



September 25, 2020

VIA EMAIL

U.S. Department of State
Office of Information Programs and Services
2201 C Street NW, Suite B266
Washington, D.C. 20520-0000
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.

Media reports indicate that well-connected external coalitions have been advocating for the Open Technology Fund to redirect funding toward projects specifically targeting China’s digital censorship.¹

American Oversight seeks records with the potential to shed light on whether and to what extent external entities have influenced agency actions.

Requested Records

American Oversight requests that the U.S. Department of State produce the following records within twenty business days:

1. All email communications (including emails, email attachments, complete email chains, and calendar invitations) between any of the State officials listed in Column A and any of the external individuals and entities listed in Column B:

Column A: Agency Officials	Column B: External Entities
<u>Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor:</u> i. Robert Destro, Assistant Secretary	i. Michael Horowitz ii. Steve Bannon iii. Michael Pack iv. Katrina Lantos Swett

¹ Russell Brandom, *A New Trump Appointee Has Put Internet Freedom Projects in Crisis Mode*, The Verge (June 23, 2020, 11:55 AM), <https://www.theverge.com/2020/6/23/21300424/open-technology-fund-usagm-circumvention-tools-china-censorship-michael-pack>.



<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ii. Anyone serving as Chief of Staff to the Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor iii. Scott Busby, Deputy Assistant Secretary iv. Patricia Davis, Director of Global Programs v. Michael Kozak, Acting Assistant Secretary for Western Hemisphere Affairs & former Senior Bureau Official for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor 	<p>Anyone communicating on behalf of any of the following organizations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> v. Lantos Foundation (@lantosfoundation.org) vi. 21Wilberforce (@21wilberforce.org) vii. China Aid Association (@chinaaid.org) viii. Church of Scientology National Affairs Office (@churchofscientology.net) ix. Citizen Power Initiatives for China (@initiativesforchina.org) x. Falun Dafa Association of Washington D.C. xi. Epoch Times (@epochtimes.com or @theepochtimes.com) xii. Jubilee Campaign (@jubileecampaign.org) xiii. The Church of Almighty God (almightygod.church) xiv. Uyghur Human Rights Project (uhrp.org) xv. Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation (victimsofcommunism.org)
<p><u>Bureau of International Organizations:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Acting Assistant Secretary Pam Pryor, including in her former capacity as Senior Advisor in the Office of the Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy and Human Rights 	
<p><u>Office of International Religious Freedom:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Sam Brownback, Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom ii. Daniel Nadel, Director iii. Riley Barnes, Senior Advisor 	

Please note that American Oversight does not seek, and that this request specifically excludes, the initial mailing of news clips or other mass-distribution emails. However, subsequent communications forwarding or responding to such emails are responsive to this request. In other words, for example, if Assistant Secretary Destro received a mass-distribution email from the Lantos Foundation, that initial email would not be responsive to this request. However, if Assistant Secretary Destro forwarded that email to another individual with his own commentary, that subsequent message would be responsive to this request and should be produced.

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

2. All email communications (including emails, email attachments, complete email chains, and calendar invitations) sent by any of the Department of State officials listed in Column A (above) containing any of the listed key terms:

Key Terms (Item 2 Only):

- UltraSurf
- UltraReach
- Freenet
- FreeGate
- Lantern
- Swett
- Psiphon
- “Michael Horowitz”
- “Michael Pack”
- Bannon
- Lantos

In an effort to accommodate your agency and reduce the number of potentially responsive records to be processed and produced, American Oversight has limited item 2 of its request to emails sent by agency officials. To be clear, however, American Oversight still requests that complete email chains be produced, displaying both sent and received messages.

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

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.”² The public has a significant interest in the United States’ involvement in international internet freedom efforts.³ Records with the potential to shed light on this matter would contribute significantly to public understanding of operations of the federal government, including whether and to what extent external activists have influenced official agency policy or funding decisions. 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.

² 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(A)(iii).

³ Spencer S. Hsu, *Trump Administration is Crippling International Internet Freedom Effort by Withholding Funds, Officials Say* (July 31, 2020, 4:28 PM), Wash. Post, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/legal-issues/trump-administration-withholds-20-million-crippling-international-internet-freedom-effort-officials-say/2020/07/31/eea0a9c0-d2a1-11ea-8d32-1ebf4e9d8e0d_story.html.

This request is primarily and fundamentally for non-commercial purposes.⁴ 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.⁵

American Oversight has also demonstrated its commitment to the public disclosure of documents and creation of editorial content through regular substantive analyses posted to its website.⁶ Examples reflecting this commitment to the public disclosure of documents and the creation of editorial content include the posting of records related to the Trump Administration's contacts with Ukraine and analyses of those contacts;⁷ posting records and editorial content about the federal government's response to the Coronavirus pandemic;⁸ 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;⁹ 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

⁴ See 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(A)(iii).

⁵ American Oversight currently has approximately 15,600 page likes on Facebook and 104,600 followers on Twitter. American Oversight, Facebook, <https://www.facebook.com/weareoversight/> (last visited Sep. 9, 2020); American Oversight (@weareoversight), Twitter, <https://twitter.com/weareoversight> (last visited Sep. 9, 2020).

⁶ See generally *News*, American Oversight, <https://www.americanoversight.org/blog>.

⁷ *Trump Administration's Contacts with Ukraine*, American Oversight, <https://www.americanoversight.org/investigation/the-trump-administrations-contacts-with-ukraine>.

⁸ See generally *The Trump Administration's Response to Coronavirus*, American Oversight, <https://www.americanoversight.org/investigation/the-trump-administrations-response-to-coronavirus>; see, e.g., *CDC Calendars from 2018 and 2019: Pandemic-Related Briefings and Meetings*, American Oversight, <https://www.americanoversight.org/cdc-calendars-from-2018-and-2019-pandemic-related-briefings-and-meetings>.

⁹ 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>.

waivers;¹⁰ and posting records and analysis of federal officials' use of taxpayer dollars to charter private aircraft or use government planes for unofficial business.¹¹

Accordingly, American Oversight qualifies for a fee waiver.

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

¹⁰ *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>.

¹¹ *See generally Swamp Airlines: Chartered Jets at Taxpayer Expense*, American Oversight, <https://www.americanoversight.org/investigation/swamp-airlines-private-jets-taxpayer-expense>; *see, e.g., New Information on Pompeo's 2017 Trips to His Home State*, American Oversight, <https://www.americanoversight.org/new-information-on-pompeos-2017-trips-to-his-home-state>.

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.¹² 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.¹³

- 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,¹⁴ 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.

¹² 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).

¹³ See *Competitive Enter. Inst. v. Office of Sci. & Tech. Policy*, No. 14-cv-765, slip op. at 8 (D.D.C. Dec. 12, 2016).

¹⁴ 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>.

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, 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 Mehreen Rasheed at foia@americanoversight.org or (202) 848-1320. 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