



January 6, 2020

VIA ELECTRONIC MAIL

Office of Information Programs and Services
Department of State
SA-2, Suite 8100
Washington, DC 20522
FOIArequest@state.gov

Re: Freedom of Information Act Request

Dear FOIA Officer:

Pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), 5 U.S.C. § 552, and the implementing regulations of your agency, American Oversight makes the following request for records.

For much of this past year, Turkish President Tayyip Erdogan sustained an intense pressure campaign aimed at avoiding criminal charges for sanction evasion by Halkbank, a large Turkish state-owned bank.¹ Reporting indicates that President Trump may have aided these efforts. For instance, he requested that then-Secretary of State Tillerson convince the Department of Justice to drop its investigation of financial laundering schemes.² In addition, he instructed Secretary of the Treasury Mnuchin and Attorney General Barr to liaise with President Erdogan on the matter.³ The Department of Treasury has itself acknowledged that at some of Secretary Mnuchin's meetings with Turkish officials, issues related to Halkbank arose.⁴

Although Halkbank has since been charged with criminal activities, the timing of the charges—coinciding with a time that would be politically expedient for the president,

¹ Nick Wadhams et al., *Trump-Erdogan Call Led to Lengthy Quest to Avoid Halkbank Trial*, BLOOMBERG (Oct. 16, 2019, 4:45 PM), <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-10-16/trump-erdogan-call-led-to-lengthy-push-to-avoid-halkbank-trial>.

² Nick Wadhams et al., *Trump Urged Top Aide to Help Giuliani Client Facing DOJ Charges*, BLOOMBERG (Oct. 9, 2019, 6:27 PM), <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-10-09/trump-urged-top-aide-to-help-giuliani-client-facing-doj-charges>.

³ See Wadhams et al., *supra* note 1.

⁴ Ltr. from Frederick Vaughan, Dep. Asst. Sec'y, to Sen. Ron Wyden, Nov. 20, 2019, <https://www.finance.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/112019%20Treasury%20Response%20Letter%20to%20Wyden%20RE%20Halkbank.pdf>.



following the Turkish incursion into Syria—raises questions about how the investigation and indictment of Halkbank were handled.⁵

American Oversight seeks documents with the potential to shed light on whether and to what extent the investigation of Halkbank was influenced by external entities, as well as by the personal interests of the president.

Requested Records

American Oversight requests that your agency produce the following records within twenty business days:

All records reflecting communications (including emails, email attachments, text messages, messages on messaging platforms (such as Slack, GChat, Google Hangouts, Lync, Skype, or WhatsApp), telephone call logs, calendar invitations, calendar entries, meeting notices, meeting agendas, informational material, talking points, memos to file, any handwritten or electronic notes taken during any oral communications, summaries of any oral communications, or other materials) between (i) any of the specified officials, and (ii) any of the specified external entities on the topic of Halkbank.

Government Officials

1. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, including anyone communicating on his behalf, such as an executive or special assistant or scheduler
2. Anyone serving in the position of Deputy Secretary, including but not limited to John Sullivan
3. Anyone serving in the position of Adviser to the Secretary, including but not limited to Michael McKinley, Mary Kissel, and Toni Porter
4. Anyone serving in the position of Counselor to the Secretary, including but not limited to Ulrich Brechbuhl
5. Executive Secretary Lisa Kenna
6. Anyone serving in the position of White House Liaison or White House Advisor, including but not limited to Carrie Cabelka
7. Anyone serving as Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, including but not limited to Philip Reeker
8. U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, Ambassador David Satterfield, and anyone communicating on his behalf, such as an executive or special assistant or scheduler

⁵ Nick Wadhams et al., *Mnuchin Asked by Top Senate Democrat to Detail Turkey Dealings*, BLOOMBERG (Oct. 24, 2019, 11:00 AM), <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-10-24/mnuchin-asked-by-top-senate-democrat-to-detail-turkey-dealings>.

9. Anyone serving as Charge d’Affaires at the U.S. Embassy in Istanbul
10. Anyone serving as Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Istanbul

External Entities

1. Any representative of Halkbank, including but not limited to Suleyman Aslan, Levent Balkan, Mehmet Hakan Atilla, Yalçın Madenci, and Serdar Sürer, including anyone communicating with an email address ending in halkbank.com.tr
2. Rudolph Giuliani, or anyone communicating on his behalf (such as Jo Ann Zafonte, Christianne Allen, Beau Wagner, or anyone communicating from an email address ending in giulianisecurity.com, giulianipartners.com, or gdcillc.com)
3. Any representative of Ballard Partners, including but not limited to Brian Ballard, Robert Wexler, Jamie Rubin, Syl Lukis, and anyone communicating with an email address ending in ballardpartners.com
4. Any representative of the Turkey-United States Business Council, including but not limited to anyone communicating with an email address ending in deik.org.tr
5. Any representative of the Turkish-American Business Council, including but not limited to Kamil Ekim Alptekin and anyone communicating with an email address ending in taik.org.tr
6. Any representative of the American-Turkish Council, including but not limited to anyone communicating with an email address ending in the-atc.org
7. Any representative of Doğan Holding, including but not limited to Aydin Dogan, Mehmet Ali Yalcindag, and anyone communicating with an email address ending in doganholding.com
8. Any representative of King and Spalding, including but not limited to Andrew Hruska and anyone communicating with an email address ending in kslaw.com
9. Any representative of Greenberg Traurig, including but not limited to anyone communicating with an email address ending in gtlaw.com
10. Any representative of McDermott Will and Emery, including but not limited to anyone communicating with an email address ending in mwe.com
11. Senator Lindsey Graham, or any member of his staff, including but not limited to anyone communicating with an email address ending in graham.senate.gov

Please provide all responsive records from January 1, 2019, through the date of the search.

Fee Waiver Request

In accordance with 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(A)(iii) and your agency's regulations, American Oversight requests a waiver of fees associated with processing this request for records. 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. Moreover, the request is primarily and fundamentally for non-commercial purposes.

American Oversight requests a waiver of fees because disclosure of the requested information is "in the public interest because it is likely to contribute significantly to public understanding of operations or activities of the government."⁶ The public has a significant interest in the enforcement of sanctions against international banks, and in particular, the regulation of Halkbank. The changes have potentially widespread consequences for the banks, which are entrusted with the savings and investments of American consumers.⁷ In addition, resulting delays in the implementation of foreign policy objectives endanger the safety of citizens in the United States.⁸ Records with the potential to shed light on this matter would contribute significantly to public understanding of operations of the federal government, including the extent to which the enforcement of sanctions is influenced by external entities. American Oversight is committed to transparency and makes the responses agencies provide to FOIA requests publicly available, and the public's understanding of the government's activities would be enhanced through American Oversight's analysis and publication of these records.

This request is primarily and fundamentally for non-commercial purposes.⁹ 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.¹⁰

⁶ 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(A)(iii).

⁷ See Wadhams et al., *supra* note 1.

⁸ Eric Lipton, *U.S. Indicts Turkish Bank on Charges of Evading Iran Sanctions*, N.Y. TIMES (Oct. 15, 2019), <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/15/us/politics/halkbank-turkey-iran-indictment.html>.

⁹ See 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(A)(iii).

¹⁰ American Oversight currently has approximately 14,800 page likes on Facebook and 87,100 followers on Twitter. American Oversight, FACEBOOK, <https://www.facebook.com/weareoversight/> (last visited Dec. 18, 2019); American Oversight (@weareoversight), TWITTER, <https://twitter.com/weareoversight> (last visited Dec. 18, 2019).

American Oversight has also demonstrated its commitment to the public disclosure of documents and creation of editorial content through numerous substantive analyses posted to its website.¹¹ Examples reflecting this commitment to the public disclosure of documents and the creation of editorial content include the posting of records related to an ethics waiver received by a senior Department of Justice attorney and an analysis of what those records demonstrated regarding the Department’s process for issuing such waivers;¹² posting records received as part of American Oversight’s “Audit the Wall” project to gather and analyze information related to the administration’s proposed construction of a barrier along the U.S.-Mexico border, and analyses of what those records reveal;¹³ posting records regarding potential self-dealing at the Department of Housing & Urban Development and related analysis;¹⁴ posting records and analysis relating to the federal government’s efforts to sell nuclear technology to Saudi Arabia;¹⁵ and posting records and analysis regarding the Department of Justice’s decision in response to demands from Congress to direct a U.S. Attorney to undertake a wide-ranging review and make recommendations regarding criminal investigations relating to the President’s political opponents and allegations of misconduct by the Department of Justice itself and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.¹⁶

Accordingly, American Oversight qualifies for a fee waiver.

¹¹ *News*, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, <https://www.americanoversight.org/blog>.

¹² *DOJ Records Relating to Solicitor General Noel Francisco’s Recusal*, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, <https://www.americanoversight.org/document/doj-civil-division-response-noel-francisco-compliance>; *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>.

¹³ *See generally Audit the Wall*, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, <https://www.americanoversight.org/investigation/audit-the-wall>; *see, e.g., Border Wall Investigation Report: No Plans, No Funding, No Timeline, No Wall*, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, <https://www.americanoversight.org/border-wall-investigation-report-no-plans-no-funding-no-timeline-no-wall>.

¹⁴ *Documents Reveal Ben Carson Jr.’s Attempts to Use His Influence at HUD to Help His Business*, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, <https://www.americanoversight.org/documents-reveal-ben-carson-jr-s-attempts-to-use-his-influence-at-hud-to-help-his-business>.

¹⁵ *Investigating the Trump Administration’s Efforts to Sell Nuclear Technology to Saudi Arabia*, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, <https://www.americanoversight.org/investigating-the-trump-administrations-efforts-to-sell-nuclear-technology-to-saudi-arabia>.

¹⁶ *Sessions’ Letter Shows DOJ Acted on Trump’s Authoritarian Demand to Investigate Clinton*, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, <https://www.americanoversight.org/sessions-letter>.

Guidance Regarding the Search & Processing of Requested Records

In connection with its request for records, American Oversight provides the following guidance regarding the scope of the records sought and the search and processing of records:

- Please search all locations and systems likely to have responsive records, regardless of format, medium, or physical characteristics. For instance, if the request seeks “communications,” please search all locations likely to contain communications, including relevant hard-copy files, correspondence files, appropriate locations on hard drives and shared drives, emails, text messages or other direct messaging systems (such as iMessage, WhatsApp, Signal, or Twitter direct messages), voicemail messages, instant messaging systems such as Lync or ICQ, and shared messages systems such as Slack.
- 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 for records includes any attachments to those records or other materials enclosed with those records when they were previously transmitted. To the extent that an email is responsive to our request, our request includes all prior messages sent or received in that email chain, as well as any attachments to the email.
- Please search all relevant records or systems containing records regarding agency business. Do not exclude records regarding agency business contained in files, email accounts, or devices in the personal custody of your officials, such as personal email accounts or text messages. Records of official business conducted using unofficial systems or stored outside of official files are subject to the Federal Records Act and FOIA.¹⁷ 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, by intent or through negligence, failed to meet their obligations.¹⁸

¹⁷ 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).

¹⁸ See *Competitive Enter. Inst. v. Office of Sci. & Tech. Policy*, No. 14-cv-765, slip op. at 8 (D.D.C. Dec. 12, 2016).

- Please use all tools available to your agency to conduct a complete and efficient search for potentially responsive records. Agencies are subject to government-wide requirements to manage agency information electronically,¹⁹ and many agencies have adopted the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) Capstone program, or similar policies. These systems provide options for searching emails and other electronic records in a manner that is reasonably likely to be more complete than just searching individual custodian files. For example, a custodian may have deleted a responsive email from his or her email program, but your agency’s archiving tools may capture that email under Capstone. At the same time, custodian searches are still necessary; agencies may not have direct access to files stored in .PST files, outside of network drives, in paper format, or in personal email accounts.
- 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 a request is denied in whole, please state specifically why it is not reasonable to segregate portions of the record for release.
- Please take appropriate steps to ensure that records responsive to this request are not deleted by the agency before the completion of processing for this request. If records potentially responsive to this request are likely to be located on systems where they are subject to potential deletion, including on a scheduled basis, please take steps to prevent that deletion, including, as appropriate, by instituting a litigation hold on those records.

Conclusion

If you have any questions regarding how to construe this request for records or believe that further discussions regarding search and processing would facilitate a more efficient production of records of interest to American Oversight, please do not hesitate to contact American Oversight to discuss this request. 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 your agency can decrease the likelihood of costly and time-consuming litigation in the future.

Where possible, please provide responsive material in an electronic format by email. Alternatively, please provide responsive material in native format or in PDF format on a USB drive. Please send any responsive material being sent by mail to American Oversight,

¹⁹ 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>.

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.

We share a common mission to promote transparency in government. American Oversight looks forward to working with your agency on this request. If you do not understand any part of this request, please contact Emma Lewis at foia@americanoversight.org or 202.919.6303. 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