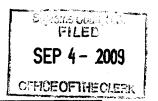
No. 09-160



# IN THE Supreme Court of the United States

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, ET AL., PETITIONERS,

v.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, ET AL.

ON PETITION FOR A WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE SECOND CIRCUIT

BRIEF AMICI CURIAE OF THE REPORTERS COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND 16 NEWS MEDIA ORGANIZATIONS IN SUPPORT OF RESPONDENTS

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Authoritiesii
Statement of Interest1
Summary of Argument2
Argument5
<ul> <li>I. FOIA requires release of the photographs as the government has not demonstrated that disclosure would "reasonably be expected" to endanger "any individual"</li></ul>
conduct and promote accountability in furtherance of FOIA principles
Conclusion12
Appendix A: Descriptions of AmiciA-1
Appendix B: Additional Counsel

## **TABLE OF AUTHORITIES**

## CASES

### STATUTES AND REGULATIONS

5 U.S.C. § 552(b)(1)-(9)	
5 U.S.C. § 552(b)(7)(F) passim	
U.S. Supreme Court Rule 371	

## OTHER

S. Rep. No. 89-813 (1965)5
131 Cong. Rec. p. S248 (daily ed. Jan. 3, 1985)8
132 Cong. Rec. p. H9462 (daily ed. Oct. 8, 1986)8
Department of Defense Report to Congress, "Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq" (Dec. 2008)
Department of Defense Personnel and Procurement Statistics, U.S. Military Casualty Information — Operation Iraqi Freedom (Aug. 1, 2009)11

#### STATEMENT OF INTEREST<sup>1</sup>

Amici curiae, described in Appendix A, are The Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press and sixteen news media organizations: Advance Publications, Inc., The American Society of News Editors, The Associated Press, Cable News Network, Inc., the E.W. Scripps Company, Gannett Co., Inc., the Hearst Corporation, Military Reporters and Editors, the National Press Club, NBC Universal, Inc., the New York Times Company, the Newspaper Association of America, the Newspaper Guild-CWA, the Radio-Television News Directors Association, the Society of Professional Journalists, and The Washington Post.

This case concerns an issue critical to the public's right to hold government actors accountable for their conduct: whether the government can engage in unprecedented expansion of an exemption to the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. § 552(b)(7)(F), to bar release of government information when the life or safety of "any individual" could reasonably be endangered — even when such potential harm is entirely speculative.

As the outlet from which most members of the public obtain facts about government conduct, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pursuant to Sup. Ct. R. 37, counsel for *amici* declare that they authored this brief in total with no assistance from the parties; that no individuals or organizations other than the *amici* made a monetary contribution to the preparation and submission of this brief; that counsel for all parties were given timely notice of the intent to file this brief; and that written consent of all parties to the filing of the brief *amici curiae* (aside from those who have given general consent to all *amici*) has been filed with the Clerk.

news media has a critical interest in obtaining information that helps citizens hold government officials accountable.

#### SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

The issue in this case is the simple interpretation of Exemption 7(F) to the Freedom of Information Act ("FOIA"), which protects the safety of individuals linked to law enforcement investigations. The courts below have interpreted this exemption, consistent with other federal court decisions on the matter, to require a showing that an individual meant to be protected under the law must be identifiable with "reasonable specificity" and the release of information must be "reasonably expected to endanger" that individual. American Civil Liberties Union v. Dep't of Defense ("ACLU II"), 543 F.3d 59, 71 (2nd Cir. 2008).

In this case the ACLU and other civil rights groups sought access to photographs depicting alleged abuse of detainees held by U.S. troops in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Petitioners, the U.S. Department of Defense and other government agencies, argued the photos are not required to be released because of exemptions to FOIA, specifically Exemptions 6 and 7(C) governing privacy. In what even the Second Circuit noted was an "afterthought,"<sup>2</sup> Petitioners then raised Exemption 7(F) which protects against harm to individuals. The privacy exemptions were essentially rendered moot when Respondents agreed to redactions of identifying features which the district and appellate courts viewed as sufficient privacy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ACLU II, 543 F.3d at 66.

protection under those exemptions. Petitioners maintain that Exemption 7(F) justifies withholding the photos and asks this Court to broaden the interpretation of the exemption.

The government's continued plea for the expansion of Exemption 7(F) to cover large categories of individuals based upon mere speculation of endangerment is inconsistent with the law's history and would compromise FOIA's intent, which favors disclosure and narrow interpretation of any exemptions to disclosure. EPA v. Mink, 410 U.S. 73, 80 (1973) (FOIA is intended to emphasize the "fullest responsible disclosure") (internal quotation omitted); John Doe Agency v. John Doe Corp., 493 U.S. 146, 152 (1989) (quoting Dep't of Air Force v. Rose, 425 U.S. 352, 360-61 (1976) (stating the exemptions to FOIA must be "narrowly construed")). Exemption 7(F) does not permit the government to hide records from the public for fear of violent or retaliatory action against "any individual" without "reasonable" belief that action would occur. Here, the courts have properly found any retaliatory action to be "merely speculative" and disregarded any potential endangerment without a tie to an identifiable individual.

FOIA was enacted to "ensure an informed citizenry, vital to the functioning of a democratic society, needed to check against corruption and to hold the governors accountable to the governed." NLRB v. Robbins Tire & Rubber Co., 437 U.S. 214, 242 (1978). The law provides the public with the right to receive records and information from government in order to further democratic principles and allow for independent evaluation of government action. In turn, citizens can hold government actors accountable for their actions through elections or other means. Shielding access to government information — no matter how unfavorable, embarrassing, or damning — to avoid accountability is fundamentally inconsistent with FOIA. The law does not exist to protect government actors when their misconduct reflects poorly upon government. The photos here, however "bad," are critical to the public debate over torture and the U.S. government's counterterrorism tactics. American citizens have the right to view them and evaluate for themselves whether subsequent action has resulted in appropriate accountability.

The law on release of these images is clear. To cloud that judgment with undue weight to speculative retaliation or violence to U.S. servicemen and women — a respected and admired category of individuals to all, including *amici* — would be to make bad law affecting all future Exemption 7(F) claims. The law on Exemption 7(F) is consistent, has properly been considered, and has been interpreted narrowly by the courts below. No split exists among the circuits or any lower courts as to its interpretation. The government's proposed reach of Exemption 7(F) is misdirected and would use the pretext of speculative harm to circumvent accountability.

This Court should deny Petitioner's request for review.

#### ARGUMENT

I. FOIA requires release of the photographs as the government has not demonstrated that disclosure would "reasonably be expected" to endanger "any individual."

FOIA was enacted to promote disclosure of government information.3 However, Congress did not disregard the need for certain information to be withheld from the public, providing nine exemptions to the law.<sup>4</sup> FOIA's exemptions protect certain government records from release even when they fulfill the core purpose of the law: to encourage government disclosure of information to the public so citizens may know "what their government is up to." U.S. Dep't of Justice v. Reporters Comm. for Freedom of the Press, 489 U.S. 749, 772-23 (1988) (internal quotation and emphasis omitted). However, "[c]onsistent with FOIA's purposes, these statutory exemptions are to be narrowly construed." John Doe, 493 U.S. at 152. The district and appellate courts here considered whether the government provided sufficient justification for narrow application of exemptions to FOIA precluding release of the photographs and determined it did not.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See S. Rep. No. 89-813, reprinted in Freedom of Information Act Source Book, 38 (Comm. Print 1974) ("It is the purpose of the present bill to . . . establish a general philosophy of full agency disclosure unless information is exempted. . . ."); see also Mink, 410 U.S. at 80, supra Sec. I.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 5 U.S.C. § 552(b)(1)-(9).

Exemption 7(F) protects law enforcement records from release to the limited extent that disclosure "could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual." 5 U.S.C. § 552(b)(7)(F). The appellate court has properly interpreted the "any individual" language within Exemption 7(F) to require actual identification of "individuals" rather than broadly "gesturing to the populations of two nations and two international expeditionary forces." ACLU II, 543 F.3d at 70. The "any individual" language has been an issue in few lower court cases. Even those that did not require identification by name stopped short, as the appellate court found, of taking the "leap of logic" required to conclude that the government need not identify any individual at all, or that it would be sufficient to identify individuals who are members of boundless populations. See Living Rivers, Inc. v. U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, 272 F. Supp. 1313, 1321 (D. Utah 2003) (interpreting "any individual" to protect specific, identifiable individuals —numerous, yet still identifiable -- residing within certain areas of the maps at issue in the case); see also Ctr. For Nat'l Sec. Studies v. U.S. Dep't of Justice, 215 F. Supp. 2d 94, 108 (D.D.C. 2002), aff'd in part and rev'd in part, 331 F.3d 918, 925 (D.C. Cir. 2003) (holding that withholding names and other detention information regarding persons held for questioning in respect to the September 11 terrorist attacks is allowed not under Exemption 7(F) but under Exemption 7(A)).

The government insists that unidentifiable classes of persons numbering in the thousands such as "United States military and civilian personnel in Iraq and Afghanistan"<sup>5</sup> should be read as "any individual." It supports this argument with declarations of high-ranking military officials who also identified broad swaths of individuals potentially facing endangerment. ACLU II, 543 F.3d at 71; see also Declaration of Director Phillip J. McGuire (Jul. 20, 2005) JA 158a, 163a (stating the release "would pose a threat to the lives and safety of *third parties*"); Declaration of Chairman Richard B. Myers (Aug. 25, 2002) JA 136a, 156a (stating the photos "must be withheld in order to protect the lives of: members of the United States Armed forces, forces operating in cooperation with the United states, and contractors operating with those forces; U.S. officials; Iragi and Afghan police and military personnel working in coordination with our government and military forces; as well to protect against the increased likelihood of violence against U.S. interests, personnel, and citizens world-wide.") (emphasis added).

Here the government repeatedly failed to clearly identify "any individual" or even numerous individuals as part of a readily identifiable group who might be endangered by the release of the photographs but instead continues to assert that Exemption 7(F) should be expanded to nearly all persons everywhere at once, extending its reaches to hide records of its own misconduct behind assertions of harm to national security.<sup>6</sup> Rather than broaden the exemption

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Petition for *Certiorari* at (I).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In rejecting the expansion of Exemption 7(F) as encompassing any information that may be harmful to national security, the appellate court pointed to Exemption 1, which already to exists to protect release of information that may harm national secu-

to include any number of categories of individuals, as the government sought, the court properly, and narrowly, applied the exemption and found the government failed to meet that interpretation.

If the phrase "any individual" were to be interpreted without clear construction, covering limitless categories of individuals, it could do just as the government argues it should: protect any unforeseen person in any potential future setting from speculative harm that could be linked to release of law enforcement information. This goes squarely against the congressional intent limiting the scope of Exemption 7(F).<sup>7</sup> Moreover, practically speaking, this interpretation of Exemption 7(F) would swallow the rule.

The government in this case introduces an unprecedented interpretation of Exemption 7(F) that

<sup>7</sup> While the 1986 amendment concerning Exemption 7(F) did expand the protection from only "law enforcement personnel" to cover "any individual," the legislative history states it was merely "slightly" modified. 131 Cong. Rec. p. S248 (daily ed. Jan. 3, 1985) (statement of Carol E. Dinkins, Deputy Attorney General); see also 132 Cong. Rec. p. H9462 (daily ed. Oct. 8, 1986) (statement of Rep. Glenn English) (the 1986 amendments make "only modest changes to the FOIA" and are only a "slight" expansion of Exemption 7(F)). The modification still required clear identification of "any individual."

rity, as a "powerful reason not to construe exemption 7(F) as broadly as the defendants urge." ACLU II, 543 F.3d at 72. The court said the Petitioners' suggested use of Exemption 7(F)could be seen as a way to "evade[] the strictures and safeguards of classification" to "find shelter" in Exemption 7(F).

would allow for its actions — here, its own misconduct and misconduct of its agents — to be covered by what amounts to blanket "classification" as the appellate court noted. ACLU II, 543 F.3d at 83. As the appellate court also pointed out, "it is unlikely to be the last" time the government would use such an argument to justify withholding information the public has a clear right to see under the law of this exemption. Exemption 7(F) was not enacted to protect government actors by cloaking their action when it is so atrocious that it provokes speculative fears of violent retribution.

The appeals court stated the standard for justifying withholding under Exemption 7(F) requires that the government identify "at least one individual with reasonable specificity" and establish that "disclosure of the documents could reasonably be expected to endanger that individual." ACLU II, 543 F.3d at 71. There is no question that "third parties" and the millions of individuals who could potentially be impacted by such release throughout the "U.S. Armed forces" and "worldwide" would not meet the specificity standard for "any individual" established by the appellate court and supported by every other court's interpretation of Exemption 7(F) as well as congressional intent.

### II. The images at issue depict government conduct and promote accountability in furtherance of FOIA principles.

FOIA was enacted to break down the wall of government secrecy and promote accountability. This Court has held that FOIA makes "crystal clear the congressional objective, to pierce the veil of administrative secrecy and to open agency action to the light of public scrutiny." Rose, 425 U.S. at 361 (internal quotes omitted). The law enables citizens to act as watchdogs; this Court noted that FOIA "seeks to permit access to official information long shielded unnecessarily from public view and attempts to create a judicially enforceable public right to secure such information from possibly unwilling official hands." EPA v. Mink, 410 U.S. 73, 80 (1973). Further, FOIA is crucial in promoting an informed citizenry — a virtue vital to a functioning democracy and to preventing government corruption. NLRB v. Robbins Tire & Rubber Co., 437 U.S. 214, 242 (1978).

FOIA is the mechanism that provides the American people with accurate information about their government. To truly hold the government accountable for its actions, citizens must be allowed to evaluate the "best evidence" of what occurred, in the words of the district court. American Civil Liberties Union v. Dep't of Defense ("ACLU I"), 389 F. Supp. 2d 547, 578 (S.D.N.Y. 2005). The photographs at issue here provide concrete, first-hand evidence of alleged torture that occurred at the hands of U.S. troops in Iraq and Afghanistan. They are part of the historical record of those wars and must be made available to the public.

Images convey matters of importance in a unique way. Visual images are more searing than words. They tell an entire story instantly and can be so powerful as to call people to action. Just as the government speculates the photos in this case will call for instant anti-U.S. retaliation, relying on evidence that actually undermines its claim,<sup>8</sup> so too could they call for American citizens to act just as FOIA intends — by requiring accountability for the action depicted in the photographs' contents. FOIA was not enacted to protect against retaliation for potentially illegal, immoral, or simply embarrassing action taken by government; it exists to shed light on that action and allow citizens to evaluate whether subsequent action was appropriate and whether actors were held accountable, and to provide a yardstick with which to measure improvement in such action in the future.

Accurate information is one of the best tools to evaluate any series of decisions or actions. When provided with truthful information about government, citizens can best evaluate the choices their leaders have made and hold them accountable. The news media is often the link between accessing important government information such as this and providing it to the public — the "fourth estate" is the surrogate for the public in cases such as this. *Richmond Newspapers, Inc. v. Virginia*, 48 U.S. 555, 573

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The frequency of violent incidents in Iraq in 2004 was actually higher in the first weeks of April than in the 14 weeks after the Abu Ghraib scandal broke April 28 when photos were aired on "60 Minutes II" and were later posted online by *The New Yorker* magazine. "Measuring Stability and Security in Iraq," Department of Defense Report to Congress (Dec. 2008). Additionally, U.S. troop deaths from enemy fire were also much higher before the photos appeared in public: 126 in April 2004 compared with 63 in May and 37 in June 2004. Department of Defense Personnel and Procurement Statistics, U.S. Military Casualty Information — Operation Iraqi Freedom (Aug. 1, 2009) *available at*: http://siadapp.dmdc.osd.mil/personnel/CASUALTY/castop.htm.

(1980). Releasing these images to the public so they can see for themselves the actions taken by the government on their behalf and determine what, if any, accountability may be warranted is the right thing to do — both considering FOIA policy and the interpretation of the law.

#### CONCLUSION

Exemption 7(F) properly protects from release law enforcement information that can "reasonably be expected" to endanger "any individual." The government has failed to link any identifiable individual with the harm it alleges would occur upon release of the photographs in this case.

The release of the photographs is required under Exemption 7(F). More than that, their release will inform and educate the public, and spark debate about the causes and forces that led to the breakdown of command discipline at Abu Ghraib prison and other American-run facilities. Providing citizens with information on government action is the very purpose that FOIA is intended to advance.

Amici share the Government's concern over the safety of American citizens and troops; however, the government's misdirected effort to undermine FOIA by expanding the reach of Exemption 7(F) far beyond Congressional intent and court interpretation so as to hide its own misconduct from the public and preclude accountability to those it governs is fundamentally counter to the principles of FOIA and democracy and has properly been rejected below. Respectfully submitted,

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September 4, 2009 (Additional attorneys listed in Appendix B.)