



June 3, 2019

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.

The United States' policy towards Hungary has pivoted sharply in the past year, as the influence of Hungary's far-right Prime Minister Viktor Orbán has reportedly risen within the Trump administration and State's criticism of Orbán's human rights record and recent democratic backsliding has waned. In December 2018, the U.S. stood by as Orbán evicted the prestigious university and bastion of academic freedom, Central European University (CEU), from Budapest.<sup>1</sup>

This month, President Trump hosted Orbán in the White House—the first such visit since 2005.<sup>2</sup> When asked in a recent interview about Orbán's description of his government as an "illiberal democracy," Trump's ambassador to Hungary, David Cornstein, responded: "I can tell you, knowing the president for a good 25 or 30 years, that he would love to have the situation that Viktor Orbán has, but he doesn't."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Griff Witte, *The Trump Administration Tried to Save a U.S. University by Playing Nice with an Autocrat. It Failed.*, WASH. POST, Nov. 30, 2018,

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/the-trump-administration-tried-to-save-a-us-university-by-playing-nice-with-an-autocrat-it-failed/2018/11/30/f028718a-e831-11e8-8449-1ff263609a31\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.c4451c348b37](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/the-trump-administration-tried-to-save-a-us-university-by-playing-nice-with-an-autocrat-it-failed/2018/11/30/f028718a-e831-11e8-8449-1ff263609a31_story.html?utm_term=.c4451c348b37); Franklin Foer, *Viktor Orbán's War on Intellect*, THE ATLANTIC, June 2019,

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2019/06/george-soros-viktor-orban-ceu/588070/>.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Lippman et al., *'America First' Meets 'Hungary First,' but White House Wary of Love Fest*, POLITICO (May 12, 2019, 5:06 PM), <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/05/12/hungary-trump-viktor-orban-1317657>.

<sup>3</sup> Foer, *supra* note 1.



American Oversight seeks records with the potential to shed light on whether and to what extent Hungarian interests are influencing U.S. foreign policy.

**Requested Records**

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

All email communications (including email messages, email attachments, and calendar invitations) between (1) the State officials specified in Column A, below, and (2) the external firms and individuals listed in Column B, below:<sup>4</sup>

<b>Column A: State Department Officials</b>	<b>Column B: External Firms and Individuals</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. All political appointees* in the Office of the Secretary;</li> <li>ii. Former Senior Adviser for the Secretary and Chief of Staff in the Office of the Global AIDS Coordinator, Matthew Mowers;</li> <li>iii. Anyone serving in the capacity of Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, including but not limited to A. Wess Mitchell, and anyone acting on their behalf such as an assistant or scheduler;</li> <li>iv. Anyone serving in the capacity of Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, including but not limited to Matthew Palmer;</li> <li>v. Anyone serving as Hungary Desk Officer in the Office of Central European Affairs within the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, including Ivan Weinstein and Sarah Becker;</li> <li>vi. Anyone serving in the capacity of Director of Policy Planning, including Director Kiron Skinner and former Director Brian Hook;</li> <li>vii. Former Senior Advisor in the Office of Policy Planning, Jakub Grygiel;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Barnes and Thornburg, including Craig Burkhardt (<a href="mailto:craig.burkhardt@btlaw.com">craig.burkhardt@btlaw.com</a>), and any other representative of Barnes and Thornburg, including but not limited to anyone with an email address ending in @btlaw.com;</li> <li>ii. Munk Policy and Law, including Jeffrey Munk (<a href="mailto:jeff@munkpolicylaw.com">jeff@munkpolicylaw.com</a>), and any other representative of Munk Policy and Law, including but not limited to anyone with an email address ending in @munkpolicylaw.com;</li> <li>iii. Capitol Financial Strategies (dba Interlink Capital Strategies), including Alan Beard, and any other representative of Interlink, including but not limited to anyone with an email address ending in @interlinkdc.com;</li> <li>iv. Policy Impact Strategic Communications, Inc, including Benjamin May (<a href="mailto:bmay@policyimpact.com">bmay@policyimpact.com</a>), and any other representative of Policy Impact Strategic Communications, Inc., including but not limited to anyone with an email address ending in @policyimpact.com;</li> <li>v. Sanitas International, including Christopher Harvin (<a href="mailto:charvin@sanitasint.com">charvin@sanitasint.com</a>), and any other</li> </ul>

<sup>4</sup> To be clear, American Oversight requests all email communications between the specified individuals and organizations listed above, regardless of subject matter.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>iii. Member of the Office of Policy Planning, John Zadrozny;</li> <li>ix. Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration, Andrew Veprek;</li> <li>x. The United States Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom, Sam Brownback, and anyone acting on his behalf such as an assistant or scheduler;</li> <li>xi. The Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security, Andrea Thompson, and anyone acting on her behalf such as a Chief of Staff, assistant or scheduler;</li> <li>xii. The following individuals and positions in the U.S. Embassy in Hungary: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. The Ambassador, David Cornstein, or anyone communicating on his behalf such as a Senior Advisor, Special or Executive Assistant, or Chief of Staff;</li> <li>b. The Deputy Chief of Mission, David Kostelancik.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>representative of Sanitas, including but not limited to anyone with an email address ending in @sanitasint.com;</li> <li>vi. Former Sen. Connie Mack (<a href="mailto:cmack@libertypartnersgroup.com">cmack@libertypartnersgroup.com</a>, <a href="mailto:c4@conniemack.com">c4@conniemack.com</a>, <a href="mailto:cmack@conniemack.com">cmack@conniemack.com</a>), and any of his companies, including Liberty International Group, LLC, (including but not limited to anyone with an email address ending in @libertypartnersgroup.com) and SLI Group LLC, including Jo Anne Barnhart and any other representative of SLI Group;</li> <li>ii. Levick Strategic Communications, LLC, including Richard S. Levick, and any other representative of Levick, including but not limited to anyone with an email address ending in @levick.com;</li> <li>iii. Greenberg Traurig, including Laurence Levy (<a href="mailto:levyl@gtlaw.com">levyl@gtlaw.com</a>), and any other representative of Greenberg Traurig including but not limited to anyone with an email address ending in gtlaw.com.</li> </ul>
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Please provide all responsive records from March 1, 2018, through the date the search is conducted.

\*“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.

2. Copies of materials exchanged at any meetings between any of the external firms or individuals and State Department officials listed above.

Please provide all responsive records from March 1, 2018, 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 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>5</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>6</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>7</sup> **Furthermore, agencies that have adopted the National Archives and**

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<sup>5</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>6</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>7</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->

**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.**

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>8</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>9</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>10</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>11</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>12</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.

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[memorandum-managing-government-records](https://www.archives.gov/files/records-mgmt/m-12-18.pdf); 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>.

<sup>8</sup> FOIA Improvement Act of 2016 § 2 (Pub. L. No. 114-185).

<sup>9</sup> *Founding Church of Scientology v. Bell*, 603 F.2d 945, 949 (D.C. Cir. 1979).

<sup>10</sup> *King v. U.S. Dep’t of Justice*, 830 F.2d 210, 223-24 (D.C. Cir. 1987) (emphases in original).

<sup>11</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>12</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, 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.

### **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>13</sup> Second, the request is primarily and fundamentally for non-commercial purposes.<sup>14</sup>

Under the public interest requirement, FOIA requesters must satisfy four factors.<sup>15</sup> American Oversight has met these four factors for the reasons set forth below. The subject matter of the requested records specifically relates to the operations or activities of the government, because it concerns official communications of State personnel related to the administration's foreign policy positions, including its promotion of human rights and democracy overseas. The subject of this request is a matter of public interest, and the public's understanding of the government's activities and use of resources would be enhanced through American Oversight's analysis and publication of these records.

Increasing the likelihood that disclosure of these records will contribute significantly to public understanding, 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

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<sup>13</sup> 22 C.F.R. § 171.16(a)(1).

<sup>14</sup> 22 C.F.R. § 171.16(a)(2).

<sup>15</sup> *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").

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>16</sup> The *New York Times* and CNN relied on American Oversight's analyses to report on Secretary DeVos's priorities within the Department of Education.<sup>17</sup>

American Oversight's request is also primarily and fundamentally for non-commercial purposes.<sup>18</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 our public website and promotes their availability on social media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter.<sup>19</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>20</sup> and published an analysis of what the records reflected about DOJ's process for ethics waivers.<sup>21</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

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<sup>16</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>17</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>.

<sup>18</sup> 22 C.F.R. § 171.16(a)(2)(i)-(iii).

<sup>19</sup> American Oversight currently has approximately 12,200 page likes on Facebook and 54,200 followers on Twitter. American Oversight, FACEBOOK, <https://www.facebook.com/weareoversight> (last visited May 30, 2019); American Oversight (@weareoversight), TWITTER, <https://twitter.com/weareoversight> (last visited May 30, 2019).

<sup>20</sup> *DOJ Records Relating to Solicitor General Noel Francisco's Recusal*, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, <https://www.americanoversight.org/document/doj-civil-division-response-noel-francisco-compliance>.

<sup>21</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>.

releases of information related to the administration's proposed construction of a barrier along the U.S.-Mexico border.<sup>22</sup>

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 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 Katherine Anthony 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

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<sup>22</sup> *Audit the Wall*, AMERICAN OVERSIGHT, <https://www.americanoversight.org/investigation/audit-the-wall>.