



August 29, 2018

**VIA ELECTRONIC MAIL**

U.S. Department of State  
Office of Information Programs and Services  
A/GIS/IPS/RL  
SA-2, Suite 8100  
Washington, DC 20522-0208  
[FOIArequest@state.gov](mailto:FOIArequest@state.gov)

**Re: Freedom of Information Act Request**

Dear Freedom of Information Officer:

Pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), 5 U.S.C. § 552, and the implementing regulations of the Department of State (State), 22 C.F.R. Part 171, American Oversight makes the following request for records.

On May 5, 2018, *The Guardian* reported that an Israeli private intelligence firm, Black Cube, was hired to “orchestrate a ‘dirty ops’ campaign against key individuals from the Obama administration who helped negotiate the Iran nuclear deal.”<sup>1</sup> The intent of this campaign appeared to be undermining public support for the agreement. Then, on August 23, 2018, *The New Yorker* reported that some of President Donald Trump’s national security advisers circulated a memorandum in early 2017 titled “The Echo Chamber” that described former Obama officials as operating a “virtual war room” and featured similar conspiracy theories to those included in Black Cube documents from a similar time frame.<sup>2</sup>

Given the significant national security repercussions of withdrawing from the Iran deal and the unprecedented nature of targeting former U.S. administration officials and their families in order to discredit them and their work, it is in the public interest to understand any connections between the Trump administration and the reported Black Cube campaign.

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<sup>1</sup> Mark Townsend & Julian Borger, *Revealed: Trump Team Hired Spy Firm for ‘Dirty Ops’ on Iran Arms Deal*, THE GUARDIAN (May 5, 2018, 4:00 p.m.), <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/may/05/trump-team-hired-spy-firm-dirty-ops-iran-nuclear-deal>.

<sup>2</sup> Adam Entous & Ronan Farrow, *The Conspiracy Memo About Obama Aides That Circulated in the Trump White House*, THE NEW YORKER (August 23, 2018, 5:57 p.m.), <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/the-conspiracy-memo-aimed-at-obama-aides-that-circulated-in-the-trump-white-house>.



**Requested Records**

American Oversight requests that State produce the following within twenty business days:

- 1) All records reflecting communications (including emails, email attachments, text messages, voicemail transcripts, messages on messaging platforms (such as Slack, GChat or Google Hangouts, Lync, Skype, WhatsApp, Facebook messaging, Twitter Direct Messages, or Signal), telephone call logs, calendar invitations, calendar entries, meeting notices, meeting agendas, informational material, draft legislation, talking points, any handwritten or electronic notes taken during any oral communications, summaries of any oral communications, or other materials) between or among (including those copied or blind copied on emails) anyone listed in Column A below and anyone listed in Column B below:

<b><u>Column A: State Officials</u></b>	<b><u>Column B: External Entities</u></b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All political appointees in the Office of the Secretary (S), including:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Former Secretary Rex Tillerson, and anyone communicating on his behalf</li> <li>○ Chief of Staff Margaret Peterlin,</li> <li>○ Deputy Chief of Staff Christine Ciccone</li> <li>○ White House Adviser Chief of Staff and Policy Adviser Matt Mowers</li> <li>○ Senior aide and spokesperson R.C. Hammond</li> <li>○ Secretary Mike Pompeo and anyone communicating on his behalf</li> </ul> </li> <li>• All political appointees in the Office of Policy Planning (S/P), including:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Director Brian Hook and anyone communicating on his behalf</li> <li>○ Deputy Director Edward Lacey and anyone communicating on his behalf</li> <li>○ Deputy Director David Tessler and anyone communicating on his behalf</li> </ul> </li> <li>• All political appointees in the immediate Office of Under Secretary for Public</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Derek Harvey, National Security Council Senior Advisor for Middle East and North African Affairs; House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence</li> <li>• Ezra Cohen-Watnick (Cohen), National Security Council Senior Director for Intelligence Programs</li> <li>• Sebastian Gorka, White House Advisor</li> <li>• Joel Rayburn, National Security Council Senior Director for Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon</li> <li>• Steve Bannon, White House aide and strategist</li> <li>• Jared Kushner, White House Senior Advisor</li> <li>• Rich Higgins, National Security Council Director for Strategic Planning</li> <li>• Sean Doocey, Presidential Personnel Office adviser</li> <li>• Makan Delrahim, Deputy White House Counsel</li> <li>• John Bolton, National Security Adviser and anyone acting on his behalf</li> <li>• Fred Fleitz, National Security Council Chief of Staff</li> </ul>

<p>Diplomacy and Public Affairs (R), including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Steven Goldstein, the Under-Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs</li> <li>○ The Bureau of Public Affairs (PA)</li> <li>• The U.S. Ambassador to Israel, David Melech Friedman, and anyone communicating on his behalf</li> <li>• All White House Liaisons, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Julia Haller</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Keith Kellogg, National Security Council Chief of Staff</li> <li>• Any individual in the White House Office (including anyone with an email address ending in @who.eop.gov)</li> <li>• David Wurmser</li> <li>• Daniel Pipes</li> <li>• Pamela Geller</li> <li>• Robert Spencer</li> <li>• Clare Lopez</li> <li>• Michael Rubin</li> <li>• Kenneth Zimmerman</li> <li>• Barbara Ledeen</li> <li>• Mark Dubowitz</li> <li>• Anyone affiliated with the Foundation for Defense of Democracies (including any emails sent by, received from, or copied to an email address at the domain @defenddemocracy.org)</li> <li>• Anyone affiliated with the Center for Security Policy (including any emails sent by, received from, or copied to an email address at the domain @securefreedom.org or @centerforsecuritypolicy.org)</li> <li>• Ron Dermer, Israeli Ambassador to the United States</li> </ul>
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For this portion of this request, only records that contain one or more of the following search terms in the subject line, body of the email, or attachment should be considered responsive:

- a. “Black Cube”
- b. BC
- c. Ben
- d. Rhodes
- e. BR
- f. Colin
- g. Kahl
- h. CK
- i. “Ann Norris”
- j. “Rebecca Kahl”

- k. "Jake Sullivan"
- l. "Tommy Vietor"
- m. "Ned Price"
- n. "Jon Favreau"
- o. "Jon Finer"
- p. "Dan Pfeiffer"
- q. Sahar
- r. Nowrouzzadeh
- s. Trita
- t. Parsi
- u. NIAC
- v. "Harvey Weinstein"
- w. "Ronan Farrow"
- x. "Andrea Mitchell"
- y. "Jeffrey Goldberg"
- z. "Max Fisher"
- aa. "Iran deal"
- bb. "Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action"
- cc. JCPOA
- dd. "Echo Chamber"
- ee. "Eco-Chamber"
- ff. "Gorka"
- gg. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/israeli-operatives-who-aided-harvey-weinstein-collected-information-on-former-obama-administration-officials>
- hh. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/07/us/politics/iran-deal-benjamin-rhodes-black-cube.html>
- ii. <https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/more-details-on-israeli-spy-firm-ops-against-ex-obama-aides-revealed-1.6061080>
- jj. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/may/05/trump-team-hired-spy-firm-dirty-ops-iran-nuclear-deal>
- kk. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/the-conspiracy-memo-aimed-at-obama-aides-that-circulated-in-the-trump-white-house>

"Political appointee" should be understood as any person who is a Presidential Appointee with Senate Confirmation (PAS), a Presidential Appointee (PA), a non-career SES, any Schedule C employees, or any persons hired under Temporary Non-Career SES Appointments, Limited Term SES Appointments, or Temporary Transitional Schedule C Appointments.

Please provide all responsive records from January 20, 2017, to the date the search is conducted.

- 2) All records reflecting communications (including emails, email attachments, text messages, voicemail messages, messages on messaging platforms (such as Slack, GChat or Google Hangouts, Lync, Skype, WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, or Signal), telephone call logs, calendar invitations, calendar entries, meeting notices, meeting agendas, informational material, draft legislation, talking points, any handwritten or electronic notes taken during any oral communications, summaries of any oral communications, or other materials) between or among (including those copied or blind copied on emails) anyone listed in Column A below and anyone listed in Column B below:

<u>Column A: State Officials</u>	<u>Column B: External Entities</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All political appointees in the Office of the Secretary (S), including:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Former Secretary Rex Tillerson, and anyone communicating on his behalf</li> <li>○ Chief of Staff Margaret Peterlin,</li> <li>○ Deputy Chief of Staff Christine Ciccone</li> <li>○ White House Adviser Chief of Staff and Policy Adviser Matt Mowers</li> <li>○ Senior aide and spokesperson R.C. Hammond</li> <li>○ Secretary Mike Pompeo and anyone communicating on his behalf</li> </ul> </li> <li>• All political appointees in the Office of Policy Planning (S/P), including:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Director Brian Hook and anyone communicating on his behalf</li> <li>○ Deputy Director Edward Lacey and anyone communicating on his behalf</li> <li>○ Deputy Director David Tessler and anyone communicating on his behalf</li> </ul> </li> <li>• All political appointees in the immediate Office of Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (R), including:</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• BC Strategy Ltd (including any emails sent by, received from, or copied to an email address at the domain @bcstrategyLtd.com or @blackcube.com)</li> <li>• Avi Yanus</li> <li>• Dan Zorella</li> <li>• Yohanan Danino</li> <li>• Giora Eiland</li> <li>• Asher Tishler</li> <li>• Paul Reyniers</li> <li>• Golan Malka</li> <li>• Mr. Itiel Maayan</li> <li>• Emile Neri</li> <li>• Eve Novak</li> <li>• Adriana Gavriolo</li> <li>• Shell Productions</li> <li>• Reuben Capital Partners</li> <li>• Diana Filip</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Steven Goldstein, the Under-Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs</li> <li>○ The Bureau of Public Affairs (PA)</li> <li>• The U.S. Ambassador to Israel, David Melech Friedman, and anyone communicating on his behalf</li> <li>• All White House Liaisons, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Julia Haller</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	
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Please provide all responsive records from January 20, 2017, to the date the search is conducted.

- 3) Any memorandum or document titled “The Echo Chamber” sent or received in 2017 by any of the individuals listed in Column A above, as well as any chain of email correspondence to which the document was attached.

Please provide all responsive records from January 20, 2017, to the date the search is conducted.

In addition to the records requested above, American Oversight also requests records describing the processing of this request, including records sufficient to identify search terms used and locations and custodians searched and any tracking sheets used to track the processing of this request. If State uses FOIA questionnaires or certifications completed by individual custodians or components to determine whether they possess responsive materials or to describe how they conducted searches, we also request any such records prepared in connection with the processing of this request.

American Oversight seeks all responsive records regardless of format, medium, or physical characteristics. In conducting your search, please understand the terms “record,” “document,” and “information” in their broadest sense, to include any written, typed, recorded, graphic, printed, or audio material of any kind. We seek records of any kind, including electronic records, audiotapes, videotapes, and photographs, as well as letters, emails, facsimiles, telephone messages, voice mail messages and transcripts, notes, or minutes of any meetings, telephone conversations or discussions. Our request includes any attachments to these records. **No category of material should be omitted from search, collection, and production.**

Please search all records regarding agency business. **You may not exclude searches of files or emails in the personal custody of your officials, such as personal email accounts.** Records of official business conducted using unofficial systems or stored outside of official files are subject to the Federal Records Act and FOIA.<sup>3</sup> **It is not adequate to rely on policies and procedures that require officials to move such information to official systems within a certain period of time; American Oversight has a right to records contained in those files even if material has not yet been moved to official systems or if officials have, through negligence or willfulness, failed to meet their obligations.**<sup>4</sup>

In addition, please note that in conducting a “reasonable search” as required by law, you must employ the most up-to-date technologies and tools available, in addition to searches by individual custodians likely to have responsive information. Recent technology may have rendered State’s prior FOIA practices unreasonable. **In light of the government-wide requirements to manage information electronically by the end of 2016, it is no longer reasonable to rely exclusively on custodian-driven searches.**<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, agencies that have adopted the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) Capstone program, or similar policies, now maintain emails in a form that is reasonably likely to be more complete than individual custodians’ files. For example, a custodian may have deleted a responsive email from his or her email program, but State’s archiving tools would capture that email under Capstone. Accordingly, American Oversight insists that State use the most up-to-date technologies to search for responsive information and take steps to ensure that the most complete repositories of information are searched. American Oversight is available to work with you to craft appropriate search terms. **However, custodian searches are still required; agencies may not have direct access to files stored in .PST files, outside of network drives, in paper format, or in personal email accounts.**

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<sup>3</sup> See *Competitive Enter. Inst. v. Office of Sci. & Tech. Policy*, 827 F.3d 145, 149–50 (D.C. Cir. 2016); cf. *Judicial Watch, Inc. v. Kerry*, 844 F.3d 952, 955–56 (D.C. Cir. 2016).

<sup>4</sup> See *Competitive Enter. Inst. v. Office of Sci. & Tech. Policy*, No. 14-cv-765, slip op. at 8 (D.D.C. Dec. 12, 2016) (“The Government argues that because the agency had a policy requiring [the official] to forward all of his emails from his [personal] account to his business email, the [personal] account only contains duplicate agency records at best. Therefore, the Government claims that any hypothetical deletion of the [personal account] emails would still leave a copy of those records intact in [the official’s] work email. However, policies are rarely followed to perfection by anyone. At this stage of the case, the Court cannot assume that each and every work related email in the [personal] account was duplicated in [the official’s] work email account.” (citations omitted)).

<sup>5</sup> Presidential Memorandum—Managing Government Records, 76 Fed. Reg. 75,423 (Nov. 28, 2011), <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/11/28/presidential-memorandum-managing-government-records>; Office of Mgmt. & Budget, Exec. Office of the President, Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments & Independent Agencies, “Managing Government Records Directive,” M-12-18 (Aug. 24, 2012), <https://www.archives.gov/files/records-mgmt/m-12-18.pdf>.

Under the FOIA Improvement Act of 2016, agencies must adopt a presumption of disclosure, withholding information “only if . . . disclosure would harm an interest protected by an exemption” or “disclosure is prohibited by law.”<sup>6</sup> If it is your position that any portion of the requested records is exempt from disclosure, American Oversight requests that you provide an index of those documents as required under *Vaughn v. Rosen*, 484 F.2d 820 (D.C. Cir. 1973), *cert. denied*, 415 U.S. 977 (1974). As you are aware, a *Vaughn* index must describe each document claimed as exempt with sufficient specificity “to permit a reasoned judgment as to whether the material is actually exempt under FOIA.”<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the *Vaughn* index “must describe *each* document or portion thereof withheld, and for *each* withholding it must discuss the consequences of disclosing the sought-after information.”<sup>8</sup> Further, “the withholding agency must supply ‘a relatively detailed justification, specifically identifying the reasons why a particular exemption is relevant and correlating those claims with the particular part of a withheld document to which they apply.’”<sup>9</sup>

In the event some portions of the requested records are properly exempt from disclosure, please disclose any reasonably segregable non-exempt portions of the requested records. If it is your position that a document contains non-exempt segments, but that those non-exempt segments are so dispersed throughout the document as to make segregation impossible, please state what portion of the document is non-exempt, and how the material is dispersed throughout the document.<sup>10</sup> Claims of nonsegregability must be made with the same degree of detail as required for claims of exemptions in a *Vaughn* index. If a request is denied in whole, please state specifically that it is not reasonable to segregate portions of the record for release.

**You should institute a preservation hold on information responsive to this request.** American Oversight intends to pursue all legal avenues to enforce its right of access under FOIA, including litigation if necessary. Accordingly, State is on notice that litigation is reasonably foreseeable.

To ensure that this request is properly construed, that searches are conducted in an adequate but efficient manner, and that extraneous costs are not incurred, American Oversight welcomes an opportunity to discuss its request with you before you undertake your search or incur search or duplication costs. By working together at the outset, American Oversight and State can decrease the likelihood of costly and time-consuming litigation in the future.

Where possible, please provide responsive material in electronic format by email or in PDF or TIF format on a USB drive. Please send any responsive material being sent by mail to American Oversight, 1030 15th Street NW, Suite B255, Washington, DC 20005. If it will accelerate release of responsive records to American Oversight, please also provide responsive material on a rolling basis.

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<sup>6</sup> FOIA Improvement Act of 2016 § 2 (Pub. L. No. 114-185).

<sup>7</sup> *Founding Church of Scientology v. Bell*, 603 F.2d 945, 949 (D.C. Cir. 1979).

<sup>8</sup> *King v. U.S. Dep’t of Justice*, 830 F.2d 210, 223–24 (D.C. Cir. 1987) (emphases in original).

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* at 224 (citing *Mead Data Central, Inc. v. U.S. Dep’t of the Air Force*, 566 F.2d 242, 251 (D.C. Cir. 1977)).

<sup>10</sup> *Mead Data Central*, 566 F.2d at 261.



## Fee Waiver Request

In accordance with 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(A)(iii) and 22 C.F.R. § 171.16(a), American Oversight requests a waiver of fees associated with processing this request for records. First, the subject of this request concerns the operations of the federal government, and the disclosures will likely contribute to a better understanding of relevant government procedures by the general public in a significant way.<sup>11</sup> Second, the request is primarily and fundamentally for non-commercial purposes.<sup>12</sup>

Under the public interest requirement, FOIA requesters must satisfy four factors in sequence.<sup>13</sup> American Oversight believes it has met these four factors for reasons set forth below. The subject matter of the requested records specifically relates to the operations or activities of the government because it concerns both the national security issues involved in withdrawing from the Iran deal and the potential targeting—by federal government officials—of former U.S. administration officials and their families. The requested documents will be “likely to contribute” to an understanding of specific government operations because of their potential to shed light on potential actions taken by administration officials to engage a foreign intelligence firm to target former officials.

Additionally, American Oversight’s objective is to reveal to the public at large any information it receives related to this FOIA request. American Oversight has the capacity to disseminate this information as it posts all records to its public websites and publishes analyses of its records. In the past, the organization has successfully informed the public of specific government activities and operations. As an example, American Oversight obtained Education Secretary DeVos’s calendar entries, which revealed Secretary DeVos’s frequent absences from office, staffing choices, and the influence of charter schools and for-profit colleges on the Education Department.<sup>14</sup> The *New York Times* and CNN relied on American Oversight’s analyses to report on Secretary DeVos’s priorities within the Education Department.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> 22 C.F.R. § 171.16(a)(1).

<sup>12</sup> 22 C.F.R. § 171.16(a)(2).

<sup>13</sup> See *D.C. Technical Assistance Org. Inc. v. U.S. Dep’t of Hous. and Urban Dev. (D.C. Technical Assistance)*, 85 F. Supp. 2d 46, 48–49 (D.D.C. 2000) (requested documents will contribute to “greater understanding of government activities”).

<sup>14</sup> See *Influence & Access at the Department of Education*, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, Oct. 27, 2017, <https://www.americanoversight.org/investigation/influence-access-at-the-department-of-education>; *Unexcused Absences: DeVos Calendars Show Frequent Days Off*, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, Oct. 27, 2017, <https://www.americanoversight.org/unexcused-absences-devos>.

<sup>15</sup> Eric Lipton, *Betsy DeVos’s School Schedule Shows Focus on Religious and Nontraditional Schools*, N.Y. TIMES, Oct. 27, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/27/us/politics/betsy-devos-work-schedule-education.html>; Gregory Wallace et. al., *What Betsy DeVos’s Schedule Tells Us About Her Agenda*, CNN (Oct. 29, 2017, 12:22 PM), <http://www.cnn.com/2017/10/28/politics/devos-schedules-education/index.html>.

Disclosure will “significantly” contribute to a greater understanding on the part of the public at large about the potential targeting of former administration officials in order to influence perceptions of the Iran deal. The subject of this request is a matter of public interest, and the public’s understanding of the government’s activities would be enhanced through American Oversight’s analysis and publication of these records.

American Oversight’s request is also primarily and fundamentally for non-commercial purposes.<sup>16</sup> As a 501(c)(3) nonprofit, American Oversight does not have a commercial purpose and the release of the information requested is not in American Oversight’s financial interest. American Oversight’s mission is to promote transparency in government, to educate the public about government activities, and to ensure the accountability of government officials. American Oversight uses the information gathered, and its analysis of it, to educate the public through reports, press releases, or other media. American Oversight also makes materials it gathers available on its public website and promotes their availability on social media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter.<sup>17</sup> American Oversight has demonstrated its commitment to the public disclosure of documents and creation of editorial content. For example, after receiving records regarding an ethics waiver received by a senior DOJ attorney, American Oversight promptly posted the records to its website<sup>18</sup> and published an analysis of what the records reflected about DOJ’s process for ethics waivers.<sup>19</sup> As an additional example, American Oversight has a project called “Audit the Wall,” where the organization is gathering and analyzing information and commenting on public releases of information related to the administration’s proposed construction of a barrier along the U.S.-Mexico border.<sup>20</sup>

Accordingly, American Oversight qualifies for a fee waiver.

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<sup>16</sup> 22 C.F.R. § 171.16(a)(2)(i)-(iii).

<sup>17</sup> American Oversight currently has approximately 11,900 page likes on Facebook and 44,800 followers on Twitter. American Oversight, FACEBOOK, <https://www.facebook.com/weareoversight> (last visited Aug. 29, 2018); American Oversight (@weareoversight), TWITTER, <https://twitter.com/weareoversight> (last visited Aug. 29, 2018).

<sup>18</sup> *DOJ Civil Division Response Noel Francisco Compliance*, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, <https://www.americanoversight.org/document/doj-civil-division-response-noel-francisco-compliance>.

<sup>19</sup> *Francisco & the Travel Ban: What We Learned from the DOJ Documents*, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, <https://www.americanoversight.org/francisco-the-travel-ban-what-we-learned-from-the-doj-documents>.

<sup>20</sup> *Audit the Wall*, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, <https://www.americanoversight.org/investigation/audit-the-wall>.

## Conclusion

We share a common mission to promote transparency in government. American Oversight looks forward to working with State on this request. If you do not understand any part of this request, have any questions, or foresee any problems in fully releasing the requested records, please contact Hart Wood at [foia@americanoversight.org](mailto:foia@americanoversight.org) or 202.897.3918. Also, if American Oversight's request for a fee waiver is not granted in full, please contact us immediately upon making such a determination.

Sincerely,



Melanie Sloan  
Senior Advisor  
American Oversight