110TH CONGRESS 2D SESSION

H. R. 6929

To amend title 28 of the United States Code to require reporting on certain authoritative legal interpretations issued by the Department of Justice, including the Office of Legal Counsel, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

September 17, 2008

Mr. MILLER of North Carolina introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

A BILL

- To amend title 28 of the United States Code to require reporting on certain authoritative legal interpretations issued by the Department of Justice, including the Office of Legal Counsel, and for other purposes.
 - 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
 - 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
 - 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
 - 4 This Act may be cited as the "Office of Legal Counsel
 - 5 Reporting Act of 2008".
 - 6 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.
 - 7 Congress makes the following findings:

- 1 (1) To fulfill the constitutional duty of the exec-2 utive branch to act lawfully, the President must have 3 access to a reliable source of legal advice.
 - (2) To fulfill its legislative and oversight duties under the Constitution, Congress must have access to information about how and whether the executive branch is implementing the laws of the United States.
- 9 (3) The Attorney General has delegated to the 10 Office of Legal Counsel in the Department of Jus-11 tice the function of providing legal advice to guide 12 the actions of the President and the executive 13 branch.
- 14 (4) By virtue of regulation and tradition, the 15 legal interpretations made by the Office are consid-16 ered binding and must be followed within the execu-17 tive branch.

18 SEC. 3. REPORTING ON AUTHORITATIVE LEGAL INTERPRE-

19 TATIONS BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

- 20 (a) Inclusion of Authoritative Legal Inter-
- 21 PRETATIONS IN EXISTING REPORT REQUIREMENTS.—
- 22 Section 530D(a)(1) of title 28, United States Code, is
- 23 amended—

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- 24 (1) by striking "or" at the end of subparagraph
- 25 (B)(ii);

1	(2) by striking the period at the end of sub-
2	paragraph (C)(ii)(VI) and inserting "; or"; and
3	(3) by adding at the end the following:
4	"(D) except as provided in paragraph (3),
5	issues an authoritative legal interpretation (in-
6	cluding an interpretation under section 511,
7	512, or 513 by the Attorney General or by an
8	officer, employee, or agency of the Department
9	of Justice pursuant to a delegation of authority
10	under section 510) of any provision of any Fed-
11	eral statute that—
12	"(i) concludes that such provision is
13	unconstitutional or would be unconstitu-
14	tional in a particular application;
15	"(ii) that relies for its conclusion, in
16	whole or in the alternative, on a deter-
17	mination that an interpretation of the pro-
18	vision other than the authoritative legal in-
19	terpretation of the provision would raise
20	constitutional concerns under Article II of
21	the Constitution of the United States or
22	separation of powers principles;
23	"(iii) that relies for its conclusion, in
24	whole or in the alternative, on a legal pre-

1	sumption against applying the provision,
2	whether during wartime or otherwise, to—
3	"(I) any department or agency
4	established in the executive branch of
5	the Federal Government, including
6	but not limited to the Executive Office
7	of the President and the military de-
8	partments (as defined in section
9	101(8) of title 10, U.S. Code); or
10	"(II) any officer, employee, or
11	member of any department or agency
12	established in the executive branch of
13	the Federal Government (including
14	but not limited to the President) and
15	any member of the Armed Forces; or
16	"(iv) that concludes the provision has
17	been superseded or deprived of effect, in
18	whole or in part, by a subsequently enacted
19	statute where there is no express statutory
20	language stating an intent to supersede the
21	prior provision or deprive it of effect.";".
22	(b) Submission of Authoritative Legal Inter-
23	PRETATIONS AND CLASSIFIED INFORMATION.—Section
24	530D(a) of such title is amended by adding at the end
25	the following:

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"(3) DIRECTION REGARDING INTERPRETA-TION.—The submission of a report to Congress based on the issuance of an authoritative legal interpretation described in paragraph (1)(D) shall be discretionary on the part of the Attorney General or an officer described in subsection (e) if—

> "(A) the President or other responsible officer of a department or agency established in the executive branch of the Federal Government or a responsible member of the Armed Forces issues a directive stating that no action shall be taken or withheld or no policy shall be implemented or stayed on the basis of the authoritative legal interpretation; and

> "(B) the directive described in subparagraph (A) is in effect.

"(4) Classified information.—

"(A) Submission of Report Containing Classified information regarding intelligence activities.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B), if the Attorney General submits a report relating to an instance described in paragraph (1) that includes a classified annex containing information relating to intelligence activities, the report shall be considered

1	to be submitted to Congress for the purposes of
2	paragraph (1) if—
3	"(i) the unclassified portion of the re-
4	port is submitted to each officer specified
5	in paragraph (2); and
6	"(ii) the classified annex is submitted
7	to the Select Committee on Intelligence
8	and the Committee on the Judiciary of the
9	Senate and the Permanent Select Com-
10	mittee on Intelligence and the Committee
11	on the Judiciary of the House of Rep-
12	resentatives.
13	"(B) Submission of Report Containing
14	CERTAIN CLASSIFIED INFORMATION ABOUT
15	COVERT ACTIONS.—
16	"(i) In general.—In a circumstance
17	described in clause (ii), a report described
18	in that clause shall be considered to be
19	submitted to Congress for the purposes of
20	paragraph (1) if—
21	"(I) the unclassified portion of
22	the report is submitted to each officer
23	specified in paragraph (2); and
24	"(II) the classified annex is sub-
25	mitted to—

1	"(aa) the chairman and
2	ranking minority member of the
3	Select Committee on Intelligence
4	of the Senate;
5	"(bb) the chairman and
6	ranking minority member of the
7	Committee on the Judiciary of
8	the Senate;
9	"(cc) the chairman and
10	ranking minority member of the
11	Permanent Select Committee on
12	Intelligence of the House of Rep-
13	resentatives;
14	"(dd) the chairman and
15	ranking minority member of the
16	Committee on the Judiciary of
17	the House of Representatives;
18	"(ee) the Speaker and the
19	minority leader of the House of
20	Representatives; and
21	"(ff) the majority leader and
22	minority leader of the Senate.
23	"(ii) CIRCUMSTANCES.—A cir-
24	cumstance described in this clause is a cir-
25	cumstance in which—

1	"(I) the Attorney General sub-
2	mits a report relating to an instance
3	described in paragraph (1) that in-
4	cludes a classified annex containing
5	information relating to a Presidential
6	finding described in section 503(a) of
7	the National Security Act of 1947 (50
8	U.S.C. 413b(a)); and
9	"(II) the President determines
10	that it is essential to limit access to
11	the information described in subclause
12	(I) to meet extraordinary cir-
13	cumstances affecting vital interests of
14	the United States.".
15	(c) Deadlines for Submission of Report Con-
16	CERNING CERTAIN AUTHORITATIVE LEGAL INTERPRETA-
17	Tions.—Section 530D(b) of such title is amended—
18	(1) in paragraph (2) by striking "and" at the
19	end;
20	(2) in paragraph (3) by striking the period at
21	the end and inserting "; and"; and
22	(3) by adding at the end the following:
23	"(4) under subsection (a)(1)(D)—
24	"(A) not later than 30 days after the date
25	on which the Attorney General, the Office of

1	Legal Counsel, or any other officer of the De-
2	partment of Justice issues the authoritative
3	legal interpretation of the Federal statutory
4	provision; or
5	"(B) if the President or other responsible
6	officer of a department or agency established in
7	the executive branch of the Federal Government
8	or a responsible member of the Armed Forces
9	issues a directive described in subsection (a)(3)
10	and the directive is subsequently rescinded, not
11	later than 30 days after the date on which the
12	President, officer, or member rescinds that di-
13	rective.".
14	(d) Contents.—Section 530D(c) of such title is
15	amended—
16	(1) In paragraph (2)(A) by striking "and" at
17	the end;
18	(2) In paragraph (2)(B)(i) by striking "and" at
19	the end;
20	(3) in paragraph (2)(B) by inserting at the end
21	the following:
22	"(iii) in the case of an authoritative
23	legal interpretation described in subsection
24	(a)(1)(D), if a copy of a legal opinion
25	issued by the Office of Legal Counsel or

1	another legal opinion setting forth the au-
2	thoritative legal interpretation is provided;
3	and";
4	(4) by adding at the end of such paragraph the
5	following:
6	"(C) any classified information shall be
7	provided in a classified annex, which shall be
8	handled in accordance with the security proce-
9	dures established under section 501(d) of the
10	National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C.
11	413(d));";
12	(5) in paragraph (3) by striking the period at
13	the end and inserting "; and; and
14	(6) by adding at the end the following:
15	"(4) with respect to a report required under
16	subparagraph (A), (B), or (D) of subsection (a)(1),
17	specify the specific provision of the Federal statute,
18	rule, regulation, program, policy, or other law at
19	issue, and the subparagraph of subsection $(a)(1)$ and
20	the clause of such subparagraph that describes the
21	action of the Attorney General or other officer of the
22	Department of Justice.".
23	(e) Conforming Amendments.—Section 530D of
24	such title is further amended—

1	(1) in subsection (a)(2) by striking "For the
2	purposes" and all that follows through "if the re-
3	port" and inserting "Except as provided in para-
4	graph (4), a report shall be considered to be sub-
5	mitted to Congress for the purposes of paragraph
6	(1) if the report";
7	(2) in subsection (c)—
8	(A) in paragraph (1) by striking "or of
9	each approval described in subsection
10	(a)(1)(C)" and inserting "of each approval de-
11	scribed in subsection (a)(1)(C), or of the
12	issuance of the authoritative legal interpretation
13	described in subsection $(a)(1)(D)$ ";
14	(B) in paragraph (2)—
15	(i) by striking "reasons for the policy
16	or determination" and inserting "reasons
17	for the policy, determination, or authori-
18	tative legal interpretation";
19	(ii) by striking "or approving such
20	settlement or compromise" and inserting
21	"approving such settlement or compromise
22	or issuing such authoritative legal interpre-
23	tation"; and
24	(iii) by striking "except that" and in-
25	serting "provided that"; and

1	(C) in paragraph (2)(A)—
2	(i) by inserting "except for informa-
3	tion described in paragraphs (1) or (4),"
4	before "such details may be omitted";
5	(ii) by striking "national-security- or
6	classified information, of any"; and
7	(iii) by striking "or other law" and in-
8	serting "or other statute"; and
9	(3) in subsection (e)—
10	(A) by striking "(but only with respect to
11	the promulgation of any unclassified Executive
12	order or similar memorandum or order)," and
13	inserting ";";
14	(B) by inserting ", issues an interpretation
15	described in subsection $(a)(1)(D)$," after "policy
16	described in subsection (a)(1)(A)"; and
17	(C) by striking "," after "litigation" and
18	inserting ";".
19	SEC. 4. WRITTEN AND SIGNED OPINIONS REQUIRED.
20	(a) Written Opinions Required.—
21	(1) In general.—Except as provided in para-
22	graph (2), any qualified legal opinion (as defined in
23	section 5) issued to the President, any person or en-
24	tity in the executive branch, or any member of the
25	Armed Forces shall be issued in writing.

1	(2) Exception when immediate action is
2	REQUIRED.—A qualified legal opinion is not required
3	to be issued in writing, if—
4	(A) at the time that the opinion is
5	issued—
6	(i) the Attorney General determines
7	that the immediate action of the United
8	States is required and that a qualified
9	legal opinion cannot be prepared in writing
10	as a result of such requirement; and
11	(ii) the Attorney General records, in
12	writing, the fact that a qualified legal opin-
13	ion was issued to the President, person or
14	entity in the executive branch, or member
15	of the Armed Forces, as applicable; and
16	(B) at the earliest possible date (but in no
17	case later than the end of the seven-day period
18	beginning on the date that the opinion is
19	issued), the Attorney General reissues the quali-
20	fied legal opinion in writing.
21	(b) Signatures Required.—
22	(1) In general.—If a qualified legal opinion
23	contains a statement of policy that authorizes or in-
24	structs any officer or employee of the executive
25	branch or a member of the Armed Forces to dis-

1	regard or not enforce a statute or an executive
2	order, an employee or officer of the executive branch
3	or a member of the Armed Forces may not require
4	any other employee or officer of the executive branch
5	or a member of the Armed Forces to follow the pol-
6	icy contained in such legal opinion, unless such opin-
7	ion is signed—
8	(A) by the President or the Attorney Gen-
9	eral; and
10	(B) by an officer or employee of the Office
11	of Legal Counsel in the Department of Justice.
12	(2) Delegation prohibited.—In no case is a
13	signature by an individual other than the President
14	or the Attorney General sufficient to meet the re-
15	quirements of paragraph (1)(A), even if—
16	(A) such signature is made on behalf of
17	the President or Attorney General; or
18	(B) such signature results from a delega-
19	tion of responsibility by the President or the
20	Attorney General to another individual.
21	SEC. 5. GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY OFFICE REPORT.
22	(a) In General.—Not later than 180 days after the
23	date of enactment of this Act, the Comptroller General
24	of the United States shall submit to Congress a report
25	containing an evaluation of performance of the Office of

- 1 Legal Counsel in the Department of Justice during the
- 2 25-year period ending on the date of enactment of this
- 3 Act.
- 4 (b) Contents.—The report under subsection (a)
- 5 shall contain, at a minimum, the following:
- 6 (1) The total number of legal opinions (as de-
- 7 fined in section 5) issued by the Office of Legal
- 8 Counsel.
- 9 (2) The total number of legal opinions issued by
- the Office that are disclosed, in written form, to the
- public, and the amount of time between the date a
- opinion is first issued by the office and the date the
- opinion is disclosed to the public.
- 14 (3) The number of opinions issued by the Office
- that are classified, in part or in full, and the basis
- 16 for classifying each opinion.
- 17 (4) The number of opinions issued by the Office
- that are not disclosed to the public because of delib-
- erative-process privilege, executive privilege, attor-
- 20 ney-work-product privilege, attorney-client-privilege,
- or another type of privilege, and the nature of each
- such privilege.
- 23 (5) An analysis of the role of the Office within
- the Federal Government, including an assessment of

1	how, if at all, the role of the Office has changed over
2	the course of the period described in subsection (a).
3	(6) An analysis of the interaction between the
4	Office of Legal Counsel, the Office of White House
5	Counsel, and the Office of the Counsel to the Vice
6	President.
7	(7) A description of any information which the
8	Comptroller General could not obtain which was nec-
9	essary to complete this report.
10	(c) FORM OF REPORT.—The Comptroller General of
11	the United States shall submit the report under subsection
12	(a) in an unclassified form and may include a classified
13	annex.
14	SEC. 6. DEFINITIONS.
15	For the purposes of this Act, the following definitions
16	apply:
17	(1) Legal opinion.—The term "legal opinion"
18	means an opinion issued by the Office of Legal
19	Counsel in the Department of Justice—
20	(A) under sections 511 through 513 of
21	title 28, United States Code;
22	(B) through a delegation of authority
23	under section 510 of such title:

1	(C) under section 0.25 of title 28, Code of
2	Federal Regulations (or any successor regula-
3	tions); or
4	(D) under or through any combination of
5	provisions listed in subparagraphs (A) through
6	(C).
7	(2) QUALIFIED LEGAL OPINION.—The term
8	"qualified legal opinion" means a legal opinion that
9	contains a policy described in subparagraph (A) of
10	section 530D(a)(1) of title 28, United States Code,
11	or an authoritative legal interpretation described in
12	subparagraph (D) of such section, or both.

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