Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND ACCOUNTABILITY
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September 3, 2024

Mr. Donald J. Trump The Mar-a-Lago Club 1100 South Ocean Boulevard Palm Beach, FL 33480

Dear Mr. Trump:

A recent report from the *Washington Post* has created renewed suspicion that you collected a \$10 million cash bribe from Egyptian President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi. This detailed news report has also triggered serious speculation that your handpicked political appointees at the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ), including Attorney General William Barr, subsequently blocked efforts by career prosecutors and agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to investigate the political and financial corruption that has been described.²

Surely you would agree that the American people deserve to know whether a former president—and a current candidate for president—took an illegal campaign contribution from a brutal foreign dictator. Accordingly, we request that you immediately provide the Committee with information and documents necessary to assure the Committee and the American public that you never, directly or indirectly, politically or personally, received any funds from the Egyptian President or government.

The *Washington Post* reports that in 2017, U.S. intelligence officials received "jaw dropping" information: in the waning days of the 2016 U.S. presidential election, President El-Sisi of Egypt sought to give your cash-strapped campaign \$10 million.³ This information, which came from a reliable source and was corroborated by independent intelligence gathering by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), was passed on to the DOJ, which began a years-long investigation, initially as part of Special Counsel Robert Mueller's probe.⁴ Public information available at the time also corroborated elements of this intelligence report. For example, in September 2016, less than two months prior to the 2016 presidential election, you met with President El-Sisi in a closed-door meeting on the sidelines of the United Nations General

¹ \$10M Cash Withdrawal Drove Secret Probe into Whether Trump Took Money from Egypt, Washington Post (Aug. 2, 2024) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/2024/08/02/trump-campaign-egypt-investigation/).

 $^{^{2}}$ Id.

³ Id.

⁴ *Id*.

Assembly in New York City.⁵ It is not clear what was discussed during this sidebar conference. However, what is clear is that following this private tête-à-tête, you publicly praised the autocratic Egyptian leader in a sharp departure from official U.S. policy.⁶ While others at the time "emphasized the importance of respect for rule of law and human rights to Egypt's future progress," you called President El-Sisi a "fantastic guy" and praised his tactics for taking "control" of Egypt.⁷ As President, you continued to praise President El-Sisi and drastically shifted U.S. policy in ways to benefit the reviled Egyptian leader. While calling President El-Sisi your "favorite dictator," you released \$195 million in military aid in 2018 that the United States had previously withheld because of human rights abuses committed by the Egyptian government, and later released an additional \$1.2 billion in military assistance.⁸

On October 28, 2016, a few weeks after your closed-door meeting with President El-Sisi and at a time when your flailing presidential campaign was in dire need of a cash infusion, you announced that you were personally contributing \$10 million to your own campaign, something you had been famously disinclined to do. This was especially notable because earlier that year Deutsche Bank, your long-time creditor and one of the few banks that had still been willing to extend you loans, emphatically declined your request for additional credit. In later interviews with DOJ investigators, Steve Bannon, your campaign's Chief Executive Officer and the intellectual leader of the MAGA movement, explained that by October 2016 your campaign was severely cash-strapped but that you would not donate to your own campaign at the time because you were "not a guy who while six to eight points down, was going to write \$25 million dollar checks." Eventually, however, according to Mr. Bannon, Steven Mnuchin, your future Secretary of the Treasury, and Jared Kushner, your son-in-law, insisted that you needed to loan \$10 million to your campaign "to buy television time" in the last couple of weeks of the

⁵ Trump and Clinton's Meetings with Egypt's President Underscore Foreign Policy Differences, Time (Sept. 19, 2016) (online at https://time.com/4499600/donald-trump-hillary-clinton-meeting-sisi-egypt/).

⁶ Trump Praises Egypt's al-Sisi: "He's a Fantastic Guy," Politico (Sept. 22, 2016) (online at www.politico.com/story/2016/09/trump-praises-egypts-al-sisi-hes-a-fantastic-guy-228560).

⁷ *Id.*; *Clinton, Trump Meet World Leaders for Very Different Reasons*, CNN (Sept. 20, 2016) (online at www.cnn.com/2016/09/19/politics/trump-clinton-egypt-fattah-el-sisi/index.html).

⁸ \$10M Cash Withdrawal Drove Secret Probe into Whether Trump Took Money from Egypt, Washington Post (Aug. 2, 2024) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/2024/08/02/trump-campaign-egypt-investigation/).

⁹ Donald Trump Adds \$10 Million to His Presidential Campaign, USA Today (Oct. 28, 2016) (online at www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/onpolitics/2016/10/28/donald-trump-adds-10-million-his-presidential-campaign/92894392/).

¹⁰ Trump Sought a Loan During the 2016 Campaign. Deutsche Bank Said No, New York Times (Feb. 2, 2019) (online at www.nytimes.com/2019/02/0business/trump-deutsche-bank.html).

¹¹ Federal Bureau of Investigations, FD-302 of Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Oct. 26, 2018) (online at https://web.archive.org/web/20201003035026/https://www.cnn.com/2020/10/01/politics/read-transcripts-from-mueller-investigation/index.html); *Declassified Records Show What Witnesses in the Mueller Probe Told the FBI About Trump and Russia*, BuzzFeed (Oct. 1, 2020) (online at www.buzzfeednews.com/article/kenbensinger/mueller-memos-the-latest-trove-of-documents-reveals-new); *New Batch of Memos from Mueller Investigation Released*, CNN (Oct. 1, 2020) (online at https://www.cnn.com/2020/10/01/politics/read-transcripts-from-mueller-investigation/index.html).

election. ¹² According to Mr. Bannon, Mr. Mnuchin, attempted to convince you that enough contributions from small donors would eventually come in to repay the loan, but you remained unwilling to extend the loan to your campaign. However, according to Mr. Bannon, you ultimately and mysteriously "became convinced that the cash would be there." ¹³ That money ended up paying for, among other things, your antisemitic closing TV ad in which you denounced "global special interests" as shadowy photographs of George Soros, Lloyd Blankfein, and Janet Yellen appeared on screen. ¹⁴

In early 2019, after a protracted legal battle with the National Bank of Egypt, DOJ investigators obtained Egyptian financial documents showing that on January 15, 2017, an entity affiliated with Egypt's intelligence services withdrew \$9,998,000 in cash from a bank branch located near Cairo's international airport. Agents packed and stacked two hundred pounds worth of \$100 bills in U.S. currency, representing a significant portion of Egypt's dollar reserves, and placed them inside two duffle bags, which were then picked up from the bank manager's office. ¹⁵

Following this disclosure, federal investigators, including FBI agents and career prosecutors, proposed subpoenas seeking a set of your bank records covering a narrow time period—a few weeks before and a few weeks after the January 15, 2017, withdrawal—to determine whether the funds appeared in your accounts, as suggested by the initial intelligence information. Jessie Liu, the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, whom you appointed and who oversaw the investigation after Mr. Mueller stepped down as Special Counsel, indicated that she was open to issuing these subpoenas.¹⁶

However, after consulting with Attorney General Barr, Ms. Liu "made a 180-degree turn" and refused to authorize the subpoenas. ¹⁷ Concurrently, Mr. Barr tasked Christopher Wray, the Director of the FBI, with applying "some adult supervision" to the FBI agents assigned to the case. ¹⁸ By January 2020, Mr. Barr had ordered Ms. Liu to step down as U.S. Attorney. Eventually, he replaced Ms. Liu and appointed Michael Sherwin to the position, and Mr. Sherwin then quickly moved to close down the investigation. ¹⁹

¹² Id.

¹³ *Id*.

¹⁴ *Trump Closing Campaign Ad Revives Remarks Seen as Striking Anti-Semitic Tones*, Times of Israel (Nov. 6, 2016) (online at www.timesofisrael.com/trump-closing-campaign-ad-seen-as-striking-anti-semitic-tones/).

¹⁵ \$10M Cash Withdrawal Drove Secret Probe into Whether Trump Took Money from Egypt, Washington Post (Aug. 2, 2024) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/2024/08/02/trump-campaign-egypt-investigation/).

¹⁶ *Id*.

¹⁷ *Id*.

¹⁸ *Id*.

¹⁹ *Id*.

We are certain you can see how significant troubling questions still haunt our country about the origins of your \$10 million campaign contribution, the source of any repayment, and the credible allegations that it was all funded with cash provided by President El-Sisi through his grim intelligence services. These questions are especially alarming given that the allegations appearing in the *Washington Post* are silhouetted against several proven patterns of corrupt practices exhibited by both the Egyptian government and by you, of course, as a convicted felon, fraudster and corrupt politician.

For example, Senator Robert Menendez was recently convicted on charges related to his receipt of cash bribes as part of a political influence scheme also involving Egypt's intelligence services.²⁰ Furthermore, as President, you systematically elevated your own financial interests above the public interest by failing to divest from your private businesses and then pocketing millions of dollars in unconstitutional payments from foreign dictators that sought—and often received—favorable treatment from your Administration. Documents obtained by the Committee show that, while in office, you accepted at least \$7.8 million from foreign governments, including the People's Republic of China and Saudi Arabia—in blatant violation of the Constitution's Foreign Emoluments Clause. 21 Earlier this year, you hosted a forum with oil executives in which you sought \$1 billion in campaign contributions from the oil industry in exchange for an explicit promise that, if elected in 2024, your Administration would issue executive orders and roll back environmental regulations to end the freeze on permits for new liquefied natural gas exports, auction off more leases for oil drilling in the Gulf of Mexico, and rescind rules that reduce emissions from cars.²² Whatever the merits of these civilizationthreatening executive orders and regulations, they cannot be bought and paid for with campaign contributions!

Moreover, in several recent episodes, you have abruptly reversed prior policy stances regarding a variety of issues after meeting with wealthy individuals, including on issues related to electric vehicles, cryptocurrency, and the Chinese social media platform TikTok, creating the decisive inference that your decisions were motivated by personal financial gain.²³

²⁰ Democratic Sen. Bob Menendez Found Guilty on All Counts in Corruption Trial, NBC News (July 16, 2024) (online at www.nbcnews.com/politics/congress/democratic-sen-bob-menendez-found-guilty-counts-corruption-charges-rcna159955); Why Menendez's Meals with Egyptian Officials Worry Security Experts, New York Times (July 11, 2024) (online at www.nytimes.com/2024/07/11/nyregion/senator-bob-menendez-trial.html).

²¹ Democratic Staff, Committee on Oversight and Accountability, *White House for Sale, How Princes, Prime Ministers, and Premiers Paid Off President Trump* (Jan. 4, 2024) (online at https://oversightdemocrats.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/democrats-oversight.house.gov/files/2024-01-04.COA%20DEMS%20-%20Mazars%20Report.pdf).

²² Democratic Staff, Committee on Oversight and Accountability, Press Release: Ranking Member Raskin Probes Donald Trump's Offer to Change U.S. Energy Policy in Exchange for \$1 Billion in Campaign Cash from Big Oil (May 14, 2014) (online at https://oversightdemocrats.house.gov/news/press-releases/ranking-member-raskin-probes-donald-trumps-offer-change-us-energy-policy).

²³ E.g., Donald Trump Admits EV Flip-Flop as a Quid Pro Quo to Secure Elon's Musk Support, Fortune (Aug. 5, 2024) (online at https://fortune.com/2024/08/05/donald-trump-elon-musk-tesla-endorsement/); Trump Keeps Flip-Flopping His Policy Positions After Meeting with Rich People, Politico (June 22, 2024) (online at www.politico.com/news/2024/06/22/trump-policy-flip-flop-00164538); Donald Trump Flip-Flops on TikTok and

For the past 20 months, this Committee has purportedly been "investigating foreign nationals' attempts to target and coerce high-ranking U.S. officials' family members by providing money or other benefits in exchange for certain actions."²⁴ The serious and specific allegations raised by the *Washington Post's* report—both that you received a \$10 million cash bribe from Egypt's President and that your political appointees at the DOJ blocked an ongoing investigation into this potential bribe—now compel our Committee to seek more information to clear this matter up. As then-Speaker Kevin McCarthy declared in August 2023, at the start of the impeachment investigation that totally and thoroughly exonerated President Biden of any wrongdoing, "I think this President would want to clear [his] name rather rapidly."²⁵ We are sure you too would be eager to rebut these claims of outrageous corruption.

In that spirit, Mr. Trump, we ask you to cooperate with this Committee's investigation by providing by September 17, 2024, fulsome and transparent responses to the inquiries below:

- 1. Have you directly or indirectly received money from the Egyptian President or government or been the ultimate beneficiary of any payment by the Egyptian President or government?
- 2. Has any money originating from the Egyptian President or government ever been used, directly or indirectly, to benefit you or your presidential campaign?
- 3. Has any money originating from the Egyptian President or government ever been used, directly or indirectly, to fund a contribution to your campaign, the reimbursement of any loan you made to your campaign, or any other payments of any kind you made to or for the benefit of your campaign?

In addition, please provide, by September 17, 2024, the following information, together with supporting documents, regarding the \$10 million contribution or loan you made to your 2016 presidential campaign on or around October 28, 2016:

- 4. The source(s) of funds used to make the contribution or loan;
- 5. The date the contribution or loan was repaid or forgiven;
- 6. The source(s) of any funds used to repay the contribution or loan; and

Now Rails Against a Ban, The Guardian (Mar. 11, 2024) (online at www.theguardian.com/technology/2024/mar/11/donald-trump-tiktok-ban-biden).

²⁴ See Committee on Oversight and Accountability, *Press Release: Comer Subpoenas Devon Archer to Appear for a Deposition in the Biden Family Investigation* (June 12, 2023) (online at https://oversight.house.gov/release/comer-subpoenas-devon-archer-to-appear-for-a-deposition-in-the-biden-family-investigation/).

²⁵ McCarthy: What Foreign Policy Expert Does Business with Ukraine, China, Rather than UK, Italy, Fox News (Aug. 7, 2023) (online at www.youtube.com/watch?v=xYGtxtYo6lg).

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7. The names of individuals and/or entities involved in funding, arranging, or transferring payments related to the original contribution or loan and any repayment or forgiveness thereof.

The Committee on Oversight and Accountability is the principal oversight committee of the House of Representatives and has broad authority to investigate "any matter" at "any time" under House Rule X.

An attachment to this letter provides additional instructions for responding to this request. If you have any questions regarding this request, please contact the Committee Democratic staff at (202) 225-5051. Thank you for your prompt attention to this important matter.

Very truly yours,

Jamie Raskin Ranking Member Robert Garcia
Ranking Member

Subcommittee on National Security, the Border, and Foreign Affairs

Enclosure

cc: The Honorable James Comer, Chairman Committee on Oversight and Accountability

> The Honorable Glenn Grothman, Chairman Subcommittee on National Security, the Border, and Foreign Affairs