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VIA FACSIMILE

November 5, 2018

Douglas Hibbard Chief, Initial Request Staff Office of Information Policy Department of Justice Suite 11050 1425 New York Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C., 20530-0001 Fax: (202) 514-1009

Dear Mr. Hibbard,

This letter constitutes a request under the Freedom of Information Act ("FOIA"), 5 U.S.C. § 552(a), and is submitted on behalf of the Electronic Privacy Information Center ("EPIC") to the Department of Justice's ("DOJ") Office of Information Policy ("OIP").

EPIC seeks documents, in the possession of the agency, concerning the investigation by Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller into Russian interference in the 2016 United States presidential election and related matters.

Documents Requested

EPIC requests the following records concerning the Special Counsel investigation into Russian interference with the presidential election:¹

- (1)(a) All "report[s]" and "closing documentation" prepared under 28 C.F.R. § 600.8(c), whether or not such records were actually provided to the Attorney General or Acting Attorney General;
 - (b) All drafts, outlines, exhibits, and supporting materials associated with any actual or planned "report" or "closing documentation" under 28 C.F.R. § 600.8(c);
- (2)(a) All "report[s]" concerning "the status of the investigation" prepared under 28 C.F.R. § 600.8(a)(2), whether or not such records were actually provided to the Attorney General or Acting Attorney General;

¹ U.S. Dep't of Justice, Office of the Deputy Attorney General, Order No. 3915-2017, Appointment of Special Counsel to Investigate Russian Interference with the 2016 Presidential Election and Related Matters (May 17, 2017), https://www.justice.gov/opa/press-release/file/967231/download [hereinafter Appointment Order].

- (b) All drafts, outlines, exhibits, and supporting materials associated with any actual or planned "report" concerning "the status of the investigation" under 28 C.F.R. § 600.8(a)(2);
- (3)(a) All records "expla[ining] . . . any investigative or prosecutorial step" under 28 C.F.R. § 600.7(b), whether or not such records were actually provided to the Attorney General or Acting Attorney General;
 - (b) All drafts, outlines, exhibits, and supporting materials associated with any actual or planned "explanation for any investigative or prosecutorial step" under 28 C.F.R. § 600.7(b);
- (4)(a) All records prepared under 28 C.F.R. § 600.9(a) to "notify the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the Judiciary Committees of each House of Congress" of a development in the Special Counsel investigation, whether or not such records were actually transmitted to any member of Congress;
 - (b) All drafts, outlines, exhibits, and supporting materials associated with any actual or planned notification under 28 C.F.R. § 600.9(a);
- (5)(a) All referrals by the Special Counsel, Attorney General, or Acting Attorney General for "administrative remedies, civil sanctions or other governmental action outside the criminal justice system" under 28 C.F.R. § 600.4(c), whether or not such records were actually transmitted to any party outside of the Special Counsel's Office;
 - (b) All drafts, outlines, exhibits, and supporting materials associated with any actual or planned referral for "administrative remedies, civil sanctions or other governmental action outside the criminal justice system" under 28 C.F.R. § 600.4(c);
- (6)(a) All "report[s]," "recommendation[s]," and other "compilation[s] of information" prepared for the eventual consideration of one or more members of Congress,² whether or not such records were actually transmitted to any party outside of the Special Counsel's Office;
 - (b) All drafts, outlines, exhibits, and supporting materials associated with any actual or planned report, recommendation, or compilation of the type described in Category (6)(a) of this request;
- (7)(a) All other reports summarizing or describing, for one or more persons outside of the Special Counsel's Office, (i) any of the Special Counsel's evidence, findings, decisions, actions, or planned actions, or (ii) any developments in the Special Counsel investigation; and

² In re Report & Recommendation of June 5, 1972 Grand Jury Concerning Transmission of Evidence to House of Representatives, 370 F. Supp. 1219, 1221, 1226 (D.D.C. 1974), aff'd sub nom. Haldeman v. Sirica, 501 F.2d 714 (D.C. Cir. 1974).

(b) All drafts, outlines, exhibits, and supporting materials associated with any actual or planned report of the type described in Category (7)(a) of this request.

EPIC does not seek records which have already been disclosed to the public in their complete and unredacted form (i) in the course of an open judicial proceeding; (ii) available at https://www.justice.gov/sco; or (iii) available at https://www.justice.gov/news.

Background

EPIC's FOIA request, and the Special Counsel investigation to which it pertains, arise out of the Russian government's coordinated campaign to interfere with the 2016 U.S. presidential election.

Russian Interference in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election

In 2016, the Russian government carried out a multi-pronged attack on the U.S. Presidential Election to destabilize U.S. democratic institutions and aid the candidacy of Donald J. Trump. As explained in the declassified 2017 Intelligence Community Assessment ("ICA") on Russian election interference:³

We assess with high confidence that Russian President Vladimir Putin ordered an influence campaign in 2016 aimed at the US presidential election, the consistent goals of which were to undermine public faith in the US democratic process, denigrate Secretary Clinton, and harm her electability and potential presidency. We further assess Putin and the Russian Government developed a clear preference for President-elect Trump. When it appeared to Moscow that Secretary Clinton was likely to win the election, the Russian influence campaign then focused on undermining her expected presidency.

We also assess Putin and the Russian Government aspired to help President-elect Trump's election chances when possible by discrediting Secretary Clinton and publicly contrasting her unfavorably to him.⁴

The ICA—along with the reports, investigations, and prosecutions that have ensued—establishes that Russia interfered with the 2016 election on at least four fronts.

First, "Russia's intelligence services conducted cyber operations against targets associated with the 2016 US presidential election, including targets associated with both major

³ Office of the Dir. of Nat'l Intelligence, ICA 2017-01D, *Intelligence Community Assessment: Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections* (Jan. 6, 2017), https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf [hereinafter *Intelligence Community Assessment*]; *see also* EPIC, *EPIC v. ODNI (Russian Hacking)* (Dec. 18, 2017), https://www.epic.org/foia/odni/russian-hacking/ (EPIC FOIA lawsuit to obtain full Intelligence Community Assessment on which declassified version was based).

⁴ Intelligence Community Assessment, supra note 3, at 1.

US political parties."⁵ These operations included the "exfiltrat[ion of] large volumes of data" from the Democratic National Committee ("DNC") and "the compromise of the personal e-mail accounts of Democratic Party officials and political figures."⁶

Second, Russian intelligence services "used the Guccifer 2.0 persona, DCLeaks.com, and WikiLeaks to release US victim data obtained in cyber operations publicly and in exclusives to media outlets." These disclosures included data extracted by Russian intelligence from DNC networks. Subsequent investigation has also revealed that senior Trump campaign officials engaged in multiple meetings with Russian intermediaries offering to provide "dirt" on Hillary Clinton, including "thousands of emails" obtained by Russia.

Third, "Russian intelligence accessed elements of multiple state or local electoral boards" in an ongoing effort to assess "US electoral processes and related technology and equipment." 10

Fourth, "Russia's state-run propaganda machine—comprised of its domestic media apparatus, outlets targeting global audiences such as RT and Sputnik, and a network of quasi-government trolls—contributed to the influence campaign by serving as a platform for Kremlin messaging to Russian and international audiences." As part of this propaganda push, the Russian government spent millions of dollars and employed hundreds of people to flood Facebook and Twitter with fraudulent users, posts, articles, groups, and targeted advertisements.

⁵ *Id.* at 2.

⁶ *Id.*; see also EPIC, EPIC v. FBI (Russian Hacking) (May 22, 2018), https://epic.org/foia/fbi/russian-hacking/ (EPIC FOIA lawsuit revealing FBI's failure to follow its own victim notification procedures in response to Russian cyberattacks against U.S. officials).

⁷ Intelligence Community Assessment, supra note 3, at 2–3.

⁸ *Id*. at 3

⁹ Statement of the Offense at ¶ 14, *United States v. Papadopoulos*, No. 17-182 (D.D.C. Oct. 5, 2017) ("The Professor told defendant PAPADOPOULOS . . . that 'They [the Russians] have dirt on her'; 'the Russians had emails of Clinton'; 'they have thousands of emails.'"); *see also* House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, *Status of the Russia Investigation (Minority Report)* (Mar. 13, 2018), https://democrats-intelligence.house.gov/uploadedfiles/final -

_minority_status_of_the_russia_investigation_with_appendices.pdf (noting that the "stated purpose" of "the June 9, 2016 Trump Tower meeting with Russian emissaries" was to "provide damaging information on Hillary Clinton").

¹⁰ Intelligence Community Assessment, supra note 3, at 3; see also EPIC, EPIC v. DHS (Aug. 17, 2018), https://epic.org/foia/dhs/cybersecurity/russian-interference/default.html (EPIC FOIA lawsuit revealing Department of Homeland Security response to Russian cyberattacks on election infrastructure).

¹¹ Intelligence Community Assessment, supra note 3, at 3–4.

¹² Indictment at ¶¶ 3–6, 10, *United States v. Internet Res. Agency*, No. 18-32 (D.D.C. Feb. 16, 2018); *see also* Statement from EPIC to U.S. Senate Select Comm. on Intelligence, Sep. 4, 2018, https://epic.org/testimony/congress/EPIC-SSCI-ForeignSocialMedia-Sept2018.pdf (calling for greater transparency concerning Russian manipulation of news and information on social networks during and after the 2016 election).

In the twenty-two months since the Intelligence Community Assessment was published, the ICA's findings have been repeatedly confirmed by federal inquiries¹³ and investigative reporting.¹⁴ The Senate Intelligence Committee, after an "an in-depth review" of the ICA and associated intelligence, determined that "the conclusions of the ICA are sound" and noted "that collection and analysis subsequent to the ICA's publication continue to reinforce its assessments."¹⁵

Criminal Investigations into Russian Election Interference

On January 20, 2018—two weeks after the public release of the Intelligence Community Assessment—Donald J. Trump was inaugurated as the 45th President of the United States. On March 2, 2017, Attorney General Jeff Sessions, who had been a prominent supporter of Mr. Trump during the campaign, recused himself "from any existing or future investigations of any matters related in any way to the campaigns for President of the United States." As a result, the responsibilities of the Attorney General for any such investigation passed to the Deputy Attorney General.

On March 20, 2017, James B. Comey, then-Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation ("FBI"), confirmed to the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence that the FBI was conducting an investigation into "the Russian government's efforts to interfere in the 2016 presidential election," including "the nature of any links between individuals associated with the Trump campaign and the Russian government and whether there was any coordination between the campaign and Russia's efforts." Mr. Comey noted that the investigation would include "an assessment of whether any crimes were committed."

¹³ Senate Select Comm. on Intelligence, *The Intelligence Community Assessment: Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent U.S. Elections* (July 3, 2018), https://www.burr.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/SSCI%20ICA%20ASSESSMENT_FINALJULY3.pdf

[[]hereinafter Senate Intelligence Report].

¹⁴ E.g., Scott Shane & Mark Mazzetti, *The Plot to Subvert an Election: Unraveling the Russia Story So Far*, N.Y. Times (Sep. 20, 2018), https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/09/20/us/politics/russia-interference-election-trump-clinton.html; Philip Bump, *A Broad Debunking of Trump's Claims About Russian Interference and the Mueller Investigation*, Wash. Post (June 28, 2018), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2018/06/28/a-broad-debunking-of-trumps-claims-about-russian-interference-and-the-mueller-investigation/.

¹⁵ Senate Intelligence Report, *supra* note 13, at 7.

¹⁶ Press Release, U.S. Dep't of Justice, Attorney General Sessions Statement on Recusal (Mar. 2, 2017), https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/attorney-general-sessions-statement-recusal; *see also* 28 C.F.R. § 45.2(a). ¹⁷ *Id.*; *see also* 28 U.S.C. § 508 ("In case of a vacancy in the office of Attorney General, or of his absence or disability, the Deputy Attorney General may exercise all the duties of that office[.]").

¹⁸ Russian Active Measures Investigation: Hearing Before the H. Permanent Select Comm. on Intelligence, 115th Cong. (2017) (Statement of James B. Comey, Dir., Fed. Bureau of Investigation), https://www.fbi.gov/news/testimony/hpsci-hearing-titled-russian-active-measures-investigation.

¹⁹ Id.

On May 9, 2017, President Trump removed Director Comey from office and terminated his employment. ²⁰ Two days later, in a nationally-televised NBC News interview, President Trump stated:

I was going to fire Comey knowing, there was no good time to do it. And in fact when I decided to just do it, I said to myself, I said you know, this Russia thing with Trump and Russia is a made up story, it's an excuse by the Democrats for having lost an election that they should have won.²¹

On May 17, 2017, Deputy Attorney General Rod J. Rosenstein—in his capacity as Acting Attorney General—appointed Robert S. Mueller III "to serve as Special Counsel for the United States Department of Justice." Mr. Rosenstein authorized Mr. Mueller to "conduct the investigation confirmed by then-FBI Director James B. Comey in testimony before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence on March 20, 2017," including "any links and/or coordination between the Russian government and individuals associated with the campaign of President Donald Trump"; "any matters that arose or may arise directly from the investigation"; and "any other matters within the scope of 28 C.F.R. § 600.4(a)." Mr. Rosenstein also authorized Mr. Mueller "to prosecute federal crimes arising from the investigation of these matters" where "it is necessary and appropriate[.]"

Since Mr. Mueller was appointed, the Special Counsel has brought criminal charges against 33 individuals and three organizations, ²⁵ including:

- Former National Security Adviser Michael Flynn, who pleaded guilty to making false statements to the FBI;²⁶
- Former Trump campaign manager Paul Manafort, who was convicted of multiple counts of tax fraud and bank fraud²⁷ and pleaded guilty to conspiracy against the United States and other charges;²⁸

²⁰ Letter from Donald J. Trump, President of the United States, to James B. Comey, Dir., Fed. Bureau of Investigation (May 9, 2017), https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/DCPD-201700325/pdf/DCPD-201700325.pdf.

²¹ Adam Edelman, *Trump says He Didn't Fire Comey 'Because of Russia,' Contradicting Past Statements*, NBC News (May 31, 2018), https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/trump-says-he-didn-t-fire-comey-because-russia-contradicting-n878836.

²² Appointment Order, *supra* note 1, \P (a).

 $^{^{23}}$ *Id.* ¶ (b).

 $^{^{24}}$ *Id.* ¶ (c).

²⁵ U.S. Dep't of Justice, Special Counsel's Office (Sep. 14, 2018), https://www.justice.gov/sco.

²⁶ Plea Agreement, *United States v. Flynn*, No. 17-232 (Dec. 1, 2017),

https://www.justice.gov/file/1015121/download.

²⁷ U.S. Dep't of Justice, *Special Counsel's Office*, *supra* note 25 ("On Aug. 21, 2018, a federal jury found Manafort guilty on eight counts: counts 1-5, subscribing to a false individual income tax return for tax years 2010-2014; count 12, failure to file reports of foreign bank and financial accounts for year 2012; count 25, bank fraud; and count 27, bank fraud.").

²⁸ Plea Agreement, *United States v. Manafort*, No. 17-201 (Sep. 14, 2018), https://www.justice.gov/file/1094151/download.

- Former Trump deputy campaign manager Rick Gates, who pleaded guilty to conspiracy against the United States and making a false statement to the FBI;²⁹
- Former Trump campaign foreign policy adviser George Papadopolous, who pleaded guilty to making false statements to the FBI;³⁰
- The Internet Research Agency, Concord Management and Consulting LLC, and thirteen Russian nationals, who are charged with conspiracy against the United States and related offenses for flooding social media platforms with fraudulent content to interfere with U.S. political processes;³¹ and
- Twelve other Russian nationals, who are charged with conspiracy to commit computer crimes and other offenses for hacking Democratic Party computer networks and email accounts linked to the Clinton campaign.³²

The Special Counsel Report(s)

In addition to the criminal offenses charged by the Special Counsel, major news organizations³³ and President Trump's own attorneys³⁴ have stated that Mr. Mueller intends to

https://www.justice.gov/file/1038801/download.

https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/09/10/how-rudy-giuliani-turned-into-trumps-clown ("Mueller will file a concluding report with Rod Rosenstein, the Deputy Attorney General, at the end of the investigation[.]"); Michael S. Schmidt & Maggie Haberman, *Mueller Examining Trump's Tweets in Wide-Ranging Obstruction Inquiry*, N.Y. Times (July 26, 2018),

https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/26/us/politics/trump-tweets-mueller-obstruction.html ("If Mr. Mueller does not plan to make a case in court, a report of his findings could be sent to Congress, leaving it to lawmakers to decide whether to begin impeachment proceedings.").

³⁴ E.g., Memorandum from John M. Dowd, Att'y for President Trump, to Robert S. Mueller, Special Counsel (Jan. 29, 2018), reprinted in The Trump Lawyers' Confidential Memo to Mueller, Explained, N.Y. Times (June 2, 2018), https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/06/02/us/politics/trump-legal-documents.html ("It is our understanding that the reason behind the request for the interview is to allow the Special Counsel's office to complete its report."); @RudyGiuliani, Twitter (Aug. 15, 2018, 9:58 AM), https://twitter.com/RudyGiuliani/status/1029728984446193664 ("DOJ should require Mueller to submit his report before September 7."); Peter Nicholas, Rudy Giuliani Says Trump Lawyers Are Prepared to Counter Mueller, Wall Street J. (Aug. 12, 2018), https://www.wsj.com/articles/rudy-giuliani-says-trump-lawyers-are-prepared-to-counter-mueller-1534110560 ("President Trump's lawyers believe they can

²⁹ Plea Agreement, *United States v. Gates*, No. 17-201 (Feb. 23, 2018),

³⁰ Plea Agreement, *United States v. Papadopolous*, No. 17-182 (Oct. 5, 2017), https://www.justice.gov/file/1007341/download.

³¹ Indictment, *United States v. Internet Research Agency LLC*, No. 18-32 (Feb. 16, 2018), https://www.justice.gov/file/1035477/download.

³² Indictment, *United States v. Netyksho*, No. 18-215 (July 13, 2018), https://www.justice.gov/file/1080281/download.

³³ E.g., Charlie Savage, Legal Experts Urge Release of Watergate Report to Offer Mueller a Road Map, N.Y. Times (Sep. 14, 2018), https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/14/us/politics/mueller-report-grand-jury-watergate.html ("The leading theory is that Mr. Mueller will write a report for his supervisor at the Justice Department. . . . But there is historical precedent for another model. Echoing a move by the Watergate prosecutor in March 1974, the grand jury with which Mr. Mueller has been working could try to send a report about the evidence it has gathered directly to the House Judiciary Committee."); Jeffrey Toobin, How Rudy Giuliani Turned Into Trump's Clown, New Yorker (Sep. 10, 2018),

transmit one or more report(s) detailing the Special Counsel's findings (the "Mueller Report(s)"). The precise number, character, and subject matter of the Mueller Report(s) are not publicly known, though at least one such report is said to address allegations that President Trump obstructed justice by attempting to block a criminal probe into Russian election interference.³⁵

There are several legal authorities under which the Special Counsel, Attorney General, or Acting Attorney General might issue a report or otherwise release information concerning the Special Counsel's investigation. First, under 28 C.F.R. § 600.8(c), the Special Counsel is required to provide the Attorney General or Acting Attorney General with a report at the conclusion of the investigation:

(c) Closing documentation. At the conclusion of the Special Counsel's work, he or she shall provide the Attorney General with a confidential report explaining the prosecution or declination decisions reached by the Special Counsel.³⁶

Second, under 28 C.F.R. § 600.8(a)(2), the Special Counsel is required to provide annual status reports to the Attorney General or Acting Attorney General:

(2) Thereafter, 90 days before the beginning of each fiscal year, the Special Counsel shall report to the Attorney General the status of the investigation, and provide a budget request for the following year. The Attorney General shall determine whether the investigation should continue and, if so, establish the budget for the next year.³⁷

Third, under 28 C.F.R. § 600.7(b), the Attorney General or Acting Attorney General may request an explanation for any investigative or prosecutorial step taken by the Special Counsel:

(b) The Special Counsel shall not be subject to the day-to-day supervision of any official of the Department. However, the Attorney General may request that the Special Counsel provide an explanation for any investigative or prosecutorial step, and may after review conclude that the action is so inappropriate or unwarranted under established Departmental practices that it should not be pursued. In conducting that review, the Attorney General will give great weight to the views of the Special Counsel. If the Attorney General concludes that a proposed action by a

weather a 'negative' report from special counsel Robert Mueller and are prepared to rebut the conclusions, Rudy Giuliani, one of Mr. Trump's attorneys, said in an interview.").

³⁵ Carol D. Leonnig & Robert Costa, *Mueller Told Trump's Attorneys the President Remains Under Investigation But is Not Currently a Criminal Target*, Wash. Post (Apr. 3, 2018), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/mueller-told-trumps-attorneys-the-president-remains-under-investigation-but-is-not-currently-a-criminal-target/2018/04/03/d7832cf0-36c1-11e8-acd5-35eac230e514_story.html ("The special counsel also told Trump's lawyers that he is preparing a report about the president's actions while in office and potential obstruction of justice, according to two people with knowledge of the conversations.").

³⁶ 28 C.F.R. § 600.8(c); see also Appointment Order, supra note 1, \P (d) ("Sections 600.4 through 600.10 of Title 28 of the Code of Federal Regulations are applicable to the Special Counsel."). ³⁷ 28 C.F.R. § 600.8(a)(2).

Special Counsel should not be pursued, the Attorney General shall notify Congress as specified in § 600.9(a)(3).³⁸

Fourth, under 28 C.F.R. § 600.9(a), the Attorney General or Acting Attorney General is required to notify certain members of Congress of key developments in the Special Counsel's investigation:

- (a) The Attorney General will notify the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the Judiciary Committees of each House of Congress, with an explanation for each action
 - (1) Upon appointing a Special Counsel;
 - (2) Upon removing any Special Counsel; and
 - (3) Upon conclusion of the Special Counsels investigation, including, to the extent consistent with applicable law, a description and explanation of instances (if any) in which the Attorney General concluded that a proposed action by a Special Counsel was so inappropriate or unwarranted under established Departmental practices that it should not be pursued.³⁹

Fifth, under 28 C.F.R. § 600.4(c), the Special Counsel may take "necessary action" to pursue penalties "outside the criminal justice system" in consultation with the Attorney General or Acting Attorney General:

(c) Civil and administrative jurisdiction. If in the course of his or her investigation the Special Counsel determines that administrative remedies, civil sanctions or other governmental action outside the criminal justice system might be appropriate, he or she shall consult with the Attorney General with respect to the appropriate component to take any necessary action. A Special Counsel shall not have civil or administrative authority unless specifically granted such jurisdiction by the Attorney General.⁴⁰

Sixth, the Special Counsel may use its "full power and independent authority to exercise all investigative and prosecutorial functions of any United States Attorney" to transmit "report[s]," "recommendation[s]," or other "compilation[s] of information" to Congress via the grand jury process. ⁴² This procedure was used by Special Counsel Leon Jaworski in 1974 to convey "material in the Grand Jury's possession having a material bearing on matters within the

³⁸ 28 C.F.R. § 600.7(b).

³⁹ 28 C.F.R. § 600.9(a).

⁴⁰ 28 C.F.R. § 600.4(c).

⁴¹ 28 C.F.R. § 600.6.

⁴² In re Report & Recommendation, 370 F. Supp. at 1221, 1226.

primary jurisdiction of the United States House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary relating to questions of impeachment."⁴³

Finally, the Special Counsel, Attorney General, and/or Acting Attorney General may rely on their general powers under 28 C.F.R. § 600.1 *et seq.* (and on other legal authorities) to disclose developments, evidence, findings, decisions, actions, or planned actions from the Special Counsel's investigation.

EPIC, through this FOIA request, seeks all of the above categories of records and supporting materials generated by or related to Special Counsel Mueller's investigation.

EPIC's Interest in the Special Counsel Investigation

EPIC has a particular interest in the release of records related to Special Counsel Mueller's investigation because those records will inform EPIC's project on Democracy and Cybersecurity, which was launched in response the interference in the 2016 Presidential Election. ⁴⁴ As part of EPIC's Democracy and Cybersecurity project, EPIC has filed suits seeking public release of President Trump's tax returns and to correct numerous misstatements of fact concerning the President's financial ties to Russia.

EPIC v. IRS I (Donald Trump's Tax Records)

In *EPIC v. IRS I*, EPIC argues that the Internal Revenue Service ("IRS") has the authority, under § 6103(k)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code,⁴⁵ to disclose the President's returns to correct numerous misstatement of fact concerning his financial ties to Russia.⁴⁶ For example, President Trump falsely tweeted that "Russia has never tried to use leverage over me. I HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH RUSSIA – NO DEALS, NO LOANS, NO NOTHING."⁴⁷ Yet, numerous news organizations have covered President Trump's ties to Russian businesses and government.⁴⁸ The case is currently pending in the D.C. Circuit.

⁴³ Report & Recommendation at 1, *In re Report & Recommendation*, 370 F. Supp. at 1221 (Mar. 1, 1974) (capitalization altered), https://www.archives.gov/files/research/investigations/watergate/roadmap/docid-70105890.pdf; *see also* 105 Cong. Rec. H9,670 (daily ed. Oct. 6, 1998) (statement of Rep. Jackson-Lee) ("[I]t will be recalled the Watergate special prosecution force did not send to Congress an argumentative or inflammatory document, but rather a simple road map which merely summarized and identified the location of relevant evidence.").

⁴⁴ See EPIC, Democracy and Cybersecurity: Preserving Democratic Institutions, https://www.epic.org/democracy/.

⁴⁵ 26 U.S.C. § 6103(k)(3).

⁴⁶ See EPIC, EPIC v. IRS (Donald Trump's Tax Records), https://www.epic.org/foia/irs/trump-taxes/.

⁴⁷ Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), Twitter (July 26, 2016), https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/758071952498159616?lang=en.

⁴⁸ See e.g., Tom Hamburger, Rosalind S. Helderman, & Michael Birnbaum, *Inside Trump's Financial Ties to Russian and His Unusual Flatters of Vladimir Putin*, Wash. Post (June 17, 2016), https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-trumps-financial-ties-to-russia-and-his-unusual-flattery-of-vladimir-putin/2016/06/17/dbdcaac8-31a6-11e6-8ff7-7b6c1998b7a0_story.html; *Despite Denial, Trump's Connections to Russia Go Back Years*, CBS News (July 29, 2016),

In *EPIC v. IRS II*, EPIC filed suit to compel the IRS to release certain tax records pertaining to President Trump's more than 300 associated business entities.⁴⁹ EPIC requested all "offers-in-compromise" used to satisfy a tax debt owed by President Trump or one of his businesses. Under § 6103(k)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code, taxpayer "return information shall be disclosed to all members of the general public to the extent necessary to permit inspection of any accepted offer-in-compromise[.]" These records are public as a matter of law. The case is currently pending in the U.S. Federal Court for the District of Columbia.

Request for Expedition

EPIC is entitled to expedited processing of this request.⁵¹ Under the DOJ's FOIA regulations, a request "shall be processed on an expedited basis" when (1) there is an "urgency to inform the public about an actual or alleged federal government activity," and (2) where the request is "made by a person who is primarily engaged in disseminating information." This request satisfies both conditions.

First, there is an "urgency to inform the public about an actual or alleged federal government activity."⁵³ The actual federal government activities are (1) the Special Counsel's investigation of Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, and (2) the U.S. government's response to Russian election interference, as reflected in the requested records of the Special Counsel.⁵⁴ The requested records also pertain to President Trump's alleged obstruction of justice while in office.⁵⁵

The urgency to inform the public about these government activities is clear from the voluminous press coverage of,⁵⁶ and immense public interest in,⁵⁷ Mr. Mueller's investigation

https://www.cbsnews.com/news/election-2016-donald-trump-ties-to-russia-go-back-years-dnc-email-hack/; John Hardwood, *Trump Calls the Special Counsel's Probe a 'Witch Hunt,' but His Links to Russia Go Back a Long Time*, CNBC (May 23, 2018), https://www.cnbc.com/2018/05/23/trump-links-to-russia-an-explanation.html.

⁴⁹ See EPIC, EPIC v. IRS II (Trump Offers-in-Compromise), https://epic.org/foia/irs/trump-taxes-ii/.

⁵⁰ 26 U.S.C. § 6103(k)(1).

⁵¹ 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(6)(E)(v)(II); 28 C.F.R. § 16.5(e)(1).

⁵² 28 C.F.R. § 16.5(e)(1), (e)(1)(ii).

⁵³ *Id*.

⁵⁴ See Appointment Order, supra note 1.

⁵⁵ See Leonnig & Costa, supra note 35 ("The special counsel also told Trump's lawyers that he is preparing a report about the president's actions while in office and potential obstruction of justice, according to two people with knowledge of the conversations.").

⁵⁶ See, e.g., Robert Mueller — F.B.I. Director, N.Y. Times (Nov. 1, 2018), https://www.nytimes.com/topic/person/robert-mueller-mdash-fbi-director (listing over 570 articles concerning Robert Mueller since his appointment as Special Counsel on May 17, 2017).

⁵⁷ See, e.g., Morning Consult & Politico, *National Tracking Poll* (Oct. 30, 2018), https://www.politico.com/f/?id=00000166-cb61-d184-ad67-ff67dddd0000 (finding that over 66% of respondents were aware of, and had developed an opinion on, Special Counsel Mueller); Robert Mueller, Google Trends (Nov. 2, 2018), https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=today%205-

and findings. Americans are deeply concerned about the scope of Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election; the U.S. government's response to that interference; the involvement of particular individuals in that interference, including possibly President Trump; the susceptibility of U.S. election systems and democratic institutions to future foreign interference; and the integrity of the Special Counsel investigation itself.⁵⁸ The Mueller Report(s) and supporting materials are critical to the public's understanding of these issues.

Second, EPIC is an organization "primarily engaged in disseminating information." As the Court explained in *EPIC v. Department of Defense*, 241 F. Supp. 2d 5 (D.D.C. 2003), "EPIC satisfies the definition of 'representative of the news media" entitling it to preferred fee status under FOIA. 60

EPIC is also entitled to expedited processing because EPIC's request involves "[a] matter of widespread and exceptional media interest in which there exist possible questions about the government's integrity that affect public confidence." In addition to the extraordinary media attention given to the work of the Special Counsel, the requested records concern the potential involvement of the President in a foreign campaign to influence an election that he won; the possible obstruction of justice by the President while in office; the federal government's capacity to defend U.S. election systems and democratic institutions against foreign attacks; and the discharge of a high-profile Special Counsel investigation. These matters unquestionably bear on the integrity of the government and affect public confidence.

In submitting this request for expedited processing, I certify that this explanation is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.⁶⁴

https://www.suffolk.edu/news/77724.php ("A majority of Americans (55 percent) trust special counsel Robert Mueller and his investigation into alleged Russian meddling in the 2016 election, but 59 percent don't trust President Donald Trump's denial that his campaign was involved, according to a new Suffolk University/USA TODAY national poll.").

y&geo=US&q=Robert%20Mueller (showing a more than 100-fold increase in U.S. Google searches for Robert Mueller following his appointment as Special Counsel).

⁵⁸ See, e.g., NPR/PBS NewsHour/Marist, *The United States' Relationship with Russia* 10, 12–13, 17 (July 25, 2018), http://maristpoll.marist.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/NPR_PBS-Nature-of-the-Sample-and-Tables_The-US-Relationship-with-Russia_July-2018_181807241048.pdf (finding that 69% of respondents believed Russian interference occurred in the 2016 election, 63% believed Russian interference impacted the 2016 election, 53% believed President Trump had done something illegal or unethical "in his dealings with Russia and Russian President Vladimir Putin," and 57% expected Russia to interfere in the 2018 election); Suffolk University, *Suffolk University/USA Today National Poll Shows Faith in Mueller's Russia Investigation but Not in Trump Denials* (Aug. 29, 2018),

⁵⁹ 28 C.F.R. § 16.5(e)(1)(ii).

⁶⁰ 241 F. Supp. at 15.

⁶¹ 28 C.F.R. § 16.5(e)(1)(iv).

⁶² Search Results: "Robert Mueller" and "Russia", Google News (Nov. 2, 2018), https://www.google.com/search?tbm=nws&q=%22Robert+Mueller%22+and+%22Russia%22 (identifying 941,000 news results containing both "Robert Mueller" and "Russia").

⁶³ See Shane & Mazzetti, supra note 14.

⁶⁴ See 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(6)(E)(vi); 28 C.F.R. § 16.5(e)(3).

Request for News Media Fee Status and Fee Waiver

EPIC is a "representative of the news media" for fee classification purposes, as the Court held in *EPIC v. Department of Defense*. ⁶⁵ Based on EPIC's status as a "news media" requester, EPIC is entitled to receive the requested record with only duplication fees assessed. ⁶⁶

Further, any duplication fees should also be waived 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 and is not primarily in the commercial interest" of EPIC, the requester. The DOJ evaluates the three factors to determine whether this requirement is met: (i) the "subject of the request must concern identifiable operations or activities of the Federal Government"; (ii) disclosure must be "likely to contribute significantly to public understanding of those operations or activities"; and (iii) "disclosure must not be primarily in the commercial interest of the requester." EPIC's request satisfies all three factors.

First, the requested Mueller Report(s) and supporting materials clearly "concern[] identifiable operations or activities of the Federal Government," namely: (1) the Special Counsel's investigation of Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election; (2) the U.S. government's response to Russian election interference; and (3) possible obstruction of justice by President Trump while in office. ⁷⁰

Second, disclosure would be "likely to contribute significantly to public understanding of those operations or activities." Disclosure would be "meaningfully informative about government operations or activities" because—apart from the charging documents already filed by Mr. Mueller—little is known about the Special Counsel's substantive findings concerning Russian election interference; the Trump campaign's involvement in that interference; the U.S. government's response to that interference; and possible obstruction of justice by President Trump.

Disclosure will also "contribute to the understanding of a reasonably broad audience of persons interested in the subject," because DOJ components must "presume that a representative of the news media," such as EPIC, "will satisfy this consideration." The requested Mueller Report(s) and supporting materials will reach a large audience through EPIC's widely read website, https://epic.org, where EPIC routinely posts government documents obtained under the FOIA.

⁶⁵ 241 F. Supp. 2d 5.

⁶⁶ 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(A)(ii)(II).

⁶⁷ 28 C.F.R. § 16.10(k)(1); see also § 552(a)(4)(A)(iii).

⁶⁸ 28 C.F.R. §§ 16.10(k)(2)(i)–(iii).

⁶⁹ *Id.* § 16.10(k)(2)(i).

⁷⁰ See Appointment Order, supra note 1; Leonnig & Costa, supra note 35.

⁷¹ 28 C.F.R. §§ 16.10(k)(2)(ii)(A)–(B).

⁷² *Id.* § 16.10(k)(2)(ii)(B)

Third, disclosure of the requested information is not "primarily in the commercial interest" of EPIC. 73 EPIC has no "commercial interest . . . that would be furthered by the requested disclosure."⁷⁴ EPIC is a registered non-profit organization committed to open government, privacy, and civil liberties.⁷⁵ Moreover, DOJ components "ordinarily will presume that where a news media requester has satisfied [the public interest standard], the request is not primarily in the commercial interest of the requester."⁷⁶ As described above, EPIC is a news media requester and satisfies the public interest standard.

For these reasons, a fee waiver should be granted to EPIC's request.

Conclusion

Thank you for your consideration of this request. I anticipate your determination on our request within ten calendar days.⁷⁷ For questions regarding this request, I can be contacted at 202-483-1140 x120 or FOIA@epic.org.

Respectfully submitted,

/s John Davisson John Davisson **EPIC Counsel**

/s Enid Zhou Enid Zhou EPIC Open Government Counsel

⁷³ *Id.* §§ 16.10(k)(2)(iii)(A)–(B).

⁷⁴ *Id.* §§ 16.10(k)(2)(iii)(A).
⁷⁵ EPIC, *About EPIC* (2018), https://epic.org/epic/about.html.

⁷⁶ 28 C.F.R. § 16.10(k)(2)(iii)(B).

⁷⁷ 5 U.S.C. § 552 (a)(6)(E)(ii)(I).