

CONTENTS

Foreword / *Sumit Ganguly* · xi

Acknowledgments · xv

Editor's Note · xvii

Abbreviations · xix

Introduction / *David P. Fidler* · 1

PART I · PERSPECTIVES ON THE SNOWDEN DISCLOSURES

- 1 Security and Liberty: The Imaginary Balance / *Nick Cullather* · 19
- 2 Edward Snowden and the NSA:
Law, Policy, and Politics / *Fred H. Cate* · 26
- 3 From Passivity to Eternal Vigilance: NSA Surveillance and
Effective Oversight of Government Power / *Lee H. Hamilton* · 45
- 4 U.S. Foreign Policy and the Snowden Leaks / *David P. Fidler* · 52
- 5 Taking Snowden Seriously: Civil Disobedience for an Age of Total
Surveillance / *William E. Scheuerman* · 70

PART II · THE SNOWDEN AFFAIR THROUGH PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

A. Revelations and Reactions

Unconstitutional Abuse of Power or Legitimate and Necessary Security Measures? NSA Programs under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act

- 1 The Verizon Order · 92
- 2 NSA PRISM and UPSTREAM Briefing Slides · 96
- 3 Robert S. Litt, General Counsel, Office of the Director of National
Intelligence, Speech at Brookings Institution · 101
- 4 U.S. House of Representatives,
Amash-Conyers Amendment Debate · 115

Hero or Villain?

Persecuting a Defender of Human Rights v. Prosecuting a Criminal Suspect

- 5 Edward Snowden, Statement at the Moscow Airport · 124
- 6 Attorney General Eric Holder,
Letter to the Russian Minister of Justice · 127

Rubber Stamp or Robust Tribunal?

The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court

- 7 FISC Order on the Telephone Metadata Program, 2009 · 131

Made in the USA?

NSA Surveillance and U.S. Technology Companies

- 8 NSA MUSCULAR Program Briefing Slide · 143
- 9 Marissa Mayer, Yahoo CEO, Statement on Protecting
Customer Information · 145
- 10 Reform Government Surveillance, Surveillance Reform Principles and
Open Letter from U.S. Technology Companies · 147

Friend and Foe?

U.S. Espionage against Other Countries

- 11 NSA Briefing Slides on Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff and
Petrobras Oil Company · 152
- 12 James R. Clapper, Director of National Intelligence, Statement on
Allegations of Economic Espionage · 155
- 13 Dilma Rousseff, President of Brazil, Statement to
United Nations General Assembly · 157
- 14 NSA Document on Cell Phone Surveillance of
German Chancellor Angela Merkel · 160
- 15 Wanted by the FBI · 162
- 16 Chinese National Ministry of Defense,
Statement on U.S. Indictment of Chinese Military Officers · 164

A Secure and Reliable Cyberspace?

The NSA, Encryption, and Exploits

- 17 NSA's Project BULLRUN on Defeating Encryption · 167

- 18 NSA's SIGINT Strategy, 2012–2016 · 169
- 19 Office of the Director of National Intelligence and James R. Clapper, Director of National Intelligence, Statements on NSA Cryptological Capabilities · 172
- 20 NSA Briefing Slides on the QUANTUM Project · 175
- 21 NSA Public Affairs Office, Statement in Response to Press Allegations · 181

*Norms of Responsible Behavior in Cyberspace?
U.S. Cyber Operations*

- 22 Presidential Policy Directive 20 on U.S. Cyber Operations Policy · 184

“Worse than the U.S.”?

Surveillance by the UK's Government Communications Headquarters

- 23 GCHQ's TEMPORA Program · 200
- 24 NSA Memo on the TEMPORA Program · 203
- 25 British Parliament's Intelligence and Security Committee, Statement on the U.S. PRISM Program · 207
- 26 European Court of Human Rights, Big Brother Watch and Others v. United Kingdom · 212

B. Reviews and Recommendations

U.S. Federal Court Decisions on NSA Programs

- 27 *Klayman v. Obama*: Issuing a Preliminary Injunction against the Telephone Metadata Program · 220
- 28 *ACLU v. Clapper*: Upholding the Legality of the Telephone Metadata Program · 228
- 29 *United States v. Mohamud*: Upholding the Legality of Section 702 of FISA · 239

Reports from U.S. Advisory and Oversight Bodies

- 30 Report of the President's Review Group on Intelligence and Communications Technologies, Executive Summary · 252
- 31 Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board, Report on the Telephone Metadata Program and FISC, Executive Summary · 270

- 32 Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board, Report on Section 702 of FISA, Executive Summary · 283

International Institutions

- 33 Edward Snowden, Testimony to the European Parliament · 294
34 European Parliament,
Resolution on U.S. NSA Surveillance Program · 307
35 United Nations Resolution on the Right to Privacy in the
Digital Age · 313

C. Reforms and a Reflection

- 36 President Barack Obama, Remarks on Review of
Signals Intelligence · 318
37 U.S. House of Representatives, USA FREEDOM Act · 331
38 Edward Snowden, One Year Later · 338

Contributors · 341

Index · 343