operatorname{MR.}$$ BOWEN: I'm sorry. No, we're not ready to rest on that record.

If the -- I want to make sure that I'm understanding

the Court's question.

2 THE COURT: You've moved for summary judgment --

MR. BOWEN: Right.

THE COURT: -- on the basis that the process instituted by your clients following June 2014 provides sufficient procedural due process --

MR. BOWEN: Okay.

THE COURT: -- to satisfy constitutional

requirements. Right?

MR. BOWEN: Correct.

THE COURT: And to be entitled to that judgment, you have to show both that the material facts are undisputed and that you're entitled to judgment as a matter of law.

MR. BOWEN: Right.

THE COURT: And my question to you is how could possibly any judicial officer reach that conclusion when the record given is, by definition, incomplete in terms of the reasons relied upon for the placement and not even subject to an in camera review to verify that the source of information and the bases on which the defendants made their decision have — are grounded in anything that one fairly would conclude is reliable?

MR. BOWEN: The reason is because the Court can presume -- because it's true -- that there is some form of judicial review. And the courts, being courts, are -- are

seasoned and good at providing the process that -- that is fair and equitable in the context of judicial review.

That we don't know the mechanism or we may not even know the -- the jurisdictional forum for that -- for where that exists, the fact of judicial review itself provides the bulwark, I believe, that the Court is looking for. There is judicial review; depending on where it is, depending on what the law requires for how that substance --

THE COURT: You know, Mr. Bowen, you're going to have to take a position in this case for these six plaintiffs as to where you contend that judicial review should be. I'm not asking you to speak for the United States in every case possible. But you are the lawyer for the defendants in this case, and you simply must take a position.

MR. BOWEN: I can't take a position today from this podium, your Honor. If the answer to that is we would absolutely be more than happy to take supplemental briefing and provide the Government's view of how that process — what that process would look like, where it would occur, and how the handling of that information would occur, I'm simply not authorized to — to essentially speculate on that question.

And I apologize that — that is frustrating, and that is something the Court may have been anticipating. But I am not — I don't have that authorization.

THE COURT: Well, tell me please, then, why it is

that your clients contend they're entitled to summary judgment? That the process they have afforded each of plaintiffs is constitutionally sufficient from a procedural due process — not the substantive outcome with which reasonable minds might differ; and, indeed, a reviewing court might differ. But why is the process sufficient to allow and indeed require this Court to grant judgment in your client's favor?

MR. BOWEN: Because -- because it directly answers the contours that the Court identified in its prior order. The vision of unclassified summaries, without breaching the wall of classified information in the context of the administrative phase, to the extent possible, without implicating national security.

And that information ultimately will be -- agreed, will be reviewed by an appropriate court. The fact that we don't know what that appropriate court is doesn't change the fact that the administrative process provided the information that is able to be provided and doesn't go over that wall that's been identified repeatedly by the courts. And I'm speaking particularly of the D.C. Circuit, talking about how -- the courts can't compel a breach of the security that the executive branch is charged with protecting. And we can't turn over that -- that information. And the court -- and the cases support that -- that conclusion. And so --

THE COURT: Mr. Bowen, I don't know how a court can

determine a process is sufficient for judicial review without knowing the information that's going to be reviewed. It's as if you're saying any process would be sufficient because, in the end, there will be some judicial review by some judicial authority at some undisclosed time and place. But the determination of what's sufficient has to be measured against something. And the record you've given is something. And,

I -- again, I commend the defendants for doing something. But

I -- I'm trying hard to understand how the Court can grant your motion on this record about a sufficient procedural process if the Court can't even tell what was considered.

MR. BOWEN: Well, again, we -- it's not that the Court can't. It's just that we don't know what that looks like. And we are more than prepared to brief that question and provide the United States' position.

THE COURT: You don't get to continue to brief and brief and brief. When one moves for summary judgment, one has the obligation to provide the authority to support the judgment. You either have it or you don't. They either have it or they don't.

MR. BOWEN: But, again, the best I can do for your Honor is the fact that we know the judicial review will occur.

If the Court is dissatisfied with that, the Court is correct that the answer is to deny both parties' motions and require us to come up with and settle on the question of what

that ultimate judicial review -- substantive judicial review looks like.

THE COURT: I'm not making myself clear. I'm not saying the determination of whether any of the parties are entitled to partial summary judgment depends upon what the judicial review is.

What I am questioning is whether defendants have shown, as a matter of law, the process actually used since June of 2014 is the -- the minimum procedural due process required. And how can a judge -- specifically this one -- reach such a decision when the process disclosed to the Court is only, We relied on a lot of information we haven't even told you? I'm trying to understand how that leads to the argument that this Court must grant summary judgment to defendants.

MR. BOWEN: Again, the reason is, is because the law is clear that that information that's beyond that wall needs to stay there. It stays there in the administrative process. If there is some litigation down the line where that's tested or privileges are asserted, that's fine. But the question is, what process is due at the administrative phase?

And Ralls, NCRI, Al-Haramain and this Court have all said, You don't need to breach that wall. And the question about where that wall lies generally is due deference because the Government had the obligation to make that determination.

If that's unsatisfactory, the unfortunate reality is

that further litigation must take place. But it's our position we calibrated this precisely to where those contours were aligned in those cases. And because we complied with law, we're entitled to judgment as a matter of law.

THE COURT: Okay. Now, go ahead with what you wanted to say in response to counsel's previous points.

I apologize for getting you off track. Take the time you need, and let's get back to the --

MR. BOWEN: Could I have one colloquy with one of my colleagues real quick?

THE COURT: Yes. Yes. Yes.

MR. BOWEN: So I wanted to go back to the assertion that Ms. -- that plaintiffs have asserted that they're entitled, under Al-Haramain, to all of the information. This is, again, I think a baseless interpretation of what the Al-Haramain court said. It's not -- and, of course, it entirely ignores the other authorities we cited to you for the proposition that in the national security context, in -- where civil actions are taken that relate to terrorism, that they get all of the information regardless of the impact of that information on national security when it comes to disclosure. That's simply not true.

And you can look to the **Al-Haramain** case, where the **Al-Haramain** didn't talk about disclosing every reason in every case. The **Al-Haramain** court said there are these reasons that

they could disclose without harming -- indeed, without implicating national security by taking these mitigation measures.

So the notion that this is a -- some sort of a floor, that every reason needs to be provided, is belied by the case law and by common sense.

I would point the Court to the **Jifry** decision in the D.C. Circuit, where an individual was denied his airman certificate. Was assumed to have all the rights of a United States citizen for the purposes of that decision, and was given zero substantive information about the reasons for why the certificate was revoked.

The only information substantively that was disclosed was that there are national security concerns. And in that case the court said that he received all of the due process to which he was entitled, even though no substantive reasons were given.

Ralls was that there was some unclassified information that had not been disclosed, and that there was an obligation to disclose the unclassified information. But not that you needed to open up the books and declassify all of the reasons for the Government's action in that case, but only that the -- the Court erred in not requiring the disclosure of unclassified; which is already part of our process.

And I want to go to --

THE COURT: Can I -- can I ask a question to clarify.

Are -- am I to understand that the summaries provided to the plaintiff are in fact summaries of all the -- all of the information that does not implicate national security on which defendants rely in retaining each of the plaintiffs on the No Fly List?

Is there in the record a declaration to that effect?

Is there some assertion that all of the nonclassified or nonsecurity information has been disclosed?

MR. BOWEN: Yes. I would point the Court to the ——
to the Steinbach declaration, to the Giacalone declaration for
the authority that the Government, in consulting that
information, intended to maximize the unclassified information
that it provided.

Now, there's -- there's sort of an inherent intention that in theory there could be other innocuous or perhaps irrelevant information that the Court -- that the Government had in its possession that it didn't disclose. But that gets to the problem of being accurate and pointing the individual to the right -- the right circumstances.

This is not the best example, but it is the best one I could come up with. You know, the letters didn't state to the individual where they lived. They didn't state, you know, that they had been married for a certain number of times and

had a stable family relationship, or that they had stayed gainfully employed for periods of time.

And so if the request is every single bit of unclassified information, was it disclosed in the summaries, the answer is probably no.

THE COURT: I meant, in my question on classified information that was material to the decision to retain them on the list.

MR. BOWEN: Yes. The Court can conclude from the record that that information was disclosed pursuant to the policy.

Oh, I'm sorry. Ms. Powell is pointing out that there's an important thing. That this was unclassified, nonprivileged information. I would point out the Government not only invoked the fact that if certain information was classified, that certain information was also law enforcement protected.

And, again, that cycles us back to the question of whether the Government should be required in an administrative process to waive its privileges up front rather than having those privileges tested in appropriate judicial proceeding at the back end.

But I want to go back to the terrorism sanctions cases and talk about why, notwithstanding the fact that the Government has had some objections to the fact that the Court,

in the first place, has analogized to those cases for why they are an appropriate analog for what we're dealing with here, when you consider the -- the impact of a foreign terrorism designation, the stigmatizing aspects are significant. And it's not just corporations, but it also -- well, not for foreign terrorist organizations, but individuals can also be specially designated global terrorists. And the stigmatizing effects of those designations are very, very significant and much more significant than you have here. They are publicly announced. They are announced to the specially designated global terrorists.

By contrast, individuals on the No Fly List, nothing is said publicly about them. They are not announced in the federal register. They simply experience, as a private matter, the inconvenience that arises from the designation, and they engage in a private colloquy with the Government in their — in the exchange of letters that happens in DHS trip. And they are designated as a person who may pose a threat to national security and as opposed to being a specially designated global terrorist.

And, in addition, I would point out again, while the Al-Haramain entity was a corporate entity, it wasn't just that they — their assets were frozen, but they couldn't pay the bills. They couldn't turn on the lights. It's a very, very significant intrusion on their ability to function or — or,

as -- as a person to deal with their -- the United States assets. And so we think that it is at least some measure highly analogous.

By contrast, plaintiffs place a lot of emphasis on — on various contexts that we think are obviously dissimilar. The plaintiffs have emphasized deportation proceedings, as one example. Aliens who are subject to deportation are presumed to have a number of a full panoply of rights of U.S. citizens in that process of — of removal, in particular. And the consequence of removal is not the inability to take a particular form of travel to travel internationally, but they are deprived of all of the benefits of citizenship in the United States. They must leave the country.

We think those -- those are extraordinarily significant consequences that demonstrate how poor the analogy is to this particular context. The individuals are able to pursue employment. They're able to stay with their families. They're able to live in their homes. They're able to be in the United States. They're able to travel in the United States. So we think that that analogy is poor.

Secondly, the plaintiffs have cited to extradition cases. It's the same principle. One great example of -- I'm skipping a little bit ahead, your Honor. And my apologies to the **Brady** discussion. But the leading case for the proposition that you can incorporate **Brady** outside of the criminal context

is the case in which the Sixth Circuit assessed an individual who was subject to extradition on Nazi war crimes and was potentially subject to the death penalty on his arrival, once the extradition was -- was -- was undertaken.

Again, a radically different deprivation that goes right — straight to the kinds of deprivations that we contemplate in the criminal process. The same is true of the Guantanamo cases with indefinite detention. The same is true of general habeas cases. The same is true of the commitment and parole revocation. All of these talk about liberty in the classic sense. Deprivation of liberty in the classic sense, in which someone is incarcerated or detained and unable to leave a prison cell or another cell. That is not the same as an individual who cannot board international flights for travel.

THE COURT: So is the plaintiffs' interest here more like the property interests of **Al-Haramain** than the -- the classic liberty interests you're referring to about avoiding detention?

MR. BOWEN: It is. It is. It's the closest analogue out of the analogues that have been presented to the Court. I at least agree with that point.

But the fact that the -- that the plaintiffs are going to these examples to find their analogues demonstrates, I think, that they are -- they are -- they are trying to ignore away the cases that best identify these issues, which are

national security cases that talk about the -- the enormous importance of the Government protecting that information. And let's think about what that information is and what the consequences would be if that information was disclosed.

We are talking about often, in some cases, active investigations of ongoing terrorist organ --

THE COURT: But I wouldn't know that on this record because there's not any indication of the nature of that which was withheld. There's not any indication except in fact that the Government and the defendants here are relying on very dated information; and, in some cases, singular information. At least that's what's provided here as the foundation for procedural process.

MR. BOWEN: I wouldn't agree with you, your Honor. I think if you -- if you look at the declarations that were submitted, in particular from -- from the terrorist screening center -- from Mr. Grigg, from Mr. Steinbach, and Mr. Giacalone -- they talk about in general terms -- admittedly not in specific terms but in general terms about the kinds of harms -- the kinds of information that are threatened with the notion that you should turn over classified information, and the kind of harms that would flow from that. And the consideration the Government undertook in formulating that policy and assessing those harms.

So I think the record is there. We couldn't say this

particular kind of information is embedded in the -- in the body of classified information that was relied on for individual X, for obvious reasons. Because putting that information out would -- would harm the security that we're trying to protect.

So I do think the record is there, without tying it to particular people in a way that would be damaging to the kind of security that we're trying to protect in the first instance.

And so when plaintiffs speak of a floor, we actually think that there is is a ceiling. There is a ceiling to the kind of information that the Government can be required to disclose in a civil case where national security concerns are — are animating a — a civil action that implicates this limited liberty interest. And that is clearly spelled out in the cases that the plaintiffs are more than happy to generally ignore in favor of these other nonanalogous cases.

I want to talk a little bit more about -- I'm going to hold discussion of particular individuals for Ms. Powell.

And unless the Court has particular questions about those individuals right now, we're going to reserve that for a later point in our presentation.

I want to talk about the $\ensuremath{\mathbf{Brady}}$ context a little bit more.

There are -- I would point the Court to the Brodie

decision of the DC district court that talks about the extraordinarily limited context in which <code>Brady</code> -- the notion that there's a mandatory requirement to divulge exculpatory evidence has been used in civil context. And it -- and it talks about how it is primarily the lead case from the Sixth Circuit that had to do with Nazi war crimes. There's a secondary case where a person was subject to civil commitment in North Carolina, and it was analogized in that way. And there's also a case in the Southern District of New York, where there was a joint criminal prosecution of an individual and separate SEC -- SEC proceeding. And the question was whether certain information that emanated from the SEC proceeding needed to be turned over for purposes of core criminal <code>Brady</code>.

And the Court made that analysis for purpose of turning over information from the prosecution side. And the question of the SEC proceeding was handled under the normal rules of civil evidence. So we think that they are stretching the notion of some mandatory exculpatory disclosure far beyond the breaking point.

And, again, there is no mention of exculpatory in the primary sanctions cases that we talked about, for the precise reasons that those cases recognize that if there is, quote/unquote, exculpatory information — and that's an if — in the record that is classified, that is not required to be

disclosed. And no court has ordered that to happen. 1 In fact, 2 they've -- they've toed that line in terms of protecting 3 classified information. I'll rest for now. 4 THE COURT: Ms. Shamsi. 5 MS. SHAMSI: Your Honor --6 7 THE COURT: Please speak up. 8 MS. SHAMSI: Sorry. My microphone wasn't on, either. 9 A couple of points to address that arise out of your 10 discussion --11 THE COURT: Yes. Yes. 12 MS. SHAMSI: -- with Mr. Bowen. 13 One is the -- the joint stipulation -- the joint 14 combined statement of agreed facts between the parties, which 15 is Docket Entry 173, specifically says, in paragraph 18: November 2014, D.H.S. notification trip letters 16 17 did not disclose all of the reasons or information 18 that the Government relied upon in determining 19 that the six plaintiffs should remain on the No 20 Fly List. 21 THE COURT: Right. 22 MS. SHAMSI: That is carried over in each of the 23 facts with respect to each plaintiff. It's reflected in the 24 documents itself. And I -- I'm left a little bit confused --

THE COURT: Well, what I thought I was asking counsel

25

was whether I could rely on the conclusion that that which was disclosed was all of the material nonclassified information on which defendants rely. And I think Mr. Bowen told me that the declarations he cited make that point.

Now, is that not a fair conclusion here?

MS. SHAMSI: The --

THE COURT: On the record?

MS. SHAMSI: The material nonclassified

information --

THE COURT: Right. Has been disclosed. That's his position.

12 Right?

MR. BOWEN: Unclassified, nonprivileged.

THE COURT: Sorry. Nonclassified and nonprivileged. Relying on the fact that they could withhold, they say, not just classified information but privileged information. Law enforcement privilege is what he asserted.

They haven't asserted a privilege affirmatively. But what they've said is they've drawn a line. And that which is disclosed is all that is material that is neither classified nor privileged.

MS. SHAMSI: So that is inconsistent, then, at a fundamental level with what I understood to have been happening here, which is summaries of information -- so there's not even a summary of the classified or law enforcement sensitive

information unless I'm misunderstanding.

2 Is that correct?

MR. BOWEN: We've not summarized classified information.

THE COURT: Right. Only nonclassified information has been made known to me and to you. Only nonprivileged information, in summary form. Not in its evidentiary form but in summary form, has been made known to me or to you.

Correct?

MR. BOWEN: That's correct.

I mean -- may I?

THE COURT: Yes.

MR. BOWEN: The endeavor seeks to —— the endeavor of developing the summary seeks to maximize the information that is disclosed, and so it is possible —— and we can't cite to specific instances, for obvious reasons, that information that resides in classified environments can be distilled in a way that allows certain information to be disclosed in an unclassified fashion.

I don't think there's a record that says we took every stick of information and did in fact make an unclassified summary of classified information because that is something that we can't promise and, in many cases, are unable to do. In many, many cases the information can't be declassified —

THE COURT: Okay. What I need you to do then,

Mr. Bowen, is -- not in my words or in counsel's words, I need
you to articulate what I can conclude is the nature of the
material that has been disclosed, and is it all of the material
that was material -- is it all of the information that was
material to defendants in retaining the plaintiffs on the list
that is neither classified nor privileged? I need to know
that.

MR. BOWEN: The answer is yes, and that's reflected in our submissions.

THE COURT: All right. So, Ms. Shamsi, do you have further questions on that clarification?

MS. SHAMSI: I don't have further questions, your Honor, but I think I do have a couple of points in response to that.

THE COURT: Go ahead.

MS. SHAMSI: We're still in the same position, therefore, with respect to the due process analysis, which is that the Government hasn't disclosed either openly or in a forum that allows for a fair process, the reasons and the evidence that it is relying on.

For that reason, your Honor -- and I will say that it's not -- that there are different gradations of national security information. There's information, I agree, with which the Government might seek to invoke the state secrets privilege. That still has to be -- the propriety of that would

still have to be adjudicated.

It might seek to withhold classified information. Whether that comports with due process would still need to be adjudicated.

It might seek to withhold law enforcement privilege information which is subject to a balancing test, which would also seek -- which would also need to be adjudicated.

And so it seems to us, your Honor, that on the record that you have before you, which is with respect to whether this process complied with the requirements of procedural due process, we don't think that you can grant summary judgment to the defendants.

There is no way, under this procedure, that -- again, we have been provided the notice or a hearing, which Mr. Arulananthan will talk about. But there's also no adequate record to be reviewed, which is the same problem that you addressed before when you were talking about whether judicial review under 46.110 would be adequate.

It is not a fully one-sided record, anymore. We agree. We understand that. But it is still not an adequate record to which there has been an adequate response.

And I'm not going to get into the back and forth again about cases. You've got **Al-Haramain** before you. You can, you know, read that. That -- that's -- that is what it is. But as a matter of law, there's no procedurally adequate,

constitutionally adequate procedural process here.

Given that, your Honor, the remaining issue that I was going to address was error and experts. And I wanted to address that because it seemed to us that the briefing, by the end of it, left muddied what error was and the extent to which we -- and the reasons that we were proffering our experts.

So if you are inclined to deny --

THE COURT: I'm not inclined to anything yet.

MS. SHAMSI: Okay. Then --

THE COURT: Except to listen. Keeping going.

MS. SHAMSI: Then I'm afraid that I will have to talk to you about the error issues.

THE COURT: Please.

MS. SHAMSI: And I think -- here's -- here's a couple of things that I think were left muddied by the briefing, towards the end, which is what do the parties -- what is the purpose for which plaintiffs offer their experts? And what are the parties' conceptual approaches to what error is? And I just want to address both of those.

I want to be very clear that plaintiffs are not arguing that the Government -- plaintiffs are not arguing here that the Government cannot use prediction of future or current dangerousness to put people on the No Fly List.

Our experts' testimony and arguments are -- on error are offered in opposition to the Government's motion for

summary judgment. What they go to is that the risk of erroneous placement on the list is high because the Government is putting people on the No Fly List who will never engage in an act of terrorism.

And in the last round of briefing, the Government essentially conceded that, did not dispute it as a factual matter.

Our experts reinforce our original arguments with respect to error, and we think that they preclude summary judgment on the defendants' motion. We are not relying on our experts in support of our own motion.

THE COURT: I appreciate that clarification. Thank you.

MS. SHAMSI: But then we get to the issue of what are the theories of error? What are we actually talking about with respect to error? And that, I also think, merits classification.

We use error in the classic due process doctrine sense, which is when the risk of erroneous deprivation is high, the Court must determine if additional safeguards would mitigate that risk.

Again, we're not saying that the high risk of error means you can't put people on the No Fly List, but we are saying that additional safeguards are necessary.

Defendants are using error in a novel sense. They

concede that people will be put on the No Fly List who will never commit an act of terrorism, and they argue that it is only error if the Government puts people on the list when it doesn't meet the criteria it has established or followed its internal process for placement.

And we think, here, what you have is a factual dispute between the parties as well as a legal dispute.

Here's -- here's what I mean by the factual dispute. Which is, let's assume the validity of the Government's reasonable suspicion standard, and let's assume that the criteria that they are using on the No Fly -- to put people on the No Fly List are not unconstitutionally vague.

As you know, we have concerns about those. But just for the purpose of my argument here, let's assume that those are not problematic.

Our argument is that, even applying those standards, the Government generates false positives. It says that our clients pose a threat, and our clients say they do not. And there has to be a meaningful process, when the number of false positives is so high, for people — people like our clients, to be able to show that the Government's placement of them on the list is erroneous.

THE COURT: Why doesn't that come in the substantive review on the merits, as opposed to as a procedural matter?

MS. SHAMSI: Because we're using our experts solely

in the way that — solely in the way, your Honor, that you looked at the high risk of error when you arrived at your determinations below, which is what is the evidence in the record that shows the risk of error is high, so that more process is required? Not that the risk of error is high so there mustn't be a No Fly List. That would be a different argument, and that's the argument that we're not making.

But in its response to that argument the Government appears to define error out of existence in the **Mathews versus**Eldridge context. And what I mean by that is the fact that someone who has never committed a violent act and will never commit a violent act can be blacklisted and banned from flying indefinitely is for the Government not an error.

Under the Government's view -- again, so long as it is applying its own criteria and its own procedures -- it can never be wrong because it's making present and future threat and prevention assessments so no additional process is due, given the Government's view with respect to secrecy.

But that notion of error, in which the Government can't be wrong unless it's -- unless it's not complying with its own criterion, its own standards, is utterly belied by all of the case law in the future dangerousness context in which -- in virtually all of those contexts, courts are concerned about mitigating error that is inherent to future dangerousness assessments, even with respect to people who have been charged

with a crime.

So as the Supreme Court said in **Salerno**, for example, upholding the Bail Reform Act, there might be nothing inherently unattainable about a prediction of future criminal conduct, but the procedures by which -- now, I'm quoting.

The procedures by which a judicial officer evaluates the likelihood of future dangerousness are specifically designed to further the accuracy of that determination.

That is classic due process, risk of error analysis under **Mathews**. And that's the sense in which we think that the Court should be assessing our plaintiffs' testimony with respect to the high risk of error.

I just talked about the factual dispute about the ways in which we see error. There's a legal dispute which Mr. Arulananthan is going to address. And this goes both to the reasonable suspicion standard, which we think increases the risk of error as you recognized in your June 2014 decision, as well as the vagueness of the criteria.

But the point is that even if the Government is right with respect to the legal issues -- and we'll explain why it is not. But even if it is right, then our experts show that the procedures the Government seeks to uphold are inadequate.

And very quickly, your Honor, with respect to our experts, they're not saying -- and we aren't saying -- that the

Government has to incorporate any particular statistical model. Rather, this all goes to the perspective of how high the risk of error is in any attempt to assess the likelihood that someone will commit an act that is extremely rare. And that's a point that defendants, in their briefing, appear to concede as inarguable.

I am happy to answer any questions about our experts, but the $\mbox{--}$ those are the main points I wanted to $\mbox{--}$ I wanted to make in that context.

THE COURT: All right. I would like defendants' response to those points. Then we'll take the noon recess, and then we'll go from there.

Counsel.

MR. BOWEN: Thank you, your Honor.

The presumption of plaintiffs' argument is that they have somehow, by using their experts, established a high rate of error in the Government's ability to identify individuals who pose a threat under our very specific criteria that require reasonable suspicion that's tied to particular threats of violence. We think that is fundamentally wrong, and we think the plaintiffs are asking the wrong question in coming at the notion there's a high rate of error.

Because all you have to look at is to look at the plaintiffs' experts, themselves, to demonstrate how poor that analysis is and how it is not shown that -- the high risk of

error that they rely on has not been shown to exist at all.

They -- on the one hand -- tell us that we should be -- in order to assess our high rate of error, we need to be conducting actuarial or statistical analysis, notwithstanding the representations of counsel, I think it is clear that that is the import of what the experts are saying, is that you have to do actuarial analysis with control groups and with other baselines. And in the same breath, their own experts tell us that that can't be done. That that is in fact an unknowable.

We agree with the notion that an actuarial approach to assessing future dangerousness is problematic, and that's not the task that we're in fact undertaking. And, again, this gets us to the fact -- sort of gets to the point that the plaintiffs are asking the wrong question.

The question is not the Government going out to identify individuals who will commit certain acts of terrorism in the future. The Government is identifying and assessing individuals who pose threats of violence. And the threat is the thing that we are attempting to identify, not the prediction.

It's inherently predictive in the sense that some individuals have not actually gone and done the heinous things that we are most concerned about them doing. But that doesn't take away from the fact that we are identifying threats based on particularized information that ties the individuals to

threats of violence.

And so the -- they've not established error, not because we have used the wrong standard but because they in fact have used the wrong standard to come up with the notion of a high rate of error.

The question is, under the standard that's provided, what is the likelihood of a high rate of error. And that is, how often is the Government going to misidentify an individual as someone who may pose a threat, who in fact does not pose a threat?

That is the baseline that's required by the statute. That is the baseline that's required by the criteria. The net is cast broadly enough to identify individuals who may be a threat; not who are conclusively determined to be a threat, not who have committed particular crimes and are subject to Indictment, not to -- for individuals who have been indicted. But for individuals where there is enough information -- credible information to create a reasonable suspicion of a threat of violence to -- in particular categories. And the question is, how often is the Government going to get that assessment wrong? And that assessment --

THE COURT: That assessment being placing someone on the list who in fact doesn't bare any threat of --

MR. BOWEN: So the best way is to frame it as a negative. To place somebody on the list as someone who may

pose a threat when in fact it is not true, based on the information that we have, that they may pose a threat. We have wrongly assessed them to be over the line of possibility.

THE COURT: And what -- what's the risk of that error, is what you're saying. And you're saying plaintiffs' experts don't address that risk of error.

MR. BOWEN: That's correct. They address the risk of identifying people who will never go on to commit a terrorist act or -- in the sense that we are trying -- the one phrase that stands out to me, from the expert testimony, is -- or the putative expert testimony, is that -- that it is true terrorists that we should be concerned about. As -- as -- as if there is a notion that there are not true terrorists in our midst who are -- because they're not true terroristis, somehow don't -- aren't a subject of concern.

The reality is that Congress has decided -- and I think appropriately -- to cast the net to include individuals who may pose a threat. And you -- and when they do, the appropriate act is to prevent them access to airplanes, pending further information. And this gets -- comes back to the staleness point that the Court raised at the beginning.

I point the Court to all of the -- the evidence, which is, of course, unrebutted, about the many, many reviews and audits and procedures that exist to make sure that we are updating, reassessing our assessments in this regard; to make

sure that they are not stale, that they are not unwarranted, and that -- and that we are -- we have not made those determinations in error.

That is a very important part of the process for us, for two reasons. One, to make sure that we're doing the right thing, and we've identified the right people.

Two, it -- it -- again, identified in our submissions, it's a resource issue. We want to focus our energies and attention where they need to be focused: On individuals who warrant that kind of attention.

And the plaintiffs have submitted argument for the notion that we have all of the incentives to place people and keep people on the list, and we think the evidence is to the contrary. We have numerous incentives to clear out -- to sort of clear out the decks of individuals, to make sure that we are focusing on the right people. And that's what all of those processes are designed to do, to make sure that we are -- we are focusing on the right individuals and -- and directing our attention in that direction.

So our position is that because the plaintiffs' experts don't establish this notion of a high rate of error and because the notion of high rate of error is based on a -- an incorrect assessment of what the task is, what we are in fact doing, it should be given no weight by the Court.

And we think the fact that we have developed this new

process that allows them to respond where -- where it's possible and where appropriate, and the fact that there is judicial review, demonstrates that the additional procedures that they -- that they demand -- which is what the ultimate question must go to -- do the additional procedures -- are they necessary to counteract that high rate of error?

And we don't think that they do. We think that they are -- the vast majority of things that the plaintiffs are demanding are clearly denied by law to them and -- and don't help that process in that way.

And I point out that the experts don't make that tie at all. All they say is here's a bunch of reasons why we think the Government is bad at predicting individuals as true terrorists. Or they don't make any connection in any scientific way that could possibly be helpful to the Court as to why the particular remedies that the plaintiffs are seeking would solve that particular problem that they purport to have established.

We think that the Court can dismiss the error argument -- especially as it pertains to the experts -- and rule for the Government on that basis.

If the Court is inclined to think that the experts have something to say at all, then -- then at a minimum the expert is not summary judgment for the plaintiffs but the -- the opportunity for the Government to subject those individuals

to --

THE COURT: No. When a party makes an assertion, supported by affidavits in support of a contention on summary judgment, the opposing party who contends that's factually wrong has the opportunity and the duty to submit that in opposition. The failure to do so shows the fact is not disputed.

So we're past that point now. This record is what it is, is what it is.

MR. BOWEN: I respectfully disagree, your Honor.

THE COURT: It is, indeed. No. We're not going to continue this process to supplement the record on factual material.

If the plaintiffs created an issue of fact by submitting an expert and you didn't respond, then you didn't respond. The consequence is what it is.

MR. BOWEN: I appreciate that, your Honor. The only thing I would point out is that we objected to the submission of materials precisely because they weren't subjected to Daubert.

THE COURT: Right. And you had the opportunity to submit opposing material. Rule 56 is not something I made up. It is what controls our proceeding.

MR. BOWEN: I understand that. Our position has been -- and we made these points in our -- in our documents --

that if the Court was going to admit the testimony, we needed the opportunity to subject them to **Daubert**, and we have been deprived of that. And we don't think that the short window of time in which we were preparing our briefs was an adequate time for us to engage in expert discovery. Which, by the way, had not been opened at all, so we actually didn't have authorization to --

THE COURT: Well, Counsel, your point would have been if you thought their expert was wrong, was to create an issue of fact with their own experts that contest competently the material at issue. That's the point I'm addressing. I am not reopening this record to add more evidentiary material to that which has taken months to develop.

MR. BOWEN: I understand, your Honor.

THE COURT: The record is what it is.

MR. BOWEN: So let me simply state for the record that we object to a proceeding in the way that would deprive the Government of a fair discovery process that results in the submission of purported expert testimony without expert discovery, without expert discovery, without expert depositions, and without the **Daubert** process.

We -- our position is that we were deprived of that process, and it is improper under the rules.

THE COURT: And I'm only noting -- and the only reason on which I comment again, is that the defendants were

not deprived of the opportunity to submit their own record as a matter of expert evidence in opposition to the extent they contested the -- the premises made. That's simply my observation.

It's noon. We're going to recess, unless there's something that must be said before we recess.

MS. SHAMSI: Just one --

THE COURT: Although it's dangerous to say something when a judge is hungry.

MS. SHAMSI: Then I'm going to sit down, and we can talk about it after recess.

(Laughter.)

THE COURT: Good. 1:30, folks. We'll see you at 1:30.

(Recess taken.)

THE COURT: Thank you, everyone. Please be seated.

Before we continue, Mr. Bowen, I had a question I

wanted to be sure I understood your position on.

Somewhere, either in the procedural evaluation of these designations and review or in the substantive evaluation on the merits, I want to be sure you agree that a court must be in a position to determine or to review the decision by your clients as to where the line was drawn. What was classified, and what wasn't. What was privileged and what wasn't. So that there is a way, procedurally or substantively, to verify that

that which you assert is a sufficient process was actually performed here.

Have I made my -- does my question make sense to you?

MR. BOWEN: May I have a minute to consult? Yes, it does.

THE COURT: Okay.

(Pause, conferring.)

MR. BOWEN: I go back to that prior unsatisfactory answer that I gave before, that we don't exactly know what that process is.

We agree that there should be review of the ultimate substantive question.

I would point the Court to the possibility that there could be, as the Court suggested, an ex parte record, an ex parte review where the Court looks at the information and does its own evaluation. So that's one possibility.

I would point the Court back to our existing attestations that we've submitted about the fact that the Government has in fact maximized those disclosures. And particularly in the Grigg declaration of page 46, in the Moore declaration at paragraph 18, and the Steinbach declaration at paragraph 21.

So, again, we don't know exactly what that process is, but we agree that there should be review that needs to be fully settled and vetted by all of the parties through

submissions.

I would point out that in the event, as plaintiffs said sort of pre-stage and we talked about as a possibility, that privileges are ultimately asserted. Those privileges, when they are asserted, are subject to the review of the Court and are typically but not always involve ex parte review of the information supporting the privilege through declaration evidence.

And so while we don't know the particulars, we agree that there should be an assessment by the Court. And that's — and that that's inherent to our process and our defense of the process, is that there is judicial review.

THE COURT: I'm not sure that answers my question, but I think we needn't spend more time on it right now because there is indeed a beginning, a middle and an end of the day.

And I want to be sure people have a chance to make the points you feel you need to make before we do adjourn. And we will adjourn no later than five o'clock today.

I also already know I'm going to direct supplemental submissions from both sides on the following questions. And they will be simultaneous, without rebuttal presentations. The idea being I just want to be sure I understand your position on the following:

If the Court grants in whole or in part your combined motion or your opponent's combined motion, what are the next

steps in this forum, in this district court?

Secondly, if the Court grants in whole or in part a combined motion -- actually, I don't need you to address this question in the submission.

What I want to know this afternoon is the extent to which there is a need to argue, beyond the record already made, on the individual cross-motions. Because the individual cross-motions, I believe, are really subsets of the larger issues. To the extent plaintiffs contend the process isn't sufficient, it's in the nature of a facial challenge to the process. And specifically it's, I suppose, an as-applied challenge it's even more insufficient in terms of plaintiff X because of this or not.

And I know you're prepared to do that, and I'm happy to listen to it. But it occurs to me that I'm not sure there's a path to disparate rulings. That the motion's granted for one party and then a different outcome as to an individual, you see. I'm -- I'm just wanting to be sure we make good use of your time today. So as to that latter comment from me, just keep it in mind as you go forward. I know we have more to talk about on the combined motions, and then we'll go forward on the other.

But I do want very specifically, from both sides, an articulation of what you contend the consequences are vis-a-vis the case that is here, in this district court, of my granting

either parties' combined motion in whole or in part. And specifically to the extent the defendants contend many of the plaintiffs' arguments are premature because they're truly not in the nature of a procedural issue but are more appropriately addressed in the context of substantive review, I need the defendants' position as to what judicial officer is making that review in this case. The defendants cannot continue to just point to theory. This is a real case and a real controversy. And if the defendants assert the plaintiffs' arguments are premature because a judge will take care of it at some point, I want to know who that judge is. Is it here? Is it the appellate court? Is there some administrative law judge who defendants conceive are — is supposed to be making the record here, like in a social security case or — or an immigration case?

You need to -- both sides need to tell me specifically what they believe comes next, once we cross this procedural due process threshold on the motions. And we will, you will get a ruling on these motions and we will move on. I just want to know what you think that looks like before I conclude ultimately how those should be addressed.

So -- and I know it's a busy time of year. And I know you all have lives and things to do. And just give some thought to between now and the end of today how much time you think you need to do this without giving undue burden to your

personal lives or those to your colleagues. But I'm hoping you would be filing this very early in January. So I'm not insisting on a turnaround overnight but something soon. That's what I'm thinking.

Now, when we adjourned, Mr. Bowen, I think you were speaking. Was there anything else you wanted to say on the points before lunch? Otherwise, we'll go back to plaintiff.

MR. BOWEN: Yes, your Honor. There's actually just one thing I wanted to cycle back on. And I may have — in the volume of my objections to the procedure having to do with the plaintiffs' experts — sort of underemphasized the fact that the Government didn't simply roll over and provide procedural objections to the submissions, but we submitted a voluminous declaration from the executive assistant director of the F.B.I. that we think demonstrates as a matter of fact and law how far afield plaintiffs' supposed experts were on the question of error and what is necessary and what is required in the context of making the kinds of assessments and identifications of threats that are — that are at issue.

THE COURT: Thank you. I've noted that.

Counsel.

MS. SHAMSI: Yes, your Honor.

I'm not going to belabor anything with respect to the experts. I think we've covered everything, unless you have any questions about them. My two brief points are that even if you

were to accept the Government's argument or account for the Government's theory --

THE COURT: Speak a little louder, please.

MS. SHAMSI: Even if you were to accept the Government's arguments or account for the Government's theory that what they're seeking to do is solely to determine or predict who poses a threat, which is — there still has to be —

THE COURT: I think they're seeking to determine whether a person may be.

MS. SHAMSI: A person may be a threat.

I would point you first of all to our explanation of the statutes and what the statutes of Congress has — has said with respect to the No Fly List actually go to — the "may be" language comes from statutory provision directed at what carriers need to do and how the Government needs to work with carriers in order to prevent boarding.

Congress hasn't actually spoken more substantively to this issue beyond, say, that the Government needs to provide a fair process to challenge.

The -- regardless of that, though, the process still has to account for the Government committing error in its determination that someone poses a threat, and that's part of what our experts go to as well. That is part of the question that our experts seek to answer. What the Government seemed to

be saying before we broke was that you can have a list that is divorced from the purpose of preventing an attack and identify people who merely pose a threat. But preventing an attack is the element that keeps this list from being an entirely untethered to any valid purpose blacklist. And that, I think, goes to the Government's interests.

That if this -- if the purpose of this list is not to prevent an attack, then it becomes free-floating. And the Government's arguments prove entirely too much, in that the Government is seeking deference to put people on a list who might pose a threat, and entirely discounting the due process rights of those who are put on a free-floating list that does not have a connection to a legitimate purpose of preventing an attack.

Does that make sense?

THE COURT: But part and parcel in that effort is an assessment of threat in the first place.

MS. SHAMSI: Absolutely. And we understand that.

But that -- two points with respect to that. Which is this is not a new concept in the courts or in the law.

THE COURT: Right.

MS. SHAMSI: And when the Government seeks to make a threat assessment in a variety of contexts, the Supreme Court and the Ninth Circuit have said repeatedly that it is an inherently uncertain endeavor. And in order to account for

that inherently uncertain endeavor, you need back-end procedural safeguards which are virtually all of the safeguards that we are asking the Court to find are missing here. And we put forward for you why, so that as a matter of law, this process is deficient because it does not provide the safeguards that courts require when the Government makes a threat assessment.

THE COURT: Well, I -- I find it hard to accept the conclusion you're making in the context of agreeing that all of these safeguards are necessarily required in the context of the procedural assessment.

For example, by analogy, again, we have a procedure by which persons are accused of a crime. A case is brought to a grand jury. The threshold is low. It's a probable cause standard. There's no cross-examination. Hearsay evidence is admitted. There are all kinds of generic arguments made and an Indictment enters.

That process is the process, yet all of the procedural safeguards for the accused come after the charge is made; after the placement on the list, so to speak.

Now we have a post-deprivation challenge here. If there is a procedure that is inherently fair or at least minimally constitutionally fair, that does not include the procedural safeguards you're describing. But the substantive review of the actual decision to place does account for those

in a way that recognizes the compelling interest of the Government in national security.

Why does the box have to be expanded at the procedural end if in the substantive analysis the issues you address are accounted for? Because there isn't any certain way to address the competing interests here. All I can foresee is eventually there will be a neutral review, and that reviewer hopefully will have all of the necessary information to make a decision. And perhaps that reviewer will be in a situation where he or she won't have the benefit of full advocacy but will have a basis to determine whether the factual information asserted is at least more probably true than not, or probably true than not, or reasonably suspected to be true. We haven't talked about burdens of proof.

But what I'm -- I guess what I'm struggling with here is the insistence plaintiffs place on putting all of the safeguards in the initial process, which I don't find authority to warrant at the moment.

MS. SHAMSI: Your Honor, I do think there is authority for that. And I think that the way to go about thinking about it is, if you are going to start with -- let's start with the analogy that you've posited, which is --

THE COURT: An Indictment.

MS. SHAMSI: -- a grand jury and an Indictment.

Right? So you have the grand jury, you have the Indictment,

you have whatever standard -- you have the standard that the grand jury applies. That's what happened when our clients were placed on the No Fly List.

Then the D.H.S. trip process, which is -- you know, sort of the -- the process that they went back through after your -- after the June 14 -- the June 2014 decision. Said to the Government, what's -- here's the process, post-deprivation, that you're going to provide in order for them to be able to challenge their placement on the list.

Right?

And so that analogously is what comes after. And so in that process, it's very little different from what the court said in Salerno, what happened in Foucha, what happened in — in Hendricks, which is that you're reviewing an assertion by the Government that someone poses a threat. And when you are making that review, then you have to do so by providing that person with the Government's reasons and basis for making that threat assessment, in order for them to be able to challenge.

THE COURT: In the context of a national security environment, where there is a -- an additional -- compelling interests that have to be taken into account. The kind of proceeding when a court determines to detain civilly a mentally incompetent person. There the interests are squarely those of the individual, and the freedom and liberty interests of that

individual as they're curtailed, and the -- just the common welfare sort of protection. Not national security of the entire country being placed -- there is a different value here. It is not -- it is not enough simply to rely on these individual cases because they don't frame the issue of the Government's security interests here in -- in the same context.

And I agree -- I'm -- you can't -- you can't cite to that which isn't there, but you also can't expect the Court to adopt a wholesale -- an analysis that arose outside of a national security threat context.

MS. SHAMSI: If I could break that down into just two responses, your Honor.

If you look at the Supreme Court's language in Salerno --

THE COURT: Yes.

MS. SHAMSI: -- and if you look at the Ninth Circuit's decision -- I believe it is in **Rodriguez**. I'll correct myself if it is not.

But also in the Court's decisions in **Foucha** and — and **Hendricks**, referring back to **Salerno**. They all talk about the fact that in **Salerno**, Congress had sought to address a very serious problem that raised compelling interest on the part of the Government with high crime. And very serious crimes, including murder, including other crimes that took life, risked liberty, property, and crimes of the highest order.

And in those contexts -- and the language is very, very similar to what is being argued here. And in those contexts, when threat is determined, the Court found that there's nothing inherently unattainable about it, but you still have to provide the procedures that include criteria grounded in variable scientific facts and notice. The kinds of notice that we're talking about here. And a hearing, as you'll hear about very shortly.

So part of what I think we're struggling with is that -- of course this is the national security context. We all understand that. But there are other national security contexts that are very important where process is required. And what this isn't is so anomalous a context that individuals may be deprived of a liberty interest without any fundamental -- without -- and respectfully, your Honor, I understand there is more process that's being provided here. But at least in some cases -- and in virtually all with respect to our clients -- it is very little different from what we had before. And so what you have is a context in which people are being deprived of the liberty interest based on a threat assessment without fundamental fairness safeguards.

THE COURT: So which of the cases applying Mathews do you think your clients' interests/alliance is with most closely?

MS. SHAMSI: Again, I think we would start with

Al-Haramain and KindHearts as a floor. But I think you would 1 2 also look at the Mathews analysis in the due process -- or the 3 due process analysis and the future dangerousness cases. I think you would look at the due process analysis in the 4 deportation cases where Mathews is also applied there. And 5 it's -- it's just not the case that this can be so anomalous 6 7 that nothing that is a guarantor of fundamental fairness in 8 virtually every other context that exists does not apply here. 9 It's simply not the case. That's --10 THE COURT: Well, I'm not suggesting that it doesn't 11 apply --12 MS. SHAMSI: Sure. THE COURT: -- here in the big "here." 13 14 MS. SHAMSI: In total, yeah. 15 THE COURT: What I'm hearing the defendants argue is 16 that at a minimum it doesn't apply to the procedural challenge. 17 That it is part and parcel -- to whatever extent it may be

That it is part and parcel -- to whatever extent it may be permitted and must be permitted and is required, it is part of the fundamental review of the fairness of the substantive decision.

MS. SHAMSI: And what I am trying to get at -- and

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MS. SHAMSI: And what I am trying to get at -- and let me just sort of state this perhaps in a different way -- is that defendants are incorrect that by virtue of the fact that this was an administrative proceeding, you cannot have fundamental fairness safeguards. They're provided in a variety

of administrative proceedings.

THE COURT: I don't think they're saying you cannot. They're just saying they didn't need to.

MS. SHAMSI: They didn't need to. And that's what we disagree with. We say, as a matter of law, here's all of the contexts in which those safeguards are provided, and they're missing here. And that's why this is constitutionally deficient.

I will just end by emphasizing one thing that I made a point about before but I do think it's very important, which is that the categorical tail of classification should not wag the procedural due process dog. I may have messed that up very much, so let me just say that again. Which is you don't have before you a record that shows how much classified information is at stake, and there are — virtually all of the other privileges have to be balanced and adjudicated, and that's why you don't have the record — nor did we have the record — to be able to respond —

THE COURT: Well, do you think this matter should be remanded?

You made the point this morning that it hasn't been.

Do you think there should be administrative work done before

this Court tries to ultimately comply with the mandate from the

Ninth Circuit, in a jurisdictional minefield where Congress has

said the review should be in an appellate court, and yet we're

here and still here and likely to be here for a while?

It's not that I don't welcome you all, but if you contend that this should be at an administrative level, developed in a different way, I would like to know that specifically.

MS. SHAMSI: Your Honor, I think our thinking — and I actually want to consult with my co-counsel a bit more. But I think our thinking, especially as we came in here today, was you gave defendants a shot at this, and you did that starting back in October of 2014. We're now in December of 2015.

This is our second round of briefing on procedural due process, and we think that what should happen at this stage is we would ask the Court to enter judgment and opinion finding the existing process inadequate and to move forward by ordering information to be provided. And to the extent that it's going to be withheld, for the defendants to specifically seek to justify and identify their withholdings with a privilege log with enough information that we can contest and you can adjudicate. And for you to -- my -- my colleague is going to discuss vagueness. This will fit into the remedy. I'm going to let him address those aspects. But you could set forth, you know, guidance on what is necessary at the next stage, and then we would ask you to provide the hearing.

THE COURT: When you were just referring to the future dangerousness cases, are you talking about the civil

commitment, pretrial detention, those kinds of future dangerous exercises? Or what else?

MS. SHAMSI: I'm talking about those, yes, your

Honor. But we're also talking about the cases in which the

courts assess future dangerousness or threat in the immigration

context as well. Yes.

THE COURT: What -- I have a recollection, in this community here in Oregon and in other comments many years ago, there was litigation over so-called gang lists, gang listings, where local law enforcement developed lists of suspected gang members. They were placed on a list. They were then excluded from certain geographical areas. And that if they were there, they were charged criminally with trespass crimes, and the like. And then there were other consequences.

There was much push-back to those listings and the manner in which people were placed there. And then the process sometimes — somehow went away. And I was wondering — at least in this community. I mean, there was a process tightened. And it — there are still lists, and there are still people who are viewed by law enforcement in certain contexts when they're encountered, that they're on — they're listed as not just having a conviction for this or that, but they're associates of the Crips or the Bloods or whatever.

I'm wondering if in that context there is any help to be found for this sort of analysis by analogy, which is, I

guess, where we end up in any event.

MS. SHAMSI: I'm afraid I don't -- I'm not familiar enough with --

THE COURT: Looks like he wants to jump in, and you're welcome to.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Sure. Your Honor, it's **Vasquez v.**Rackaukas. It's the Ninth Circuit decision about it.

And I think it is certainly analogous, in a number of respects, because you have a situation there where people are having significant deprivations of their liberty. I think less significant than the deprivations here, but they are significant deprivations of liberty. And the -- Vasquez holds that the due process clause covers that. It holds that there is a right to a hearing in that context. And the facts of that particular case are quite extreme. The -- the denial of due process there is -- for reasons that I think are not worth getting into right now, are sort of fact specific in a way that the decision doesn't resolve all of the questions of what due process demands in that situation. But I think that is relevant quidance from the Ninth Circuit.

The things I wanted to talk about -- first talk about was the right to a hearing, and then the burden of proof.

THE COURT: Before you do, I just want to be sure your colleague has finished her remarks and there's nothing else in response to her remarks and then we'll get to you.

MS. SHAMSI: And we will move on. I have finished, your Honor. Thank you very much.

THE COURT: All right. Thank you.

Counsel.

MR. BOWEN: Thank you, your Honor.

One thing that I think is frequently confused in plaintiffs' briefing and their presentation here is on the one hand they tell you, you know, we don't dispute that the Government can make these -- can make these judgments, and we don't dispute that the list is valid.

But, on the other hand, we get arguments that appear to me to be challenges to the substance, challenges to the undertaking as -- as an initial matter. That -- that we're not complying with the statute and -- or that we're improperly calibrating our determinations. I don't think those are process questions. I think those are substance questions. I think they're invalid. I think they're incorrect. I think the statute is clear.

For one thing, the argument that the statute only has to do with air carriers, I think, misses the mark. The statute recognizes it is an embodiment of Congress' recognition that the list exists and should exist and is appropriately calibrated in the way that the statute contemplates. That that is the air carriers should check against the list of individuals who should be denied boarding an aircraft because

they may pose a threat to aviation and national security. I think that's a clear mandate. It happens to be one the executive branch agrees with. And we think that our standards and our criteria are exactly and properly calculated to that standard, and the notion that you can sort of use the fact that air carriers are folded into it as a procedural mechanism to suggest that the — that the standard is somehow improper is wrong.

I also dispute the notion that the No Fly List is somehow divorced from its purpose, which is something that Ms. Shamsi suggested. That is incorrect.

The plaintiffs would have you believe that the No Fly List purpose is to predict terrorist events. That is not the case. It is to prevent them. And so -- and when there are individuals who are on the list who have not then gone on to commit heinous acts on airplanes, that in fact may be a function of the efficacy of the list, rather than some sort of signal that we have miscalibrated it.

And, again, I think the plaintiffs are also repeatedly confusing the question of when and in what context procedural safeguards should emerge.

Almost all of the cases that they cite to are judicial proceedings. They are back-end judicial proceedings that happen when someone is civilly committed and it's reviewed by an Article III judge. The one exception, sort of, is the

immigration context, where things are heard before an ALJ, which is a creature — which is an entire system which is quasi-judicial and mirrors the judicial process in many, many, many respects. And I think, for purposes of this analysis, should be considered in that vein. In other words, that there is a judicial processes. That's not what we're dealing with here. We're dealing with an administrative process for which there is back-end judicial review.

And, again, with apologies for the Court's frustration, the question of what that ultimately looks like is something that was not joined in our prior briefing. And we will gladly address that and try to clarify the Government's position on the supplemental briefing that the Court has ordered.

THE COURT: I should say I'm going to limit your paging on those.

(Laughter.)

THE COURT: I am. I don't mean to be humorous. I want very specific information in five pages or less, not including the full page it takes to list the name of counsel. So you just need to tell me what your point is on what happens, what are the next steps; to the extent one motion or the other is granted in whole or in part.

MR. BOWEN: And, again, we yet again hear a list of cases from Ms. Shamsi that she contends are analogous. Notably

absent from the list is the Al-Haramain, is the Jifry case, is the Ralls case. All of which make it very clear that as a matter of structure, constitutional structure, the Government is not required to disclose in the name of due process its classified evidence. Not its state secrets privileged evidence but its classified evidence, in the due process. Even to the extent that the classified evidence leaves the individual otherwise entitled to due process protections, with no substantive information to challenge.

And, finally, we fundamentally disagree with the notion that the new process supposes -- presents little difference to what the individuals have before. We think that is a grossly unfair characterization of the robust letters that the individuals provided, the highly specific evidence and information they were provided, and the opportunity to be heard on those topics that plaintiffs were afforded but almost -- almost entirely refused to engage in.

Finally, I have no comment on the **Vasquez** case. And we can take a look at it. If the Court would like to look at that, the Court can. Except I would point out that nowhere in the -- in statute -- in federal statutes or perhaps in local statutes, that I'm aware of, was there a mandate that the local police authorities identified members of gangs and prohibit them from entering personal -- particular spaces and neighborhoods. By contrast, there is a national security

imperative that we do so in order to prevent the heinous acts that occur when those sorts of individuals -- individuals have access to airports.

Finally, I do want to point the Court to the **Hallie** (phonetic) case, which is cited in our briefs, which discusses the way the procedures need to be calibrated, and the value of additional procedures, need to be calibrated to what the procedures are.

And, in that case, the Court talked about grand jury proceedings when the individual challenged what was afforded in a grand jury proceeding, suggesting that there needed to be additional safeguards in the grand jury. And the answer was no, the grand jury proceeding is appropriately calibrated to the level of proof for grand jury. That is reasonable suspicion that supports an Indictment. The level of proof here, again, is appropriately calibrated to the task. To not only go after previously indicted or convicted individuals, or individuals that had already committed terrorist attacks, or individuals we know have particular concrete plans to engage in particular terrorists attacks, but to individuals who may pose a threat to aviation or national security.

THE COURT: All right. Plaintiffs' next point. Counsel.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Yes, your Honor. I'll be discussing the right to a hearing, the burden of proof, and

vaqueness.

And I want to start with the right to a hearing, your Honor.

And I am cognizant of the fact that the June 2014 order did not decide this question, although we had presented it. So I recognize that it is something that you had reserved.

I think, though, very significant from the June 2014 order, your Honor did decide that there is a significant deprivation of a liberty interest created by the No Fly List. That should be beyond dispute by now. And that really is the — the only central question for purposes of deciding whether or not there has to be a live adversarial hearing. Because what we said two years ago and we said again in the briefing now is that there is not a context, your Honor. There is not a context in the American legal system where you have a significant deprivation of liberty without a live adversarial hearing.

And if you look at even the most extreme cases that the Government relies on -- look, for example, at Ludeke v.

Watkins, which is a case they cite, which is about the internment of German noncitizens during World War II. It's a case that the Ninth Circuit recently cited right next to Korematsu, in talking about the -- the most extreme views about detention.

There is a hearing in World War II, in front of an

alien enemy hearing board; which you can see if you read the case. Even then they gave hearings to people in this context.

They also cite **Carlson v. Landon**, which is a case from the height of the red scare. It's about deporting Communists. And there too, if you read the case, both in front of the Attorney General and in front of courts on habeas, you get a hearing on whether you are actually kind of committed to the violent ideology of the Communist party.

So, you know, those cases, I think, really underscore how dramatic and how extreme the Government's position is; that there cannot be a live adversarial hearing in a context where you have a significant deprivation of liberty. You know, it just simply does not happen in our legal system.

You know, we -- we cite, obviously, a lot of deportation cases. And, you know, that's because it's been the rule for a hundred years. Actually, since 1903, it's been the law that you can't deport somebody who's already here in the United States without giving them a hearing.

And, you know, I've heard Mr. Bowen today say, Well, those are really, really different, for a variety of reasons.

THE COURT: Well, they are different. Moving someone out of the United States permanently is a much more significant interference with liberty than preventing a flight. They are fundamentally different. And to argue they're the same really is a nonstarter.

The value that is protected here, the personal interest at stake here is different and less than in a full-scale deportation or the full-scale -- I've lost the verb. The -- the passport cases, the revocation of a passport. Those are on a continuum of a kind.

But we have to be realistic here, the deprivation of the right to fly internationally does interfere with a liberty interest, but not in the same way as a person who's forever deported from this country; forever removed from his family, his livelihood, or her -- her reasons for being here.

It just -- it just is not persuasive at all to align the No Fly listees in the same cabin because they're different interferences. And to call one significant really doesn't help because it is a continuum. But I don't think it's helpful to -- to say that because a person who gets deported gets a hearing, a person who can't fly absolutely has to have a hearing; that -- that doesn't follow.

 $$\operatorname{MR}.$$ ARULANANTHAN: Let me just say a few things about that, your Honor.

First, the reason why we are looking to that as an analogy is because it is a situation where an administrative decision maker, in the first instance, is deciding on the deprivation of liberty of -- of some person. And in that way -- and we're not talking about the review process. Of course, there is judicial review also constitutionally required

in deportation cases. But the administrative process is a process to decide on a deprivation of liberty. And in that way — that's sort of — you know, that is also true here, under their view. Right? That the administrative decision maker here gets to decide whether or not you're on the No Fly List. There aren't a lot of analogies. Because in most of the other situations where liberty is at stake, it runs through the courts in the first instance, not just as a matter of review. But even as an initial matter: Civil commitments, you know, and all those sex offenders, pretrial detentions —

THE COURT: Well, it is the nature of the beast here.

It is a very different kind of deprivation, a very different kind of risk that the Government seeks to protect against -- in balance with the individual liberty here.

All I'm saying is that there's more to trying to resolve this very serious dispute among the parties than relying on a case where the liberty interest is significantly higher, the deprivation is significantly more substantive than being prevented to fly.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Let me just say two other things on that subject, and then I'll leave it -- on -- on the deportation analogy. And then I'll leave it, your Honor.

The rule -- the rule that you get a hearing, it's not only true in cases where you are deported for -- for your whole life. It's not only true in cases where you've lived here for

30 years and you have a lot of family and all of those things. It is true in any case where a person is physically present in the United States, even if you've been here for a short period of time. Right? So --

THE COURT: Yes. But the point is -- I'm trying to make is the same, Counsel.

Being removed from the United States is a more significant substantive deprivation than being told you cannot get on an airplane to fly across the United States space voluntarily.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Very well, your Honor.

THE COURT: It's just different and lesser than the interests you're seeking to protect. It doesn't mean it's not entitled to great care in this process but they're not the same. And when -- because they're not the same, there has to be an acknowledgment about where on the sliding scale these processes must align in order that there is a -- the minimum necessary. In a contest we look at what's the minimum, not the ceiling but, as your colleague calls it, the floor.

What's the minimum that must occur to satisfy constitutional procedural due process?

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Right. And I think we would just say, your Honor, that if the floor is set by the charitable organization designation cases, which are national security cases but involve property -- and, you know, as my colleague

said, so many -- repeatedly, the Supreme Court says, you know, they -- liberty is different than property. And then at least one relevant place, acknowledge your Honor's view that -- that it is different.

But if you want an administrative process where there's a deprivation of liberty, then that's one place to look.

And the other thing -- the last thing -- actually there were three things. The last thing is we have already in this record -- and we can, you know, put more; at whatever the appropriate stage is, if there is any left, you know. But our clients have had their marriages destroyed. Our clients have had their economic opportunities completely decimated.

Our clients -- we actually talked about this two years ago, your Honor. You and I did. You know, the possibility of being unable to go to your mother's funeral.

To, you know -- so the notion that --

THE COURT: We've been there. I have recognized an interest.

But here's my question for you and me. Again, repeated analogy to the property interest case. Are -- is it correct to say that all property interests are lesser than any liberty interest?

In **Al-Haramain**, they effectively shut down the entire operation. And when one compares that to the -- the No Fly

List function — that is to say, you can't fly. You can't go to the funeral, to attend a wedding. You can't enjoy these events effectively in this modern world. It is more than just the boarding of a plane. But it has a different consequence, and probably of a different degree, depending on what the purpose of the trip might —

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Yes, your Honor. Absolutely. I think it is different. And we would not argue that literally every deprivation of liberty — for example, a **Terry** stop is a deprivation of liberty; an arrest that would be justified by probable cause, but only for the length of time until you're held over to trial, subject to the Speedy Trial Act and with a bail hearing, and all of that. We're not arguing that those are necessarily, by definition, greater interests than, you know, the most severe deprivation of property.

But clearly, you know -- it looks like you can't put this in the record. You know, it looks like this (indicating with hands). You know, there might be a little bit of overlap. But there's a lot of liberty interests that are stronger than the overwhelming majority of property interests.

And for the reasons I've said and that your Honor has acknowledged, this is a significant deprivation of liberty. So it's not the same as being stopped on the side of the road for 30 minutes. And particularly in a situation where it is broadcast to Governments around the world, causing you

problems. It follows you everywhere you go, all around the world. Even if you're not flying over U.S. air space, that Government may know something about you and subject you to some interrogation. This happened repeatedly to our clients, all over. In Latin America, and all over the world. So it is not — it is a very significant deprivation of liberty. Granted what you said at the outset, your Honor, there's no perfect analogy.

But we are not aware -- we are not aware of a case where a court says it is a significant deprivation of liberty and does not provide a hearing. And we have said this for two years.

THE COURT: A live hearing, you're saying.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: A live, adversarial hearing.

We've said it for two years. They've never given a

counter-example. And the cases they cite, as I said -- even

from the height of the most sort of draconian periods of, you

know, the United States history, also provided hearings to

people when they deprived them of their liberty. So it truly

is -- it would be a first. It's certainly, under modern

jurisprudence, to -- to go that route. And that's the reason

why we feel very strongly about it, your Honor.

If -- if you -- if you take the -- the idea that there is -- there should be a hearing here, a lot of the problems that the Government describes -- you know, we can use

that analogy. They are dealt with in other hearing contexts.

And, you know, I -- I am not saying this to suggest that they are the same. Because I've -- I've heard you loud and clear, your Honor; your view that they are different. But just on the question of can you have -- deal with secrecy and national security issues and classified information in administrative hearing processes? And the answer is, in the deportation context, yes, you can.

Rafeedie v. INS is from the D.C. circuit.

Kiareldeen, which my colleague discussed earlier, these are cases where the cases say you cannot use secret evidence.

There is a regulation in the immigration hold which allows for the use of protective orders. And there is all administrative.

This is not judicial process. The fact finder here is an administrative decision maker.

And so I think it's relevant to these questions about, you know, how much does the fact that there's secrecy or national security here really affect -- affect the process that is due.

Now, your Honor, obviously you are clearly inclined to look at the charity designation cases. I want to talk about those for a minute.

THE COURT: I'm inclined to look at all of the cases you're citing, and then some; on both sides. I want to get this right. But, yes.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Yes, your Honor.

So the Government seems to pre-suppose that those cases have held that there is no right to a live adversarial hearing. And, you know, we -- I very, very carefully read all of them. And I can assure your Honor that that is not the case. There is not one of the charitable designation cases actually holds -- and I'll talk about them each individually -- that there is no right to a live adversarial hearing.

Obviously Al-Haramain is the most interesting one because that's the Ninth Circuit. The word "hearing" does not appear in the opinion. They are talking about other process. And there's a back and forth about the statements of reasons, and all of that. There's no discussion of a live adversarial hearing.

You know, I wasn't counsel. I don't know everything about it. But at least the way the Ninth Circuit opinion was written, it looks like nobody made that argument. At least in the Ninth Circuit.

It wouldn't surprise me, in a sense, if they hadn't because the charity cases — the real focus is you have a — a set of documents about an organization and you're trying to figure out what it did, what it funded in other parts of the world. Usually, right? And so that's going to be a paper-driven process. And what you're interested in is all of the documents about this organization.

Our case is -- as the Government says, they're trying to make a future prediction about the extent to which our clients are dangerous. And obviously their histories are relevant to that. But a huge amount of it turns on credibility.

As like our clients say we didn't do these things, or we aren't these things. And it would be very odd if the due process clause treated those two contexts exactly the same. Like one which is primarily a paper thing about what an organization did and how it spends its money, with, on the other hand, a very personal judgment about a person's character and, you know, predisposition to violence. And obviously the Ninth Circuit has repeatedly stated what is sort of obvious from common sense. You would use a hearing process and hear from the person and hear their testimony to judge their credibility.

KindHearts is another one of the cases. A property designation case. It's actually my co-counsel who litigated it.

KindHearts held that OFAC failed to provide a meaningful hearing, and found that to be a due process violation. And it's only a district court decision, obviously, but that was the holding there.

The other two cases that we have talked about a lot, Global Relief Foundation is the Seventh Circuit. They find no

right to a pre-deprivation hearing. That is that initial freeze of the assets, there's no requirement for hearing there. That's analogous to initially being placed on the No Fly List. And as we have said, we are making no challenge. We have not ever challenged the pre-deprivation process. So that doesn't tell you anything about the right to a hearing, you know, on the post-deprivation side.

And then the other one, your Honor, this is the closest they get in their favor, I think. National Council of Resistance of Iran, NCRI, from the D.C. Circuit, it says you have to have at least a written opportunity to contest.

So, you know, it doesn't decide the question of whether more than that is required. It's finding that the Government system has not met due process standards, and then -- and then doesn't say whether a live hearing would have been required.

So on -- and it's the D.C. Circuit, you know. So, you know, it's not as though there's binding authority which says that in the charity context you're not entitled to a hearing. There's one case that squarely addresses the question, and it's **KindHearts**, and it said there was a right to a hearing. So I think when we're talking about what is the floor on the subject of the hearing, that's relevant.

And then, you know, this -- the last thing I guess I wanted to say on hearing specifically is if you look at some of

the kinds of evidence that we have gotten in our particular cases, I think it can be very helpful to talk about why a hearing is important.

And I can talk about one entirely on the public record, which is Mr. Kariye's case. And it's an interesting one because, you know, Mr. Steinbach's declaration said that there was not any more information, no -- any additional disclosure would risk significant harm to national security.

And then the Government charged him with a denaturalization proceeding. And, lo and behold, there is all of this new information that it turns out; allegations against Mr. Kariye.

And the striking thing about it is, you know, those are only available to us because we have a regular civil proceeding in front of your Honor where they actually have to, you know, particularly state the reasons for why they are trying to, you know, take away his citizenship. And obviously there's incredible amount of overlap between the claims there and the claims in this case, except with much more detail.

And, you know, it's striking because now there are all kinds of things -- I don't know if your Honor has had a chance to review the answer in Mr. Kariye's case. But there's all kinds of things that we now can deny because we actually know what they're talking about.

So, you know, they -- you know, one of the things

they've said is -- and this is actually -- it's almost like a comedy of errors. You know, that they -- they say that some person said to some other person, in a recording which they have -- this person, who was actually a criminal defendant, Mr. Battle -- now he's been convicted -- told a cooperating witness that Mr. Kariye had said that he had fought in Afghanistan during the Soviet occupation.

And we said -- actually, he didn't go to Pakistan until the 1990s. Then they say in their paper process, Oh,

Mr. Kariye has never denied fighting the Russians in

Afghanistan. But he did deny it. He said he didn't go to

Pakistan until the 1990s. Right? And this is -- this is just

a purely kind of -- the kind of thing you could clarify in five

minutes. Right? Like we say, Yes, he did deny it. He's

saying -- because the Russians left Afghanistan before the

'90s. And so, you know, we're saying he never fought the

Russians in Afghanistan.

But nobody can know that unless you actually have a hearing where you can resolve this kind of difference. And they interpret his answer, the thing that we wrote, to mean that he doesn't deny it. And then they build this whole thing about that: He has fighting experience, and so he -- you know, he's capable of training people about violence because he's fought the Russians. And he's denied it. And they don't know that he's denied it because all we've had is a paper back and

forth.

You know, another example I'll give you -- it's so striking to me, your Honor. In an unrecorded conversation with a cooperating witness -- another witness who's not named.

Whether that person is confidential or not, I have no idea.

And Battle -- that's the person who's been convicted. Battle told the cooperating witness that Kariye had provided to Al Saoub -- a different person who is now dead -- an amount of money sufficient to give \$2,000 to each of the travelers to Afghanistan.

You know, I count -- we deny this. Okay? I -- and it's denied in the denats complaint.

I count four levels of hearsay here. There's -the -- this is -- this is an indent in the letter, like my
counsel was talking about. So I don't know who the author of
this is, and I don't know if that person is the same person who
signed the -- the letter that the Government provided to us. I
also don't know -- you know, is this an unrecorded
conversation? I don't know if the person who's recounting this
had personal knowledge, you know, of what Mr. Battle said.
Okay?

Then we don't know what Mr. Battle's motives are.

He's a criminal defendant -- or, you know, I think he was under federal investigation at the time this may have happened; what his motives are. Don't know if the cooperating witness is paid

or, you know, subject to some kind of criminal liability. And the most important, your Honor, we don't know if any of these people are available. Like do -- we don't know if any of these people -- we don't know if they have personal knowledge. We don't know if they could have actually made their own statements. So it's like the game of telephone. It's four levels, four chains of a game of telephone. Whether any of these people actually -- the Government could have provided them. All right.

And this is the kind of thing you could figure out at a hearing. We're not saying that it has to accord with, you know, Crawford and in the confrontation clause. We're just saying it has to be fundamentally fair. Meaning if the witness is available, then the person should actually testify and somebody should be able to cross-examine them. But that's complete impossible on a paper system. You literally cannot do it because there's no way to trace the origins of the statements.

And, obviously, it's particularly troubling in a situation where the Government is relying on witnesses whose credibility might be seriously — might be seriously compromised. Their answer is: We take it into account. We know who the people are. We know. And so we've discounted, already, for all of the unreliability of our own evidence.

I'll stop there on -- I think it's probably easier --

on the burden of proof, I'll do after Mr. Bowen or co-counsel gets to respond.

Is that the Court's preference?

THE COURT: Just a moment. (Pause.)

That's fine. Thank you, Counsel.

Go ahead.

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MR. BOWEN: Hearing counsel's effort to distinguish the -- the terrorism -- finance, terrorism designation cases, to be really grasping at straws to go about and find the most narrow construction of a holding possible to suggest that -- to find that somehow in proving a negative that there is no authority for the proposition that -- that the Government, in making national security determinations and in setting up a redress system can't decline to provide a full-blown hearing about a national security matter for a suspected -- or a potential threat, a person who presents a potential threat, to test at the margins and test witnesses concerning their designation. I think it is not an accident that in **Al-Haramain** -- which was challenging a due process of an entity that was entirely shut down by a designation -- that, in assessing the fairness that should be provided by due process, made mention of the possibility of certain remedial measures but not others. Among them, unclassified summaries that go to the, quote, subject matter of the agency's concerns.

And I think the panel in Al-Haramain was thinking

very carefully about what would be the appropriate scope of -of due process in the administrative context, where these
concerns are -- are animated.

And it talks about -- again, it characterized the holding as what **Al-Haramain** was asking for, or concessions that imposed a minimal burden and did not implicate national security.

And we presented evidence to this Court, which is unrebutted, that the Government has considered all of those aspects of the potential ways to provide redress and has rejected them for reasons that should be quite obvious.

That it is a -- a -- an obvious and clear threat to the information that we need to protect to place people in a room before an officer in an administrative context; to test and probe and go at witnesses or potential officials of the Government, all when we know at the back end that the type of -- that those types of hearings happen typically in a judicial forum.

And, again, I'm not going to belabor the points that the Court made with regard to the deportation context. But I will note that, in addition to the differences and interests that the Court noted, that those proceedings are actually creatures of statute in many cases. They're in the INA. And the hearings that have been developed through a very rigorous process, both from Congress and in the executive branch,

because of the nature of the interests.

And I will point the Court also to the ASSE decision which made it very clear, not only that paper processes can be appropriate -- and, again, that was a property -- property case. But the paper hearings -- paper processes can be appropriate. But also that the -- the agency has discretion to design the process.

And that's an important distinction here, where we have been given and granted the discretion to design the process, rather than mandated a quasi-judicial environment like the one that you see in -- in the deportation context.

I would also point out that we weren't able to go through all of these authorities in our brief. But there are a number of -- there are a number of provisions scattered throughout what is a very complicated system of procedures in -- in the administrative context that actually make it clear that, generally speaking, that the Government is not required to disclose classified evidence to aliens or their counsel and to provide those if it's necessary.

But I point, as one example, the ATRA, the Alien

Terrorist Removal Act, which makes that point express. That if

someone is being deported under the ATRA that they do not have

access to classified information if it is in fact used. And

there are also other regulations on point that make this

similar point. I would point to 8 CFR 124033, 124049, all of

these -- all of these authorities. And also there's -- there's a -- an EOI or operating policies and procedures manual that talks about, generally speaking, in -- how to handle classified immigration proceedings, that doesn't contemplate a mandatory disclosure of information.

And, of course, we point to the fact that there is no authority for the proposition that the Government has to turn over sensitive or classified information to an alien or to his counsel because it simply doesn't exist. And so to analogize them in that way, I think -- I think really doesn't do the trick for the plaintiffs.

I think -- but, again, there's an attempt to confuse the issues, in -- in bringing in what is this sort of parade of horribles about various alleged wrongs that plaintiffs have experienced. One is there's not a record on that before the Court on summary judgment. Secondly, is they've not tied it expressly in any meaningful way to the mere fact that an individual is on the list. And I don't think that's -- it's -- it's a large stretch to deem all of those different experiences to be a necessary consequence of a person -- of an individual's status on the No Fly List.

It just simply could be that if -- if other -- some other foreign authority, somewhere, has information and acts upon that information, that they just have the information.

They actually have the substantive information pursuant to some

sort of agreement or because, in fact, it was their information in the first place; we don't know.

But the notion that -- that the Court should just take a series of allegations from counsel that are unproven and have not been tied in any way to the No Fly List, and sort of import that to sort of elevate the -- the level of the interest and the level of the alleged harms that emerge from the No Fly List, we think is without foundation.

I'll largely let Ms. Powell deal with the question of the individuals.

But, finally, I think it's interesting that counsel, you know, made references to **Terry** and other circumstances that deal with what to do when there are exigent circumstances in making determinations about threats. And in those cases, there's not a hearing. There's only a hearing at the judicial phase.

And, again, we don't know what the judicial phase of the substantive challenge that would occur at the back end of a No Fly List determination is, but we would provide our views on that.

But just as they suppose that we don't have authority for the express declaration that you don't -- that you don't need a hearing, they also don't have authority for the mandate that a hearing was required in this context, and that is also no accident.

It would be a very, very strange thing for Congress, recognizing that the executive branch has this deeply important obligation to protect the national security and should be maintaining lists of individuals who should be denied access to aircraft, that Congress, in recognizing that we should set up a process — that the executive branch should set up a fair process — that's really all it says, is a fair process. That, by accident, Congress mandated that the — that the executive branch hold administrative hearings to make those determinations.

To the contrary, how to do it was left silent. The case law makes it clear that we have the discretion to do it.

And we've exercised that discretion in a reasonable way because holding hearings, providing that kind of access that they are — that they are demanding is not compatible with the case law on national security in the civil context and presents manifest and clear risks that are intolerable for purposes of protecting the very national security that the list and the information that often informs the determinations about the list all go to protect.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Your Honor, just a couple of quick points, and then maybe I can move to burden of proof.

THE COURT: I just didn't know Ms. -- if Ms. Powell had something to say in response to the individual arguments you made.

Did you want to add anything? You don't need to. I just wanted to --

MS. POWELL: I do want to address at least a few of the individuals, but that can wait until we will finish the broader evidence, if you would like.

THE COURT: That's all right.

Go ahead, Counsel. Thank you.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: I just note again, he had several minutes; not a case involving significant deprivation of liberty where there's been found to be no hearing.

The cases that they cite in their briefs, they're things about -- like body armor certifications and hydroelectric power licenses, and things like that. And I think it just goes to show you how far you have to go before you find an approval of a process where there's no hearing.

I mean, you can't cut off the public utilities people without giving them a hearing, under **Memphis Light**. You can't take away their driver's license, things like that.

So the -- the one other thing -- or two other things

I wanted to say. He -- Mr. Bowen cited the alien terrorist

removal court provision. And this is apropos of what we were
saying this morning, your Honor. That process -- it's never
been invoked, actually. That statute has never been used. But
the statute itself, it provides for clear counsel. I mean, so
it goes to something that Ms. Shamsi was saying earlier. To

the extent we're interested in analogies there, it's a very elaborate process, but it allows for clear counsel to then see information. It is 8 USC 1532, to the extent that we're looking for analogies.

And then the last thing I'll say on the question of whether there's a record of liberty interests, there's the declarations from three years ago, obviously, which are, I assume, incorporated into this. And then there's Mr. Meshal's declaration, which your Honor heard described this morning.

On the burden of proof, this is an issue where I think, unlike some of the others, I thought the June 2014 order had -- if not completely resolved the question, at least had spoken to it in a very -- you know, unlike the hearing question, which was left, you know, quite open in the sense that the Court said that it was a fundamental deficiency in the process and that contributed significantly to the risk of error, that the reasonable suspicion threshold was very low.

And obviously that is still the threshold that the Government is using. To be clear, our challenge to this, your Honor, is in the D.H.S. trip redress process.

We are not challenging -- we have no position in this litigation on what the proof standard should be to initially get put on the list. But when we're going through the process that our clients just went through, if your Honor were -- is asking the question, did that process that we just went through

satisfy due process, our argument is it did not, in part because the standard of proof there was reasonable suspicion, rather than clear and convincing evidence. And --

THE COURT: Why do you leap to clear and convincing evidence if mere -- if mere reasonable suspicion isn't enough, why isn't probable cause your focus?

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Because, your Honor, under -- it's the V. Singh, a case from the Ninth Circuit. And this is reiterated in Rodriguez. These are cases about detention.

They're about detention in the immigration context. But what the statement is is that it is normal. That's the word they use. It is the normal burden of proof when -- whenever interests more than mere money are involved. And they're citing not just to immigration cases but also to, for example, Cooper v. Oklahoma, which is a Supreme Court case about competency to stand trial.

This is also the standard of proof in parental terminations and in a number of other contexts. It's the standard -- I know, you're -- you're not going to be exceedingly persuaded by this. But it's the standard in civil commitments. It is the standard in deportation cases. It is the standard in denaturalization cases.

THE COURT: Well, I totally understand that's the standard there.

I -- if I civilly commit an individual, I have

removed that person from his or her home, put them in a 1 2 facility, required that they take medication, potentially. 3 That's much different than saying they can't get on an airport. So what -- what is the reasoning that leads to your 4 argument that there must be not just evidence that something is 5 more probably true than not but clear and convincing evidence? 6 7 Evidence that makes the truth of the assertion highly probable. 8 That's just shy of proof beyond any reasonable doubt. 9 MR. ARULANANTHAN: Well, your Honor, I think more 10 probably -- excuse me, probable cause means it could actually 11 be more likely that the person is not a threat --12 THE COURT: Probable cause is enough to authorize a 13 law enforcement officer to break down the door of my home and 14 search my most private possessions. Probable cause is enough 15 to take a citizen off the street and put them into custody. 16 MR. ARULANANTHAN: Yes, your Honor. 17 THE COURT: That is no small standard. 18 MR. ARULANANTHAN: Absolutely, your Honor. But those 19 are extremely temporally bound. And so that arrest --20 THE COURT: So is an air flight. You know. It's you 21 don't get on a flight, then you engage in a process, and 22 hopefully --23 MR. ARULANANTHAN: But you're unable to fly for the rest of -- or indefinitely. Right? 24 There is no --

THE COURT: You are unable to fly until the

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constitutional process either rectifies an erroneous listing or you're unable to fly indefinitely.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Yes, your Honor. So that —
that — I want to be clear here that all of the arguments that
we have made in our brief are on the assumption that the sum
total of process that we are saying — that was to be provided
and that we said was inadequate is the process provided in the
administrative standing, with the only exception that there has
to be judicial review on a, you know — a standard of — you
know, some review standard, but not on the assumption that
there's new facts. And so that the hearing is actually like
split in half; where half the facts are done in the
administrative, and half is here.

We have always --

THE COURT: The burden of proof you're talking about now is the burden to sustain the placement on the No Fly List as part of the procedural D.H.S. --

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Exactly, your Honor.

THE COURT: -- review after a challenge?

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Exactly, your Honor.

So, for example, if there were hearings held here, which is what we think should happen, you know, because of our right to a hearing claim -- and let me -- let me step back, actually.

The Constitution does not require that the

fact-finder here be a judicial one. All right. So you could have an administrative hearing --

THE COURT: So do you want to have a remand? I keep asking the question, in light of --

MR. ARULANANTHAN: But -- no. My answer is the same as my colleagues, your Honor, which is it has been five years. So, you know, even though as a general matter -- you know, we're interested in our six clients. Right? As a general matter, you know, we -- briefing questions of law, does the Constitution require a judicial -- a hearing before your Honor? No. You could satisfy the Constitution's commands with a hearing before a neutral administrative decision maker.

In this case, where there's been five years of deprivation, you know, far longer than on any probable cause, or anything like that, now what -- what does -- you know, your Honor has the power to remedy the due process violation, which has happened. And what, you know, is one way of remedying that?

And we believe the appropriate way -- given the need for exigency because of how long it's been -- to have your Honor hold the hearing, yes, absolutely. Your Honor can hold the hearing. That is what we want.

Because we think that if you send back again -- you just write an order and send back again, then we'll be back here in another some months or -- you know, this was 18 months,

or something. You know, arguing about whether the revised -- you know, second revised process satisfies due process.

Whereas your Honor could hold the hearings. And then the arguments that we're making here then go to the standard of proof that your Honor would apply in an evidentiary hearing in order to provide the due process needed to allow someone to challenge the No Fly List.

And so the clear and convincing argument that we're making and the reason why we're saying probable cause is insufficient is because that would be the standard that whoever the ultimate fact-finder is, that fact-finder, that person, they should be applying a heightened standard.

And the problem with that person, whether it be a judicial officer or an administrative officer, the problem with that person providing a probable cause standard, your Honor, is just that -- you know, that does mean that it can be more likely than not that the person is not a threat. We're just talking about --

THE COURT: The statute speaks in terms of the word "may." Not "is," not "is more probably true than," but "may." Which is, in linguistic terms, a pretty low threshold.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: It is, your Honor. But that -we -- respectfully, your Honor, their reference to that statute
is really apples and oranges. That's the imposition on the
airline as to what they have to do when a person who is

properly listed is walking through the airport. And when a person -- when they think that a person is not allowed to fly, then if they -- as long as they think the person may be, you know, not allowed to fly -- so the analogy there is if there's a name mistake -- you know, I show up at the airport and there's a list and they haven't spelled my name right -- you know, no one ever spells my name right, your Honor. You know, and that then should be a low standard. Because if I might be the person on the list and I'm properly listed, then as long as I may be the person on the list, don't put me on the plane. It completely is absolutely irrelevant to the question whether that is the standard when you're actually going through a redress challenge.

And then the second point I would make, your Honor -THE COURT: So you -- you say the redress challenge
must, in order to comport with procedural due process, carry
this high standard of proof, clear and convincing evidence;
that which highly probably is true?

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Yes, your Honor. That's our position.

And the other thing, if your Honor is -- you don't sound especially persuaded by that. I would just say there's a long gap between clear and convincing and probable cause. In the civil cases -- regular civil cases standard is preponderance of the evidence. Even that at least means it's

more likely than not that the criteria are met.

THE COURT: Preponderance of the evidence is pretty close to probable cause. Probable cause is a fair probability that something is true. That a crime was committed, that the person to be charged is the one.

Preponderance of the evidence, what's more probably true than not. To me, those sound pretty much alike.

Are you really saying there -- that somehow preponderance of the evidence is more or less than probable cause?

MR. ARULANANTHAN: I only mean it in the technical legal sense, when if you look at the cases -- like **Addington** talks about burdens of proof and they draw them on a continuum. That's how they draw them, your Honor. And I have to say, unlike in the right to --

THE COURT: But in terms of burdens of proof, when one speaks of reasonable suspicion, one doesn't speak in terms of litigation burdens; when an officer is authorized to stop and inquire when there is reasonable suspicion that there is criminal activity afoot. And the courts have stayed away from clear and convincing evidence and --

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Absolutely, your Honor. And I'm not aware of probable cause being used in a hearing context of any kind. It seems like that's, you know, grand jury. But it's entirely ex parte. And as you said, your Honor, you know,

when -- if a court does a -- a probable cause hearing, a

Gerstein hearing, you know, again it's -- it's only for

purposes of that person's deprivation of liberty to be held

over for trial. So -- but the other thing I would say on this

subject, your Honor --

THE COURT: So before you leave that, then, are you saying that if it's not clear and convincing evidence, if there's not authority that constitutionally compels that, reasonable suspicion is still too minimal a standard? And, at a minimum, should be preponderance of the evidence, what is more probably true than not, drawing all reasonable inferences.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Yes, your Honor. Reasonable suspicion, both as a legal and as a factual matter, in light of what your Honor had -- had, you know, held -- had held earlier is -- is -- is an extremely -- is a far too low a standard.

And the other thing I would say, your Honor, on this subject is -- remember the listing -- the prior -- the June 2014 order says this as well. The listing can be indefinite.

They are not -- they have never said, Oh, we have a -- an actual -- we're going to go through the process, you know, periodically like you do in civil commitments, and things like that. And there's no reason to believe they will change their mind. So it is a process that is going to be an indefinite and potentially permanent deprivation of liberty.

And, again, I'm not aware of -- of a standard as low

as probable cause, let alone reasonable suspicion, as being 1 2 used for a long-term deprivation of liberty. Those are cut off 3 by the trial -- you know, the -- the trial process. THE COURT: So just for me to clarify, the burden of 4 proof standard you're focusing on now applies to the review of 5 the initial placement, the D.H.S. redress process? 6 7 MR. ARULANANTHAN: Yes, your Honor. 8 THE COURT: You're saying when a person seeks 9 redress, they should be maintained on the list only if there is 10 clear and convincing evidence that --11 MR. ARULANANTHAN: Exactly, your Honor. 12 THE COURT: -- they may be a terrorist? 13 MR. ARULANANTHAN: Well, the -- the -- that -- what 14 comes after the "that," we have bracketed repeatedly because 15 we've bracketed the substantive due process question. We 16 haven't moved on Count 2 for summary judgment, and we haven't 17 litigated it. So once you go to complete that sentence, we 18 don't know yet. 19 But the burden of proof, where we're talking about, 20 yes, your Honor, is with the D.H.S. redress --21 THE COURT: All right. Go on with your next point, 22 please. 23 MR. ARULANANTHAN: I think perhaps I should let our 24 friends speak on the burden of proof, unless --

THE COURT: They are friends.

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Go ahead, yes. Burden of proof, Counsel.

MR. BOWEN: I want to go back to the statute.

 $\label{eq:committing} \mbox{I think counsel is effectively committing linguistic} \\ \mbox{mayhem on the statute.} \mbox{ The mandate } -- \\$

THE COURT: I just said you were his friend.

(Laughter.)

MR. BOWEN: That's fair enough. I will say he is twisting the statute.

THE COURT: Go ahead.

(Laughter.)

MR. BOWEN: The mandate is for air carriers to check their lists of passengers against the Government's list of individuals who may be a threat to national security. It is not for the air carrier to make a national security assessment based on the person sitting in front of them, or the likelihood that they may or may not be the particular individual. That is not their call. And it is clear in the statute that the determination about who may pose a threat does not fall to an air carrier. It falls to the Government. So I think that's clearly wrong.

Second, again, we have counsel telling the Court to analogize to judicial determinations that are set up in a -- either a judicial review phase or -- or a -- a judicial proof phase to -- to deprive somebody of significant liberties. Much more significant than the ones we area talking about here. Or

quasi-judicial creatures of statute like the deportation context. This is a different kind of an assessment, and it's a different kind of process.

But let's also talk about what the law actually says about burdens of proof in the administrative process.

I'll direct the Court right back to Al-Haramain, which tells also -- it speaks to the -- the level of judicial review, the standard of proof for judicial review, which is effectively -- which is effectively an arbitrary and capricious standard of review for the APA, and the review for evidence is a substantial evidence standard.

I would also point out that in the APA itself, when there is a hearing -- and we don't think a hearing is required or should be required here -- that the standard of proof for the officer in the administrative context is substantial evidence. Not clear and convincing, not preponderance. Substantial evidence.

THE COURT: And what does that mean?

MR. BOWEN: It means that when assessing facts, that there should be substantial evidence; which is a relatively low threshold to determine whether or not the facts are true or not. Either way, I think it rebounds back to the original question.

The mandate is to determine to the satisfaction of the Government that the person named was a threat. I don't

think you can elevate the standard at the internal administrative judicial review phase to require us to twist -- not torture -- that same standard; to elevate it; to make us prove to a higher degree of certainty than what the standard is supposed to be.

If the person, at the beginning, is determined to make that -- to -- may pose a threat to the national security, that same standard should apply at the administrative review phase because we are -- that is the person who should be kept off of an airplane. That should -- the standard should apply throughout.

The burden of proof at the judicial phase is a different thing entirely. But we submit that those burdens would depend on the claims brought. That they too would be fairly deferential, and they certainly -- I don't think -- would come to the point of clear and convincing evidence that the person is a threat.

I would point the court to the Court's own determination in the **Tarhuni** matter, when the Court talked about that there is some level of scrutiny of international travel claims, a substantive due process in international travel claims. But that is a little bit undetermined, and it is not clear how much deference or how that is lowered in the context of the Court's obligation to defer to the Government's national security determinations. Which is yet again another

piece of this that hasn't really come into play.

So there is the may question that's -- that's in the statute and I think is clear, but there's also the -- the importance to defer to the experts within the Government.

And -- and in our context, that means coming to a settled determination based on the statutory standard, which should not be altered artificially in the administrative process.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Just a couple of things on that, and then I could go to vagueness. Or we could take a break, if you would want --

THE COURT: No, I would rather be vague before a break.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Okay. No problem.

I thought we had cleared this up, and now it seems like -- confusing a little bit.

Substantial evidence is the standard after you have an administrative process that complies with procedural due process requirements.

And so if that's all your Honor is going to be doing, then the clear and convincing evidence standard has to be imposed at the administrative level.

If instead what your Honor is doing is providing the procedural due process in question, then you're not doing substantial evidence review. You are conducting the fact-finding hearing and your Honor has to provide -- has --

has to apply to the clear and convincing standard.

And then just a couple of other things. We're not talking about judicial -- you know, obviously deportation is not judicial. And some of the other examples I gave also -- the detentions are in the administrative context. And it's not a creature of statute either. The Constitution requires -- under Woodby v. INS, the Constitution requires it. And the same with all of the other things I said about a right to a hearing. It's not -- it's now a creature of statute but I think as the --

THE COURT: Well, you know, let me just say, I can only listen so fast. You really are, both of you, talking very quickly. It would help a lot if you would slow down.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Okay. I will try in that --

THE COURT: Let's not try. Just slow down.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Yes, your Honor.

And the -- at the deportation, the requirement is a product of the due process clause, which was then implemented by statute.

And then the last thing I'll say on burden of proof, your Honor, is just that, you know, Congress's judgment doesn't change the fact that burdens of proof are ultimately decisions for courts to make. Because it is courts that allocate the risk of error. And particularly that's true when it is a due process issue. But as a general matter, you know, all of the

cases we're talking about are judicial decisions, determining how to allocate the risk of error in any given proceeding.

MR. BOWEN: Your Honor, could I make one point before we move on?

THE COURT: Yes.

MR. BOWEN: I just want to point the court to **Vance**v. **Terrazas**, which is 444 US 252, where the Supreme Court

expressly said that the clear and convincing standard in the immigration context is not a constitutional basis.

THE COURT: Go on, Counsel.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Your Honor, I would now like to turn to vagueness.

And the criteria that we are interested in discussing is in the Handeyside declaration, which is Docket 2081. And it's page 51 of that -- it's in the exhibits of that declaration.

And Ms. Shamsi is telling me that it's also -- oh, right, of course. It's in the -- in the combined joint statement of facts at Docket 173, in paragraph 5. And the -- the constraint here is also grounded in one -- in considerations of notice.

And the Supreme Court has said very clearly, and the question really is, what conduct would a person of -- you know, a reasonable ordinary person know? If they avoid that conduct, then they can avoid the deprivation of liberty at issue.

So here, really, the question is if somebody wanted to avoid being placed on the No Fly List, what are the things that they should know? If I just don't do these things, I can avoid being at a -- placed on the list.

And the Government says, essentially, well, don't pose a threat to commit an act of violent terrorism. But, you know, as we said in the briefing, there's not even probable cause — at least the Government hasn't argued that, that there's even probable cause that any plaintiff has committed or is about to commit an act of violent terrorism. And that's not what their fact-finders found. So obviously just that fact alone is not good enough. That's not going to save you from being put on the list.

And then the other thing the Government says is,
Well, even if we don't know like the outer margins of the
conduct that could cause you to be placed on the list, it's not
vague as applied, you know, because these people are clearly —
you know, belong on the list. And that argument — you know,
we obviously disagree on the facts, which maybe we'll get into
at some point later. But the Supreme Court foreclosed that in
Johnson.

And the Supreme Court said, if we hold the statute to be vague, it is vague in all of its applications. And the example that they gave is actually the unreasonable rates case. It's a case that -- Cohen Grocery, where the Court said a

statute that barred companies from charging unreasonable rates was vague. And what Justice Scalia said was, Well, probably there are some rates which are obviously unreasonable if they're extremely, extremely high. But that didn't say the statute because there's many rates where you can't tell whether it's reasonable or not, and therefore the entire statute has to go because it's void for vagueness.

And then the other argument that the Government made was that the word "threat" in the criteria is just like the words "substantial risk," in 18 USC 16(b), which is the crime of violence definition in the federal criminal code.

And then, you know, shortly after -- I think it was the day that they made that argument, you know, the Ninth Circuit struck that down under **Johnson** in **Dimaya**.

And so, you know, our -- our basic approach here is that it's not clear either what a threat is -- like what is it that you -- you know, is there a set of elements, or anything, that makes something a threat? Something that you do? Something that you are?

And then, second, how much of a threat do you have to be to end up being on the No Fly List?

And then the -- well, I guess if -- if you indulge me, I'll want to delve a little bit into the actual language of the criteria themselves, your Honor.

The first one, 4.5.1, that's -- it goes to the threat

of committing an international -- an act of international terrorism with respect to aircraft. And that actually is not alleged as to any of the six plaintiffs who are in the case now. So if you read their letters, they don't cite that one as the triggering provision for any of the six. Instead, they cite the -- the ones below that, which are not about aviation security.

So I'll skip that one for now, except with the caveat that this isn't relevant to the due process — the substantive due process question that we have kicked down the road. You know, that is whether if you're not putting them on the list because they're a threat to aviation security, whether there's a due process problem with that and whether in light of that you should allow them to do what they did at the time we filed the preliminary injunction motion and, you know, let the people apply subjects to safeguards.

And so then the next three, a threat of committing an act of domestic terrorism and also a threat of committing an act of international terrorism, the next one, as to U.S. embassies and missions abroad, those both rely on a definition which is in the criminal code. And at first blush it might make you think it's a criminal statute, but it is not. You know, it's 18 USC 23311, that provision.

And that provision describes -- it gives definitions of terrorism that are not for use in any criminal statute.

But, instead, as I understand it, they're for use for like how the F.B.I.'s jurisdiction is, to when they can investigate certain kinds of conduct.

And those statutes say -- they basically say -- they define violent or dangerous crimes that, quote/unquote, appear to be intended. That's what it is. It's -- it's violent or dangerous crimes -- I'm paraphrasing -- that appear to be intended. That, I'm not paraphrasing. Appear to be intended to intimate or coerce people or influence government policy by coercion. And, you know, other very bad things.

And this too, your Honor, it has the same abstraction problem that we see in all of these vagueness cases. You know, it's just like, you know, doing -- congregating outside in a way that annoys passersby. You know, that's **Grayned**. Or having an ID which is credible and reliable to a police officer. That's **Kolender v**. **Lawson**. And, here, appear to be intended. That's in the eyes, I presume, of the F.B.I. or some law enforcement officer that's going to then put you on the list. And how can a person know what will be -- appear to be intended or not?

You know, a lot of our clients are engaging in First Amendment activity. You know, Mr. Kariye -- again, I know his case passed -- he's the imam of a mosque here. And he gives sermons. And some of the things -- he talks -- you know, he has talked to people. And some of the conduct which the

Government alleges what led him, you know, to be put on the list is statements that he made describing his views about jihad. And we disagree about their claims about the content of that. But, either way, it's obviously a discussion about, you know, a religious-based topic. Where some of the other clients, it's things they said on the Internet.

So it's basically touching on First Amendment activity where heightened standards apply in the vagueness context. And we still don't know, like, what is it that makes somebody a threat and what is it that makes somebody appear to be intended -- you know, to do something which appears to be intended to intimate or coerce, or things like that?

So that's really the vagueness argument, at least for now, your Honor.

THE COURT: Thank you.

To that? Yes, Counsel.

MS. POWELL: I'm going to address the vagueness argument.

Plaintiffs prefer to challenge the criteria, and I think necessarily the statute. Not because they — they find the actual terms of it vague, in terms of what constitutes terrorism or even a threat, but because they think the predictive task set out by Congress is somehow vague. That there's no reasonable way to determine what poses a threat.

I think, as this Court already held in Fikre, the

vagueness doctrine does not invalidate the No Fly List criteria.

The -- the Grigg declaration provides some additional context for what we do when looking for what poses a threat and how we determine what is a reasonable suspicion. The Government looks for articulable intelligence about the nature of the threat and the targets. Or in the absence of information about particular plots, it looks for the articulable intelligence that the person is also operationally capable of carrying out an attack.

Other predictive and risk-based standards have survived vagueness challenges, like the predictive standard at issue in **Schall versus Martin**. It's a pretrial detention case.

I don't think the recent Supreme Court decision in **Johnson** changes that in any way. If anything, it reinforces the Government's position.

In **Johnson**, the court reaffirmed that risk-based assessments are not generally vague when they're tied to real world conduct, when one is looking at conduct and trying to determine if it poses a risk of future threat. It held that the statute there was vague because it was tied to an analysis of a hypothetical ordinary crime and whether that ordinary crime of burglary or arson posed a serious risk.

And it held that even though that couldn't be done, it specifically rejected the argument that this would

invalidate other types of risk-based statutes and analyses because other types of risk-based statutes and analyses are tied to analysis of real-world conduct. That's exactly what we have here.

An independent reason, I think, that the vagueness doctrine cannot invalidate the No Fly List criteria or the statute here is that the fly list criteria simply do not regulatory conduct. The vagueness doctrine, by its terms, is black letter law; applies to laws that prohibit or require particular conduct.

The No Fly List criteria simply don't. It tries to prevent conduct, conduct which is itself clearly defined.

Thus, plaintiffs don't take issue with the vagueness criteria in any way. They take issue with the means the Government uses to assess threats. That's fundamentally not a vagueness or a procedural due process argument at all. That is fundamentally what the Government does in the national security arena. It tries to assess the threats to national security and to prevent the worst outcomes.

With respect to the -- the facial vagueness challenge, it's true that the Supreme Court upheld what appears to be a facial vagueness challenge in **Johnson**, saying that the vague statute is always vague.

Johnson does not purport to disturb the general longstanding many-time-cited Supreme Court rule that a

plaintiff cannot challenge a statute or provision that's going for vagueness if the plaintiff's own conduct is clearly proscribed by that statute.

In this instance we think that, even on the current public record, at least some of the plaintiffs' conduct clearly falls within that category.

With respect to information that's not covered by the protective order, for example, Mr. Kariye's conduct clearly poses a threat of future terrorist activity because he has in fact engaged in terrorist activity by conspiring to support the Portland Seven's terrorist acts to attack Americans abroad.

One -- two further notes on -- one is as -- as -- as the parties have stipulated to the content of the criteria -- that's in the parties' joint stipulation. There's certainly no need for the parties or the Court with respect to the criteria to rely on unauthenticated documents that the plaintiffs claim are illegally leaked Government documents.

And, finally, I think, as a broader matter -- I realize the Court is looking at these specific individuals. But as a broader matter, I think the ruling that they're looking for, that the Government can't determine what's a threat, could potentially endanger all sorts of other threat-based activities the Government engages in.

If we can't prevent access to a civilian aircraft that can be used as a weapon of mass destruction, can we also

predict who such a threat can be can have their security clearance revoked or denied employment or denied access to weapons or any of a host other ways in which the national security community engages threats?

I think that's what I have on vagueness.

THE COURT: Thank you.

Yes, Counsel.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Just a few things, your Honor.

that -- that the list doesn't regulate conduct, when put in the context of this doctrine, really make it seem as though, you know -- I don't understand how, you know, it can possibly be constitutional. Because if you believe that people are entitled to know what conduct they can engage in to avoid being on the list, then if there's no conduct that -- in particular that is at issue because it's not based on that, it -- it's not a conduct-driven thing, then it's impossible to know. And that would make it actually, I think, more vague than any of the provisions that we have set around constitutionally vague.

And, you know, unless your Honor is going to accept our argument that the No Fly List is exempt from the vagueness doctrine, despite the fact that it is a significant deprivation of liberty, then I'm not sure how it could possibly survive as -- as it is currently formulated by -- by the Government.

Just a couple of other things I want to briefly

mention.

This is not tied to our claim about the experts.

THE COURT: Right.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Right. So our challenge is to the word "threat." And then it's a challenge, obviously, to the statutory references; which include that, you know, that language appears to be intended. And that's what our challenge is to.

My friend relies on the word "operationally capable."

I want to note that's only in the fourth criteria. It's not in the second and the third. And so, for example, not in the one that applies to Mr. Kariye. And that itself is quite troubling. Because operationally capable, to me, means you're actually capable of committing the act. Which, if that's not included in the other two, then that means that you can be a threat even if you're not actually capable of committing the act.

And, you know, I don't mean to sort of be tongue-in-cheek about it. I honestly don't know if it's only in the -- if it's a normal statute, and you're applying normal rules of statutory construction. If a provision is -- a particular element is in one and not in the other, then you assume that it's, you know, not meant to be included in the other. And if you can be a threat to commit an act without actually being operationally capable of doing it, well, then,

like -- you know, then what -- what is a reach then? It reaches people who aren't even capable of committing acts.

And, you know, I thought it was interesting. In her account here, she says, Mr. Kariye is — has engaged in a conspiracy with the Portland Seven. If you just had the word "conspiracy," instead of "threat," at least then we would have a body of law that we could apply and say, okay, you know, you can be on notice: If you're engaged in conspiracy to commit any of these acts, then you're on the list.

But threat isn't the same as conspiracy. And that's not what they have charged and not what the fact-finder had to find in order to put these people on the list.

So I think -- let me see if there's anything else I wanted to tell your Honor.

Yeah, I think only -- only that vagueness -- she suggested it's -- the facial standard doctrine is still there, and it's not. You know, after **Johnson**, vagueness is like overbreadth. You don't have to -- you can challenge it even when you're not in the -- even if you're in the heartland of the -- of the conduct. There is no such thing. A vague statute is vague in all of its applications.

I think -- is there anything else?

(Pause, conferring.)

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Oh, yes, your Honor.

This point that risk-based -- there's lots of other

risk-based assessments that the Government makes. And that the problem with **Johnson** is that it's hypothesizing to an abstract concept of crime.

We think that's very analogous to two things here.

The threat, nobody knows what a threat is. So you have to -have to hypothesize. It's not just how much threat. That's
like how much risk. But also, like, what is a threat even at
all? That's one -- one analogue to the -- what in **Johnson** they
call the abstraction of the crime.

And then the other one is this idea of -- of appearing to be intended. You know, you have to commit an act that appears to be intended to intimidate or coerce. And that is, as I said earlier, like annoying passersby or being reliable and credible to a police officer. Courts have struck those down, where the -- the conduct that you have to avoid is actually defined by some other entity. You know, it's not what you think is annoying or what you think is reliable and credible. It's what some other person is going to think. And you don't know what they're going to think.

And so, in that way, it's very different from, say, dangerousness determinations in, for example, pretrial. We know there's hundreds of years of, you know, experience and doctrine about this. Right?

But dangerous is you have a criminal history. Or in the acts that you're being charged with, you did violent

things. And, you know, there -- there's a body of doctrine there that judges can rely on. In contrast, this threat to commit an act of national security, it's entirely ungrounded.

THE COURT: Do you want to respond to that, Counsel, before our afternoon recess?

MS. POWELL: Two very quick points. I -- I think we have just about finished with that.

With respect to the point that the No Fly List criteria don't regulate conduct, I think he may be overreading what I said. It's not that it's unrelated to conduct. It's that the conduct is evidence of whether or not the criteria isn't met. It does not itself prohibit or require conduct. That doesn't mean it doesn't analyze conduct.

In terms of what the Supreme Court said in **Johnson**, it analyzes the real-world conduct of people like the plaintiffs to determine whether or not they meet the threat-based criteria.

Second, just sort of an aside, I -- I hope this would be apparent with respect to the operationally capable criteria. The No Fly List criteria provide those specific things about which the Government must have articulable intelligence before they can place someone on the list.

With respect to the first three, they have to have information about specific targets. In the absence of a specific target, they have to have information that the person,

in addition to posing the threat generally, is operationally capable.

That does not mean that if we have specific information that a person is not operationally capable because they're homebound and can't actually plant the bomb, that — that we have heard about — that doesn't mean that that would be irrelevant, and they could still be placed on the No Fly List under one of the other criteria. Because then they would not pose a threat if we had specific information that they weren't operationally capable. You nonetheless have to have information that they are specifically operationally capable in order to list them under the fourth criteria; if that makes sense.

THE COURT: What is a threat?

MS. POWELL: Hmm?

THE COURT: What is a threat?

Counsel says that "a threat," the term, is so vague as to make this entire process unconstitutional.

MS. POWELL: A threat is a specific risk assessment -- that Grigg talks about -- in which we determine whether this is an articulable -- articulable reasonable intelligence about the targets of the -- of -- of the terrorist activities. Or in the absence of targets, about the fact they are operationally capable.

THE COURT: All right. Anything else on vagueness

that you want to emphasize before we take a recess and then 1 switch to another topic? 2 3 All right. 15 minutes, please. Oh, I'm sorry. Yes, Counsel. 4 MR. ARULANANTHAN: Mr. Genego, who represents 5 Mr. Persaud, I think will have to leave -- unless your Honor 6 wants him to stay -- between now and when we would start again. 7 8 Actually, do you want to just --9 MR. GENEGO: Right. I have a flight at 5:20. 10 don't know if they're going to discuss Mr. Persaud. I think --11 I believe, as the Court suggested before, that the individuals 12 are really a subset of the greater argument here. And I don't 13 know that anything is going to be advanced that would allow the 14 Court to distinguish between them. 15 That said, I'm happy to stay here and argue in 16 response to anything the Government might have to say about 17 Mr. Persaud. But --18 THE COURT: Well, let's find out -- why don't -- why 19 don't you and counsel speak in the first part of this recess. 20 If there's something that's going to come up about 21 your client, we'll deal with it first after the recess, and 22 then you'll be free to go if you wish. 23 MR. GENEGO: Thank you so much. 24 THE COURT: Does that work?

MR. GENEGO: That's great.

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THE COURT: All right. 15 minutes, unless we need to 1 2 convene earlier because of a flight. 3 MR. WILKER: Thank you, your Honor. (Recess taken.) 4 THE COURT: Thank you, everyone. Please be seated. 5 Well. 6 7 MS. POWELL: So I have a plan for how I would like to 8 approach the individuals. 9 THE COURT: Yes. 10 MS. POWELL: That plan is I would like to present to 11 the Court three, or possibly four -- depending on -- on how 12 we're doing on time with the individuals -- as sort of illustrious -- illustrative examples of how the due process 13 14 standards are met in this process generally and why the Court 15 can grant our motions for summary judgment. 16 Mr. Persaud was not one of those examples. 17 understand his attorney wants to make a brief statement. 18 will respond, if I have anything to add outside of my general overview. 19 20 Thank you. That works. THE COURT: 21 Counsel, good afternoon. 22 MR. GENEGO: Good afternoon, your Honor. Thank you. 23 As I started to say before, I think the Court is 24 correct that the individual plaintiffs are a subset of the

larger case. And so, to a certain extent, whether there's any

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basis to distinguish between them individually is a -- is a question that I don't think needs to be answered now.

I do think, however, that Mr. Persaud's case does help illustrate, in sort of a concrete way, why it is that the Government's process is deficient and why we need more. And so that's what I wanted to just spend a couple of minutes talking about because I think it does sort of put it in a concrete context.

And my understanding is that the process that we're talking about here is the -- sort of the pre-trip notification process at which there would be some record created that would later be subject to review. So this is the place where we're making the record, and the question is what process and procedural texts my client is entitled to at that stage.

If you look at the submissions from Mr. Persaud -- and I'll make reference to them in terms of the docket numbers and the information that's been subject to the protective order.

It's our motion, Docket No. 287. It's on page 5.

And the Government's response -- or where it discusses the same information is Docket No. 244, and it's pages 8 and 9 and beyond.

THE COURT: Thank you.

MR. GENEGO: But essentially, your Honor -- and it's in other various places. And I think it's in 180, which was

the original submission, where unredacted Exhibit B is the notification letter two -- I think it's 180, Exhibit B. And that's where we got the notification letter.

In essence, it's one reason. I mean, it's one event.

There's certain different facts in there, but it has
to do with one event. And that event was back in 2007. So
we're dealing with stale information to start with, but that's
just one reason.

If that's what we get at the stage where we have the process, whatever it is, and we make the record and have an opportunity to address everything, if we go through that process — and this has to do with whether they have to give all of the reasons. All right?

They've given us that one unclassified, nonprivileged reason so far. And apparently that's all -- from what I understand from the arguments, that's the only unclassified, nonprivileged reason they have.

And if we were to decimate that -- let's say -- in the hearing context, then we move through the review process. And my understanding is that they then get to say, oh, we have other reasons.

THE COURT: Right.

MR. GENEGO: And that's like heads I win, tails you lose. Because what's the point of having the first process then? Because they can always pull something out.

Now, it may be that the first process — and I think the Court was suggesting this before. If there is information that they don't think that they can turn over, they should at least create a record for whoever that decision maker is, where they get to have some opportunity to have an independent, neutral decision maker review what they think they're withholding. Because if there is information in there that doesn't need to be withheld, that can be addressed in the hearing process where we make the record.

So my first point is that I think that it does illustrate why we need all of the reasons. Or at least there has to be a record made about why we're not getting all of the reasons.

The second point is that one of the things we asked for is the evidence they rely on. And one of the items in particular we asked for is -- or that I asked for, for Mr. Persaud -- and I think it's for the plaintiffs generally -- is their statements.

Mr. Persaud was interviewed 12 times. Much to his credit, he voluntarily submitted himself to be interviewed for 12 times. Not surprisingly there are inconsistencies. I mean, if someone asked me about something three times, there's probably going to be some inconsistencies. He's been interviewed 12 times. He doesn't remember everything that he said. Why can't he have his statements?

We should at least be able to get those statements. And then they hold it against him that he hasn't responded to it.

Quite frankly, as his lawyer, I wanted to know what he said before, before I had him talk about something for a 13th time. What happened on the 12th time is he said he wanted a lawyer. And so at that point he got a lawyer, and they stopped interviewing him.

But -- but at least at that stage, where you're having the hearing and making the record, we should and he should be able to have his lawyer have his prior statements. There is no interest in not giving him what he said before. And certainly it's not fair to then say to him, well, you didn't respond any more than you did, other than to say you're not a threat.

Well, I don't want to put him in a position where, not knowing what he might have said before because he can't remember, they're now going to use that against him as another reason. And, in fact, that's what they sort of did in their — in their review process.

The final point that I wanted to make -- and this has to do, again, with whether we should get the evidence and to what extent should they be disclosed to give the evidence.

As you'll see, when you go back through the submissions and the information that is submitted under seal,

they make a reference to a witness. And it's a witness who spoke to Mr. Persaud at some point, according to the information we've been given. So we have a pretty good idea about who that person is. We're not certain. They haven't told us. I don't see why they couldn't tell us.

But the point that I want to get to is we have reason to believe that the information they got from that other individual was the subject or the result of him going through what I would call torture. That he was held for long periods of time, subjected to questioning. And so it doesn't give us an opportunity to, first of all, point that out. Because we're not sure that it's the individual we think it is, although we're pretty certain.

But it also -- again, if we're creating record at the administrative stage, we want to have an opportunity to convince the fact-finder that they shouldn't rely on this and that what was said is not reliable. We need to be able to point that out, and that's important for the process to be fair.

And so I think with those few examples right there, you can see why what they've given us so far is deficient and what we are asking for is necessary and reasonable. And the context of Mr. Persaud's case I think helps illustrate that. And that's really the point I wanted to make.

THE COURT: Thank you, Counsel.

To that?

MS. POWELL: Very quickly. I think what I have to say about Mr. Persaud is going to parallel what I have to say about the individuals generally.

I think the notice that he was provided comports with this Court's previous order about what due process requires.

That he was provided with the general subject matter of the Government's concern and meaningful opportunity to respond.

That was by provisioning of things he didn't have before, like his status and the statutory standard and the criteria but also with provision of a summary sentence. It's the first redacted sentence in his notice letter which is, I believe, unredacted Exhibit A to Docket No. 180, which describes the general subject matter of the Government's concerns. And then the notice goes on to list a number of specific examples, including describing the underlying statements.

Now, there's a limit to what I can say on the public record, given the Court's instructions about how to proceed with the information that plaintiffs have designated confidential. But it's — suffice it to say that with respect to the statements and the individual evidence, he denies virtually none of the allegation. Not even a bare denial:

Here's the allegation, it's not true. He denies virtually none of them, relying on general denials that he did not intend to

engage in violent unlawful activity.

We think this, taken together, demonstrates a number of things. One is that he does actually understand the nature of the allegations against him, but he has no response; not even a denial of the specific allegations.

What he has said on the public record now, that the notice letter includes summaries of his prior statements and a witness statement, that's accurate. The Government endeavored to provide all of the unclassified nonprivileged information which the Government considered with respect to the No Fly List determination. And we have provided him with all of that information which is relevant and material, and which is unclassified and nonprivileged.

That's not to say that there aren't other documents about those interviews. We don't -- we believe them not to contain either relevant information or nonclassified and nonprivileged information.

And I think that's what I have specific to Mr. Persaud. If the Court has further questions --

THE COURT: Counsel, do you feel a need to add anything else?

MR. GENEGO: The only thing I would point out, your Honor, is I don't think it contains a summary of all of his statements. It says that he made 12 of them, and it makes some assertions about collectively what he might have said.

And, again -- I mean, right now they're using his 1 2 failure to respond to these things that are very vague and 3 general as evidence that he should be on the list, and that is really unfair and I think leads to erroneous results because, 4 as his lawyer, I need to have that information and his prior 5 statements in order to respond to that in a meaningful way. 6 And I think that is really -- if you want to talk about a 7 8 bedrock principle, that is a bedrock principle in an adversary 9 process. 10 Thank you. 11 THE COURT: Thank you, Counsel. You're free to go, 12 if you -- when you need to. 13 MR. GENEGO: (Nods head.) 14 THE COURT: All right. We've got about 45 minutes 15 left. So how do we want to use that time? MS. POWELL: I would like to do some brief 16 17 presentation of the overview of the -- of at least three 18 individuals, if I can. 19 THE COURT: Yes. 20 MS. POWELL: To the extent the Court doesn't find 21 that useful or doesn't have questions, I will be --22 THE COURT: Okay. And does that work for you all? MS. SHAMSI: It does. We just wanted some 23 24 clarification about whether there will be reference to 25 confidential information or not. No?

THE COURT: Well, if you say you have to, then I'm going to have to address the problem, but I much prefer to keep the courtroom open.

MS. POWELL: Your Honor, I'm going to begin by doing my best to address these three individuals on the public record without reference to the individual — to the information that the plaintiffs claim is confidential. I think we are going to quickly hit a wall, and — and I might ask the Court for permission to go into that. But —

THE COURT: I don't know why you can't refer to the sealed record by page and line number, and tell me what it is you want me to look at and then what your point is about that.

MS. POWELL: I can try.

THE COURT: But before you do that, I did want counsel's point addressed. This notion of why it would be a burden on the Government or otherwise beyond the Court's authority in the context of this case to require the Government to provide to the plaintiffs their own statements.

If the defendants assert that it was the statements of the plaintiffs personally -- or one or more of them -- that form the basis of the decision, then presumptively the plaintiffs know they made these statements. There can't be surprise, then, or some disadvantage to disclosing those to the plaintiffs.

What is the defendants' view about disclosing to the

plaintiffs their own statements, which presumably were generated with them in the first instance?

MS. POWELL: So we don't claim that the information in the summary itself is classified or privileged, which -- which includes the -- the plaintiffs' statements that we considered were relevant. So we don't have an objection to that, to be clear.

What we -- what we have said is unnecessary in this context is the provision of the underlying documents. Those documents tend to be records of F.B.I. interview notes, and the like, which contain both classified and law enforcement privileged information. We -- the Government deemed it appropriate under the circumstances, given -- especially given the sensitive information involved in some of those --

THE COURT: You really must slow down, and you must speak up. I -- you're speaking so fast, I'm really losing the point of what you're saying.

MS. POWELL: Apologies. I'll move slower.

The Government deemed it appropriate, under the circumstances, especially given the sensitive information at play in many of these documents, to instead of doing a redacted version of those documents, which under certain circumstances in itself reveals sensitive information, to segregate out the information we considered unclassified, nonprivileged, and relevant. We think that's sufficient to satisfy due process,

and that it would be a burden to do more.

And that is the question before the Court, whether what we have done is sufficient to satisfy due process, not whether we collectively can conceive of additional disclosures.

THE COURT: So I'm familiar with the way F.B.I. agents write interview reports. I see them all the time in the context of criminal proceedings. I — so I have in mind that kind of example, where an agent provides some background recitation of facts and then starts summarizing what the agent says the person interviewed said.

Why could such a summary not be redacted to simply return back to the plaintiff that which the agent says the plaintiff said? Why couldn't that happen here?

MS. POWELL: Your Honor, I don't want to overstate my claim. I think there are probably instances where it would be possible to redact a document that would release all of the public information and not the sensitive and classified information.

THE COURT: But I'm talking to you about a statement made by the plaintiff himself that started -- it came out of the plaintiffs' mouth. How can that be a classified statement?

MS. POWELL: I'm not claiming it is, to be clear.

THE COURT: All right. Then why can't, in response to counsel's point, the defendants disclose back to the plaintiffs the statements on which the defendants are relying

to prevent them from flying? 1 2 MS. POWELL: There are instances where they could 3 redact the documents to provide only those statements. would be possible. We don't think it's required by the address 4 clause. We think that the Government's substitute procedure of 5 providing the unclassified, nonprivileged, and relevant 6 7 information is sufficient to satisfy due process. 8 THE COURT: All right. I understand that's your 9 point. 10 Okay. Go ahead. You were going to speak about three 11 of the individuals. 12 MS. POWELL: Yes. I'll begin --THE COURT: Slowly and distinctly, please. 13 14 MS. POWELL: Yes. 15 I'll begin with Mr. Kariye, because his information 16 is not considered confidential by the plaintiffs. 17 Like the other plaintiffs, he was provided with the 18 status -- the statutory standard, the criteria he met, a 19 summary sentence which describes the --20 THE COURT: Excuse me just a minute. I am not 21 hearing you. 22 Bonnie, can you see what you can do to get --23 Counsel, would you move the microphone closer to you, please. MS. POWELL: Is that better? 24

THE COURT: No, it's not.

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I'll give her mine, if that heaps.
 1
              MR. BOWEN:
 2
               THE COURT:
                          How about we do this. Bonnie, would you
 3
    bring the podium over and plug it in. And it can be facing me,
     and there's a microphone on it.
 4
               Stand by, please. May be the end of the day.
 5
     just having a very hard time.
 6
 7
              MS. POWELL: Would you like me to move to the podium?
 8
               THE COURT: It's going to be moved right here in
 9
     front of us here. Right here. Here, not there.
10
              MS. POWELL: Okay. I'm trying to get around.
11
               (Pause.)
12
               THE COURT: That should be better.
13
              MS. POWELL: Is that better? Can you hear me?
14
               THE COURT: Much better.
15
              MS. POWELL: Excellent.
16
               THE COURT: Now keep it slow, and we'll be fine.
17
              MS. POWELL: Okay.
18
               THE COURT: Go ahead.
19
               MS. POWELL: Like the other plaintiffs, we think
20
    Mr. Kariye's notice more broadly -- I apologize, more
21
    broadly -- I think under this Court's prior order, it is a
22
     necessary consequence of the balancing involved that the --
23
    that the extent of the notice will differ from case to case.
24
     That the amount of the information that can be disclosed
25
     without a threat to national security or to law enforcement
```

activities will differ, depending on the specific nature of the evidence which is available to the Government.

The determinations have to be made in a fluid and intelligence-driven environment, based on current --

THE COURT: Slow down.

MS. POWELL: Based on current threat reporting, as well as based on ongoing intelligence and law enforcement activities.

Mr. Kariye's notice in this respect is in many ways particularly robust. Like the other plaintiffs, he received his status, the statutory criteria, the no fly — the statutory standard, the No Fly List criteria, a summary sentence which described the nature of the Government's concerns generally. And, in this case, that was his prior history as a mujahideen fighter in Afghanistan against the Russians and his interactions with and financial support of others who have engaged in supporting or committing acts of terror.

It then goes on in some detail to list the specific examples and evidence examples and evidence — or some specific examples and evidence that the Government relied on in reaching that conclusion.

That includes generally his association with the Portland Seven and his expression of support for violent jihad and his provision of financial support to the defendants in that case, in support of their criminal activities.

There are -- it describes recorded conversations

between a cooperating witness and the defendants in that case, in which they discuss the detail of their planned travel to Afghanistan to attack American forces and in which they discussed Kariye's support for their activities.

That appears in the record, and you can read it for yourself. But there are several specific statements which are detailed there.

Mr. Kariye had prepared others to fight jihad. A violent jihad in context there. And he told his followers that Muslims should fight Afghan Muslims against Americans. He raised 2,000 dollars for each of the members of the Portland Seven conspiracy, and was present at their last prayer prior to departure.

He was also a founding member of the **Global Relief**Foundation, which -- which another federal court has previously found was tied to terrorism from its inception and was founded in order to support the activity of organizations like al-Qaeda. Was closely tied to its leaders.

In the context of these specific evidence and examples, it is difficult for the plaintiff to deny that he does not understand the nature of the Government's concerns and why he was placed on the No Fly List. He specifically engaged in terrorist activity by supporting the terrorist activity of the Portland Seven and has repeatedly expressed and engaged in support for — for terrorist activity over time.

A number of things are notable in his response.

First, he does not deny having fought against the Russians as a mujahideen.

Not -- regardless of -- of counsel's statements here today, there's nothing in the response that was provided to D.H.S. trip in which he denies that simple statement that he fought against the Russians in Afghanistan. At a bare minimum, that is proof that his support for jihad includes proof -- support for violent activity and that he is willing and able to do so.

THE COURT: Or was?

MS. POWELL: That's true. At the time, he was.

The Portland Seven activities, of course, are much more recent.

THE COURT: 2006?

MS. POWELL: '6 or '7. I'm afraid I don't have the date on here.

THE COURT: Nine, ten years ago?

MS. POWELL: With respect to this Court's prior question about staleness, to the extent the Court is asking whether there has to be information supporting a finding of present threat, yes, there does. But the statutory standard and the No Fly List criteria require a finding that the person is currently a threat.

Now, whether that can be based on old information

depends on totality of the circumstances, and whether that old information is contradicted by more recent information or recent actions and activities of the person. That is a case-by-case determination. That is precisely the lane in which our intelligence experts get to make the first call about what is currently considered a threat.

It is also, for what it's worth, I think not relevant to the question currently before the Court, which is not about the sufficiency of the information and whether this information is too stale but is about the sufficiency of the notice provided.

Mr. Kariye also does not deny having raised money for the Portland Seven. He denies only that he did so for criminal activities. It's not clear exactly what that means because he does not explicitly deny what the notice says, which is that he raised them for the purpose of fighting Americans in Afghanistan.

Perhaps, like the plaintiffs argued in Humanitarian

Law Project, and other federal cases, he believes that the providing funding to terrorist activities should in fact be legal. That is not the case. But he fails to deny the central factual allegation that the Government relied on in this notice.

He admits having been a founding member of GRF and only denies his belief that it was engaged in terrorism. We

don't find that credible, in light of the ample public evidence about **Global Relief Foundation** and what it was up to.

And he denies generally engaging in or supporting violent unlawful activity, which is a -- sort of an odd phrase, given that he doesn't deny engaging in violent activity and he does not deny engaging in unlawful activity; only violent unlawful activity, while ignoring many of the specific allegations in the notice letter.

His counsel made a couple of arguments earlier.

First, he objected to the use of hearsay in administrative proceedings, such as that which was used here generally. I think the use of hearsay is generally approved in administrative proceedings. Its use often goes to whether or not the evidence is sufficient if the hearsay seems unreliable.

I think in this context certainly Congress -- and I would expect anyone -- would expect the agencies to be relying on hearsay. This is an intelligence-driven assessment in which the Government necessarily relies on statements related to ongoing intelligence operations and law enforcement activities, statements by foreign governments, statements generally about the context and the -- the global threat stream in which these activities are occurring and where threats currently exist.

I -- in light of that, I think they can certainly make the argument and have made the argument that this hearsay is somehow -- is somehow insufficient to meet the standard, and

the Government shouldn't be able to believe it's true. But they cannot argue it's a violation of due process. Precisely, due process is always tailored to the particular circumstances of -- of -- of the inquiry involved.

Second, plaintiffs' counsel made -- made much of the ongoing immigration proceedings and the denaturalization complaint filed with respect to Mr. Kariye.

The proceedings are different proceedings. To a significant extent, they rely on different information and evidence. There's certainly some overlap in the allegations. In some instances, it's because they're relying on the same instant — same evidence. And in other instances, they're relying on totally different evidence, even though similar conclusions were reached.

Where the evidence is the same, it's in the summary. Where -- for example, I think -- I -- I actually don't know that.

Where the evidence is the same, it certainly appears in the sum -- summary. As with the other plaintiffs, the Government has made every effort to segregate and include in the summary, in the notice letter, information which is unclassified and nonprivileged, including that which is being used in the denaturalization complaint, where it was considered in the No Fly List proceeding.

Do you have any questions about Mr. Kariye?

THE COURT: I don't, but I'm not sure, really, the individual focus is getting -- is advancing the inquiry here, because I have -- I have what has been submitted.

I -- I would find more helpful why that which has been given to the plaintiffs is sufficient as a matter of law, or why plaintiffs contend it isn't. And to the extent the particulars are necessary there, that's fine. But it really isn't helpful for me, to simply recite back what's in the declarations. I've read that. I've got that.

MS. POWELL: Sure.

THE COURT: I want to know what to make of that.

MS. POWELL: I think the central conclusion we are trying to communicate is that we think the notice letters, as described, and -- and the subsequent back and forth with the plaintiffs, show and demonstrate that the standard set forth in this Court's June 2014 order has in fact been met. That the Government has described for the plaintiffs the reason for which they were listed, the subject matter of the Government's concern to the extent possible with -- with national security interests, and has provided a meaningful opportunity to respond.

The fact that plaintiffs, in many instances, have not provided a meaningful response just suggests that they're not going to be able to, regardless of the format of the hearing; whether there's a live hearing or a paper hearing or whether

they get additional information.

THE COURT: I -- I should have reread the June order before today. I read it many times. But my impression was that I took pains not to specify the final standard, the absolute criterion by which defendants' efforts would be measured. I simply noted that certain criterion had to be there.

That the defendants' argument is we met the criterion and that has to be enough because you said so, I think is a bit of an overstatement. I simply noted that I wasn't going to set the standard. That wasn't the Court's function. But that looking at the existing precedent, there were certain things that had to occur.

So I'm not so sure it's enough to say we did only that which you said, and we did it in the most minimal way possible.

MS. POWELL: We'll look at the responses. Certainly the Court said in the June 2014 order a few specific things that were required, like provision of status and -- and the reasons in general. And we have attempted to do that.

I don't know that the Government would concede that we did that and nothing more. For someone like Plaintiff Kariye, we actually did a lot more, in terms of not just describing, you know, the subject matter of the Government's concern but providing a summary sentence, describing generally

what the Government's concerns are, as well as specific examples and underlying evidence.

With respect to each of the plaintiffs, an effort was made to disclose as much as possible. That varies from plaintiff to plaintiff, necessarily.

At the -- I hesitate to describe it as -- as a spectrum, but certainly very different from Mr. Kariye's notice is something like Mr. Knaeble's notice, which provides certainly his status on the statutory criterion and No Fly List criteria. But other than that, provides only the general summary sentence identifying the subject matter of the Government's concern.

And plaintiffs have said on the public record, so I think I can repeat here, that that relates to the Government's concerns about his travel to a particular country at a particular time.

There are no further details in the notice, necessarily, because disclosure of such information would imperil national security or law enforcement activities. He was, however, able to respond, and we think meaningfully respond.

He responded with respect to the date of his travel.

He described generally the purpose of his -- or his supposed

purpose for his travel, and made the same general denial about

his lack of support for -- quote -- violent, unlawful activity.

He provides, however, no -- not one shred of supporting documentation or names or statements of witnesses, or even a summary thereof, that might support his account of what exactly he was doing during his travel.

That shows, I think, that the information that the Government gave is sufficient to identify the subject matter of the Government's concern and to provide him an opportunity to respond and that he has no response. If he has a live hearing, then everything plaintiff wants and — but he has no documentation or witnesses or statements that he can put forward, the result is not going to be different.

In the absence of any additional information or evidence or even bare statements supporting his account, there's no reason to think that additional process would change the result.

I -- I think that's as much as I can say with respect to the information which is public. I could -- I -- I could sort of compare and contrast his -- his denials with -- with what the Government said, but I think the gist of that is in the briefing.

Do you have any questions specifically about Mr. Knaeble?

THE COURT: Not about him specifically. I am still thinking about your point -- about a failure to respond, and it instinctively raises in me the concern that it is the

defendants who have the burden of showing a basis for the action taken.

You're relying on the plaintiffs' nonresponse as itself evidence that the action taken is substantiated, when the plaintiffs' position is they don't know enough.

MS. POWELL: Well, two things.

First, to be clear, I don't think we're relying on his lack of response to substantiate what the Government had concerns about in the first place. We're relying on it to show that additional process would not change the result.

MS. POWELL: Yes. Yes. And I think we do that -make that argument explicitly in the brief. And, obviously,
we're not engaged in that substance -- substantive review at
this point. And I think that certainly, while the plaintiffs
say -- and they're certainly saying about him specifically,
that he's not able to respond in the absence of more
information that his general denials and accounts of his travel
are things that he could at least describe in more detail, not
have actual documentation about. He's just given no reason to
think that he has anything that could change the result.

THE COURT: Okay. I understand the point.

MS. POWELL: My third example was going to be the assertion that, like the others, he was provided with the status -- the statutory standard, the No Fly List criteria, and

a summary sentence, which I can not repeat here. It is the first redacted sentence in Exhibit A to the Kashem stipulations, which I think are at Docket No. 176.

And the only thing I can say about that summary sentence, I think -- currently on the public record -- is that plaintiffs have -- feel publicly that that summary contains his prior statements. I think that is just about all they have said about the somewhat extensive derogatory information.

In addition to the summary sentence, there is specific evidence and examples for him, like there is with the other. And, again, I can't describe it with reference to the -- without reference to the information the plaintiffs have designated as confidential. But the fourth and fifth sentences describe what -- a summary of one of his statements. The sixth sentence describes another, including actual quotations.

The second paragraph of the notice provides some contextual information in which the intelligence analysts are analyzing information like this at the time.

And the second and third sentence also provides some additional contextual information about him that is useful to understand the nature of the concerns.

On the public record, he has denied providing support for violent, unlawful activity, like the others. But very little response to the other allegations and his prior statements which he mentioned. He has said only on the public

record, I think, that they are mere speech. We think that is not true, especially in -- given the context in which such speech occurred.

I think it would be -- generally, the Government thinks it would be appropriate to describe some of the Government's response to that with reference to the private information. The Court is ordering us not to. I think that's all I have to say about Mr. Kashem.

THE COURT: You filed written responses. There's material under seal I can read and I have read. But the point of oral argument is to talk about the legal analysis and the like.

MS. POWELL: Sure.

THE COURT: And you've given me specific citations to the sealed record. I'll go back and consider those in your argument but --

MS. POWELL: Sure.

THE COURT: -- I still do not see any reason to get into material at this stage -- especially while these motions are pending -- over plaintiffs' objection, on the public record, for the reasons they've indicated.

MS. POWELL: Understood. So then I think I can very quickly address Mr. Meshal because I think we're going to quickly --

THE COURT: Please slow down or don't do any more.

Really, this is not useful.

You're speaking so fast it's not intelligible to me.

And I'm a mere human being, but I really am trying.

MS. POWELL: Okay. Mr. Meshal, like the other plaintiffs, was provided with the things previously described. His status, the statutory standard, the No Fly List criteria, and a summary sentence.

The first redacted sentence in his notice letter is that summary sentence. It describes -- I think the only thing I can say it describes, without reference to the information designated as private, is -- it is his own private -- it is his own prior statements. And that would be Exhibit A to Docket No. 178, the unredacted version.

Then it goes on to list a number of specific evidence and examples, which he is capable of responding to and he clearly understands but has not in fact provided a substantive response to. The next two full paragraphs provide the content of his prior statements and detail his prior actions, which satisfy the No Fly List criteria. And the final paragraph provides some context for the intelligence analysis and regarding what was going on at the time of his activities.

Mr. Meshal denies a few of these allegations but not others. I think in order to see why that's so, I would have to have some reference to the private information because there is a great deal of disconnect between his denials and the specific

statements, which are in the notice letter.

But his denials are at Exhibit -- in Exhibit B to the same docket number, the unredacted version, pages 6 through 7.

But in each instance, the denials he gives do not actually match up with the allegations that were made. And in important ways, I think.

Rather than denying the substance of those allegations, he adds some highly caveated general denials and he relies heavily on the alleged coercion by the F.B.I. of his statements.

This suggests a number of things. First, he perfectly understands the allegations but -- and is able to respond.

Second, he doesn't actually have any response that would resolve the Government's reasonable suspicion here. The Government has considered and rejected his allegations of coercion, certainly, which in any event do not go to the heart of the Government's suspicions. At least with respect to notice, even if he were coerced — which the Government denies, to be clear — he has not denied the statements, the truth of the statements that the Government relied on, suggesting that he has adequate notice to understand the nature of the Government's concerns.

 $\,$ And I think that is as much as I can say about Mr. Meshal.

1 THE COURT: Okay. MS. POWELL: Do you have further questions about him? 2 3 THE COURT: No. MS. POWELL: Then I think I will cede the podium. 4 5 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you. You'll have another chance when counsel's finished, 6 7 if there's anything in summary that you would like to add. 8 MR. ARULANANTHAN: Your Honor, I'll discuss 9 Mr. Kariye, and then Ms. Shamsi will discuss the others. 10 And I would like to use this time to use his 11 particular case to illustrate the deficiencies in the process, 12 rather than talking about whether he should or should not actually be listed, if that's okay with your Honor. 13 14 There's a lot of --15 THE COURT: Right. I never thought we were talking 16 about the substantive legitimacy of the listing decision. 17 thought today was about procedural process. 18 MR. ARULANANTHAN: Okay. Because -- just to note, we 19 disagree with a lot of these things, and you would be very 20 unhappy, you know, if I didn't say that. I've said that. 21 We're not going to talk about them beyond that. 22 And Ms. Powell says the notice is robust. But is it 23 in fact all of the reasons that were given? And I think the 24 denaturalization case is a good way of framing that problem

because there are other different allegations there which do

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not overlap with these, although there is a lot of overlap in other ones. And we don't know whether those were relied on in this process because we don't have all of the reasons.

The -- and the joint statement of undisputed facts says that he was not given -- like every other plaintiff, he was not given all of the reasons. If those are some of the reasons, you know, we could answer those, too. We will be answering them in the denaturalization case. But there's no way to know. So I think that shows one deficiency.

Another deficiency is about this evidence. And I won't belabor the point from what I said before. But it's just an indented paragraph. She can't tell who wrote it, whether that person had personal knowledge. It contains multiple levels of hearsay, and all of that. So if there were evidence here, then we could actually challenge the evidence by challenging the competency; whether knowledge or motive, hearsay, things like that, of the speaker of the statement. Because we don't know who said it and it's not sworn because it's not actually evidence, it's impossible for us to make a lot of arguments we would otherwise be able to make.

And just a few small substantive things about the allegations that, again, I think go to process. You know, the allegation about Global Relief is that he was a member of the board in 1992. And then the organization was designated in 2002. And those things are both true. But they obviously do

not, I would think, suffice to explain why someone should be on a No Fly List. You know, he denies knowing that the organization did anything wrong, and he stopped being involved with it long before 2002.

So where does that leave us? You know, these statements are true. But obviously there must be more that they allege which is the reason why his involvement kind of is sufficient, in their view, to place him on the list, and we can't answer it.

Again, the denaturalization proceeding gives us some insight into this. I won't go into the details of it now, but there's much more detail about Global Relief and his -- it's alleged activities, his alleged involvement in it there. And we will answer those. There's already -- there's a number of denials associated with that in the complaint and the -- and the answer in the denats. And when we get an actual chance to present evidence, we'll show you that. But I think that, again, shows the deficiency of the reasons here.

You know, Portland Seven, your Honor — it's just 2002, by the way, is the Portland Seven. And it's a substantive point, but we completely agree with it. And that's the most recent conduct from Mr. Kariye. Everything else about Mr. Kariye is older than Portland Seven. And, you know, apart from the fact that he's obviously not charged in the Portland Seven criminal case.

But, again, a few points to show where a hearing or a notice would be useful, your Honor described F.B.I. 302s. I presume the 302s would have been disclosed to the defendants in Portland Seven as a part of the discovery under Rule 16. So if they're disclosed to those people — if they were, and I don't know. But if they were, at least could we apply that test, and disclose to us what was disclosed to them?

Some of these statements from this -- you know, the unrecorded statements, the critical one where they say he gave money, which he denies, that's the day -- that statement, as I understand it, is taken on the day of Mr. Battle's arrest.

He may have a lot of incentive on that day to implicate other people, you know, even if the implication is not true, and that's surely relevant to assessing the credibility of this statement.

Oh, and then the last thing on the need for a hearing arising from this is there's so many gaps between how they interpreted the written statement and how we meant it. You know, I gave you one earlier. You know, she again says he doesn't deny fighting the Russians. He does. The Russians left Afghanistan in — in 1988, and he says he didn't go to the region until the '90s. And this is just a misunderstanding that is only cleared up because we have an oral hearing.

Similarly, he does deny, your Honor, knowing -- knowingly giving any money to the Portland Seven for any trip

to Afghanistan. You know, the only reason he doesn't make a blanket denial of anything is people collect money in the mosque for a lot of reasons and, you know, including to help people who are in need and things like that. So he's not willing to say that he's 100 percent certain that no money ever went from the mosque to these people. But he absolutely denies giving them money for their trip to Afghanistan, including — and also denies that they were going to — for violent purposes.

Now, you know, we -- the point I want to make now, though, about that, your Honor, is that they don't even think that he has denied that. So we have -- it's not a dispute just about whether it's true. We even just have like a simple misunderstanding about what the nature of the denial is. And that's because we're doing this on a written process, with -- with no notice.

Unless your Honor has any particular questions of Mr. Kariye?

THE COURT: No. Go ahead.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: Oh, you know what? Very quickly, one other thing. They say there are recordings. Right? They say -- and they say some of these are recordings of his -- I don't know if they're recordings of his statements. And at least recordings of what the defendants said he said -- or the Portland Seven defendants. We would join that request to

Mr. Genego's request earlier, and your Honor's question about can we get statements from people that are not themselves classified statements.

MS. SHAMSI: Your Honor, I'm going to keep this very brief because I think the responses as a legal matter to each of Mr. Knaeble and Mr. Kashem and Mr. Meshal are similar, and I'm not going to belabor what's already in the briefs.

I do want to preface this by saying that I'm not, with respect to each of these three clients, or any of the others, going to respond to the substantive allegations that are made. I think this is turning into a harmless error analysis. We've briefed to you why we don't think harmless error applies here. Unless you have questions about that, I'm just going to go right ahead and say that.

Your Honor, starting with Mr. Knaeble, again, briefly, the single allegation that was made against him has no connection whatsoever to any kind of unwilful conduct.

He responded the best way that he could. It appears throughout this process that he is being penalized for not guessing at what else the Government might suspect him of. But as the Ninth Circuit said in Al-Haramain, citing Gete, the very fact that someone has to guess why the Government might suspect them of something is a due process violation. And that, I think, applies to Mr. Knaeble, Mr. Kashem, and Mr. Meshal, because none of them had additional information.

With respect to -- and also there, your Honor -- this is -- this is setting up a dynamic that I think is very troubling from a due process perspective, which is in order to try and get yourself off of a list that has significant consequences for your life, think about all of the things that the Government might want to know that are bad about you or that the Government might think are bad about you or think the Government might think are bad about you. And that's -- that's not what due process analysis requires, and that's not what the burden should be on people who are responding in the face of inadequate notice.

With Mr. Kashem, I'm not going to repeat everything that we've said in the briefs. I will say that he's denied the allegations. The fact that they are general denials does not mean that he hasn't denied them, but he also hasn't had specific information. He doesn't have access to his own alleged statements that he doesn't recall he said. Again, these were years long ago.

And -- and there's -- there's more on Mr. Kashem that we've responded to with respect to why, as a matter of law, the notice was problematic and the determination was problematic.

I'm not going to take up your time with what's already in the briefs.

With Mr. Meshal, the same kinds of concerns exactly apply here. He was -- as he said in his response -- almost

everything, virtually everything that is in the notification letter appears to come out of that period of what he has called unwilful detention and — of what is unwilful detention and coercion. His case, your Honor, we've referred to it in the briefs. It's now — we've appealed it en banc. And I'm also counsel in that case, his challenge to the torture and unwilful detention. And it is certainly being taken seriously enough by other courts. And I think the issue here is that this is a tremendous cloud hanging over the statements, both allegedly of Mr. Meshal but also apparently of the Government's own witnesses that the TSA administrator is relying on. Yet the Government doesn't provide information that is in its own possession with respect to serious allegations of unlawful detention and torture and statements made in that context.

Mr. Meshal's alleged statements, to the extent that they were made, again, surely aren't classified; surely are not subject to a law enforcement privilege. And it's very hard to see why there wouldn't be a good reason to produce information from the agents who interrogated him over 30 times in coercive circumstances, segregated from what might be genuinely secret, as opposed to what would be prejudicial and show bias in this particular context.

And that, your Honor, is why a hearing is also very necessary. Because the TSA administrator is making determinations, not revealing the basis. But often what

appears to be happening are credibility determinations being 1 2 made, and there has been no live hearing at which those 3 credibility determinations could be considered. Unless you have questions, your Honor, that's all I 4 5 have. 6 THE COURT: Thank you. Ms. Powell, did you have anything you wanted to add 7 8 to that? 9 MS. POWELL: Not unless the Court has further 10 questions, your Honor. 11 THE COURT: Give me just a few minutes, please. 12 (Pause, referring.) THE COURT: So it's clear defendants don't --13 14 defendants' counsel indicate they don't have authority to 15 respond to my question about where judicial review occurs in 16 the context of these six plaintiffs' redress issues with the 17 determination that has been made. 18 Do plaintiffs have a position? 19 MS. SHAMSI: Yes, your Honor. We believe that you 20 should be making that determination. 21 THE COURT: Do you have a reason for that, other than 22 you would love the warm and welcoming atmosphere? 23 MS. SHAMSI: We do love the warm and welcoming 24 atmosphere. We especially love the weather. 25 But, no, your Honor, we do have --

THE COURT: A legal --

MS. SHAMSI: Legal principles, yes, exactly.

And that is, your Honor, we've gone through this process now two times. And what we would really like -- and just -- you know, we're happy to submit briefing to you on --

THE COURT: No. I just want to know what you contend the process is supposed to be after I decide these motions.

MS. SHAMSI: We think that the process should be that -- it partly depends on how you decide the motion, your Honor, and what you think that the recommended is. Right? And so it -- that's why we think -- we would ask -- and I'm happy to lay it out now, if this is -- would be helpful to you. It will take a minute. Which is that we would -- we've set forth for you a number of reasons, six basic reasons for why this process is unconstitutional. They're related to the notice, the inadequacy of the notice, the -- with all of that -- of what that constitutes, the inadequacy of a record for judicial review, the lack of a hearing before a neutral decision maker, the lack of exculpatory evidence, vagueness, and burden.

We hope you will find for us on all of those issues. If you find for us on only one of them, then we still have prevailed in our motion for summary judgment; one or more of them.

We would ask you to find the current process unconstitutional, to order the defendants then to provide all

reasons and evidence that they rely on, placing plaintiffs on the list. All the exculpatory evidence, regardless of whether they rely on it or not. To the extent they invoke any privileges, a privilege log itemizing specific information sufficient for adjudication of the privileges. We would ask for you to issue a briefing schedule for defendants' arguments on use standards that would comply with a vagueness order that we hope you would issue. Plaintiffs' arguments on why the existing process violates substantive due process, and then the parties can respond to each other in that way. Burden could be addressed in that context. And then we would ask you to schedule a hearing on the merits for each individual plaintiff, at which hearing hearsay and other evidentiary issues can be addressed as applied. And that gets us, your Honor to -- past the procedural hurdles.

There's been a process that we think is unconstitutional. If we get remedy for that process, that should be incorporating a hearing before you. And the reason for that, your Honor, is over five years. Over five years, and our clients are still waiting for the adjudication of the next portion of the case.

Defendants have -- since this case was back before you after the Ninth Circuit sent it back down on, I believe, 2012 and -- we've briefed this twice now. And we really think that the time has come for a determination about the prior

process that existed, so that the record there is clear, and then for us to move on to the hearing before you.

And to the extent, your Honor, that you want that set out in a page brief, we're happy to do that, and we would be prepared to do that by the end of next week.

THE COURT: All right. Mr. Bowen.

MR. BOWEN: Your Honor, on the brief, I'm going to be a gadfly.

THE COURT: A gadfly?

MR. BOWEN: Yeah. I'm going to --

THE COURT: You'll have to define that in not vague terms, please.

MR. BOWEN: I'm going to be potentially annoying.

Your Honor, we've been considering it. We've been discussing the question of the supplemental brief. We think the issues that need to be addressed in terms of what happens next, depending on the various outcomes that could happen, would be extraordinarily difficult to limit to five pages. We implore the Court to give us ten pages to do that.

And, secondly, we do think we would like the time to provide the most helpful considered response we can, and we would ask for a deadline of January 8th for that filing that the Court contemplated.

I'll hold one other comment until the Court's had an opportunity to --

THE COURT: Go ahead.

MR. BOWEN: So the one point I would make is we haven't spent time on harmless error, but we -- our position is that harmless error is an important and central analysis to due process that cannot and should not be skipped over.

And that while our position is that the Court can find that in fact if there were any errors in the -- in the process provided, that they in fact were harmless based solely on the record before the Court. We can understand the possibility that the Court may disagree. And, if it does, there is critical information that goes to -- that goes to the harmless error question that we've not been able to put before the Court. So our position is that the end result is not a ruling against the Government but some mechanism to -- which we will opine on in the next submission to advance the question in that way. But it is not a loss for the Government, without us having a chance to fully address the question of harmless error in that respect.

THE COURT: Did you want to add anything?

MS. SHAMSI: Just one quick point.

It is extremely difficult and frustrating to hear the Government say that they're not prepared to take into account what would happen — they didn't come here today taking into account what would happen if they either win or if they would lose. And to — unable to answer what should be very obvious

questions in either direction.

And for that reason, your Honor, you know, additional briefing on harmless error analysis, anything that — that extends what should have been a completed process, that is separate from the substantive due process issue as you set forth in your October case management plan and then followed again after that in your, I believe, February — forgive me if I'm getting that wrong. But your case management plan that instructed the parties about the difference between procedural and substantive due process briefing should be very, very clear.

We would like to be able to move forward again as quickly as possible. And I should have added, your Honor, as legal authorities, the Ninth Circuit in Latif and the circuit court in — in Ibrahim both contemplated the district court would make the adjudications and the determinations. And that's exactly what we should be doing now at this —

THE COURT: I think that was because, at the time they looked at it, there wasn't a TSA decision by an administrator. There is now.

MS. SHAMSI: There is now, your Honor.

THE COURT: And the statute, I think, arguably vests jurisdiction for that review not here. But we are here, and this is a very unusual process.

I understand your point. I -- I appreciate

everyone's efforts today. These are -- these are very difficult issues, and they come in procedurally awkward contexts, without definitive precedent here.

I intend to do my very best to consider fairly everybody's perspectives, but to resolve these motions without undue delay.

I am directing the parties each to file no later than January 8, 2016, a supplemental memorandum that is limited to specifying how the parties expect a judicial review on the substantive decision made by the TSA administrator to occur in — in what forum and in what context. And, secondly, I want the parties to specify, to anticipate both a granting of the combined motion of an opponent and what the consequences procedurally would be in this forum, and a granting of the parties' own motion and what the consequences would be. And by that I mean what procedural path forward — to take counsel's point — is expected.

I -- I'm requiring this in part because there is a bit of a risk that whatever the Court's order is, it opens yet another opportunity to plow the same ground. And I -- I'm determined to move forward.

And I want to be sure I know what the parties contend the consequences are of any decision I make. I may or may not address those consequences in the order I enter resolving these motions, but I want to know how the parties perceive the case

would move forward, in the event there is a granting or a denial or a granting in part of these combined motions.

Mr. Bowen's point about five pages not being enough is fair. Ten pages maximum. But -- and that doesn't count your caption or your certification of service. But, please, just get to the point and be as direct as you can.

With respect to the motion that was filed, to close the proceedings, I gave the parties direction about not referring to matters that are on the sealed record in any explicit way. They've satisfied that in our argument today. There have been references to the sealed record, which I've noted and which the record reflects. That is to say,

Mrs. LeGore's transcribed record. So I think the object of the motion was accomplished but now the motion is moot. So I'm going to direct the clerk to enter an order denying it as moot in light of the way the things were treated.

Is there anything else anyone needs to state for today's record, for plaintiffs?

MS. SHAMSI: No, your Honor.

MR. ARULANANTHAN: No.

MS. SHAMSI: But thank you very much for the hearing you've given us today.

THE COURT: Counsel?

MR. BOWEN: Nothing further, and the same thing.

THE COURT: Happy holidays. Safe travels. Go home.

1	MR. HANDEYSIDE: Thank you, your Honor.
2	(Conclusion of proceedings.)
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4	00
5	
6	I certify, by signing below, that the foregoing is a correct
7	stenographic transcript of the oral proceedings had in the
8	above-entitled matter this 6th day of January, 2016. A
9	transcript without an original signature or conformed signature
10	is not certified. I further certify that the transcript fees
11	and format comply with those prescribed by the Court and the
12	Judicial Conference of the United States.
13	
14	/S/ Amanda M. LeGore ————————————————————————————————————
15	AMANDA M. LeGORE, CSR, RDR, CRR, FCRR, CE
16	CSR No. 15-0433 EXP: 3-31-2018
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