February 14, 2019

Via E-Mail to pjcis@aph.gov.au

Committee Secretary
Parliamentary Joint Committee on Intelligence and Security
PO Box 6021
Parliament House
Canberra ACT 2600
Australia

Re: Comments to Parliamentary Joint Committee on Intelligence & Security on the
Telecommunications & Other Legislation Amendment (Assistance & Access) Act 2018

To the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Intelligence and Security:

I am writing to submit comments to the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Intelligence and Security (PJCIS or the Committee) concerning the Telecommunications and Other Legislation Amendment (Assistance and Access) Act 2018 (the Act). I am the Associate Director of Surveillance and Cybersecurity at the Center for Internet and Society (CIS) at Stanford Law School in California. I write this letter as a researcher who has studied encryption law and policy for over three years. I am commenting in my personal capacity and do not represent Stanford University, Stanford Law School, or the Center for Internet and Society. My institutional affiliation is provided for identification purposes only. Prior to the Act’s passage, I submitted written comments on the then-bill on 9 September, 11 October, 13 November, and 26 November 2018, and testified telephonically at a Committee hearing on the bill on 16 November 2018. This letter pertains to the Act as assented to on 8 December 20181 unless otherwise specified.

I was disappointed to see the Assistance and Access Bill pass into law in early December 2018. I and numerous other academics, computer scientists, industry representatives, civil society organizations, and ordinary Australians had cautioned this Committee about the bill’s many shortcomings, which need not be rehearsed again here. Yet Parliament rushed the bill into law despite openly conceding its flaws. Federal law enforcement and security agencies immediately began exercising their new powers.2 It is not publicly known—and maybe never will be—which providers have been served to date with technical assistance/capability notices or requests under the new law, or what the providers have secretly done to their products and services in order to comply.

notices-already-issued.
As the Committee undertakes the current review, federal agencies are already touting the law’s benefits to their investigations.\(^3\) I am sure the new powers have been advantageous to them, though as said, the public is not allowed to know the details. But the new legislation has been equally swift to cause harmful effects as well. The Committee must not look away from these downsides.

As predicted, the new Assistance and Access law has caused immediate and ongoing harm to Australia’s technology sector (according to industry leaders), which may ripple out to other sectors as well.\(^4\) A formal inquiry should be convened to evaluate the law’s economic effects, as Mr Dreyfus of the PJCIS has suggested.\(^5\) On top of the economic impact, Mr Dreyfus has “all but admitted” that the law, which he voted for, hurts Australians’ data security.\(^6\) Those adverse effects risk being felt worldwide, not just in Australia.\(^7\)

These negative trade-offs were foreseeable. A year ago, I published an explanation of how so-called “exceptional-access” mandates pose a significant risk to (among other things) the economic and data-security interests of any country that adopts such a requirement.\(^8\) Now, as the Australian public prepares to go to the polls, the new law’s downsides are readily visible to them, whereas they are told to simply accept on faith that the agencies’ new powers are secretly keeping them safe.

There is still time to stanch the bleeding. Many submissions to the instant inquiry have already urged the law’s repeal.\(^9\) But the Overton window has shifted. “To pass or not to pass,” that used to be the question.


\(^6\) Id.


Now that the bill has passed into law, it appears that members of Parliament are treating that decision as irreversible. Repealing the law, full stop—restoring the *status quo ante*—does not seem to be among the options under consideration. Instead, the debate now focuses on how to amend the law. But when a ship is on a collision course with an iceberg, it does not matter how the deck chairs are arranged.

Sincerely,

Riana Pfefferkorn
Stanford Center for Internet and Society
559 Nathan Abbott Way
Stanford, CA 94305
USA