

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND REFORM

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November 14, 2022

Ms. Debra Steidel Wall
Acting Archivist of the United States
National Archives and Records Administration
700 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20408

Dear Ms. Steidel Wall:

I write to request presidential records from the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) to determine whether former President Trump distorted U.S. foreign policy to serve his own financial interests at the expense of the American people and in violation of his oath of office.

The President of the United States, who serves as the nation's chief executive and wields enormous influence both domestically and abroad, must serve the public good—not his own personal financial interests. After Donald Trump was elected President and refused experts' guidance to resolve his unprecedented conflicts of interest, the Committee on Oversight and Reform repeatedly raised concerns about Mr. Trump's self-dealing and profiting off the presidency. After years of seeking documents to shed light on the former President's conflicts of interest, the Committee recently obtained documents from Mr. Trump's former accounting firm, Mazars USA LLP (Mazars), related to the Trump International Hotel in Washington, D.C.—a hotel that Mr. Trump's company owned while he was President, in a building leased from the federal government.¹ While the documents obtained by the Committee to date only fully cover a period of months, these records provide a revealing window into extensive spending by foreign governments at former President Trump's hotel during his term in office.

The newly obtained documents, including hotel ledgers, reveal that foreign governments, including the governments of Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates (U.A.E.), Turkey, and the People's Republic of China, spent more money than previously known at the Trump Hotel and did so at sensitive times for those countries' relations with the United States. Documents reveal that, during the same time periods they were seeking to influence American foreign policy, these five nations made payments totaling more than \$750,000 to Mr. Trump's

¹ On February 9, 2022, Mazars cut ties with former President Trump, stating “it could no longer stand behind [a decade of] annual financial statements” it prepared for the Trump Organization. *Accounting Firm Cuts Ties with Trump and Retracts Financial Statements*, New York Times (Feb. 14, 2022) (online at www.nytimes.com/2022/02/14/nyregion/mazars-trump-organization-financial-statements.html).

hotel—renting rooms for up to \$10,000 per night. Well-connected Republican lobbyists working on behalf of these countries, some operating illegally without registering as foreign agents, spent tens of thousands more at the Trump Hotel during the same periods.

In light of this new information, and pursuant to the Presidential Records Act, I am requesting records to inform Congress’s ongoing consideration of legislative proposals to strengthen laws limiting conflicts of interests in the Executive Branch, to ensure the president and other senior public officials do not abuse their positions in violation of the public’s trust while in office.²

Trump Hotel Spending by Malaysian Entourage During Prime Minister’s Visit

On September 12, 2017, President Trump welcomed then-Prime Minister of Malaysia Najib Razak to the White House. At the time of the meeting, Prime Minister Razak and members of his family were publicly under investigation by the Department of Justice (DOJ) for looting a Malaysian sovereign wealth fund and laundering the money through U.S. financial institutions.

Records show that in the days before and after this visit, from September 7, 2017, to September 15, 2017, Prime Minister Razak and his entourage spent at least **\$259,724** at the Trump Hotel.³

Despite the ongoing DOJ investigation and other actions by Prime Minister Razak that had drawn criticism from human rights groups, President Trump lavished praise on Prime Minister Razak during his visit and thanked him for “all the investment you’ve made in the United States.”⁴

1MDB Investigation and Prime Minister Razak’s Domestic Policy

The 1Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB) was a Malaysian sovereign wealth fund co-founded by Prime Minister Razak in 2009. Within a few years of its founding, Malaysian officials had embezzled \$4.5 billion of the fund’s assets, laundering billions in funds through American financial institutions and using the proceeds to purchase fine art, a yacht, luxury American properties, even diverting funds to invest in Martin Scorsese’s film, “The Wolf of Wall Street.”⁵ In response, DOJ opened its largest ever kleptocracy investigation into the stolen

² 44 U.S.C § 2205(2)(C).

³ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00008052 to MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00008094 (September 2017 Embassy of Malaysia Delegation Receipt).

⁴ *Trump Welcomes Najib Razak, the Malaysian Leader, as President, and Owner of a Fine Hotel*, New York Times (Sept. 12, 2017) (online at www.nytimes.com/2017/09/12/world/asia/trump-najib-razak-malaysia-white-house.html).

⁵ **Department of Justice, Press Release: Over \$1 Billion in Misappropriated 1MDB Funds Now Repatriated to Malaysia** (Aug 5, 2021) (online at www.justice.gov/opa/pr/over-1-billion-misappropriated-1mdb-funds-now-repatriated-malaysia); *Explainer: Malaysia’s Ex-PM Najib And the Multi-Billion Dollar 1MDB Scandal*, Reuters (Aug. 23, 2022) (online at www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/malysias-ex-pm-najib-multi-billion-dollar).

state funds. In 2016, DOJ submitted filings indicating that \$731 million of those funds had been diverted to Prime Minister Razak's bank accounts. Mr. Razak, however, maintained that no crime had been committed and that the money in his account was a personal donation from the Saudi royal family.⁶

By 2017, as this investigation developed, Prime Minister Razak had become an increasingly autocratic ruler, with Human Rights Watch decrying the "increased arrests of government critics, expanded restrictions on peaceful assembly, and continued impunity for police abuses" in Malaysia.⁷

Trump Hotel Stay and White House Visit

On August 23, 2017, President Trump invited the embattled Prime Minister Razak to visit the White House. From September 7, 2017, to September 15, 2017, the Malaysian Delegation stayed at the Trump Hotel and spent at least **\$259,724** during the eight-day stay. Prime Minister Razak stayed in the hotel's presidential suite for \$10,000 per night, spending **\$44,562** over three days.⁸ An excerpt of the receipt for Mr. Razak's stay is below:

509	80965866-1	Razak , Mr. Najib Tun Abdul		
09/12/2017	101000	Room Charge		\$10,000.00
09/12/2017	723207	DC Occupancy Sales Tax		\$1,450.00
09/12/2017	101800	Miscellaneous Rooms	Furniture Movement (Dressing Room) for embassy of Malaysia-charge per Heidi Kirby	\$750.00
09/12/2017	723207	DC Occupancy Sales Tax		\$108.75
09/12/2017	853201	In Room Dining Lunch	20170912 132807 5278 227104/0024/0024/5278/0000/Lunch	\$1,027.40
09/12/2017	851200	In Room Dining F&B Tax 10%		\$93.40
09/12/2017	851200	In Room Dining F&B Tax 10%		(\$93.40)
09/12/2017	853201	In Room Dining Lunch	20170912 132955 5288 227104/0024/0024/5288/0000/Lunch	\$1,375.00

Hotel records reflect additional charges made during the Delegation's visit. For instance:

- *Over the course of the visit*, the Delegation was charged **\$9,229** for "Coffee Break[s]."
- *Over the course of three days*, Prime Minister Razak incurred charges of **\$8,147** for "In Room Dining Lunch[es]."
- On September 13, 2017, Prime Minister Razak incurred charges of **\$1,500** for a

1mdb-scandal-2022-08-23/).

⁶ Justice Dept. *Rejects Account of How Malaysia's Leader Acquired Millions*, New York Times (July 22, 2016) (online at www.nytimes.com/2016/07/23/world/asia/malaysia-1mdb-najib-razak.html).

⁷ Human Rights Watch, *Malaysia: Rights Decline Under Najib* (Jan. 12, 2017) (online at www.hrw.org/news/2017/01/12/malaysia-rights-decline-under-najib).

⁸ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00008052 to MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00008094 (September 2017 Embassy of Malaysia Delegation Receipt).

“Personal Trainer.”⁹

Americans who were later convicted of illegally seeking to influence President Trump on behalf of the Malaysian government also patronized the Trump Hotel during this time. Elliott Broidy, the vice chair of the Trump Victory Committee and then-vice chair of the Republican National Committee, stayed at the hotel for four nights during the Malaysian Delegation visit and spent \$5,345 over the course of September 2017. Mr. Broidy, who earlier that summer had suggested that Mr. Trump and Mr. Razak play golf to end the 1MDB scandal, later pleaded guilty to acting as an unregistered foreign agent for Malaysia and illegally lobbying President Trump and the Justice Department to drop the 1MDB investigation.¹⁰ In January 2021, President Trump pardoned Mr. Broidy for his felony conviction.¹¹ Mr. Broidy’s associate, Nickie Lum Davis, who pleaded guilty to the same charges as Broidy, spent \$1,155 at the Hotel during the Malaysian Delegation’s stay.¹²

101000 - Room Charge							
Date: 09/11/2017							
[REDACTED]	P1K	GUEST	101000				
[REDACTED]	720	In-house	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	03.10		495.00
[REDACTED]	P1K	FOLIO5	101000				
Broidy, Elliott	721	In-house	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	03.10		495.00
55011427-1	T1K	GUEST	101000				
Davis, Nickie Lum	331	In-house	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	04.44		385.00
23359346-1	P1K	GUEST	101000				

The Malaysian Delegation’s stay resulted in a significant spike in revenue for the Trump Hotel. The September 2017 room ledger shows that the average nightly room revenue during the Malaysian Delegation stay was \$97,193, as compared to \$56,635 for other nights in September 2017. The only other nights during which the Trump Hotel’s room revenue surpassed \$80,000 in September 2017 were three nights when the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cypress” booked numerous rooms at the hotel.¹³

⁹ *Id.* Totals reflect total cost of services before tax was deducted in recognition of the Delegation’s diplomatic status.

¹⁰ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00018250 to MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00018452 (September 2017 Hotel Guest Ledger); Department of Justice, *Press Release: Elliott Broidy Pleads Guilty for Back-Channel Lobbying Campaign to Drop 1MDB Investigation and Remove a Chinese Foreign National* (Oct. 20, 2020) (online at www.justice.gov/opa/pr/elliott-broidy-pleads-guilty-back-channel-lobbying-campaign-drop-1mdb-investigation-and).

¹¹ *Hermès Bags and Millions in Cash: The Fall of Malaysia’s Najib Razak*, *New York Times* (Sept. 14, 2022) (online at www.nytimes.com/2022/09/14/world/asia/malaysia-najib-rosmah-1mdb.html).

¹² Department of Justice, *Press Release: Hawaii Businesswoman Pleads Guilty to Facilitating Back-Channel Lobbying Campaign to Drop 1MDB Investigation and Remove a Foreign National to China* (Aug. 31, 2020) (online at www.justice.gov/opa/pr/hawaii-businesswoman-pleads-guilty-facilitating-back-channel-lobbying-campaign-drop-1mdb); MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00018250 to MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00018452 (September 2017 Hotel Guest Ledger). Over the course of the Malaysian delegation’s stay, the U.S. Secret Service spent \$9,272 on rooms protecting Mr. Razak. The Secret Service’s room block included nine suites that the Service booked at \$650 per night, several hundred dollars above the government or “per diem” rate. *Id.*

¹³ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00018250 to MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00018452 (September 2017 Hotel Guest Ledger).

On September 12, 2017, Prime Minister Razak met with President Trump at the White House. Mr. Razak bragged in his remarks that a Malaysian pension fund and a sovereign wealth fund—separate from the one he was accused of looting—were investing billions in the U.S. economy. President Trump did not mention the pending DOJ investigation, but stated it was a “great honor” to host Mr. Razak and “his very distinguished delegation” as “Malaysia’s a massive investor in the United States in the form of stock and bonds.” President Trump thanked Prime Minister Razak for “all the investment you have made in the United States.”¹⁴

Trump Hotel records obtained by the Committee indicate that, days after the Prime Minister’s visit, the Trump Hotel’s Director of Diplomatic Sales expensed a taxi to the Embassy of Malaysia in Washington, D.C.¹⁵

Experts and human rights groups warned that the visit was a public relations coup for Mr. Razak. James Chin, head of the Asia Institute at Australia’s University of Tasmania stated, “He can tell Malaysians that the 1MDB is a non-issue and that the opposition’s message that he is unwelcome by world leaders is not true.” Human Rights Watch Asia stated, “Najib will use this White House visit to burnish his credentials going into next year’s election in Malaysia, and redouble his repression of critics using the stamp of approval from this visit.”¹⁶

The Malaysian government later prosecuted Mr. Razak for his role in the 1MDB scandal, and in August 2022 Malaysia’s top court ordered Mr. Razak to begin a 12-year prison sentence for his conduct related to 1MDB.¹⁷

Trump Hotel Spending by Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and U.A.E. During the Qatar Crisis

In June 2017, Saudi Arabia and the U.A.E., along with other Gulf neighbors, severed diplomatic ties and imposed a blockade on its neighbor and economic competitor Qatar, igniting a regional crisis. Trump Hotel records obtained by the Committee show that while the governments of Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the U.A.E. publicly lobbied for President Trump’s support during the blockade, those same governments also privately spent hundreds of thousands of dollars at the Trump Hotel. From late 2017 through mid-2018, Saudi Arabian and U.A.E. government officials spent at least **\$164,929** at the Trump Hotel, while Qatari officials and

¹⁴ *Trump Welcomes Najib Razak, the Malaysian Leader, as President, and Owner of a Fine Hotel*, New York Times (Sept. 12, 2017) (online at www.nytimes.com/2017/09/12/world/asia/trump-najib-razak-malaysia-white-house.html); *From Trump Hotel Lobby to White House, Malaysian Prime Minister Gets VIP Treatment*, Washington Post (Sept. 12, 2017) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/politics/from-trump-hotel-lobby-to-white-house-malaysian-prime-minister-gets-vip-treatment/2017/09/12/1b296f54-97d1-11e7-87fc-c3f7ee4035c9_story.html).

¹⁵ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00008260.

¹⁶ *Trump Meeting with Malaysian Prime Minister Comes Under Scrutiny*, PBS News Hour (Sept. 12, 2017) (online at www.pbs.org/newshour/world/trump-meeting-malaysian-prime-minister-comes-scrutiny); *Trump Meets with Malaysia’s Prime Minister*, NBC News (Sept. 12, 2017) (online at www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/trump-meet-malaysia-s-prime-minister-n800601).

¹⁷ *Explainer: Malaysia’s Ex-PM Najib and the Multi-Billion Dollar 1MDB Scandal*, Reuters (Aug. 23, 2022) (online at www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/malysias-ex-pm-najib-multi-billion-dollar-1mdb-scandal-2022-08-23/).

connected companies spent at least **\$307,941**.¹⁸

The Blockade

In May 2017, Saudi and U.A.E. leaders met with Senior Advisor to the President Jared Kushner and others close to President Trump and briefed them on their governments' plan to impose a blockade on Qatar. A month later, on June 5, 2017, Saudi Arabia and the U.A.E., along with other Gulf neighbors, imposed a land, sea, and air blockade on Qatar, a U.S. ally that hosts the largest U.S. military base in the Middle East that serves as home to 11,000 U.S. servicemen and women.¹⁹

Despite warnings by then-Secretary of State Rex Tillerson that the “blockade is hindering U.S. military actions in the region and the campaign against ISIS,” President Trump tweeted his support for the blockade, stating: “During my recent trip to the Middle East I stated that there can no longer be funding of Radical Ideology. Leaders pointed to Qatar—look!”²⁰

Following the imposition of the blockade, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the U.A.E. launched lobbying offensives to win over the Trump Administration.²¹ Records show that during the time of this lobbying blitz, these three governments spent hundreds of thousands of dollars at the Trump Hotel.

Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates

In November 2017, the U.A.E. Embassy spent **\$33,512** at the Trump Hotel, booking 53 hotel rooms at an average rate of over \$750 per night.²²

¹⁸ Numerous individuals the Committee has identified as closely connected with these three governments—either as government officials or officers of closely-affiliated, state-owned companies—also spent thousands of dollars at the Trump Hotel during this time period. See e.g., MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00019224 to MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00019414 (February 2018 Hotel Guest Ledger).

¹⁹ *An Uneasy Tenure: How Tillerson Found Himself Cut Out by Kushner*, Reuters (June 27, 2019) (online at www.reuters.com/article/uk-usa-diplomacy-tillerson/an-uneasy-tenure-how-tillerson-found-himself-cut-out-by-kushner-idUKKCN1TS2N2); *Qatar Hosts Largest US Military Base in Mideast*, CNN (June 6, 2017) (online at www.cnn.com/2017/06/05/middleeast/qatar-us-largest-base-in-mideast).

²⁰ *Trump: Qatar Must Stop Funding Terrorism*, CNN (June 10, 2017) (online at www.cnn.com/2017/06/09/politics/trump-qatar-saudi-gulf-crisis); *Trump Credits His Middle East Trip for Saudi-Led Diplomatic Break With Qatar*, NBC News (June 6, 2017) (online at www.nbcnews.com/politics/white-house/trump-s-tweets-qatar-gulf-nations-split-raise-questions-n768821).

²¹ *In Charm Offensive, Qatar Pushes for a Comeback in Washington*, New York Times (Feb. 18, 2018) (online at www.nytimes.com/2018/02/09/us/politics/trump-qatar-lobbying-embargo.html); *Inside the Saudis' Washington Influence Machine: How the Kingdom Gained Power Through Fierce Lobbying and Charm Offensives*, Washington Post (Oct. 21, 2018) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-the-saudis-washington-influence-machine-how-the-kingdom-gained-power-through-fierce-lobbying-and-charm-offensives_story.html).

²² MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00018708 to MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00018933 (November 2017 Hotel Guest Ledger).

From March 7 to March 14, 2018, the Saudi Ministry of Defense spent **\$85,961**, including renting several \$10,500-suites—the most expensive rooms at the Trump Hotel. Although the identities of the Saudi delegation members staying at the hotel are anonymized, two of the officials staying in suites are referred to as “His Excellency,” indicating that the Saudi Royal family or senior government ministers were patronizing the Trump Hotel.²³ From March 8 to March 16, 2018, the Embassy of the U.A.E. Military Delegation spent an additional **\$34,037**.²⁴ One page of the hotel room ledger for March 2018 is excerpted below:

Guest Ledger - Charges							
Guest Name	Room	Status	Transaction Type	Created By	Time	Amount	
Account	Room Type	Folio	Transaction Code				
101000 - Room Charge							
Date: 03/12/2018							
Embassy of the UAE Military Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:48	295.00	
2635992		GUEST	101000				
Embassy of the UAE Military Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:48	295.00	
2635992		GUEST	101000				
Embassy of the UAE Military Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:48	295.00	
2635992		GUEST	101000				
Embassy of the UAE Military Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:48	295.00	
2635992		GUEST	101000				
Embassy of the UAE Military Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:48	295.00	
2635992		GUEST	101000				
Royal Saudi Embassy - Ministry of Defence Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:48	895.00	
5504680		GUEST	101000				
Royal Saudi Embassy - Ministry of Defence Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:48	495.00	
5504680		GUEST	101000				
Royal Saudi Embassy - Ministry of Defence Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:48	1,350.00	
5504680		GUEST	101000				
Royal Saudi Embassy - Ministry of Defence Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:48	1,195.00	
5504680		GUEST	101000				
Royal Saudi Embassy - Ministry of Defence Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:48	895.00	
5504680		GUEST	101000				
Royal Saudi Embassy - Ministry of Defence Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:48	495.00	
5504680		GUEST	101000				
Royal Saudi Embassy - Ministry of Defence Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:48	10,500.00	
5504680		GUEST	101000				
Royal Saudi Embassy - Ministry of Defence Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:49	495.00	
5504680		GUEST	101000				
Royal Saudi Embassy - Ministry of Defence Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:49	495.00	
5504680		GUEST	101000				
Royal Saudi Embassy - Ministry of Defence Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:49	895.00	
5504680		GUEST	101000				
Royal Saudi Embassy - Ministry of Defence Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:49	1,350.00	
5504680		GUEST	101000				
Royal Saudi Embassy - Ministry of Defence Delegation		Active	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	01:49	1,195.00	
5504680		GUEST	101000				

On March 13, 2018, in the midst of this wave of foreign spending at the Trump Hotel, President Trump fired Secretary of State Tillerson—whom Saudi and Emirati officials had been reportedly lobbying President Trump to remove for his role in intervening to stop a Saudi invasion of Qatar the previous summer.²⁵

²³ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00008122 to MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00008140 (Royal Saudi Embassy Ministerial Visit Receipt).

²⁴ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00008096 to MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00008119 (Embassy of the U.A.E. Military Delegation Receipt—March 2018).

²⁵ *Saudi Arabia Planned to Invade Qatar Last Summer. Rex Tillerson's Efforts to Stop It May Have Cost Him His Job, The Intercept* (Aug. 1, 2018) (<https://theintercept.com/2018/08/01/rex-tillerson-qatar-saudi-uae/>).

On March 20, 2018, President Trump met with Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed Bin Salman at the White House, where they discussed the Qatar blockade and U.S. arms sales to the Kingdom. During the meeting, President Trump stated:

It's a great honor to have the Crown Prince with us. Saudi Arabia has been a very great friend and a big purchaser of equipment and lots of other things. And one of the biggest investments in the United States is their—I guess it's your big investment—is buying stock in companies and various other things in the United States and creating jobs.²⁶

President Trump failed to mention Saudi spending at his own hotel. Two days after this meeting, the White House approved \$1.3 billion in arms sales to the Saudi government, despite concern by Members of Congress over potential war crimes committed in the Saudi and Emirati war in Yemen.²⁷

Throughout 2018, Saudi and Emirati government officials continued to patronize the Trump Hotel. For instance, between April and May 2018, various U.A.E. military officials, including the now-Commanders of its Land and Air Forces, Saeed Rashed Al Shehhi and Ibrahim Naser Al Alawi, spent **\$6,454** at the hotel. From May 30 to June 1, 2018, Awwad Eid Alardi Al-Balawi, a Saudi Admiral and Head of the Saudi Border Guards, spent **\$4,965** at the hotel.²⁸

Eid Alaradi AlBalawi, Awwad 56552089-1	844 P1K1	In-house GUEST	ROOM 101000	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	03/06	1,193.40
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Other individuals reportedly acting as unregistered foreign agents for the U.A.E. also patronized the hotel during this same period. On October 6, 2017, Mr. Broidy, who had won \$200 million in contracts from the U.A.E., met with President Trump at the White House and also urged the President to fire Secretary of State Tillerson, later recounting that he advised the President that Mr. Tillerson was “performing poorly and should be relieved but only at a good time, politically.”²⁹ Trump Hotel records demonstrate that the night of October 6, 2017, and the five nights preceding, Mr. Broidy stayed at the Trump Hotel and spent at least **\$2,970**. Mr. Broidy and Ahmad Khawaja, another Trump fundraiser accused of acting as an unregistered foreign agent of the U.A.E., stayed at the hotel on numerous nights in December 2017 and

²⁶ *Factbase, Remarks: Donald Trump Meets with Mohammad bin Salman of Saudi Arabia—March 20, 2018* (online at <https://factba.se/transcript/donald-trump-remarks-meeting-mohammad-bin-salman-saudi-arabia-march-20-2018>) (accessed Nov. 1, 2022).

²⁷ *Trump Administration Approves \$1B Arms Sale to Saudi Arabia, Including More Than 6,500 Missiles*, Fox News (Mar. 22, 2015) (online at www.foxnews.com/politics/trump-administration-approves-1b-arms-sale-to-saudi-arabia-including-more-than-6500-missiles).

²⁸ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00016813 to MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00017152 (April 2018 Hotel Guest Ledger); MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00008120 (Embassy of the U.A.E. Military Delegation Receipt—May 2018).

²⁹ *How 2 Gulf Monarchies Sought to Influence the White House*, New York Times (Mar. 21, 2018) (online at www.nytimes.com/2018/03/21/us/politics/george-nader-elliott-broidy-uae-saudi-arabia-white-house-influence.html).

February 2018, spending a combined **\$18,000**.³⁰

Khawaja, Ahmad 22965969-1	315 D1K1	In-house GUEST	ROOM 101000	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	02-47	2,024.00
	316 D1K	In-house GUEST	ROOM 101000	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	02-47	295.00
	317 D1K	In-house GUEST	ROOM 101000	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	02-45	459.00
Khawaja, Ahmad 27447567-1	320 D1K	In-house GUEST	ROOM 101000	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	02-47	449.00
	321 71K	In-house GUEST	ROOM 101000	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	02-47	543.00
	323 D1K	In-house FOLIO4	ROOM 101000	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	02-45	295.00
Khawaja, Ahmad	324	In-house	ROOM	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	02-47	449.00

During this time, Donald Trump’s U.A.E.-linked property also saw a jump in patronage. Management fees at Donald Trump’s golf course in Dubai jumped from **\$141,484** in 2017 to **\$314,579** in 2018—an increase of 122%.³¹ According to the *Washington Post*, the U.S. intelligence community has compiled a classified report detailing the U.A.E. government’s systematic efforts to manipulate U.S. foreign policy in its favor by exploiting “the vulnerabilities in American governance.”³²

Qatar

In early April 2018, President Trump welcomed the Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani, to the White House. Records obtained by the Committee show that in the three months leading up to that meeting, the Qatari government and associated entities spent more than **\$300,000** at the Trump Hotel.

Between January and early March 2018, the Sheikh Al Thani Family, the ruling family of Qatar, booked an extended stay at the Trump Hotel, spending at least **\$282,037**. On several occasions during this period, for example on February 11 and February 12, 2018, a room under the name “Ivanka & Jared Kushner” was booked on the same nights of the Sheikh Al Thani room block. One page of the hotel room ledger from February 2018 is excerpted below:³³

³⁰ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00018934 to MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00019093 (December 2017 Hotel Guest Ledger) (excerpt from December 11, 2017, stay); MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00019224 to MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00019414 (February 2018 Hotel Guest Ledger).

³¹ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00025563.

³² *U.S. Intel Report Says Key Gulf Ally Meddled in American Politics*, *Washington Post* (Nov. 12, 2022) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/11/12/uae-meddled-us-politics-intel-report/).

³³ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00019224 to MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00019414 (February 2018 Hotel Guest Ledger). The total cost of the stay reflected includes rooms booked under Khalid Al Thani.

Turkish Entourage Spending at Trump Hotel

During his term in office, President Trump took a number of actions that favored the Turkish government. For example, in 2017 President Trump remained silent when President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's bodyguards assaulted U.S. citizens during a visit to the United States. In 2018, President Trump publicly pushed his own DOJ to drop an investigation into money laundering by the Turkish state-owned financial institution Halkbank.

Trump Hotel records obtained by the Committee show the Turkish Embassy, lobbyists for the Turkish government, and a Turkish-linked group spent tens of thousands of dollars at the Trump Hotel in Washington, D.C.

The Turkish Embassy Protests

In May 2017, President Erdoğan visited Washington, D.C. During that visit, on May 16, 2017, Turkish security forces violently charged a group of protesters outside the Turkish Ambassador's residence, injuring 11 protestors and assaulting two Secret Service agents in what D.C. officials described as "a brutal attack."³⁶ Republican lawmakers called the security forces' actions an "affront to the United States" and the House of Representatives voted 397–0 in favor of a resolution to bring the perpetrators to justice.³⁷ Secretary Tillerson called the Ambassador of Turkey to the State Department to discuss the attack.³⁸ Reporting at the time highlighted that President Trump made no public statements condemning the attack.³⁹

Documents obtained by the Committee reveal that the Turkish Embassy sponsored two stays around the time of President Erdoğan's visit and the attack on U.S. protestors. Hotel records show an account for the "Embassy of Turkey Delegation" was closed on May 9, 2017,

span.org/video/?443832-1/president-trump-meets-emir-qatar). A year after this meeting, when President Trump, Jared Kushner, and the President's family traveled to London, the U.S. government spent more than \$1.3 million on accommodations at hotels linked to the Al Thani family and the Qatar Investment Authority, the emirate's sovereign wealth fund. *Revealed: US Government Spends £1M at Qatari-Backed Hotels for Donald Trump's UK State Visit*, *The Scotsman* (June 4, 2019) (online at www.scotsman.com/news/uk-news/revealed-us-government-spends-ps1m-qatari-backed-hotels-donald-trumps-uk-state-visit-1416212).

³⁶ *Erdogan Security Forces Launch "Brutal Attack" on Washington Protesters, Officials Say*, *New York Times* (May 17, 2017) (online at www.nytimes.com/2017/05/17/us/turkish-embassy-protest-dc.html).

³⁷ *Trump Says Turkish President Gets "Very High Marks"*, *Politico* (Sept. 21, 2017) (online at www.politico.com/story/2017/09/21/trump-erdogan-turkey-praise-242986); *Presidential Silence After an Attack on American Soil*, *The Atlantic* (Jan. 13, 2019) (online at www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/01/trump-stands-by-while-erdogan-orders-attack-protesters/580093/).

³⁸ *State Department Summons Turkish Ambassador After Bloody Brawl in D.C.*, *NBC News* (May 18, 2017) (online at www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/state-department-summons-turkish-ambassador-after-bloody-brawl-d-c-n761911).

³⁹ *Trump Says Turkish President Gets "Very High Marks," Politico* (Sept. 21, 2017) (online at www.politico.com/story/2017/09/21/trump-erdogan-turkey-praise-242986); *Presidential Silence After an Attack on American Soil*, *The Atlantic* (Jan. 13, 2019) (online at www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/01/trump-stands-by-while-erdogan-orders-attack-protesters/580093/).

and an account for the “Embassy of Turkey” was closed on May 23, 2017.⁴⁰ It is unknown from the records obtained how much the Embassy spent at the hotel during either of these stays.⁴¹

Halkbank

During the Obama Administration, federal prosecutors in the Southern District of New York (SDNY) indicted three individuals associated with a scheme on the part of the state-owned Turkish bank, Halkbank, and senior Turkish government officials, to evade U.S. sanctions by funneling billions of dollars of gold and cash to Iran.⁴² Two of the men, including the bank’s former deputy chief executive, were part of President Erdoğan’s inner circle. On several occasions, President Erdoğan personally requested President Obama and then-Vice President Biden intervene to drop these initial charges.⁴³

In May 2017, while the SDNY investigation into Halkbank was still underway, Turkey and Halkbank hired Ballard Partners—a lobbying firm run by Trump-donor Brian Ballard. Lobbying records show that Turkey paid Mr. Ballard’s lobbying firm \$4.6 million over two years for work on Halkbank and other matters, including contacts with White House aides.⁴⁴

Trump Hotel records show that from September 10, 2017, to April 26, 2018, Mr. Ballard spent \$21,209 over 37 nights at the Trump Hotel. Records show that on April 11 and April 12, 2018, Lev Parnas, a business associate of Rudolph Giuliani, also stayed at the Hotel. Mr. Parnas had previously introduced Mr. Ballard to the Turkish Foreign Minister, and Ballard Partners had reportedly paid Mr. Parnas a significant finder’s fee for the Turkish government and Halkbank contracts.⁴⁵ Eight days later, on April 20, 2018, Mr. Ballard and Mr. Parnas met with President Trump at his Mar-a-Lago resort for a Republican fundraiser.⁴⁶ Excerpts of the Trump Hotel ledgers on April 11, 2018, are below.

⁴⁰ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00008041.

⁴¹ Additional documents requested by the Committee from Mazars may provide further detail into the extent of these payments and other Turkish government expenditures at Trump properties.

⁴² *Turkish Bank Case Showed Erdogan’s Influence with Trump*, New York Times (Oct. 29, 2020) www.nytimes.com/2020/10/29/us/politics/trump-erdogan-halkbank.html.

⁴³ *Id.*

⁴⁴ *Id.* Ballard Partners represented Turkey through November 2018, and Halkbank until its indictment in SDNY in October 2019. *Behind Trump’s Turkish “Bromance”: Lev Parnas, Oligarchs And A Lucrative Lobbying Deal*, NBC News (Sept. 19, 2020) (online at www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/behind-trump-s-turkish-bromance-lev-parnas-oligarchs-lucrative-lobbying-n1240374).

⁴⁵ *Id.*; MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00016813 to MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00017152 (April 2018 Hotel Guest Ledger). Igor Fruman, Lev Parnas’ associate who also indicted for conspiring to violate campaign finance laws, also stayed at the hotel that night. *Id.*

⁴⁶ *Behind Trump’s Turkish “Bromance”: Lev Parnas, Oligarchs And A Lucrative Lobbying Deal*, NBC News (Sept. 19, 2020) (online at www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/behind-trump-s-turkish-bromance-lev-parnas-oligarchs-lucrative-lobbying-n1240374).

Ballard,Brian 36179883-1	723 P2Q	In-house GJEST	ROOM 101000	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	02 53	726.00
Parnas,Lev 96135916-1	432 P2QA	In-house GUEST	ROOM 101000	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	02 54	873.00

Advance deposit ledgers from April 27, 2018, one day after Mr. Ballard checked out of the Hotel, reflect charges of **\$65,139** for an “American Turkish Council Call In.”⁴⁷ The American Turkish Council (ATC) has been described by Turkey’s state-aligned newspaper the *Daily Sabah* as the “main Turkish lobby in the U.S.”⁴⁸ According to public reporting, the American-Turkish Council held a joint conference with another Turkish state-aligned group, the Turkey-U.S. Business Council, at the Trump Hotel in both 2017 and 2019.⁴⁹

In December 2018, President Trump reportedly told President Erdoğan that he would ensure DOJ would drop the Halkbank prosecution, reportedly saying that “he would take care of things, explaining that the Southern District prosecutors were not his people, but were Obama people, a problem that would be fixed when they were replaced by his people.”⁵⁰ Between December 2018 and July 2019, Acting Attorney General Matthew Whitaker and Attorney General Bill Barr both made requests that the U.S. Attorney for the SDNY, Bill Berman, drop the Halkbank prosecution. Mr. Berman later wrote in a book that he believed that Attorney General Barr “appeared to be doing Trump’s bidding” by pressuring SDNY to drop the charges.⁵¹ John Bolton, former President Trump’s National Security Advisor, stated this of Mr. Trump’s conduct related to Trump’s relationship with Erdoğan and Halkbank:

“It was so idiosyncratic, so personal to Trump in the pursuit of personal relationships, that it was very dangerous. And it does look like obstruction of justice.”⁵²

In June 2020, eight months after SDNY prosecutors filed the indictment against

⁴⁷ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00007998; MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00008604. These ledgers reflect one payment of \$43,426 and a second payment of \$21,713. Other ledgers reflect payments from the American Turkish Council in May 2017 and August 2017.

⁴⁸ *Donald Trump’s Longtime Business Connections in Turkey Back in The Spotlight*, NBC News (Oct. 9, 2019) (online at www.nbcnews.com/politics/trump-impeachment-inquiry/donald-trump-s-longtime-business-connections-turkey-back-spotlight-n1064011); *Turkey’s Lobbyists Had Deep Access to Trump White House*, Courthouse News Service (Oct. 22, 2019) (online at www.courthousenews.com/turkeys-lobbyists-had-deep-access-to-trump-white-house/).

⁴⁹ The 2019 conference reportedly included President Erdoğan’s son-in-law and former Turkish cabinet minister, Berat Albayrak, who was implicated in the Halkbank scandal. Public reports show that Mr. Albayrak met with President Trump and Jared Kushner immediately after that conference. See *Turkey’s Lobbyists Had Deep Access to Trump White House*, Courthouse News Service (Oct. 22, 2019) (online at www.courthousenews.com/turkeys-lobbyists-had-deep-access-to-trump-white-house/).

⁵⁰ *Clash Over U.S. Attorney Who Investigated Trump Associates Sets Off Crisis*, New York Times (June 19, 2020) (online at www.nytimes.com/2020/06/19/nyregion/us-attorney-manhattan-trump.html).

⁵¹ *Geoffrey Berman’s Big Claims About Trump’s Justice Department*, Washington Post (Sept. 8, 2022) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/09/08/berman-trump-department-justice-organized/).

⁵² *Turkish Bank Case Showed Erdogan’s Influence With Trump*, New York Times (Oct. 29, 2020) (online at www.nytimes.com/2020/10/29/us/politics/trump-erdogan-halkbank.html).

Halkbank, President Trump fired Mr. Berman. Trump DOJ officials “cited his handling of the Halkbank matter, including his blocking of the proposed global settlement, as a key reason for his removal.”⁵³

Chinese Spending at Trump Hotel and Solicitation of Chinese and Russian Business

In November 2017, President Trump traveled to China where he lavished praise on President Xi Jinping. Although as a candidate Trump had accused China of orchestrating “the greatest theft in the history of the world” and “raping” the United States with its trade policy, President Trump surprised observers during his visit by taking a softer tone: “After all, who can blame a country for being able to take advantage of another country for the benefit of its citizens? I give China great credit.”⁵⁴ President Trump personally praised President Xi, stating “My feeling toward you is an incredibly warm one.”⁵⁵

Documents obtained by the Committee show that Trump’s visit came amidst Chinese government spending at the Trump Hotel in Washington, D.C. On August 27, 2017, two months before Trump traveled to Asia, an Embassy of China Delegation spent **\$19,391** at the Trump Hotel, according to Trump Hotel documents obtained from Mazars.⁵⁶

Casino magnate Steve Wynn, who held significant business interests in China and was implicated by the Justice Department as acting as an unregistered foreign agent for China, stayed at the Trump Hotel twice in this period, spending **\$9,370**. His visits occurred three weeks before Trump’s China trip and on November 8, 2017, while Trump was meeting Chinese officials.⁵⁷

Wynn, Steve 31363846-1	541 D1K	In-house GUEST	ROOM 101000	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	04.19	720.00
Wynn, Steve 76562891-1	544 P1K1X3	In-house GUEST	ROOM 101000	DATABRIDGEINTERNALUSER	04.19	4,650.00

Other documents obtained by the Committee indicate that the Trump Hotel may have sought business from both China and Russia during former President Trump’s first year in office, despite the Trump Organization’s promise not to enter into any foreign deals while Mr. Trump

⁵³ *Id.*

⁵⁴ *Donald Trump Calls China’s Trade Practice the “Greatest Theft in the World”*, ABC News (May 2, 2016) (online at <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/donald-trump-calls-chinas-trade-practices-greatest-theft/story?id=38812125>); *Trump, Once Critical from Afar, Gives China a Pass in Trade War*, NBC News (Nov. 8, 2018) (online at www.nbcnews.com/news/world/trump-says-he-doesn-t-blame-china-taking-advantage-u-n819221).

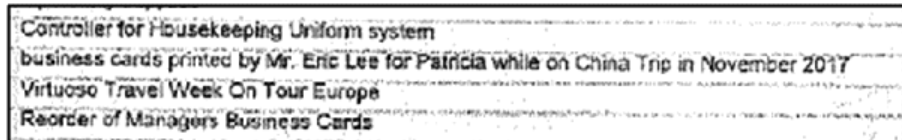
⁵⁵ *Trump Heaps Praise on “Very Special” Xi in China Visit*, Reuters (Nov. 9, 2021) (online at www.reuters.com/article/us-trump-asia-china-bromance/trump-heaps-praise-on-very-special-xi-in-china-visit-idUSKBN1D91C8).

⁵⁶ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00006713.

⁵⁷ *Wynn Sued by DOJ for Not Registering as Agent of China*, Politico (May 17, 2022) (online at www.politico.com/news/2022/05/17/wynn-justice-department-china-00033284); MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00018453 to MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00018707 (October 2017 Hotel Guest Ledger); MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE 00018708 to MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00018933 (November 2017 Hotel Guest Ledger) (excerpt from November 8, 2017, stay).

was President.

In June 2017, Patricia Tang, the Trump Hotel Director of Marketing, billed the Trump Hotel \$1,950 as a reimbursable business expense for a “Hotel in China.”⁵⁸ In November 2017—the same month that Mr. Trump made an official visit to China—“Patricia,” potentially referring to Ms. Tang, appeared to return to China. A line item in a disbursement ledger indicates reimbursement for “business cards printed by Mr. Eric Lee for Patricia while on China Trip in November 2017.”⁵⁹



In October 2017, Ms. Tang expensed \$5,000 for a Russian Service Bureau hosted trip marked “Patricia Tang Russia Road Show Travel,” for which she later expensed an additional \$1,300.⁶⁰

Document Requests

The Committee has amassed considerable evidence that foreign governments spent significant sums of money at the Trump Hotel in Washington D.C. during the Trump Administration while former President Trump retained his ownership interest in the hotel. These findings raise serious questions about whether foreign governments sought to distort U.S. foreign policy by channeling money into a business personally owned by the President of the United States.

In light of this troubling information, the Committee is seeking records from NARA regarding former President Trump’s conduct in office and foreign governments’ attempts to influence the Trump Administration. For all these reasons, pursuant to the Presidential Records Act,⁶¹ please provide by November 28, 2022:

1. All documents and communications relating to the Trump Hotel or hotel stays at other Trump-owned properties;
2. All documents and communications related to foreign payments to the Trump Hotel or other Trump-owned properties;

⁵⁸ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00008260.

⁵⁹ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00008644.

⁶⁰ MAZARS-OVERSIGHT_COMMITTEE-00013189.

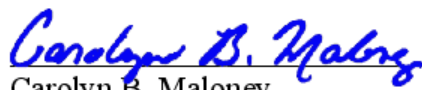
⁶¹ 44 U.S.C. § 2205(2)(C).

3. All documents and communications between August 2017 and August 2018 related to any delegation or individual from the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, or Saudi Arabia that stayed at the Trump Hotel or other Trump properties;
4. All documents and communications between August 2017 and August 2018 related to Elliot Broidy;
5. All documents and communications related to the Malaysian delegation's 2017 visit and stay at the Trump Hotel;
6. All documents and communications related to the Department of Justice's investigation of Halkbank or related probes;
7. All documents and communications relating to Ballard Partners or Brian Ballard's representation of any foreign government client before the Trump Administration between August 2017 and May 2018;
8. All documents and communications related to the Department of Justice's investigation of 1Malaysia Development Berhad; and
9. All documents and communications related to Chinese or Russian tourism at the Trump Hotel, or any stays by Chinese or Russian officials at the Trump Hotel.

The Committee on Oversight and Reform 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 Oversight Committee staff at (202) 225-5051.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,


Carolyn B. Maloney
Chairwoman

Enclosure

cc: The Honorable James Comer, Ranking Member