1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	Christine P. Sun (SBN 218701) Abre' Leann Conner (SBN 306024) AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION FOUNDATION OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA, INC. 39 Drumm Street San Francisco, California 94111 T: (415) 621-2493 F: (415) 255-8437 csun@aclunc.org aconner@aclunc.org	Nusrat J. Choudhury* Joshua David Riegel* Hugh Handeyside* AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION FOUNDATION 125 Broad Street—18th Floor New York, New York 10004 T: (212) 549-2500 F: (212) 549-2654 nchoudhury@aclu.org jriegel@aclu.org hhandeyside@aclu.org		
9	Attorneys for Plaintiffs			
10				
11	*Admission pro hac vice pending			
12	UNITED STATES	DISTRICT COURT		
13	FOR THE DISTRICT OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND DIVISION			
14	Shirt Militelecc-c			
15 16 17	CENTER FOR MEDIA JUSTICE; AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION; and AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION FOUNDATION,	Case No		
18	Plaintiffs,			
19	v.	COMPLAINT FOR INJUNCTIVE RELIEF FOR VIOLATION OF THE		
20	FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION;	FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT		
21	and U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,			
22	Defendants.			
23				
24	PRELIMINARY	Y STATEMENT		
25	1. The United States has a long and sordid history of government surveillance and			
26	targeting of Black people and Black-led organizations for the purpose of intimidating and			
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disrupting their advocacy against white supremacy and police violence against Black communities. In the early Twentieth Century, the government engaged in extra-judicial surveillance of Black activists, including Ida B. Wells and Marcus Garvey, labeling them "race agitators." In the 1950s and 1960s, through the notorious Counterintelligence Program ("COINTELPRO"), the Federal Bureau of Investigation ("FBI") conducted covert activities against Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panther Party, el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz (previously known as "Malcolm X"), Gloria Richardson, Robert F. Williams, Ella Baker, and other Black people involved in the civil rights movement. Similarly, in the late 1960s and 1970s, the FBI surveilled and investigated Blackowned bookstores on the grounds that the stores were purportedly centers of extremism. And even as recently as 2009, the FBI tracked population increases among Black people in Georgia under the guise of learning about a purported terrorist threat from "Black Separatist" groups.

2. Against the backdrop of visible and growing opposition to police violence that particularly targets Black people, this lawsuit seeks to vindicate the right of the public to know about the most recent iteration of the FBI's wrongful surveillance of Black people and Black-led organizations who dare to challenge racialized police violence and other forms of racial injustice in this country. In this Freedom of Information Act ("FOIA") case, the Center for Media Justice ("CMJ"), the American Civil Liberties Union, and the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation (together "ACLU") (collectively "Plaintiffs") challenge the government's failure to promptly release documents pertaining to the FBI's Intelligence Assessment titled "Black Identity Extremists Likely Motivated to Target Law Enforcement Officers" (the "Assessment"). Although there has been widespread attention and concern that the "Black Identity Extremist" ("BIE") designation is not based on evidence and is used by law enforcement to improperly surveil, investigate, and prosecute Black people, including activists, and Black-led organizations, the details of how the Assessment came into existence, its uses, and to whom it has been disseminated and for what purposes have been shrouded in secrecy.

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- 3. On October 31, 2018, Plaintiffs filed a FOIA request ("the Request") seeking the release of records concerning the Assessment and the FBI's surveillance of Black people and Black-led organizations on the basis of a purported shared ideology.
- 4. The FBI has failed to fulfill its obligation to make promptly available the requested information. The FBI refused to search for certain records responsive to the Request, asserting that the Request "does not contain enough descriptive information to permit a search" for those categories of records. Although the FBI disclosed redacted documents in response to a subset of the Request seeking records about public and Congressional inquiries or reactions to the Assessment, the information disclosed is heavily redacted and incomplete, suggesting that the FBI continues to improperly withhold responsive information.
- 5. Plaintiffs are entitled to the records they seek. These records will critically contribute to public understanding of the FBI's basis for identifying a so-called "Black Identity Extremist" threat and its formulation and use of the Assessment, including as pretext for improperly surveilling and criminally prosecuting Black people and Black-led organizations for constitutionally protected activity.
- 6. Plaintiffs seek an injunction under 5 U.S.C. § 552 requiring Defendants to conduct a reasonable search for documents responsive to the Request, to make the requested records promptly available to Plaintiffs, and to justify the withholding of any information with detailed and specific justifications as to why claimed FOIA exemptions apply to the records sought. Plaintiffs also seek an order enjoining Defendants from assessing fees for the processing of the Request and requiring Defendants to process the Request on an expedited schedule.

JURISDICTION

7. This Court has subject-matter jurisdiction over this action and personal jurisdiction over the parties under 5 U.S.C. §§ 552(a)(4)(A)(vii), (4)(B) and (6)(E)(iii). This Court also has jurisdiction over this action under 28 U.S.C. § 1331 and 5 U.S.C. §§ 701–706.

VENUE AND INTRADISTRICT ASSIGNMENT

8. Venue is proper in this District under 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(B).

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9. Under Local Rule 3-2(c) and (d), assignment to the San Francisco-Oakland Division is proper because a substantial portion of the events giving rise to this action occurred in this District and Division and because Plaintiff CMJ is headquartered in Oakland.

PARTIES

- dedicated to democratizing the economy, government, and society through policies and practices that ensure democratic media ownership, fundamental communication rights, universal media and technology access, and meaningful, accurate representation within news and popular culture for communities of color, low-income families, low-wage workers, LGBT communities, women, and all those whose voices are raised, but remain unheard. CMJ includes a network of nearly one hundred affiliate organizations, over seventy-five percent of which are local, regional, or statewide social-justice organizations based in under-represented communities, making CMJ the largest racial-justice network for media and technology rights, access, and representation in the United States. Through research, the publishing and dissemination of reports, trainings, and strategic convenings on government surveillance of communities of color and other issues, CMJ seeks to build a movement for a more just and participatory media and digital world, racial justice, economic equity, and human dignity. CMJ is incorporated in the State of California and has its principal place of business in Oakland.
- 11. Plaintiff American Civil Liberties Union is a national non-profit and non-partisan, 501(c)(4) organization with more than four million members, activists, and supporters dedicated to the constitutional principles of liberty and equality. The American Civil Liberties Union is committed to ensuring that the United States government complies with the Constitution and laws of this country, including its international legal obligations, in matters that affect civil liberties and human rights. The American Civil Liberties Union is also committed to principles of transparency and accountability in government, and seeks to ensure that the American public is informed about the conduct and integrity of its government in matters that affect civil liberties, human rights, and public trust in government. Obtaining information about governmental activity, analyzing that

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information, and widely publishing and disseminating it to the press and the public is a critical and substantial component of the American Civil Liberties Union's work and one of its primary activities. The American Civil Liberties Union is incorporated in New York State and has its principal place of business in New York City.

- 12. Plaintiff American Civil Liberties Union Foundation is a separate 501(c)(3) organization that educates the public about civil liberties and employs lawyers who provide legal representation free of charge in cases involving civil rights and civil liberties. It is incorporated in New York State and has its principal place of business in New York City.
- 13. Defendant Federal Bureau of Investigation is a component of the U.S. Department of Justice ("DOJ"). It is headquartered in Washington, D.C., and has field offices throughout the country, including in San Francisco, California.
- 14. Defendant DOJ is a Department of the Executive Branch of the U.S. government and an agency within the meaning of 5 U.S.C. § 552(f)(1). The DOJ is headquartered in Washington, D.C., with offices all over the country, including in San Francisco, California.

FACTUAL BACKGROUND

- 15. On October 6, 2017, Foreign Policy published an article disclosing the existence of an FBI Intelligence Assessment titled "Black Identity Extremists Likely Motivated to Target Law Enforcement Officers." The Assessment was disseminated to at least 18,000 law enforcement agencies across the country.²
- 16. The Assessment contains troubling revelations about the FBI's targeting of Black people for surveillance, investigation, and prosecution based on conclusory allegations that a group of so-called "Black Identity Extremists" exists and poses a public safety threat. The Assessment

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¹ Jana Winter & Sharon Weinberger, *The FBI's New U.S. Terrorist Threat: Black Identity Extremists*, Foreign Policy (Oct. 6, 2017), *available at* https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/10/06/the-fbi-has-identified-a-new-domestic-terrorist-threat-and-its-black-identity-extremists/.

² Kate Irby, White and Far-Right Extremists Kill More Cops, But FBI Tracks Black Extremists More Closely, Many Worry, McClatchy (Jan. 25, 2018), available at https://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/national/article196423174.html.

asserts that six isolated incidents of violence against police officers by Black people purportedly demonstrate the existence of a shared ideology motivating violence against law enforcement. The Assessment's creation of a "Black Identity Extremist" designation appears to wrongly group together Black people who, in the FBI's own words, "perceive[] racism and injustice in American society."

- activity in determining who is a so-called "Black Identity Extremist." The Assessment demonstrates that the FBI uses social media surveillance and looks at an individual's associations, what online search terms the individual uses, and what online content the individual may "like[]" when determining whether a person is a so-called "Black Identity Extremist." The Assessment further claims that "advoca[cy] for violence against law enforcement," "violent anti-white rhetoric," and "affiliations with others in both the [Black Separatist Extremist] and sovereign citizen extremist movements" are purportedly "[p]ossible indicators" that an individual presents a "violent threat to law enforcement." But targeting Black people because of a belief in "Black identity" or protected speech, association, or protest—including activism to counter white supremacy and police violence—raises grave civil rights, civil liberties, and human rights concerns because it could be based on, or lead to, illegal racial profiling and violation of First Amendment rights.
- 18. The FBI's creation of a "Black Identity Extremist" threat classification adds to the long list of terms the FBI has historically used in attempts to group unconnected Black people together for the purpose of surveillance, infiltration, and disruption of their racial justice advocacy. The Assessment itself notes that it builds from prior bulletins about so-called "Black Separatist Extremists." Black-led organizations, civil rights and civil liberties advocates, and media have recognized that the FBI's use of resources to target so-called "Black Identity Extremists" appears to build on a shameful history of unlawful surveillance and efforts to discredit and disrupt the advocacy of Black activists and Black-led organizations, including those involved in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

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Post (Jan. 9, 2015), available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2015/01/09/are-black-or-white-offenders-more-likely-to-kill-police/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.b767d8bd8b4b.

⁷ U.S. Gov. Accountability Office, *Countering Violent Extremism* 28–34 (2017).

instead to designate Black people who seek to remedy racial injustice and hold views about Black identity a domestic terrorist threat.⁸ Media have also reported public concern that the FBI is misallocating investigative resources to surveil Black people, including activists associated with the Black Lives Matter ("BLM") movement, based on the creation of a specious and unsupported BIE threat designation.⁹

21. Public concern that law enforcement created and use the "Black Identity Extremist" classification to improperly surveil, investigate, discredit, and prosecute Black people has only mounted since the disclosure of the Assessment. There has been significant public concern as to whether a Texas man, Rakem Balogun, is the first Black activist arrested due to surveillance conducted under the Assessment. In May 2018, a federal judge in Texas dismissed the one-count indictment charging Mr. Balogun with illegal gun ownership and ordered his release after five months of pre-trial detention while the federal government tried—and ultimately failed—to prosecute him. ¹⁰ FBI agents investigating "domestic terrorism" began monitoring Mr. Balogun after he participated in a rally in March 2015 protesting law enforcement and made Facebook posts expressing solidarity with a Black man who allegedly killed police officers in Texas. ¹¹ Mr. Balogun co-founded two groups committed to opposing police brutality, advocating for the rights of Black

⁸ See, e.g., Lincoln Anthony Blades, Why the FBI's "Black Identity Extremist" Classification Is Dangerous, Teen Vogue (Apr. 30, 2018), available at https://www.teenvogue.com/story/why-the-fbis-black-identity-extremist-classification-is-dangerous.

⁹ See, e.g., id.; Cohen, supra note 3; Levin, supra note 3.

¹⁰ Sam Levin, Black Activist Jailed for his Facebook Posts Speaks Out About Secret FBI Surveillance, The Guardian (May 11, 2018), available at https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/may/11/rakem-balogun-interview-black-identity-extremists-fbi-surveillance; see also Nicole Hemmer, The Government Prosecution of a "Black Identity Extremist" Fell Apart. Meanwhile, White Supremacists Are on the March, Vox (May 19, 2018), available at https://www.vox.com/the-big-idea/2018/5/18/17368328/black-identity-extremist-fbi-klan-white-supremacy-black-lives-matter-balogun; Colin Kalmbacher, The FBI Is Now Apparently Relying on InfoWars for Information to Prosecute Black Activists, Law & Crime (May 12, 2018), available at https://lawandcrime.com/race-relations/the-fbi-is-now-apparently-relying-on-infowars-for-information-to-prosecute-black-activists/.

¹¹ See Levin, supra note 10.

gun owners, coordinating meals for the homeless, and providing self-defense classes. ¹² Media reports raise concern that the language used by the prosecution in Mr. Balogun's case resembles the language in the Assessment, suggesting that the surveillance and prosecution of Balogun stemmed from the FBI's designation of him as a so-called "Black Identity Extremist." ¹³ 22. Public concern about the Assessment has converged with troubling reports about federal, state, and local law enforcement surveillance of Black activists associated with the BLM movement. In August 2018, BLM activists in Memphis, Tennessee learned that the Memphis Police Department acted under the direction of the Department of Homeland Security to use social media platforms to spy on BLM activists in 2016 and 2017. ¹⁴ Accessing both public and private Facebook posts, the police tracked BLM activists, their social media contacts, and, in at least once case, an activist's spouse, according to documents recently obtained by the ACLU. 15 Memphis police used this information to prepare joint intelligence briefs, which were shared with the Shelby County sheriff and government officials, the county school district, the Tennessee Department of Homeland Security, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, the U.S. Department of Justice, the U.S. Military, the Memphis municipal utility company, the regional utility company, and private companies, such as FedEx and Autozone. ¹⁶ Similarly, police departments throughout $\overline{}^{12}$ Id. ¹³ See id. ¹⁴ Sam Fulwood III, Newly Released Documents Reveal Memphis Police Have Been Spying on Black Lives Matter Activists, ThinkProgress (Aug. 1, 2018), available at https://thinkprogress.org/memphis-police-spy-on-black-lives-matter-activists-facebook-916e5d188e7c/; see also Rashad Robinson, The Federal Government's Secret War on Black Activists, American Prospect (April 4, 2018), available at https://prospect.org/article/federalgovernments-secret-war-on-black-activists. ¹⁵ Fulwood, *supra* note 14.

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¹⁶ Brentin Mock, *Memphis Police Spying on Activists is Worse Than we Thought*, CityLab (July 27, 2018), *available at* https://www.citylab.com/equity/2018/07/memphis-police-spying-on-activists-is-worse-than-we-thought/566264/.

²² Adam Goldman and Nicholas Fandos, Lawmakers Confront F.B.I. Director Over Report on

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well as its consequences, which include improper government surveillance of Black people and Black-led organizations, Plaintiffs seek the immediate searching, processing, and release of documents related to the Assessment. Only through access to these records can the public exercise its indispensable role in checking the vast powers of our government, including impermissible racial profiling and targeting of Black people and Black-led organizations on the basis of speech, association, or conduct protected by the First Amendment.

Because of the significant public interest in exposing the basis of the Assessment as

THE FOIA REQUEST

- 27. On October 31, 2018, Plaintiffs submitted a request under the FOIA, 5 U.S.C.A. § 552, and the DOJ implementing regulations, 28 C.F.R. § 16.1, to Defendant FBI requesting records pertaining to the FBI's surveillance of Black people on the basis of a purported shared ideology.
- 28. The Request seeks three categories of records: (1) all records created since January 1, 2014, that use any of the following terms or abbreviations: "Black Identity Extremist" ("BIE"), "Black Nationalist" ("BN"), "Black Separatist" ("BS"), or "Black Supremacist Extremists" ("BSE"), Exhibit A at 5 (paragraph 1); (2) all records referencing, or created in response to, public and Congressional inquiries or reactions to the existence or contents of the FBI Intelligence Assessment titled "Black Identity Extremists Likely Motivated to Target Law Enforcement Officers," Exhibit A at 5 (paragraph 2); and (3) all records created since January 1, 2014, that reference "extremist" violence committed by Black people in the United States, including but not limited to individuals described as "Black Identity Extremists," "Black Nationalists," "Black Separatist Extremists," "Black Separatists," or "Black Supremacist Extremists," Exhibit A at 5 (paragraph 3).

AGENCY RESPONSE

29. The FBI assigned two separate request numbers to two of the three record categories identified in the Request, and responded in two separate letters, each dated November 2, 2018. *See*

Black Extremists, N.Y. Times (Nov. 29, 2017), *available at* https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/29/us/politics/fbi-black-identity-extremist-report.html.

Exhibit B (responding to paragraph 1 (Request No. NFP-102340)); Exhibit C (responding to paragraph 3 (Request No. NFP-102341)) (collectively, the "Responses"). The FBI refused to search for records responsive to paragraphs 1 and 3 of the Request, asserting that the Request "does not contain enough descriptive information to permit a search." *See* Exhibit B at 1; Exhibit C at 1.

- 30. Plaintiffs received no response from Defendants to paragraph 2 of the Request, which seeks records related to public and Congressional inquiries or reactions to the existence or contents of the Assessment, until February 22, 2019. On that date, Plaintiffs received a cover letter dated February 15, 2019, and an initial disclosure of heavily redacted records from Defendant FBI. *See* Exhibit D (responding to paragraph 2 of the Request (Request No. 1387511-000)). The FBI's cover letter indicated that the agency reviewed 552 pages of documents and released 320 pages with information redacted under the FOIA Exemptions 5, 6, 7C, and 7E. *Id.* Neither the FBI's cover letter nor the disclosure itself provide any description of the withheld information sufficient to permit Plaintiffs to determine whether Defendants have properly withheld information under the specified FOIA exemptions.
- 31. Defendants are improperly withholding records sought by Plaintiffs that are urgently needed to inform public debate concerning unlawful FBI targeting of Black people and Black-led organizations for surveillance, investigation, and prosecution.

EXHAUSTION

- 32. Plaintiffs have exhausted all applicable administrative remedies with respect to paragraphs 1 and 3 of the Request.
- 33. By letter dated January 22, 2019, Plaintiffs timely appealed the FBI's failure to adequately search for records reasonably described in paragraphs 1 and 3 of the Request; its failure to make those records promptly available; and the FBI's improper withholding of those documents.
- 34. The FBI's February 15, 2019, response to paragraph 2 of the Request is heavily redacted and provides insufficient information to determine whether any of the redacted information and withheld documents are properly kept secret under the FOIA. Defendants have not provided any explanation for why exemptions to the FOIA permit withholding information from disclosure.

35. Additionally, the FBI's disclosure in response to paragraph 2 of the FOIA appears to be deficient on its face. Media reports detailed above show that the Congressional Black Caucus held a March 2018 hearing during which members of Congress raised concerns about the Assessment and government surveillance and investigations conducted under the so-called BIE designation. The FBI's disclosure of information in response to paragraph 2 of the Request, however, only includes e-mails between FBI and DOJ officials that were exchanged between August 2017 and December 2017. The absence of any internal e-mails or other agency records dated around the time of the March 2018 Congressional Black Caucus hearing raises serious concerns that the FBI is improperly withholding public records responsive to Plaintiffs' request for information related to public and Congressional inquiries or reactions to the Assessment.

CAUSE OF ACTION

- 36. Plaintiffs are entitled to injunctive relief with respect to the release and disclosure of the requested documents under 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(B) because the FBI continues to improperly deny the processing of agency records in violation of the FOIA. Plaintiffs will also suffer irreparable injury from, and have no adequate legal remedy for, the FBI's illegal withholding of and prolonged delay in production of government documents pertaining to the FBI's Assessment and surveillance of Black people, including activists, and Black-led organizations.
- 37. Defendants' failure to conduct a proper search for responsive records violates the FOIA, 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(3)(C)–(D), and the corresponding agency regulations, 28 C.F.R. § 16.4(a).
- 38. Defendants' failure to release records responsive to Plaintiffs' Request violates the FOIA, 5 U.S.C. § 552(a), and the corresponding agency regulations, 28 C.F.R. § 16.1.
- 39. Defendants' failure to timely respond to Plaintiffs' Request violates the FOIA, 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(6)(A), and the corresponding agency regulations, 28 C.F.R. § 16.6(b).
- 40. Defendants' failure to make promptly available the records sought by Plaintiffs' Request violates the FOIA, 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(3)(A), and the corresponding agency regulations, 28 C.F.R. § 16.6(b).

1	41.	Defendants' improper withholding of information violates the FOIA, 5 U.S.C. §	
2	552(a)(4)(B).		
3	42.	Defendants' failure to expedite processing of responsive records violates the FOIA,	
4	5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(6)(E), and corresponding agency regulations, 28 C.F.R. § 16.5(e).		
5	43.	Defendants' failure to waive search fees violates the FOIA, 5 U.S.C. §	
6	522(a)(4)(A)(ii)-(iii), and the corresponding agency regulations, 28 C.F.R. § 16.10(k).		
7	REQUEST FOR RELIEF		
8	Plaintiffs respectfully request that this Court:		
9	A. Order Defendants to conduct a thorough search for all responsive records;		
10	B.	B. Order Defendants to immediately process all requested records;	
11	C.	Order Defendants to promptly disclose the requested records in their entirety and to	
12	make copies available to Plaintiffs;		
13	D.	Enjoin Defendants from charging Plaintiffs fees for processing the Request;	
14	E.	Enter a preliminary and permanent injunction against Defendants ordering the	
15	requested relief herein;		
16	F. Award Plaintiffs their litigation costs and reasonable attorneys' fees incurred in this		
17	action; and		
18	G.	Grant such other relief as the Court may deem just and proper.	
19	Dated: March 21, 2019 Respectfully Submitted,		
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21		Christine P. Sun (SBN 218701) Abre' Leann Conner (SBN 306024)	
22		AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION FOUNDATION	
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