



July 8, 2024

VIA ONLINE PORTAL

U. S. Department of State
Office of Information Programs and Services
2201 C Street N.W.
Suite B266
Washington, D.C. 20520
Via Online Portal

Re: Freedom of Information Act Request

Dear FOIA Officer(s):

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.

Project 2025, or the 2025 Presidential Transition Project, has garnered national attention in recent months. The comprehensive plan “to rescue the country from the grip of the radical Left” has sparked public concern due to its proposed overhaul of numerous federal agencies.¹

American Oversight seeks records with the potential to shed light on whether and to what extent officials cited in the plan have communicated about their contributions to the plan.

Requested Records

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

1. All email communications (including emails, email attachments, complete email chains, calendar invitations, and calendar invitation attachments) between (a) former Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board Chair Paul Winfree, and (b) any of the external entities or individuals listed below (including, but not limited to, anyone communicating from the listed email addresses and/or domains).

External Entities or Individuals:

- a. Alliance Defending Freedom (adflegal.org)
- b. America First Legal (aflegal.org, athospr.com)

¹ Chantelle Lee, *What is Project 2025?*, TIME (June 9, 2024, 1:46 PM), <https://time.com/6986995/what-is-project-2025/>.



- c. American Accountability Foundation (americanaccountabilityfoundation.com)
- d. American Legislative Exchange Council (alec.org)
- e. Center for Renewing America (americarenewing.com)
- f. Claremont Institute (claremont.org)
- g. Conservative Partnership Institute (cpi.org)
- h. Council for National Policy (cfnp.org)
- i. Eagle Forum (eagleforum.org)
- j. Ethics and Public Policy Center (eppc.org)
- k. Federalist Society (fedsoc.org)
- l. Foundation for Government Accountability (thefga.org)
- m. Manhattan Institute (manhattan.institute, manhattan-institute.org)
- n. Teneo Network (teneonetwork.com)
- o. The Heritage Foundation and/or Heritage Action for America (heritage.org, heritageaction.com)
- p. The Republican National Committee (gop.com)
- q. Center for Equal Opportunity (ceousa.org)
- r. National Association of Scholars (nas.org)

Please note that American Oversight does not seek, and that part 1 of this request specifically excludes, the initial mailing of news clips or other mass-distribution emails. However, subsequent communications responding to or forwarding such emails are responsive to this request. For example, if the agency official listed above received a mass-distribution news clip email from a listed external entity or individual, that initial email would not be responsive to this request. However, if he forwarded that email to another individual with his own commentary, that subsequent message would be responsive to this request and should be produced.

- 2. All email communications (including emails, email attachments, complete email chains, calendar invitations, and calendar invitation attachments) sent by former Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board Chair Paul Winfree and containing any of the key terms listed below.

Key Terms:

- a. Heritage
- b. Woke
- c. Progressive
- d. Liberal
- e. “special interest”
- f. “special-interest”
- g. Leftist
- h. CRT
- i. “critical race theory”
- j. “dual mandate”
- a. “free banking”
- b. “free market”
- c. “federal reserve”

d. “the fed”

In an effort to accommodate your office and reduce the number of potentially responsive records to be processed and produced, American Oversight has limited part 2 of its request to emails sent by Winfree. To be clear, however, American Oversight still requests that complete email chains be produced, displaying both sent and received messages. This means, for example, that both Winfree response to an email containing a listed key term and the initial received message are responsive to this request and should be produced.

For both parts of this request, please provide all responsive records from August 1, 2019, through December 31, 2022.

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 communications and actions of authors and contributors to Project 2025.³ 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 government officials have communicated about Project 2025. 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.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

² 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(A)(iii).

³ Lisa Mascaro, *Conservative Groups Draw Up Plan to Dismantle the US Government and Replace it With Trump’s Vision*, AP News (Aug. 29, 2023, 5:18 PM), <https://apnews.com/article/election-2024-conservatives-trump-heritage-857eb794e505f1c6710eb03fd5b58981#>.

⁴ See 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(A)(iii).

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 X (formerly 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 Trump 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 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

⁵ American Oversight currently has approximately 16,000 followers on Facebook and 111,500 followers on X (formerly Twitter). American Oversight, Facebook, <https://www.facebook.com/weareoversight/> (last visited July 1, 2024); American Oversight (@weareoversight), X (formerly Twitter), <https://twitter.com/weareoversight> (last visited July 1, 2024).

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>.

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>.

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.
- 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.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

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>.

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, 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 Danny Martinez at foia@americanoversight.org or (202) 897-2465. 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,

/s/ *Danny Martinez*

Danny Martinez

on behalf of

American Oversight