### Research and Study Group 'International Law in the Age of Cyber' Research seminar

# THE 'BIG BROTHER' EFFECT: MASS SURVEILLANCE AND INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW

#### **Professor Vera Rusinova**

Head of the School of International Law, HSE Faculty of Law, vrusinova@hse.ru

### 1. INTRODUCTION

- 1. Mass surveillance a 'new normal'?
- 2. The response of the ECHR and its critique
  - Centrum för Rättvisa v. Sweden, Judgment (2018)
  - Big Brother Watch and Others v. The United Kingdom, Judgment (2018)
- 3. Threats & resources perspective

### 2. BIG BROTHER CASE: TIME TO DISPEL THE ILLUSIONS?

- mass surveillance per se is compatible with the EConvHR
- refusal from a 'reasonable suspicion'; a consequent notification; prior judicial authorization;
- 'threats to national security' as meeting the requirement of predictability (at the level of legislation and at the level of concrete operations);
- no attempt to limit the category of persons whose data can be intercepted
- 'likely to become necessary' instead of the principle of necessity in respect of disclosure of intercepted information
- **implied self-restriction** of the Intelligence services

## 3. CRITIQUE OF THE BIG BROTHER JUDGMENT (INTERNAL PERSPECTIVE)

- a one-sided approach
- the 'margin of appreciation' doctrine as a camouflage for the use of the proportionality test
- inconsistent with previous case-law of the ECHR
  - Roman Zakharov v Russia, Judgment (2015): 'reasonable suspicion'; supervision of the secret surveillance measures; notification; remedies under the national law
  - Szabo and Vissy v Hungary, Judgment (2016): 'strict necessity', an 'individual suspicion'
- impact of the institutional biases of the ECHR

### 4. LEGALITY OF MASS SURVEILLANCE: THREATS & RESOURCES PERSPECTIVE

### 1. security as a 'trump'

revision of the proportionality test

### 2. a consensus of 'Big Brothers'

a 'democratic society' component

#### 3. to be watched becomes a social norm

- contextual approach to privacy
- personal autonomy as a principle and a value
- privacy = security

#### 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

'We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production'.

