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OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT
PROCEEDINGS BEFORE
THE SUPREME COURT
OF THE
UNITED STATES

CAPTION: AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION, ET AL.,
Appellants V. STEVEN GARFINKEL, DIRECTOR,
INFORMATION SECURITY OVER-SIGHT OFFICE, ET AL.

CASE NO: 87-2127

PLACE: WASHINGTON, D.C.

DATE: March 20, 1989

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1 IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

2 -----x
3 AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE :

4 ASSOCIATION, ET AL., :

5 Appellants :

6 v. :

No. 87-2127

7 STEVEN GARFINKEL, DIRECTOR, :

8 INFORMATION SECURITY OVERSIGHT :

9 OFFICE, ET AL. :

10 -----x

11 Washington, D.C.

12 Monday, March 20, 1989

13 The above-entitled matter came on for oral argument
14 before the Supreme Court of the United States at 10:50
15 a.m.

16 APPEARANCES:

17 PATTI A. GOLDMAN, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on behalf of
18 the Appellants.

19 EDWIN S. KNEEDLER, ESQ., Assistant to the Solicitor
20 General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.;
21 on behalf of the Respondents.

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P R O C E E D I N G S

10:50 a.m.

CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: We'll hear argument next in No. 87-2127, American Foreign Service Association v. Garfinkel.

Ms. Goldman, you may proceed whenever you're ready.

ORAL ARGUMENT OF PATTI A. GOLDMAN

ON BEHALF OF APPELLANTS

MS. GOLDMAN: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it please the Court:

This appeal arises from a judgment that a statute of Congress is unconstitutional on its face.

Since the district court entered judgment, several events have taken place which have substantially altered the nature of this controversy. In order to place those developments in proper perspective, I want to begin by first discussing the statute, then the district court proceedings. And, finally, the recent developments and the effect that they have on this controversy.

The law at issue in this case, Section 630, is a response to the use of nondisclosure agreements to impose certain new obligations on federal employees. In 1983 President Reagan directed that all federal

1 employees who have access to classified information must
2 sign nondisclosure agreements or risk lose -- losing
3 their security clearances.

4 Two provisions in these nondisclosure
5 agreements became particularly troubling to Congress.
6 The first is that the agreements obligated employees not
7 to disclose classifiable information as well as
8 classified information. while employees would know what
9 classified information is, Congress was concerned that
10 the term "classifiable" was so vague employees wouldn't
11 know what their obligations were under the forms.

12 The second aspect of the forms that concerned
13 Congress was the prior authorization requirement which
14 the appellees applied to disclosures to members of
15 Congress. And here Congress was concerned that it may
16 lose access to information that it needs to carry out
17 its legislative functions.

18 Congress entered into negotiations with the
19 Executive Branch in an attempt to resolve this
20 controversy, but those negotiations were not
21 satisfactory. Accordingly, Congress passed this law,
22 Section 630, which prohibits the use of funds to require
23 employees to sign the two forms that had been used, as
24 well as any other nondisclosure agreements that contain
25 certain of the same provisions. And there are two

1 categories of provisions that were banned in Section 630.

2 The first provisions, the first bans, go to
3 the information that's covered by the forms. Congress'
4 concern was that employees should know what their
5 obligations are under the forms. So Congress did two
6 things. It banned the use of the term classifiable and
7 it specified what unmarked information can be covered by
8 the forms.

9 If information is not marked, then the
10 employee must know that the information is either
11 classified or in the process of a classification
12 determination. And this provision was a response to the
13 standards that had been offered by Appellee Garfinkel
14 both in hearings before Congress and in several Federal
15 Register notices that attempt to define what this term
16 classifiable meant.

17 In those definitions offered by Appellee
18 Garfinkel, he stated that employees would be liable if
19 they know or reasonably should know that information is
20 classified. Congress rejected this "reasonably should
21 know" standard and stated instead in Section 630 that
22 the employee must know that unmarked information is
23 covered by the forms.

24 The second set --

25 QUESTION: When you say unmarked, that's

1 material that has not already been classified?

2 MS. GOLDMAN: Generally, yes. Both in the
3 Executive Order and in the directives that have been
4 issued by Appellee Garfinkel and other agencies,
5 classified information must be marked.

6 In some instances, marking takes a different
7 form. For example, with oral communications and
8 recordings, instead of a clear marking, there would be a
9 statement that the information is classified and
10 anything should be marked that comes out of that
11 communication.

12 QUESTION: Ms. Goldman, isn't the dispute
13 about the use of the term classifiable moot now?

14 MS. GOLDMAN: Yes, in part. It is moot as to
15 all of the employees who received notice that the term
16 classifiable has been deleted from the forms. And
17 everyone agrees that it is moot as to those employees.

18 There is a dispute, though, as to the proper
19 remedy in that instance and also the extent as to which
20 the mootness permeates the whole case. The Appellees
21 contend that this Court should affirm the district court
22 judgment on grounds of mootness, and we believe that is
23 an inappropriate remedy. But the part of the case that
24 is moot should be vacated as moot. And then the other

25 --

1 QUESTION: Well, it's hard to see what's left
2 of that at all. I mean, there was -- Garfinkel put a
3 notice in the Federal Register modifying the existing
4 forms. Why isn't that sufficient? What's left?

5 MS. GOLDMAN: Appellee Garfinkel has placed a
6 notice in the Federal Register, but Appellee Webster has
7 not as to the forms that he is responsible for. And a
8 notice was sent to individual employees who signed the
9 forms, amending their agreements, but not to former
10 employees.

11 We don't know at this stage of the proceedings
12 the extent to which former employees have not received
13 notice, and that should be something that the District
14 Court can sort out on a remand and decide how much of
15 the case is left and if there's any appropriate remedy.
16 And that's what --

17 QUESTION: So you don't agree that it's moot
18 then? Across the board at any rate?

19 MS. GOLDMAN: Certainly not. We agree that
20 the dispute over classifiable is largely moot. But
21 there are two areas of this dispute that we do not --

22 QUESTION: But don't you -- don't you agree
23 that we don't need to deal -- we don't need to deal with
24 that issue?

25 MS. GOLDMAN: We certainly do. We think that

1 the district court should --

2 QUESTION: Well, we don't need to talk much
3 about it then.

4 MS. GOLDMAN: It would -- well, the remedy has
5 been an important issue in this case because the
6 Appellees have asked this Court to affirm. And we think
7 that is the wrong thing to do at this stage.

8 Instead, we ask the Court to vacate the
9 district court judgment and remand this case for the
10 district court to sort out all the recent developments
11 that have taken place and the effect that they have on
12 this case.

13 In addition, because the district court
14 decided the constitutional questions before deciding the
15 statutory ones fully, we ask this Court to give the
16 district court instructions to follow the correct order
17 on the remand. What we ask the Court to do is instruct
18 the district court that it should first decide the
19 extent to which this case is still a live controversy
20 and then the extent to which there are violations.

21 And only once it has reached that decision
22 should the district court decide whether there are any
23 violations of the Constitution in the statute as it
24 applies.

25 QUESTION: Well, Ms. Goldman, does any of the

1 language in the two new forms now in use actually
2 conflict with any of the requirements of subsection (1)
3 of Section 630?

4 MS. GOLDMAN: Yes. The language in the new
5 forms has no knowledge requirement at all. The new
6 forms obligate employees not to disclose information
7 that is either classified, whether or not it is marked,
8 or in the process of a classification determination.

9 But it is not just the forms that are at issue
10 here. It is also the notices that were sent to the
11 employees, since it is those notices that amended the
12 forms that they had signed.

13 QUESTION: Well, do you challenge the
14 requirement in the new forms that the employees consult
15 or confirm the classification status of material when
16 they are uncertain?

17 MS. GOLDMAN: Our complaint has not reached
18 the new forms since they weren't part of the --

19 QUESTION: Do you have any problem with that
20 requirement?

21 MS. GOLDMAN: Yes. To the extent that it
22 violates subsection (1) we do have a problem with that
23 requirement. But, again, that would be something that
24 would have to be sorted out on remand. We would have to
25 amend our complaint to encompass the new forms as well

1 as the old and specify that those duties also violate
2 the knowledge requirement of subsection (1).

3 QUESTION: Well, isn't that precisely what
4 lets an employee know?

5 MS. GOLDMAN: Yes.

6 QUESTION: Making an inquiry?

7 MS. GOLDMAN: But the employee doesn't know
8 exactly when that obligation to make an inquiry arises.
9 And Appellees' brief demonstrated -- demonstrates how
10 open-ended those requirements are. Appellees define
11 this reason to know standard as any doubt -- if any
12 employee has any doubt that information might be
13 classified, then he or she must check and consult to see
14 whether it is.

15 At other places in Appellees' briefs they
16 state that reason to know means uncertainty. If an
17 employee is uncertain as to the classification status,
18 he or she must check.

19 Our concern is that these duties to consult
20 will apply to a wide range of unclassified information
21 where the employee doesn't know that he or she should --

22 QUESTION: Well, has the reason to know
23 regulation or standard ever been applied to any of the
24 members of your organization?

25 MS. GOLDMAN: I don't believe it has. At this

1 point the --

2 QUESTION: Would you think it's right for a
3 decision then?

4 MS. GOLDMAN: Yes, we do think it is right
5 because these individuals have signed a contract that
6 first said classifiable and now has been amended to say
7 know or reason to know something is classified. And by
8 being obligated by that standard, employees are chilled
9 from making a whole range of disclosures of unclassified
10 information as well as information that might properly
11 be classified.

12 QUESTION: And you don't agree with the amici
13 here that know includes reason to know?

14 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, in the context of this
15 case, Congress said know when a reason to know standard
16 was before it. So, Congress decided that there were two
17 standards, and it chose one of them.

18 If -- If it's really correct that there is
19 little difference between the two, then I would ask --
20 the next question would be how can it possibly be
21 unconstitutional then for Congress to say know instead
22 of reason to know if the two may be so close in what
23 they mean.

24 QUESTION: Ms. Goldman, what in your view is
25 here on the merits or that ought to be decided either

1 under terms of the statute or under terms of
2 Constitution?

3 MS. GOLDMAN: At this point we're not asking
4 the Court to decide any of the merits of either the
5 statutory or constitutional argument. We think there's
6 a controversy. We think there are violations. But
7 because of all of the recent developments and the
8 different ways that the parties have construed them, we
9 think the district court should decide in the first
10 instance what is at issue, what violations exist today,
11 what remedies are appropriate. And then, and only then,
12 if there are violations of the Constitution.

13 QUESTION: Why is all that necessary if you're
14 so sure that know -- and it seems to make sense to me --
15 that know doesn't mean reason to know? If that is
16 obvious, then whether the district court ruled upon it
17 or not, it's obvious. And so long as there is that one
18 problem, the constitutional issue has to be reached,
19 doesn't it?

20 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, initially we had taken the
21 position that it was clear on the face of the forms that
22 there was a violation there and this Court should reach
23 the statutory and constitutional issues.

24 QUESTION: But you've abandoned that?

25 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, there's so much

1 disagreement in all of the briefs that have been filed
2 in this case, and confusion, if not on our part, on the
3 part of many of the other people who have filed briefs
4 that --

5 QUESTION: Well, it's scarcely a useful -- a
6 useful use of an hour of the Court's time simply to send
7 a case back to the district court.

8 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, the reason that we're
9 here, Your Honor, is because once the developments took
10 place the Appellees asked this Court to affirm the
11 district court judgment and not to vacate it.

12 And, also, we have a district court judgment
13 that is a sweeping ruling that this entire statute is
14 unconstitutional on its face. So, whatever developments
15 took place, whatever challenge -- changes that took
16 place, the district court had decided that there would
17 be no compliance with Section 630, it didn't matter, the
18 entire statute was unconstitutional.

19 QUESTION: Well, why don't you challenge that
20 ruling here?

21 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, we have and we're prepared
22 to argue that. And this Court certainly can reach that
23 since in our view there's a live controversy in
24 violations.

25 Let me turn then to the district court

1 proceedings.

2 QUESTION: Then, I must have misunderstood
3 your answer of a moment ago because I thought I'd asked
4 you what on the merits, so to speak, either statutory or
5 Constitutional, is before us. And I thought you said in
6 fact nothing. But that wasn't a correct understanding
7 of what you said.

8 MS. GOLDMAN: It is before the Court, and we
9 believe the Court can decide it. There's a question of
10 what might be the best remedy in this situation. We've
11 become convinced maybe the best remedy isn't for the
12 Court to decide it.

13 QUESTION: But you are suggesting we really
14 shouldn't decide anything, we should just send it back
15 and have the district court sort things out. But, of
16 course, we could but you think we shouldn't.

17 MS. GOLDMAN: You can certainly do -- decide
18 the case or send it back. I think it's --

19 QUESTION: Well, what's your position? I
20 mean, what do you prefer? What are you urging us to do?

21 MS. GOLDMAN: We initially urged the Court to
22 decide --

23 QUESTION: Well, what are you urging us to do
24 now?

25 MS. GOLDMAN: We think the right thing to do

1 at this stage is to send it back and have the district
2 court pass on all the recent --

3 QUESTION: And decide nothing?

4 MS. GOLDMAN: I think this Court should decide
5 two things about the district court decision. And they
6 are, that the district court followed the wrong approach
7 by deciding the constitutional questions before the
8 statutory ones, and that instead what the district court
9 should do on remand and should have done initially is
10 decide exactly in what respects the Appellees were
11 violating Section 630. And then decide whether those
12 violations implicated constitutional questions, whether
13 the statute as applied to those violations was
14 unconstitutional.

15 The second thing that we want this Court to
16 decide, as the Court certainly can decide, is that the
17 district court erred in the method of analysis it
18 applied because it assumed that the President has
19 exclusive authority over all national security and
20 foreign affairs matters. And that is in error.

21 Instead, the district court should have looked
22 to the shared powers that Congress has in this area
23 under the Constitution, and to the method of analysis
24 employed by this Court in *Nixon v. the Administrator of*
25 *General Services*. And under that test the Executive

1 Branch, which is challenging the statute, must introduce
2 evidence that there is some impairment --

3 QUESTION: Ms. Goldman, we don't ordinarily
4 correct district court opinions as if it were some sort
5 of a test. We -- we decide relatively concrete issues.

6 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, we believe this case is
7 concrete, and there is a live controversy. There are
8 violations on the face of the new forms and on the
9 notices that have been sent, and that the Court can
10 decide these questions.

11 But in the posture of this case, as
12 complicated as it has become, it may be more appropriate
13 to send the case back to the district court to first --
14 to decide these questions in the first instance.

15 QUESTION: May I just ask this? In putting to
16 one side the problems of remedy and notice, but just the
17 question of what statutory violations you contend are
18 there -- if you go back to the district court, you
19 know. The only one, am I correct, is that there is a
20 difference between reason to know and to know within the
21 meaning of Section 1?

22 MS. GOLDMAN: There are two violations that
23 exist. One is the difference in the knowledge -- the
24 knowledge standard.

25 QUESTION: Yes.

1 MS. GOLDMAN: And the other is the prior
2 authorization requirement. We had argued that the forms
3 apply a prior authorization requirement to disclosures
4 to members of Congress. The new forms and the notices --

5 QUESTION: And that's a violation of
6 subparagraph (4)?

7 MS. GOLDMAN: Yes. I didn't get to that when
8 I was explaining --

9 QUESTION: That it interferes --

10 MS. GOLDMAN: -- the statute, but there are
11 two subsections that prevent nondisclosure agreements
12 from imposing a prior authorization requirement on
13 disclosures that employees have a right to make to
14 members of Congress.

15 QUESTION: But, now, isn't it -- isn't it
16 argued by one of the briefs that such a prior
17 authorization requirement already exists and that,
18 therefore, the statute really didn't change the law?

19 MS. GOLDMAN: I think it's the reverse. That
20 employees have rights through other statutes. And all
21 that Section 630 did is preserve the rights that exist
22 from some other source.

23 What Section 630 says is that if an employee
24 has the right to give information to Congress,
25 nondisclosure agreements cannot require that employee to

1 obtain permission before exercising that right. And on
2 that point there is no dispute. All of the parties
3 agree that that's the reading of the term.

4 QUESTION: But then there may be no statutory
5 violation -- there may be no second statutory violation
6 then?

7 MS. GOLDMAN: There may or may not be. The
8 district court did not focus on the prior authorization
9 requirement because the Appellees were using the two
10 forms that are listed by number in Section 630. There
11 -- we had put some evidence in the record, but the
12 district court made no findings on that point. And it
13 has become more important since the Appellees
14 discontinued using those two numbered forms because now
15 we must look at the forms to determine the extent to
16 which they violate each of the subsections in the law.

17 QUESTION: Your jurisdictional statement
18 presented just -- question one was the constitutional
19 issue, wasn't it?

20 MS. GOLDMAN: Yes, it was.

21 QUESTION: And now you say we shouldn't decide
22 it? I mean, that's what we noted probable jurisdiction
23 on.

24 MS. GOLDMAN: We --

25 QUESTION: Have you changed your mind since

1 you filed your jurisdictional statement?

2 MS. GOLDMAN: We believe --

3 QUESTION: That wouldn't be a crime, of course.

4 MS. GOLDMAN: We did change our mind.

5 QUESTION: Yes.

6 MS. GOLDMAN: In our opening brief we also
7 asked the Court to reverse.

8 QUESTION: Yes.

9 MS. GOLDMAN: It was in our reply brief that
10 we backtracked and we said the Court should either
11 reverse or vacate and remand.

12 QUESTION: (Inaudible.)

13 MS. GOLDMAN: Yes. After reading the six
14 other briefs that were filed in this case it became
15 clear that there is a lot of confusion about what has
16 happened since the district court judgment and the
17 impact that it has on this case.

18 And most of what the briefs rely on is not in
19 the record in this case, but in forms that have been
20 developed since and briefing materials, notices that
21 have been sent out.

22 QUESTION: That's all a lot of confusion, and
23 it's terribly inconvenient and all of that. But -- but
24 isn't it correct that unless we are satisfied that there
25 is doubt as to whether any inconsistency exists between

1 the statute and the forms -- unless there is doubt on
2 every one of these issues, we ought to reach the
3 Constitutional point, shouldn't we?

4 MS. GOLDMAN: We certainly believe there's
5 enough on this record for the Court to reach all of the
6 --

7 QUESTION: That's not what I'm asking. It
8 seems to me to avoid reaching the constitutional point,
9 we have to be satisfied that there is doubt whether any
10 -- any -- item on these forms fails to comply with the
11 statute.

12 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, the Court would certainly
13 have --

14 QUESTION: To put it more specifically, if I
15 think that know does not mean reason to know, there is a
16 clear discrepancy between the forms and the statute and
17 we're going to have to reach the constitutional issue.

18 MS. GOLDMAN: We agree with you.

19 QUESTION: Why should I send it back if I
20 think know cannot mean reason to know? What possible
21 basis would there be to send it back?

22 MS. GOLDMAN: The only basis would be that the
23 parties and the amici that have filed briefs have viewed
24 that term differently and have relied on evidence that's
25 not in the record. And if this Court would want to have

1 the district court sort it all out, that would certainly
2 be appropriate.

3 We believe that there's plenty here for the
4 Court to decide, but it may be that you would choose not
5 to.

6 QUESTION: You've still got ten minutes left.
7 Do you want to speak to the merits on the possibility
8 that the Court may choose to decide the merits?

9 MS. GOLDMAN: Certainly.

10 QUESTION: Before you -- I just wanted to say
11 one thing. Isn't it true that there might be quite a
12 difference in the constitutional issue whether we're
13 just focusing on Section 1 or the entire statute?

14 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, that --

15 QUESTION: The district court didn't focus on
16 Section 1, as I remember.

17 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, that was the problem with
18 the district court opinion. The district court didn't
19 focus on any of the provisions. The district court
20 assumed that there was a violation of this law because
21 the Appellees used certain numbered forms that are
22 listed by number in the statute.

23 The district court didn't focus on particular
24 violations. And the fundamental error here in the
25 district court opinion is that it is a sweeping

1 declaration of unconstitutionality without looking at
2 the particular pieces of this statute and deciding
3 whether they impair the Executive Branch in some way,
4 based on evidence in the record, and if they do, whether
5 there is some overriding need for the statute.

6 QUESTION: But we could reverse that and send
7 it back and say, look at it piece by piece.

8 MS. GOLDMAN: And that's --

9 QUESTION: If they're wrong about that. And
10 if they're right about that, we affirm them.

11 MS. GOLDMAN: That is what we're asking this
12 Court to do.

13 QUESTION: That's what I thought you
14 originally asked. But I don't see why it's changed.

15 MS. GOLDMAN: That is what we want this Court
16 to do, is look at the approach that the district court
17 took and -- and explain exactly why it is in error.

18 And let me explain what evidence was in the
19 record below on this point because I think it
20 illustrates how erroneous that decision was.

21 In challenging the statute below, the only
22 evidence that the Appellees introduced was an affidavit
23 by Appellee Webster. And that affidavit makes two
24 assertions.

25 The first is that disclosures of classified

1 intelligence information may harm national security,
2 And the second is nondisclosure agreements may assist
3 the Executive Branch in preventing those disclosures.

4 We have no dispute with either of those
5 propositions. But they don't shed any light on the
6 particular provisions of Section 630. In fact, that
7 affidavit says nothing about a knowledge standard, a
8 prior authorization requirement for Congressional
9 disclosures, or the term classifiable.

10 The district court didn't rely on any
11 evidence, that evidence or any other. He decided that
12 the President has exclusive authority over national
13 security information and that Congress has no role to
14 play in regulating disclosure of national security
15 information.

16 In fact, the focus in the district court was
17 on the term classifiable. And the same district judge
18 who decided this case declared that term
19 unconstitutionally vague two months after he issued this
20 decision. He enjoined the use of this term, although he
21 decided Congress has no power to do the same.

22 The first error, therefore, in the district
23 court decision is the assumption that Congress has no
24 power in this area. And once it's recognized that
25 Congress has numerous powers under the Constitution,

1 such as the lawmaking power, the appropriations power,
2 the power to regulate the land and naval forces, et
3 cetera, then it becomes clear this is an area of shared
4 powers and the proper test is the one set forth in Nixon
5 v. GSA.

6 In that case, this Court said that the party
7 challenging a statute, or the branch challenging a
8 statute, must show that it impairs their ability to
9 carry out their constitutional functions. Here the
10 Executive Branch has not made any showing that it is
11 impaired by the terms in Section 630. The only evidence
12 was the Webster affidavit that didn't go to the
13 particular terms in Section 630.

14 And it's unlikely that the Executive Branch
15 could make such a showing, given the nature of this
16 statute. Section 630 --

17 QUESTION: I know, but the requirement of
18 knowledge means that the Executive Branch has to put UP
19 with the negligence of employees.

20 MS. GOLDMAN: Not necessarily.

21 QUESTION: Not when they're dealing with
22 classified information?

23 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, not necessarily for two
24 reasons. First --

25 QUESTION: Well, not necessarily. But ever?

1 MS. GOLDMAN: I don't believe so, because
2 Section 630 only goes to terms in nondisclosure
3 agreements. A reason to know standard may not be
4 imposed through a nondisclosure agreement under this
5 law.

6 Section 630 does not deal with the larger
7 question of whether employees can be punished if they
8 disclose information when they have reason to know it
9 may be classified through some other authority.
10 Congress did not limit the Executive Branch's ability to
11 decide who can have a security clearance or who can have
12 access to certain sensitive information.

13 QUESTION: (Inaudible) you can't use these
14 kinds of contracts?

15 MS. GOLDMAN: Congress was very concerned
16 about these contracts. Three million employees --

17 QUESTION: Why shouldn't -- why shouldn't the
18 government say, please be careful?

19 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, that's not the question
20 here. The question is whether Congress can make a
21 decision that certain obligations should not be imposed.

22 QUESTION: (Inaudible) Congress thought that
23 the Executive Branch couldn't do anything about
24 negligent employees who were dealing with classified
25 information.

1 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, that's not --

2 QUESTION: Don't use any money to get after
3 these people.

4 MS. GOLDMAN: That's not exactly correct
5 because under Section --

6 QUESTION: Is it partly correct or not at all?

7 MS. GOLDMAN: It is correct in that Congress
8 limited certain obligations under nondisclosure
9 agreements. If an employee knows that information is
10 classified, he or she can be punished under the
11 agreements for negligence.

12 QUESTION: (Inaudible.)

13 MS. GOLDMAN: Then he or she can only be
14 punished if the Executive Branch is using some other
15 authority. The contracts cannot be the basis for the
16 punishment.

17 QUESTION: What other authority if the person
18 has already left the service? I mean, the advantage of
19 these contractual agreements is that it continues to
20 bind the person after he's left.

21 How are you going to punish him
22 administratively when he's left?

23 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, there may not be --

24 QUESTION: There may not be any way to -- to
25 punish the negligent employee.

1 MS. GOLDMAN: If the employee has left.

2 QUESTION: Right.

3 MS. GOLDMAN: But the concerns that are raised
4 in the Executive Branch brief here is access to the
5 national security information.

6 QUESTION: Well, they've had access already in
7 the past. Then they leave the government and you're
8 saying there's -- or, Congress has said there is no way
9 the President can require these people to be careful
10 about what they thereafter say. Isn't that what it
11 comes down to?

12 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, if they know, they have
13 all the obligations of the agreements.

14 QUESTION: If they know. But they don't have
15 to be careful.

16 MS. GOLDMAN: If -- if the Executive Branch
17 would have some other stick, for example, a new
18 position, the Executive Branch would certainly have
19 control over whether --

20 QUESTION: Boy, that will fix them. We won't
21 rehire you after you've left.

22 QUESTION: Well, though, I don't think that's
23 a fair reading of the statute anyway. The statute is
24 broader than these particular agreements, any policy or
25 contract. I mean, so the government couldn't even

1 enforce a policy of disciplining people who were
2 careless.

3 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, the statute does use the
4 term policy, but the legislative history in this area is
5 clear that Congress was concerned with contracts. And
6 in this instance we believe it would appropriate -- it
7 would be appropriate to construe the term policy in
8 accordance with the entire legislative history --

9 QUESTION: To construe the word policy by just
10 erasing it?

11 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, it doesn't say rules or
12 regulations or executive orders and it's not exactly
13 clear on that point.

14 QUESTION: But it's broad language.

15 MS. GOLDMAN: We don't think it should be --

16 QUESTION: Any other nondisclosure policy,
17 form or agreement, if such policy, form or agreement --
18 it didn't just say agreements.

19 QUESTION: You're not really suggesting that
20 that (Inaudible) on the Executive is in any interference
21 at all with his ability to execute the clause?

22 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, there may be some --

23 QUESTION: Just can't deal with -- you just
24 can't do anything about negligent employees?

25 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, that's not what this

1 statute does, but if it did, Congress --

2 QUESTION: (Inaudible) Justice Stevens has
3 just read me something that sounds like --

4 MS. GOLDMAN: Congress would certainly be
5 entitled to make a judgment that where information is
6 not marked, the Executive Branch should bear the burden
7 of insuring employees know rather than those employees
8 of checking --

9 QUESTION: Are you saying that Congress may
10 forbid the Executive Branch from taking action against
11 non-knowing but negligent employees? That he has that
12 kind of power.

13 MS. GOLDMAN: Well, the test that would be
14 applied would be the balancing test. There may be some
15 instances where --

16 QUESTION: Why?

17 MS. GOLDMAN: -- it would tie the Executive
18 Branch's hands.

19 QUESTION: Get to the question more
20 definitely. Justice White asked you a particular
21 question. I think it can be answered yes or no.

22 QUESTION: Wasn't that the Constitution
23 machine to make Congress keep -- forbid the Executive
24 Branch from dealing with negligent employees?

25 MS. GOLDMAN: Yes, it may, unless the

1 Executive Branch can show that its hands are tied under
2 the test in Nixon v. GSA. And then those aspects, those
3 instances where the statute would do that would be
4 unconstitutional.

5 I would like to save some time for rebuttal.

6 QUESTION: Very well, Ms. Goldman.

7 Mr. Kneedler.

8 ORAL ARGUMENT OF EDWIN S. KNEEDLER

9 ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENTS

10 MR. KNEEDLER: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice,
11 and may it please the Court:

12 I would like to take a few moments at the
13 outset to summarize what the government's position is in
14 this case, with respect to the proper disposition.

15 Contrary to Appellants' view, we don't believe
16 that there is a need to remand this case to the district
17 court. We think the judgment can and should be properly
18 affirmed. This Court reviews judgments, not opinions of
19 lower courts, and in this case we believe that the
20 judgment below sustaining the forms against the
21 challenge brought by the Appellants was correctly
22 entered.

23 The Appellants have argued this case as if --
24 as if the issue were our challenge to Section 630.
25 That's not the issue before the --

1 QUESTION: So you don't want us to reach the
2 Constitutional issue either?

3 MR. KNEEDLER: We don't think it's necessary
4 to do so because in our view the forms that they have
5 challenged comply with the statute. We aren't
6 suggesting sending it back. In our view, the forms
7 comply with the statute.

8 QUESTION: You want us to try the case right
9 up here (inaudible)?

10 MR. KNEEDLER: I don't think it's a need to
11 try the case. This Court has often --

12 QUESTION: You want us to do what the district
13 court didn't do.

14 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, this Court is accustomed,
15 when a lower court decides a constitutional question, to
16 first looking at a statutory question in reviewing the
17 judgment.

18 QUESTION: (Inaudible) also, we aren't
19 accustomed to having respondents ask us to affirm on
20 different ground than saying I'm sorry but we think that
21 somebody else should decide it first.

22 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, that's obviously within
23 -- within the Court's authority and discretion. But we
24 don't -- we don't think that it's necessary to do so
25 here with respect to the questions of statute

1 construction that are raised. We think this Court can
2 address those as well as the district court.

3 But -- but the point I was making is that
4 Appellants brought this suit to challenge the
5 nondisclosure agreements, two in particular, 4193 and
6 Form 189, on their face. As part of their challenge,
7 they invoke Section 630.

8 But the question before this Court is whether
9 those forms are invalid, or were invalid -- they've now
10 been superseded -- whether those forms were invalid on
11 their face and therefore should be enjoined under
12 Section 630.

13 QUESTION: How can a form be invalid on its
14 face?

15 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, for, for example, with
16 respect to the question of disclosures to Congress, the
17 form states that unauthorized disclosures are barred and
18 the employee undertakes never to make an unauthorized
19 disclosure.

20 Now, in our view that is certainly valid
21 because, for example, the Appellants would argue that
22 their members have a First Amendment right to petition
23 Congress through divulging classified information
24 without going through channels. Our position is that
25 the First Amendment does not confer any such right. But

1 if it did, that presumably would be an authorized
2 disclosure within the meaning of the form.

3 So, the disagreement about whether there is a
4 substance of right is not really in this case.

5 QUESTION: The form just refers the employees
6 to a law library.

7 MR. KNEEDLER: well, it refers them -- these
8 employees are not -- receive a lot of instruction as to
9 what their obligations are. These forms were intended
10 to embody and in fact codify obligations that employees
11 have from independent sources. From the class --

12 QUESTION: Well, how does -- how does the one
13 thing you've referred to so far, that you're not allowed
14 to make any unauthorized disclosures -- how does that
15 help anyone if -- if -- If that simply means that you
16 check through all possible applicable laws and
17 regulations and the Constitution and decide whether or
18 not a particular disclosure is authorized?

19 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, in fact, for employees
20 it's far easier than that. They can check with -- they
21 can check through channels to see whether a particular
22 disclosure is authorized, and that's exactly how the
23 regime for regulating classified information within the
24 Executive Branch is intended to work.

25 The President has control, as this Court said

1 in Egan last term, over classified information. The
2 instrument of his exercise of control over that is the
3 Executive Order 12356, and each of the Agencies that
4 administers classified information has rather specific
5 instructions and guidelines that they furnish to
6 employees to tell them what their obligations are.

7 And, in fact, a paragraph of the agreements at
8 issue here, in the forms the employee acknowledges that
9 he's been briefed as to what his obligations are. And,
10 for example, in the specific instance of disclosing
11 information to Congress, it's clear and has been for a
12 long time, that a disclosure to a member of Congress is
13 like a disclosure to anyone else.

14 The recipient is not authorized to receive it
15 unless he is determined to have a need to know that
16 particular information. It's not enough that he may be
17 trustworthy as a general matter. He has to be
18 determined to have a need to know. And that is a
19 standard that is set forth in the Executive Order itself
20 through which the President has regulated the access to
21 classified information.

22 QUESTION: But is Congress bound by the
23 Executive's determination in that respect?

24 MR. KNEEDLER: Congress is not bound in
25 several respects, but it is -- let me explain my answer.

1 It's certainly not bound with respect to its
2 own internal handling of classified information. The
3 second question would come if Congress itself wanted to
4 obtain classified information from the Executive
5 Branch. That could be done through a request or a
6 subpoena.

7 The judgment as to whether that information
8 would be furnished to Congress would be made by the
9 person who has custody of it or a person to whom that
10 authority has been delegated. For example, in the CIA,
11 that authority is vested in the Director of Central
12 Intelligence.

13 QUESTION: But suppose Congress says, "we
14 don't want to be at the mercy of the Director of the CIA
15 when we want this kind of information; we want it right
16 now"?

17 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, I think that's another
18 way of saying that Congress doesn't like a national
19 security or state secret privilege that has long been
20 recognized in the Executive Branch.

21 QUESTION: But, you know, a privilege is not
22 necessarily something that can't be overridden by
23 Congress.

24 MR. KNEEDLER: In this particular case, we
25 believe this is a privilege that cannot be overridden by

1 Congress because it is a privilege that derives directly
2 from the constitutional authorities of the President
3 under Article II of the Constitution.

4 QUESTION: Well, then you do say that Congress
5 could not by statute pass a law that's saying -- that
6 says any time we want something from the Director of the
7 CIA If the appropriate committee votes for it by a
8 majority, the Director is going to have send it over?
9 If that's contrary to the Executive Order, Congress
10 can't do that.

11 MR. KNEEDLER: No, that wouldn't be contrary
12 to the Executive Order because if the Director of
13 Central Intelligence determines that that information
14 should be furnished, then it's an authorized disclosure.

15 QUESTION: But supposing the Director
16 determines it shouldn't be furnished?

17 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, that is -- that is an
18 example of the give-and-take between the political
19 branches that frequently goes on.

20 QUESTION: And supposing it gets to a point of
21 Impasse? You say that an act of Congress will not
22 prevail over an Executive --

23 MR. KNEEDLER: Not necessarily. It may be
24 that after there -- that after there has been a
25 disagreement between the two branches that it would be

1 determined that Congress' need for the particular
2 information --

3 QUESTION: But who determines that? I mean,
4 Congress thought it determined it itself when it said,
5 under the following circumstances the Director of the
6 CIA shall furnish us information, and those
7 circumstances are now complied with.

8 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, but --

9 QUESTION: Why shouldn't that be the last word?

10 MR. KNEEDLER: well, presumably the Director
11 of Central Intelligence is not going to withhold
12 information under the statute like that --

13 QUESTION: But by my hypothesis he does
14 withhold it.

15 MR. KNEEDLER: well, then -- then, if he does,
16 then the committee concerned would -- would bring
17 contempt proceedings against the Director or -- or if a
18 court action were possible, that could be pursued.

19 But let me back up a minute. That question --

20 QUESTION: Wait a minute. And you think that
21 that court action would be valid? You -- you are, as I
22 understand what you've said so far, you are not
23 asserting that in law Congress cannot demand that from
24 the Executive and get it. You do not assert any legal
25 privilege for the Executive to withhold information from

1 Congress.

2 MR. KNEEDLER: Oh, no. I'm saying there is a
3 Constitutionally-derived privilege. How -- how --

4 QUESTION: Which is enforceable in the courts?

5 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, there may be a political
6 question, doctrine problem, or something if a lawsuit
7 was brought in that circumstance. I didn't mean to
8 suggest that the court should lightly entertain a
9 dispute between the Congress and the Executive Branch
10 with respect to seeking information in situations --

11 QUESTION: Assume the dispute gets here. An
12 Executive officer obeys -- obeys the President, does not
13 turn the information over. He is prosecuted under a
14 statute that Congress has passed. Prosecuted. We get a
15 special prosecutor in to prosecute him.

16 (Laughter.)

17 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, it may be on a particular
18 case that this Court would hold that the President's
19 claim of privilege is valid. In United States v. Nixon,
20 which dealt with deliberative privilege -- deliberative
21 process privilege, this Court weighed the computing
22 interests and determined the information had to be
23 turned over. But it was careful to point out that the
24 case did not involve state secrets types of --

25 QUESTION: What happens in this prosecution

1 that I just posited? Would you -- do you assert that
2 there is a -- that the prosecution would not be able to
3 proceed because of the President's privilege not to turn
4 over the information?

5 MR. KNEEDLER: Our initial position I think
6 would be yes, that the prosecution could not proceed.
7 But if --

8 QUESTION: I thought that's what this case was
9 all about.

10 MR. KNEEDLER: But -- but no, I think it's
11 not, because what we have at issue here is not -- is not
12 a statute by which Congress speaks to the Director of
13 Central Intelligence. He's not asking the President nor
14 the person immediately responsible to the President to
15 furnish information.

16 What Congress is purporting to do is to put a
17 barrier, an obstacle, between the Director of Central
18 Intelligence, in this example, and lower ranking
19 employees and saying the lower ranking employees can
20 basically circumvent the Director of Central
21 Intelligence's decision of whether to furnish the
22 information or not by going directly to Congress with
23 the particular information.

24 That's all that has to be decided in this
25 case. And I think in the example that Justice Scalia

1 was describing, depending on the circumstances, yes,
2 indeed, I think that the President, under -- under what
3 this Court said in United States v. Nixon, would in
4 appropriate circumstances have the authority to withhold
5 the information.

6 But that's not what's at issue here. What's
7 at issue here is an attempt by Congress to take that
8 decision away from the President in the first place, and
9 to allow it to a lower-ranking employee to decide
10 whether he's going to run to Congress with classified
11 information where the appropriate authorities in the
12 Executive Branch haven't even had a chance to pass on
13 the question of whether the information should be
14 furnished or not.

15 MR. KNEEDLER: But, Mr. Kneedler, if the
16 information is by hypothesis classified, I didn't read
17 the act of Congress involved in this case as saying that
18 an employee could run to Congress with it.

19 MR. KNEEDLER: Depending on how subsections
20 (3) and (4) are read. If subsections (3) and (4) were
21 read broadly, they could -- they could be read to say
22 that an employee has a right to take even classified
23 information to Congress.

24 Now, as Ms. Goldman has pointed out, the
25 parties and the others who have filed briefs in this

1 case are in agreement that it doesn't confer a new right
2 to furnish information -- classified information to
3 Congress.

4 QUESTION: well --

5 MR. KNEEDLER: That it refers one to some
6 other source.

7 QUESTION: The statute doesn't -- wouldn't --
8 It forbids using money to enforce these --

9 MR. KNEEDLER: It's written as --

10 QUESTION: That certainly wouldn't -- it
11 didn't purport to forbid the Central Intelligence Agency
12 from firing a person who furnishes this information
13 without authorization.

14 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, again, it would depend on
15 how the statute were read. As Justice Stevens was
16 pointing out, it is written in rather broad terms.
17 Barring the expenditure of money to implement or enforce
18 a policy or agreement -- conceivably it could be read to
19 prohibit even firing somebody because that would be
20 implementing or enforcing a policy.

21 QUESTION: It takes money to fire somebody.

22 MR. KNEEDLER: Yes. I mean, we would -- we
23 would -- we would certainly hope that either as a matter
24 of statutory construction or constitutional law that the
25 hands of the Director of Central Intelligence or the

1 Secretary of State, or whoever else is responsible for
2 the classified information, wouldn't be put in the
3 position where he would have to tolerate either
4 negligent disclosures or disclosures -- disseminations
5 of information by people who don't have authority. And
6 that's our problem with this statute.

7 QUESTION: Mr. Kneedler, can I -- I understand
8 the problem on Section 1. But turning to Sections 3 and
9 4 for a second, is there anything in this record to tell
10 us to what extent, if any, there are some policies out
11 there that directly or indirectly obstruct information
12 flowing to Congress?

13 MR. KNEEDLER: Is this --

14 QUESTION: Isn't there a need for some
15 findings on that?

16 MR. KNEEDLER: No, I think not. First of all,
17 this complaint only challenges the forms. It doesn't
18 challenge any policies. Again, this is a lawsuit
19 brought to challenge two particular forms.

20 QUESTION: Right.

21 MR. KNEEDLER: Not policies. So, the policies
22 that may -- to which this form may refer one, are not
23 part of this case. This is just a question of whether
24 the forms are valid on their face. And it is the
25 general policy in most departments and agencies --

1 QUESTION: But even so, do these forms on
2 their face interfere with the right of Congress to
3 obtain Executive Branch Information in a secure manner,
4 and so forth?

5 MR. KNEEDLER: They do not -- they do not on
6 their face because, again, they only prohibit this --

7 QUESTION: Well, then -- then, on their face,
8 their is no violation of 3 or 4.

9 MR. KNEEDLER: That's right. And that's why
10 we say the judgment should be affirmed as to subsections
11 (3) and (4).

12 QUESTION: But, at the very least, there is no
13 Constitutional issue to decide with respect to (3) and
14 (4) on the present state of the record.

15 MR. KNEEDLER: That is -- that is correct.
16 Because only unauthorized disclosures are prohibited.
17 We say that no -- that no --

18 QUESTION: Right.

19 MR. KNEEDLER: -- no furnishing of information
20 is permitted. The other side might disagree. But the
21 forms themselves simply refer one to whatever --

22 QUESTION: So, if we were to affirm the
23 district court on the theory, you say we would not
24 affirm the district court's reasoning with respect to --

25 MR. KNEEDLER: No. All -- again, it's just

1 the judgment --

2 QUESTION: Because we don't agree --

3 MR. KNEEDLER: -- that is before the Court.

4 QUESTION: I understand that.

5 MR. KNEEDLER: But, again, let me reiterate
6 that this reading of the statute we think would properly
7 be informed by the serious constitutional questions that
8 would be presented if -- if there were a statute passed
9 that purported to allow any lower-ranking employee in
10 the Executive Branch to take it upon himself to divulge
11 information to Congress.

12 The Federalist 64 that we quoted at page 43 in
13 our brief and the early experience with President
14 Washington in furnishing information to Congress about
15 the Jay Treaty, demonstrate an early understanding that
16 the Executive was permitted to withhold information from
17 Congress where the President determined that that was
18 the proper thing to do.

19 And it surely can't be, for example, that the
20 First Congress could have passed a statute requiring
21 some lower-ranking person to turn over the information
22 about the Jay Treaty that the President had personally
23 declined to furnish.

24 And that's the issue in this case. It's not
25 the ultimate question of whether the President or the

1 Secretary of State will furnish information to Congress,
2 but whether they will be deprived of the opportunity to
3 even pass on that question.

4 QUESTION: Well, Mr. Kneedler, I take it you
5 must have urged the district court to take the action
6 that he did.

7 MR. KNEEDLER: No. Our first position was
8 that -- was to urge statutory grounds why the -- this
9 precise argument I'm describing here with respect to
10 unauthorized disclosures.

11 QUESTION: Made that to the district court?

12 MR. KNEEDLER: We made that to the district
13 court. And --

14 QUESTION: And in effect you're saying that
15 anything about sections (3) and (4) are just not right?

16 MR. KNEEDLER: I don't think that's -- I don't
17 think it's a question of rightness. I think the
18 Appellants brought this suit as a challenge to the
19 forms, and we're saying the forms are valid. And,
20 therefore, the judgment denying them relief should be
21 affirmed.

22 QUESTION: What about (1)?

23 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, as to (1) the only form
24 -- the only two forms that they challenged in this case,
25 4193 and 189, don't present this question. The -- those

1 forms as they were in effect at the time this statute
2 was passed, referred to classified or classifiable
3 information in addressing the substance of the
4 information that is subject to the forms.

5 After the -- after the concern about
6 classifiable, those forms were amended in September of
7 1988 to substitute -- to delete the word classifiable
8 and to substitute in its place the information to which
9 that term was always intended to apply, which is
10 information that's marked classified, unmarked
11 classified information such as oral communications, or
12 information that's in the process of a classification
13 determination.

14 That substitute language that is put into the
15 forms themselves, likewise, does not address the
16 knowledge issue. The question as to 4193 and 189 -- the
17 question of --

18 QUESTION: You say it doesn't address the --
19 It does address the -- it says if it's that kind of
20 information, whether it's known to be or not. How do
21 you say that doesn't address it?

22 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, I think that -- I think
23 the information that is the subject of the forms is
24 something that should be objectively ascertainable, and
25 I think that's what -- that's what paragraph 1 of those

1 forms is directed to. Objectively ascertainable so that
2 every employee who handles that information is subject
3 to the same responsibilities with respect to it, whether
4 or not he knows that it's classified.

5 QUESTION: Whether or not he knows it. So why
6 doesn't that contradict (1)?

7 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, the standard of care is
8 not addressed in the form. It's addressed in the
9 regulation. Insofar as 189 is concerned, it was
10 promulgated by the Director of the Information Security
11 Oversight Office. It's not a separate regulation that
12 says if an employee discloses information that is the
13 subject of the form that he knows to be classified or
14 has reason to know.

15 Then, in those circumstances, the regulation
16 would attach liability.

17 QUESTION: What about -- did Congress in the
18 -- in taking action, did it require the knowledge issue
19 to be put in the form?

20 MR. KNEEDLER: No, it's a negative. The funds
21 can't be used for a form that applies to information
22 other than that that is marked classified or that the
23 employees knows is --

24 QUESTION: But they didn't put any knowledge
25 limitation on it.

1 QUESTION: Only the form is being challenged
2 (inaudible)?

3 MR. KNEEDLER: That's our position. And the
4 question of -- the question of if an employee makes a
5 negligent disclosure, in our view, that is a question of
6 enforcing the form. Not enforcing the form -- excuse me
7 -- enforcing the regulation. And that's a question that
8 would be raised -- that would be at a time an
9 enforcement action was brought?

10 QUESTION: So you just don't think the
11 Constitutional issue as being here or -- or on the
12 knowledge part?

13 MR. KNEEDLER: The Court can affirm the
14 judgment below. I think yes. As to -- as to these two
15 forms without that.

16 QUESTION: And do we look at the old forms,
17 not the new ones?

18 MR. KNEEDLER: That's -- that is actually all
19 that's before this case because the complaint only
20 challenges 4193 and Section 189.

21 Now, I'd like to make -- one -- clarify one
22 thing. On the 4193 in a paragraph other than the one
23 that describes the information that's subject to the
24 form, there is a pre-publication review paragraph that
25 -- in form 4193 that also exists in 4355 that does

1 obligate the employee -- it's a snap sort of
2 requirement. It obligates an employee with access to
3 Sensitive Compartmented Information to -- to ascertain
4 whether -- or to have it reviewed to see whether --
5 whether it can be released.

6 And in that section there is a reference to
7 the reason to believe -- that an employee has to check
8 if he has reason to believe that certain information he
9 wants to disclose is derived from SCI.

10 But we view that as just one set of -- one
11 subset of the larger question of a prepublication review
12 requirement and Appellants did not focus or challenge in
13 the district court on prepublication review. They
14 challenged it primarily on the -- challenging these two
15 forms on their face.

16 QUESTION: Mr. Kneeder, I just don't
17 understand the logic of your assertion that the
18 regulation somehow alters the problem. It seems to me
19 if the form itself says this kind of information you
20 will be liable if you disclose. Classified or
21 classifiable. Period. It says nothing about knowledge.

22 What that means to me is if you disclose it,
23 you're liable. Now you come up with a regulation that
24 says, well, you won't be liable if you didn't have any
25 reason to know that it was classified or -- well, that's

1 very nice, and that makes the form more liberal although
2 still not liberal enough to comply with the statute, it
3 seems to me.

4 But I don't know how you can say that the form
5 itself does not speak to knowledge. It doesn't say
6 anything about knowledge. But what it says when it
7 doesn't mention knowledge is that your knowledge doesn't
8 matter.

9 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, I think that's a question
10 of enforcing the obligation under the form. And the
11 statute speaks both in terms of implementing and
12 enforcing. Appellants brought this challenge primarily
13 to the implementation of the forms.

14 They were really saying that -- that 4193 and
15 189 have to be suspended altogether because those forms
16 were named by number in the statute. That was really
17 the basis of their challenge in the district court
18 primarily.

19 Those forms have since been superseded. But,
20 again, the form on its face did not -- did not say
21 that. I think it's a question of its just being
22 unaddressed. And if in a particular application of the
23 enforcement policy, it was applied against somebody who
24 disclosed something he had reason to know but didn't
25 have subjective knowledge, then that would be a question

1 to be litigated then.

2 QUESTION: Mr. Kneedler, if I understand you
3 correctly, just viewing the judgment below very narrowly
4 is just passing on the two forms challenged in the
5 complaint.

6 If we were to affirm on the theory you
7 recommend, they could immediately file another lawsuit
8 challenging the the new forms on the theories that -- on
9 the basis that they're advocating today.

10 MR. KNEEDLER: That is -- yes, I think that's
11 largely correct. I mean, there may be some issues --

12 QUESTION: Then it really doesn't make an
13 awful lot of difference whether -- assuming we do one of
14 the two things, whether we affirm on your theory or we
15 vacate and remand on their theory, and let them litigate
16 in this case. I mean, they really come down to pretty
17 much the same.

18 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, they may. Although it
19 seems to us that there's a real value in putting this
20 litigation to an end. I mean, we -- we were concerned
21 about this statute, particularly in the early periods,
22 because on its face it seemed to bespeak a Congressional
23 intent to lift a lot of controls over classified
24 information, which we were concerned could send
25 disturbing signals not only to Executive branch

1 employees but to foreign nations who share intelligence
2 and other information with us. And so --

3 QUESTION: The only thing I'm suggesting is
4 that your theory of affirmance does not necessarily put
5 the litigation in a broader sense to an end.

6 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, it -- it may or may not,
7 depending on -- depending on what happens. The
8 Appellants had an opportunity to amend the complaint to
9 challenge 4355 presumably after it was issued in March
10 of '89 -- excuse me -- March of '88 and didn't joint
11 issue on that.

12 But you may be right as to that. But in terms
13 of interpreting this particular statute, to the extent
14 this Court would feel that it would be in as good a
15 position as the district court on remand to decide
16 exactly what the statute means, that's something that --
17 that could be done now --

18 QUESTION: Because even in that word -- we're
19 interpreting the next year's status. This is just a
20 one-year appropriation.

21 MR. KNEEDLER: Right. In fact -- although I'm
22 saying 630, in fact it's Section 619.

23 QUESTION: Yeah.

24 MR. KNEEDLER: Which was enacted -- or, it
25 came into effect after these two forms that were

1 challenged were superseded.

2 If -- going back to Justice Scalia's
3 question. If the Court should conclude that there is an
4 irreconcilable conflict between the forms on their fact
5 and the statute, and that the statute has to be read to
6 tie the Executive's hands in disciplining or taking
7 other action against somebody who makes a negligent
8 disclosure of something he should know is classified,
9 then we do believe the statute would be unconstitutional
10 for the reasons that were alluded to by several members
11 of the Court.

12 There are a number of reasons why we think
13 this is so. Perhaps the most explicit comes from
14 Article II of the Constitution itself, which obligates
15 the President to take care that the laws be faithfully
16 executed. And care suggests caution, and in the area of
17 national security information it suggests the utmost
18 caution. And that obligation of care is properly passed
19 on to the persons who assist the President of the United
20 States in foreign relations and national security
21 matters and entitle him to insist that the lower-ranking
22 employees who have access to national security
23 information have to exercise the utmost care.

24 And, in fact, that was the premise of this
25 Court's decision in --

1 QUESTION: Mr. Kneedler --

2 MR. KNEEDLER: -- in Snepp and Egan and other
3 cases.

4 QUESTION: -- are you suggesting that the term
5 take care that the laws be faithfully executed means
6 that the President should execute them cautiously?

7 MR. KNEEDLER: No. What I'm saying is that
8 the President has an obligation to be circumspect -- has
9 an obligation that fits -- that fits the subject
10 matter. And when we're talking about the subject matter
11 of national security information, he has an obligation
12 to exercise the care and to see that his subordinates
13 have exercised the care that is appropriate to the
14 circumstances.

15 And, as I say, in Snepp, the Court recognized
16 that an intelligence agent's position was one of high
17 trust and fiduciary obligation by virtue of his assuming
18 that position. And as an aspect of that, such an
19 employee is briefed as to what his obligations are, and
20 someone who is experienced in operating in this field is
21 not going to be at sea in determining what information
22 he can disclose and what he can't.

23 And we think that it would greatly disrupt the
24 constitutional structure for Congress to be in a
25 position to tell the President that he cannot take

1 action against someone who carelessly discloses
2 information that is in -- in fact touches on the
3 national security and does so without even checking with
4 the appropriate authorities in the government to see
5 whether the information is in fact subject to being
6 protected.

7 In fact, that was the theme of the *Snapp*
8 decision, which was that an employee properly should err
9 on the side of caution and check with the agency where
10 he was employed before he discloses the information.
11 And we think that that is exactly what the Constitution
12 requires itself.

13 And although this case can be disposed of on
14 statutory grounds, we would urge the Court to bear
15 clearly in mind the substantial Constitutional problems
16 that would be raised with both -- with respect to both
17 paragraphs 3 and 4 of this statute, and paragraph 1, if
18 the statute were allowed to be applied in a way that
19 would disrupt the President's control over national
20 security information.

21 Let me say, too, that the -- that the -- going
22 back on the question of furnishing information to
23 Congress. We're not suggesting that the President or
24 the Director of Central Intelligence, or other
25 officials, are going to lightly withhold information

1 from Congress.

2 Our point is that it's a question of
3 cooperation between the branches. And 50 USC 413, which
4 we've cited in the brief, which provides for the
5 Director to share information with the Intelligence
6 Committees is exactly the sort of cooperative
7 arrangement through official channels, with decisions
8 being made by the appropriate officials in the Executive
9 Branch.

10 That's -- that's exactly the way we think
11 things should operate. In fact, the Constitution itself
12 suggests exactly that arrangement because it assigns to
13 the President the responsibility to furnish information
14 to Congress concerning the state of the union, which
15 would necessarily include classified information within
16 the Executive Branch. It assigns that power to the
17 President.

18 Now, when you have other -- other functions
19 assigned to other agencies of the government, by statute
20 maybe different questions arise. But where the subject
21 matter is one that is vested in the President directly
22 by virtue of the Constitution itself, as
23 Commander-in-Chief, as the sole organ of the nation in
24 foreign affairs, then the President has to -- has to
25 have unimpeded control over the information within the

1 Executive Branch.

2 And that's what we think this case is
3 ultimately about. Just as the Commander-in-Chief has to
4 be able to command people, subordinates, in the
5 Executive Branch, so too does the head of the Executive
6 Branch in the area of national affairs have to have that
7 responsibility. And control over national security
8 information in the Executive Branch is merely one subset
9 or one part of the President's overall responsibility
10 for the conduct of the national security within the
11 Executive Branch.

12 That's something quite different from the
13 power of Congress addressing something to the President
14 to request information or to command that the President
15 perform certain substantive duties. But in terms of the
16 responsibility for keeping his own house in order and
17 for the performance of the jobs by his own subordinates
18 in whom he has to trust -- have the utmost trust, then
19 we think that Congress cannot disrupt the arrangement
20 that the Constitution assigns.

21 And the First Congress recognized this by --

22 QUESTION: But, Mr. Kneedler, I just can't --
23 I can't avoid interrupting you with this thought. The
24 Constitution also gives Congress the power to provide
25 for a navy and for the armed forces, and so forth, and

1 often classified information is highly relevant to their
2 task.

3 MR. KNEEDLER: Yes. And -- and the
4 arrangements that have been worked out between the
5 branches are that the Executive Branch shares through
6 proper channels an enormous amount of classified
7 information.

8 QUESTION: But, of course, the constitutional
9 question is suppose the Executive decides not to share
10 some information that Congress thinks it needs. That's
11 -- that's what we --

12 MR. KNEEDLER: well, and the Congress has the
13 power of the purse ultimately by saying, if you want an
14 Army, you'd better furnish the information that enables
15 us to consider that question intelligently. And that is
16 exactly the way the framers of the Constitution
17 contemplated that questions concerning the national
18 security would be resolved. By cooperation between the
19 branches.

20 And our concern with this statute, at least
21 the impulse behind it, is that it -- it seems as an
22 effort to sweep aside all of the controls within the
23 Executive Branch and the deliberate procedures for
24 sharing information and, instead, to radically change
25 past practices and allow employees to take matters into

1 their own hands.

2 QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. Kneeder.

3 Ms. Goldman, you have one minute remaining.

4 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF PATTI A. GOLDMAN

5 ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENTS

6 MS. GOLDMAN: I think it would be useful if I
7 explained what we challenged and what's relevant now in
8 this issue of compliance.

9 We challenged the Executive Branch's
10 noncompliance with Section 630 because the Executive
11 Branch required employees to sign the forms listed in
12 Section 630. At least 49,000 of those forms were signed
13 during the ban.

14 The Executive Branch is arguing now that it is
15 complying with Section 630, and the question is what's
16 happened with those 49,000 people. How have those forms
17 been brought into compliance, either through the Notice
18 or by having those employees sign the new forms?

19 And that is why the subsections of Section 630
20 are now essential for the government's compliance
21 argument. There is no longer a violation only if those
22 forms comply with all of the provisions of Section 630.

23 I want to close with just one observation, and
24 that is the effect that this judgment has had on the
25 cooperation that Mr. Kneeder says is so essential

1 between the branches. The district judge, by declaring
2 that the Executive Branch has such sweeping power, has
3 impeded the kind of accommodation that should take place
4 in this kind of a controversy. And we hope that if this
5 Court wipes that decision off the books, that -- that
6 the accommodation would follow.

7 CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST: Thank you, Ms.
8 Goldman.

9 The case is submitted.

10 (Whereupon, at 11:50 o'clock a.m., the case in
11 the above-entitled matter was submitted.)
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CERTIFICATION

Alderson Reporting Company, Inc., hereby certifies that the attached pages represents an accurate transcription of electronic sound recording of the oral argument before the Supreme Court of The United States in the Matter of:
No. 87-2127 - AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION, ET AL., Appellants V.

STEVEN GARFINKEL, DIRECTOR, INFORMATION SECURITY OVER-SIGHT
OFFICE, ET AL.

and that these attached pages constitutes the original transcript of the proceedings for the records of the court.

BY alan friedman
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