

January 17, 2019

## VIA ELECTRONIC MAIL

Sam Kaplan Chief Privacy Officer/Chief FOIA Officer The Privacy Office U.S. Department of Homeland Security 245 Murray Lane SW STOP-0655 Washington, D.C. 20528-0655 foia@hq.dhs.gov

Re: Freedom of Information Act Request

Dear Mr. Kaplan:

Pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), 5 U.S.C. § 552, and the implementing regulations of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), 6 C.F.R. Part 5, American Oversight makes the following request for records.

Katharine Gorka, an advisor in DHS's policy office, has a long history of working with far-right national security groups, and her writings have been described as anti-Muslim in sentiment. At DHS, she reportedly played a significant role in cutting Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) program grant funding for Muslim-American groups working to build resilience against violent extremism and organizations aiming to de-radicalize neo-Nazis. 2

American Oversight seeks records to shed light on outside influences on DHS counterterrorism policy.

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See John Hudson, The Gorka That Matters Isn't Leaving the Trump Administration, BUZZFEED NEWS (Aug. 29, 2017, 3:41 PM), <a href="https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/johnhudson/the-gorka-that-matters-isnt-leaving-the-trump-administration">https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/johnhudson/the-gorka-that-matters-isnt-leaving-the-trump-administration</a>; Peter Beinart, Trump Shut Programs to Counter Violent Extremism, THE ATLANTIC, Oct. 29, 2018, <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/10/trump-shut-countering-violent-extremism-program/574237/">https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/10/trump-shut-countering-violent-extremism-program/574237/</a>.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Alex Emmons, Homeland Security Hires Anti-Islam Activist Katharine Gorka as Trump Makes Overtures to Muslim States, THE INTERCEPT (May 23, 2017, 12:07 PM), <a href="https://theintercept.com/2017/05/23/homeland-security-hires-anti-islam-activist-katharine-gorka-astrump-makes-overtures-to-muslim-states/">https://theintercept.com/2017/05/23/homeland-security-hires-anti-islam-activist-katharine-gorka-astrump-makes-overtures-to-muslim-states/</a>.

All email communications (including emails, email attachments, and calendar invitations) between Katharine Gorka and any of the following groups or individuals representing the following groups:

- i. Council on Global Security
- ii. Threat Knowledge Group, or anyone with an address ending in @threatknowledge.org
- iii. Westminster Institute, or anyone with an address ending in @westminster-institute.org
- iv. Foundation for Defense of Democracies, or anyone with an address ending in @fdd.org
- v. Family Research Council (FRC), Jerry Boykin, Tony Perkins, or anyone with an email address ending in @frc.org
- vi. Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), Daniel Stein, or anyone with an email address ending in @fairus.org
- vii. Center for Immigration Studies (CIS), Mark Krikorian, Jessica Vaughan, Jason Richwine, or anyone with an email address ending in @cis.org
- viii. NumbersUSA, Roy Beck, Rosemary Jenks, or anyone with an email address ending in @numbersusa.com or @numbersusa.org
- ix. Center for Security Policy (CSP), Frank Gaffney, Fred Fleitz, Clare Lopez, Phil Haney, or anyone with an email address ending in @centerforsecuritypolicy.org or @securefreedom.org
- x. The Remembrance Project, Maria Espinoza, or anyone with an email address ending in @theremembranceproject.org
- xi. Immigration Reform Law Institute (IRLI), Dale Wilcox, or anyone with an email address ending in @irli.org
- xii. VDARE Foundation, Peter Brimelow, or anyone with an email address ending in @vdare.com
- xiii. ACT for America, Brigitte Gabriel, or anyone with an email address ending in @actforamerica.org
- xiv. Thomas More Law Center, Richard Thompson, or anyone with an email address ending in @thomasmore.org
- xv. The Heritage Foundation, Kay Cole James, Hans von Spakovsky, Mike Gonzalez, Steven Groves, Charles Stimson, or anyone with an email address ending in @heritage.org
- xvi. Breitbart News, or anyone with an email address ending in @breitbart.com
- xvii. Integrity Initiative, or anyone with an email address ending in @integrityinitiative.net
- xviii. Gatestone Institute, or anyone with an email address ending in @gatestoneinstitute.org
- xix. Secure America Now, or anyone with an email address ending in @secureamericanow.org
- xx. Pamela Geller, or anyone with an email address ending in @gellerreport.com
- xxi. Jihad Watch, Robert Spencer, or anyone with an email address ending in @jihadwatch.org
- xxii. The David Horowitz Freedom Center, FrontPage Magazine, David Horowitz, or anyone with an email address ending in @davidhorowitzfreedomcenter.org or @frontpagemag.com
- xxiii. Understanding the Threat, John Guandolo, or anyone with an email address ending in @understandingthethreat.com

Please provide all responsive records from January 21, 2017, through 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 DHS 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 DHS'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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</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).

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)).

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 DHS's archiving tools would capture that email under Capstone. Accordingly, American Oversight insists that DHS 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.

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." 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." 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." 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."

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. 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.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Presidential Memorandum—Managing Government Records, 76 Fed. Reg. 75,423 (Nov. 28, 2011), <a href="https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/11/28/presidential-memorandum-managing-government-records">https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/11/28/presidential-memorandum-managing-government-records</a>; 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), <a href="https://www.archives.gov/files/records-mgmt/m-12-18.pdf">https://www.archives.gov/files/records-mgmt/m-12-18.pdf</a>.

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

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

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

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, DHS 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 DHS before it undertakes a search or incurs search or duplication costs. By working together at the outset, American Oversight and DHS 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.

## Fee Waiver Request

In accordance with 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(A)(iii) and 6 C.F.R. § 5.11(k), 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. 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 the operations or activities of the government." Specifically, there has been great public interest in DHS's anti-terrorism and countering violent extremism policies, and the extent to which Islamic groups and individuals have become the primary focus of these policies. The requested records have the potential to shed light on the role Ms. Gorka, a senior DHS official, is playing with respect to such policies, and whether and to what extent she is driving DHS to focus on Islamic extremism to the exclusion of other forms of violent extremism. And, as discussed below,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> 6 C.F.R. § 5.11(k)(1)(i).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> 6 C.F.R. § 5.11(k)(1)(ii).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> 6 C.F.R. § 5.11(k)(1)(i); see also 6 C.F.R. § 5.11(k)(2)(i)-(iv).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See, e.g., Beinart, supra note 2; Janet Reitman, U.S. Law Enforcement Failed to See the Threat of White Nationalism. Now They Don't Know How to Stop It., N.Y. TIMES MAGAZINE, Nov. 3, 2018, <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/magazine/FBI-charlottesville-white-nationalism-far-right.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/magazine/FBI-charlottesville-white-nationalism-far-right.html</a>; Abigail Tracy, 'We Are at a Turning Point': Counterterrorism Experts Say Trump Is Inspiring a Terrifying New Era of Right-Wing Violence, VANITY FAIR (Nov. 2, 2018, 8:38 AM), <a href="https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2018/11/trump-administration-tree-of-life-shooting-domestic-terrorism">https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2018/11/trump-administration-tree-of-life-shooting-domestic-terrorism</a>; Julia Edwards Ainsley et al., Exclusive: Trump to Focus Counter-Extremism Program Solely on Islam – Sources, REUTERS (Feb. 1, 2017, 6:17 PM), <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-extremists-program-exclusiv/exclusive-trump-to-focus-counter-extremism-program-solely-on-islam-sources-idUSKBN15G5VO">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-extremists-program-exclusiv/exclusive-trump-to-focus-counter-extremism-program-solely-on-islam-sources-idUSKBN15G5VO</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> See. e.g., Emmons, supra note 1: Hudson, supra note 2.

American Oversight has the capacity and intention to inform a broad audience about government activities that are the subject of these records.

This request is primarily and fundamentally for non-commercial purposes. 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 promote 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. 19 As another 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.20

Accordingly, American Oversight qualifies for a fee waiver.

## Conclusion

We share a common mission to promote transparency in government. American Oversight looks forward to working with DHS 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 Katherine Anthony at foia@americanoversight.org or (202) 897-3918. Also, if American

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> 6 C.F.R. § 5.11(k)(1)(ii), (3)(i)-(ii).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> American Oversight currently has approximately 12,100 page likes on Facebook and 49,800 followers on Twitter. American Oversight, FACEBOOK, <a href="https://www.facebook.com/weareoversight/">https://www.facebook.com/weareoversight/</a> (last visited Jan. 17, 2019); American Oversight (@weareoversight), TWITTER, <a href="https://twitter.com/weareoversight">https://twitter.com/weareoversight</a> (last visited Jan. 17, 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> DOJ Civil Division Response Noel Francisco Compliance, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, <a href="https://www.americanoversight.org/document/doj-civil-division-response-noel-francisco-compliance">https://www.americanoversight.org/document/doj-civil-division-response-noel-francisco-compliance</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Francisco & the Travel Ban: What We Learned from the DOJ Documents, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, <a href="https://www.americanoversight.org/francisco-the-travel-ban-what-we-learned-from-the-doi-documents">https://www.americanoversight.org/francisco-the-travel-ban-what-we-learned-from-the-doi-documents</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Audit the Wall, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, <a href="https://www.americanoversight.org/investigation/audit-the-wall">https://www.americanoversight.org/investigation/audit-the-wall</a>.

Oversight's request for a fee waiver is not granted in full, please contact us immediately upon making such a determination.

Sincerely,

Austin R. Evers

Executive Director

American Oversight