



July 9, 2024

VIA ONLINE PORTAL

U.S. Department of Homeland Security
Office of Intelligence and Analysis
Privacy Office, Mail Stop 0655
2707 Martin Luther King, Jr. Ave. SE
Washington, DC 20528-0655
Via Online Portal

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.

Numerous political appointees converted to career positions at the end of the Trump administration in 2020.¹ In light of Project 2025 and ongoing plans for a possible second Trump administration, American Oversight seeks records with the potential to uncover any connections these former appointees have to presidential transition preparations.

Requested Records

American Oversight requests that your office 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) Michael Holley, Staff Action Officer and (b) any of the external entities or individuals listed below (including the listed email addresses and/or domains).

External Entities and Individuals:

- a. Claremont Institute (claremont.org)
- b. Conservative Partnership Institute (cpi.org, conservativepartnership.org)
- c. Council for National Policy (cnfp.org)
- d. Former President Donald Trump, and/or anyone communicating on his behalf and/or on behalf of Donald J. Trump for President 2024

¹ See, e.g., Lydia DePillis, *How Dozens of Trump's Political Appointees Will Stay in Government After Biden Takes Over*, ProPublica (Dec. 3, 2020, 1:50 PM), <https://www.propublica.org/article/how-dozens-of-trumps-political-appointees-will-stay-in-government-after-biden-takes-over>.



- and/or Trump Save America Joint Fundraising Committee
(donaldjtrump.com, trump.com, trumphotels.com, donaldrump.com, 45office.com)
- e. Foundation for Government Accountability (thefga.org)
 - f. Heritage Foundation (heritage.org, heritageaction.com)
 - g. Personnel Policy Operations (personnelpolicyops.org)
 - h. Project 2025 (project2025.org)
 - i. Republican National Committee (gop.com, rnc.org)
 - j. Teneo Network (teneonetwork.com)
 - k. America First Legal (aflegal.org, athospr.com)
 - l. Calvert Task Group (calvertgroup69.org)
 - m. Center for Immigration Studies (cis.org)
 - n. Center for Military Readiness (cmrlink.org)
 - o. Center for a Secure Free Society (securefreesociety.org)
 - p. Center for Renewing America (citizensrenewingamerica.com, americarenewing.com)
 - q. Foundation for Defense of Democracies (fdd.org)
 - r. Gene Hamilton
 - s. Ken Cuccinelli (ktc21968@gmail.com)
 - t. MacArthur Society of West Point Graduates (macarthursociety.org)
 - u. Middle East Forum (meforum.org)

Please note that American Oversight does not seek, and this request specifically excludes, the initial mailing of news clips or other mass-distribution emails. However, subsequent communications forwarding such emails are responsive to this request. In other words, for example, if an official received a mass-distribution news clip email from the Heritage Foundation, that initial email would not be responsive to this request. However, if the official forwarded that email to another individual with their 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 Michael Holley and containing any of the key terms listed below.

Key Terms:

- a. Heritage
- b. "Project 2025"
- c. Project2025
- d. "Presidential Transition"
- e. "Mandate for Leadership"
- f. P2025
- g. "next administration"
- h. "future administration"
- i. "following administration"
- j. "upcoming administration"
- k. Dans

- l. Chretien
- m. Hemenway
- n. McNamee
- o. Pendley
- p. Cuccinelli
- q. Bakst

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 this request to emails sent by the specified individuals. To be clear, however, American Oversight still requests that complete email chains be produced, displaying both sent and received messages. This means that both an individual's response to an email 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 September 20, 2022, 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 public understanding of relevant government procedures in a significant way. This request is for non-commercial purposes.²

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."³ The public has a significant interest in the activity of former political appointees that have converted to career positions.⁴ Records with the potential to shed light on this matter would contribute significantly to public understanding of operations of the federal government, including whether these individuals have connections to future presidential transition plans. American Oversight is committed to transparency and makes the responses agencies provide to FOIA requests publicly available. The public's understanding of the government's activities would be enhanced through American Oversight's analysis and publication of these records.

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

² See 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(A)(iii).

³ 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(A)(iii).

⁴ See, e.g., DePillis *supra* note 1.

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 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 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 2, 2024); American Oversight (@weareoversight), X (formerly Twitter), <https://twitter.com/weareoversight> (last visited July 2, 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*,

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

American Oversight, <https://www.americanoversight.org/new-information-on-pompeos-2017-trips-to-his-home-state>.

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>.

(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. American Oversight welcomes the 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