

July 13, 2017

Hon. Rod J. Rosenstein
Deputy Attorney General
Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington DC 20530

Hon. Robert Mueller
Special Counsel
Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington DC 20530

Dear Deputy Attorney General Rosenstein and Special Counsel Mueller:

Common Cause, the Campaign Legal Center, and Democracy 21 request that the Department of Justice exercise its authority to investigate whether Donald J. Trump for President, Inc. and Donald Trump Jr. solicited a contribution from a foreign national in violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act (“FECA”), 52 U.S.C. § 30101, *et seq.*

Given Attorney General Sessions’ recusal from any investigation into possible Russian involvement in the 2016 elections, we have not addressed this letter to the Attorney General. Further, given the subject matter of this investigation, we request that this matter be investigated by Special Counsel Mueller as part of his investigation into Russian interference in last year’s election.

The attached complaint, filed on this date with the Federal Election Commission, details the relevant facts establishing a reason to believe that, Donald J. Trump for President, Inc. and its agents Donald Trump Jr., Jared Kushner, and Paul Manafort solicited, or provided substantial assistance in the solicitation of, contributions from foreign nationals, in violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30121(a)(1)-(2), and that Rob Goldstone provided substantial assistance in the solicitation of a contribution from a foreign national, 52 U.S.C. § 30121(a)(2).

According to recently-released emails, on June 3, 2016, Donald Trump’s son, Donald Trump Jr., received a message from an associate, Ron Goldstone, stating that as “part of Russia and its government’s support for Mr. Trump,” the “Crown prosecutor of Russia” had “offered to provide the Trump campaign with some official documents and information that would incriminate Hillary [Clinton] and her dealings with Russia and would be very useful.” Trump Jr. quickly replied, “I love it especially later in the summer,” and proceeded to arrange an in-person meeting with a person he was told was a “Russian government attorney,” as well as with Kushner and Manafort, to accept information he believed would be “helpful to the campaign.” According to a recent interview on *Hannity*, Trump Jr. admitted to “pressing” the Russian government attorney for the information at the meeting itself.

Under federal law, providing anything of value, including the fruits of paid research, hacking, or similar investigatory activity, to a campaign is an in-kind “contribution,” and expressing approval and requesting a meeting to receive that in-kind contribution is a “solicitation.” The law prohibits soliciting contributions from foreign nationals. Russian citizens and the Russian government are foreign nationals.

Although the Federal Election Commission (FEC) has exclusive jurisdiction over civil enforcement of the campaign finance laws, 52 U.S.C. § 30109(a), the Department of Justice has its own separate responsibility to enforce the campaign finance laws against “knowing and willful” violations. 52 U.S.C. § 30109(d); *see generally* FEDERAL PROSECUTION OF ELECTION OFFENSES (7th ed. May 2007) (DOJ HANDBOOK). These activities implicate at least one “of the principal prohibitions of FECA,” namely the prohibition against “contributions from foreign nationals” (52 U.S.C. § 30121). DOJ HANDBOOK at 13-14.

The DOJ HANDBOOK observes that “American elections should be shielded against foreign influence,” *id.* at 152, and takes note of the fact that Congress increased criminal penalties for campaign finance violations as part of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA). As the Handbook states, at 198-99:

BCRA significantly enhanced the criminal penalties for knowing and willful violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act. BCRA did so in response to identified anti-social consequences, namely, corruption and the appearance of corruption arising from FECA violations, and their adverse effect on the proper functioning of American democracy....

In view of the enhanced criminal penalties for FECA crimes and the legislative history supporting their enactment, it is the Justice Department’s position that all knowing and willful FECA violations that exceed the applicable jurisdictional floor specified in the Act’s criminal provision should be considered for federal prosecution....

The severity of a FECA violation involving a foreign governments cannot be understated. As the Handbook acknowledges, BCRA directed the Sentencing Commission to take into account certain aggravating conduct for FECA crimes, such that an illegal transaction—including a solicitation—involving the government of a foreign country is increased by 4 levels, U.S.S.G. § 2C1.8.

The violations of federal campaign finance law alleged in the attached complaint pose a direct threat to democracy and national security in the United States. We urge the Department of Justice to investigate.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/

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/s/

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Copy to:

Kenneth A. Blanco, Acting Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division
Raymond Hulser, Chief, Public Integrity Section

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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v.

MUR No. _____

DONALD J. TRUMP FOR PRESIDENT, INC.
Timothy Jost, Treasurer
725 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10022

DONALD TRUMP JR.
c/o The Trump Organization
725 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10022

PAUL MANAFORT
725 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10022

JARED KUSHNER
725 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10022

ROB GOLDSTONE
c/o Oui 2 Entertainment
515 W 20th St
New York, NY 10011

COMPLAINT

1. This complaint is filed pursuant to 52 U.S.C. § 30109(a)(1) and is based on information and belief that there is reason to believe President Donald Trump’s 2016 presidential campaign committee, Donald J. Trump for President, Inc. (I.D. C00580100), and its agents Donald Trump Jr., Jared Kushner, and Paul Manafort solicited, or provided substantial assistance in the solicitation of, contributions from foreign nationals, 52 U.S.C. § 30121(a)(1)-(2), and that Rob Goldstone provided substantial assistance in the solicitation of a contribution from a foreign national, 52 U.S.C. § 30121(a)(2), in violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act (“FECA”), 52 U.S.C. § 30101, *et seq.*
2. On June 3, 2016, Donald Trump’s son, Donald Trump Jr., received a message from an associate, Ron Goldstone, stating that as “part of Russia and its government’s support for Mr. Trump,” the “Crown prosecutor of Russia” had “offered to provide the Trump campaign with some official documents and information that would incriminate Hillary [Clinton] and her dealings with Russia and would be very useful.” Trump Jr. quickly replied, “I love it especially later in the summer,” and proceeded to arrange an in-person meeting with a person he was told was a “Russian government attorney,” as well as with Kushner and Manafort, to accept information he believed would be “helpful to the campaign.”
3. Under federal law, providing anything of value, including the fruits of paid research, hacking, or similar investigatory activity, to a campaign is an in-kind “contribution,” and

expressing approval and requesting a meeting to receive that in-kind contribution is a “solicitation.” The law prohibits soliciting contributions from foreign nationals. Russian citizens and the Russian government are foreign nationals.

4. “If the Commission, upon receiving a complaint ... has reason to believe that a person has committed, or is about to commit, a violation of [FECA] ... [t]he Commission shall make an investigation of such alleged violation” 52 U.S.C. § 30109(a)(2) (emphasis added); *see also* 11 C.F.R. § 111.4(a).

FACTS

5. During the 2016 presidential campaign, Donald Trump Jr. played a prominent role as an agent, strategist, and spokesperson of Donald J. Trump for President, Inc., headlining campaign fundraising events¹ and participating in high-level decision-making such as helping to select President Trump’s running mate.² Trump Jr. also was reimbursed approximately \$32,101 by the campaign for travel expenses.³

¹ See, e.g., Bryan Schott, *Donald Trump, Jr. to Hold High-Dollar Fundraiser in Utah Next Week*, Utah Policy (Sept. 14, 2016), <http://utahpolicy.com/index.php/features/today-at-utah-policy/10805-donald-trump-jr-to-hold-high-dollar-fundraiser-in-utah-next-week>; Joey Garrison, *Donald Trump Jr. visits Franklin for private fundraiser*, The Tennessean, (Sept. 2, 2016), <http://www.tennessean.com/story/news/politics/2016/09/02/donald-trump-jr-visits-franklin-private-fundraiser/89770806/>; Kelsey Bradshaw, *Donald Trump Jr. in San Antonio for fundraiser Tuesday*, My San Antonio (Sept. 13, 2016), <http://www.mysanantonio.com/news/local/article/Donald-Trump-Jr-to-visit-San-Antonio-for-9219635.php>.

² CBS News, *Trump Jr. on family’s role in campaign, decision to tap Pence* (July 20, 2017), <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/donald-trump-jr-on-father-running-mate-mike-pence-paul-manafort-melania-speech-plagiarism/>.

³ See Donald J. Trump for President Inc., Disbursements to Donald Trump Jr., 2015-2016, https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?two_year_transaction_period=2016&data_type=processed&recipient_name=donald+trump+jr.&min_date=01%2F01%2F2015&max_date=12%2F31%2F2016.

6. Trump Tower, at 725 Fifth Avenue, is the campaign headquarters for Donald J. Trump for President, Inc.⁴ During the 2016 election cycle, Donald J. Trump for President, Inc. reported \$1,810,882 in rent payments to Trump Tower Commercial LLC.⁵
7. On July 8, 2017, the *New York Times* reported that on June 9, 2016, two weeks after Donald J. Trump had secured the Republican Party’s presidential nomination, Trump Jr. had “arranged a meeting at Trump Tower in Manhattan with a Russian lawyer who has connections to the Kremlin,” and which “was also attended by Mr. Trump’s campaign chairman at the time, Paul J. Manafort, as well as the president’s son-in-law, Jared Kushner.”⁶ The Russian lawyer, Natalia Veselnitskaya, was accompanied by a translator.⁷ Trump Jr. told the *Times* it was “a short introductory meeting” where the participants “primarily discussed a program about the adoption of Russian children that was active and popular with American families years ago and was since ended by the Russian government.”⁸
8. By the next day, Trump Jr.’s story had changed, after three White House advisors and two others with knowledge of the meeting told the *Times* that Trump Jr. had agreed to the

⁴ See Donald J. Trump for President, Inc., FEC Form 1—Statement of Organization (Amendment), June 3, 2016, <http://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/469/201606039017468469/201606039017468469.pdf>; see also Donald J. Trump for President, Inc., FEC Form 1—Statement of Organization (Amendment), January 20, 2017, <http://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/839/201701209041435839/201701209041435839.pdf>.

⁵ Donald J. Trump for President Inc., disbursements to Trump Tower Commercial LLC for “rent,” 2016 election cycle, https://www.fec.gov/data/disbursements/?two_year_transaction_period=2016&data_type=processed&committee_id=C00580100&recipient_name=Trump+Tower+Commercial+LLC&min_date=01%2F01%2F2015&max_date=12%2F31%2F2016&disbursement_description=Rent.

⁶ Jo Becker, Matt Apuzzo, and Adam Goldman, *Trump Team Met With Lawyer Linked to Kremlin During Campaign*, N.Y. Times (July 8, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/08/us/politics/trump-russia-kushner-manafort.html>.

⁷ *Id.*

⁸ *Id.*

meeting with the understanding that Veselnitskaya would provide “damaging information about Hillary Clinton.”⁹

9. In a July 9 statement, Trump Jr. said “I was asked to have a meeting by an acquaintance I knew from the 2013 Miss Universe pageant with an individual who I was told might have *information helpful to the campaign.*”¹⁰ Trump Jr. said he “asked Jared [Kushner] and Paul [Manafort] to attend, but told them nothing of the substance.”¹¹

10. Trump Jr. asserted that at the outset of his meeting with Ms. Veselnitskaya “pleasantries were exchanged,” and she then:

[S]tated that she had information that individuals connected to Russia were funding the Democratic National Committee and supporting Mrs. Clinton. Her statements were vague, ambiguous and made no sense. No details or supporting information was provided or even offered. It quickly became clear that she had no meaningful information.¹²

11. Trump Jr. claimed Veselnitskaya “then changed subjects and began discussing the adoption of Russian children and mentioned the Magnitsky Act,” and that: “It became clear to me that this was the true agenda all along and that *the claims of potentially helpful information were a pretext for the meeting.*”¹³

12. Trump Jr.’s statement therefore admits that obtaining “potentially helpful information” about his father’s likely general election opponent, Hillary Clinton, from a person known to be a foreign national, was the reason he attended the meeting.

⁹ Jo Becker, Matt Apuzzo, and Adam Goldman, *Trump’s Son Met With Russian Lawyer After Being Promised Damaging Information on Clinton*, N.Y. Times (July 9, 2016), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/09/us/politics/trump-russia-kushner-manafort.html>.

¹⁰ See Liam Stack, *Donald Trump Jr.’s Two Different Explanations for Russia Meeting*, N.Y. Times (July 9, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/09/us/donald-trump-jrs-two-different-explanations-for-russian-meeting.html> (emphasis added).

¹¹ *Id.*

¹² *Id.*

¹³ *Id.* (emphasis added).

13. On July 10, the *Washington Post* reported that the meeting between Trump Jr. and Veselnitskaya was arranged “at the request of Emin Agalarov, a Russian pop star whose Kremlin-connected family has done business with President Trump in the past,” through “Rob Goldstone, a music publicist who represents Agalarov.”¹⁴ Agalarov and his father, Aras Agalarov, “a wealthy Moscow real estate developer, helped sponsor the Trump-owned Miss Universe pageant in Russia in 2013,” and also signed a preliminary agreement with now-President Trump to build a Trump Tower in Moscow.¹⁵ “Emin Agalarov told *The Post* last year that he had spoken with Trump numerous times about the need to build stronger ties between Russia and the United States,” the *Post* reported.¹⁶
14. On July 11, 2017, Trump Jr. declared in a statement that “The information [the Agalarovs] suggested they had about Hillary Clinton I thought was Political Opposition Research.”¹⁷
15. Also on July 11, 2017, the *New York Times* and Trump Jr. separately made public the 2016 email exchange between Goldstone and Trump Jr. setting up the meeting in question.¹⁸ According to those emails, at 10:36 a.m. on June 3, 2016, Goldstone emailed Trump Jr.:

¹⁴ Rosalind Henderman and Tom Hamburger, *Meeting between Trump Jr. and Russian lawyer was requested by Russian pop star whose family is close to Putin*, Wash. Post (July 10, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/kremlin-denies-knowing-of-donald-trump-jr-meeting-with-russian-lawyer-during-2016-campaign/2017/07/10/c2bfee34-6566-11e7-a1d7-9a32c91c6f40_story.html.

¹⁵ *Id.*

¹⁶ *Id.*

¹⁷ See Donald Trump Jr. (@DonaldJTrumpJr), Twitter (July 11, 2017, 8:00 a.m.), <https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr/status/884789418455953413>; see also N.Y. Times, *Read the Emails on Donald Trump Jr.’s Russia Meeting* (July 11, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/07/11/us/politics/donald-trump-jr-email-text.html>.

¹⁸ See Donald Trump Jr. (@DonaldJTrumpJr), Twitter (July 11, 2017, 11:00 a.m.), and *id.* (July 11, 2017, 11:01 a.m.), <https://twitter.com/DonaldJTrumpJr/status/884789839522140166> (attached as Exhibit A); Jo Becker, Matt Apuzzo, and Adam Goldman, *Russian Dirt on Clinton? ‘I Love It,’ Donald Trump Jr. Said*, N.Y. Times (July 11, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/11/us/politics/trump-russia->

Emin [Agalarov, Goldstone's client] just called and asked me to contact you with something very interesting.

The Crown prosecutor of Russia met with his father Aras [Agalarov, the Moscow-based developer and Trump business partner] this morning and in their meeting offered to provide the Trump campaign with some official documents and information that would incriminate Hillary and her dealings with Russia and would be very useful to your father.

This is obviously very high level and sensitive information but is part of Russia and its government's support for Mr Trump – helped along by Aras and Emin.

What do you think is the best way to handle this information and would you be able to speak to Emin about it directly?

I can also send this info to your father via Rhona [presumably Rhona Graff, Trump's longtime executive assistant], but it is ultra sensitive so wanted to send to you first.¹⁹

16. Sixteen minutes later, at 10:53 a.m., Trump Jr. replied:

Thanks Rob I appreciate that. I am on the road at the moment but perhaps I just speak to Emin first. Seems we have some time and if it's what you say I love it especially later in the summer. Could we do a call first thing next week when I am back?²⁰

17. Trump Jr. arranged to speak with Emin Agalarov on June 6, and sent Goldstone his private cellphone number for Agalarov to call.²¹ "Ok he's on stage in Moscow but should be off within 20 Minutes so I'm sure can call," Mr. Goldstone wrote at 3:43 p.m, to which Trump Jr. responded at 4:48 p.m., "Rob thanks for the help."²²

18. The following day, June 7, 2016, Goldstone emailed at 4:20 p.m., "Don Hope all is well Emin asked that I schedule a meeting with you and The Russian government attorney

email-clinton.html; see also N.Y. Times, *Read the Emails on Donald Trump Jr.'s Russia Meeting*, *supra* note 17.

¹⁹ Ex. A at 4.

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ *Id.* at 3-4.

²² *Id.* at 2-3.

who is flying over from Moscow for this Thursday.”²³ Goldstone noted that, “I believe you are aware of this meeting.”²⁴

19. In a follow-up email at 5:19 p.m., Goldstone wrote, “I will send the names of the two people meeting with you for security when I have them later today.”²⁵
20. On June 8, 2016, Goldstone informed Trump Jr. that the “Russian government attorney” could not make the 3 p.m. time that had been proposed, and Trump Jr. agreed to move it back by an hour.²⁶
21. Trump Jr. then forwarded the entire email chain—which had the subject line “Russia – Clinton – private and confidential”—to Kushner’s company work email, and to Manafort at his Trump campaign email.²⁷ “Meeting got moved to 4 tomorrow at my offices,” he wrote on June 8, 2016. “Best, Don.”²⁸
22. On June 9, 2016, the Trump Tower meeting between Trump Jr., Kushner, Manafort, and the “Russian government attorney,” Veselnitskaya, took place.²⁹ The meeting began at 4 p.m. and lasted until approximately 4:30 p.m. Ten minutes later, at 4:40 p.m., then-candidate Trump tweeted to Hillary Clinton, “where are your 33,000 emails that you deleted?”³⁰

²³ *Id.* at 2 (emphasis added).

²⁴ *Id.*

²⁵ *Id.*

²⁶ *Id.*

²⁷ *Id.* at 1; *see also* Becker, Apuzzo, and Goldman, *Russian Dirt on Clinton? ‘I Love It,’ Donald Trump Jr. Said*, *supra* note 18.

²⁸ Ex. A at 1.

²⁹ *See* Becker, Apuzzo, and Goldman, *supra* note 18.

³⁰ Donald J. Trump Twitter account, 4:40 p.m. June 9, 2016, <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/741007091947556864>; *see also* Philip Bump, *What Happened and When: the Timeline Leading Up to Donald Trump Jr.’s Fateful Meeting*, Wash. Post (July 11, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/07/11/what-happened-and-when-the-timeline-leading-up-to-donald-trump-jr-s-fateful-meeting/?utm_term=.6f3271949af0.

23. On June 15, a person or group using the pseudonym “Guccifer 2.0” released hacked documents stolen from the Democratic Party’s network, the first of a series of leaks that would come in the coming months.³¹ U.S. intelligence officials believe Guccifer 2.0 is tied to Russian intelligence agencies.³²
24. On July 11, 2017, Trump Jr. appeared in a television interview on *Hannity*, where he stated that, at the June 9, 2016 Trump Tower meeting, that he had expressly requested that Veselnitskaya share the opposition research.³³

SEAN HANNITY, HOST: So [Veselnitskaya] is saying that she had no information to provide. Do you remember what she suggested, that you were pressing her a little bit for information?

TRUMP JR.: Well, I imagine I did. I mean, I was probably pressing because the pretext of the meeting was, Hey, I have information about your opponent. It was this, you know, Hey, some DNC donors may have done something and Russia and they didn't pay taxes -- I was, like, What does this have to do with anything? You know, especially in light of everything that was out there, I was, like, This isn't ...³⁴

SUMMARY OF THE LAW

25. Federal law prohibits a foreign national from directly or indirectly making a “contribution or donation of money or other thing of value, or to make an express or implied promise to make a contribution or donation, in connection with a Federal, State, or local election,”

³¹ *Id.*

³² Press Release, *Joint Statement from the Department Of Homeland Security and Office of the Director of National Intelligence on Election Security* (Oct. 7, 2016), <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2016/10/07/joint-statement-department-homeland-security-and-office-director-national>.

³³ Transcript, *Donald Trump Jr. on 'Hannity': In retrospect, I would've done things differently*, “Hannity” (July 11, 2017), <http://www.foxnews.com/transcript/2017/07/11/donald-trump-jr-on-hannity-in-retrospect-wouldve-done-things-differently.html>.

³⁴ *Id.*

- 52 U.S.C. § 30121(a)(1)(A), and prohibits any person from soliciting, accepting or receiving such a contribution or donation from a foreign national, *id.* § 30121(a)(2).
26. “Foreign national” is defined as “an individual who is not a citizen of the United States or a national of the United States,” 52 U.S.C. § 30121(b)(2), including a “foreign principal,” such as a foreign government or political party, *id.* § 30121(b)(1).
27. “Contribution” is defined as “any gift ... of money or anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office.” 52 U.S.C. 30101(8)(A)(i). “Anything of value” includes in-kind contributions, such as the provision of goods or services without charge or at a charge that is less than the usual and normal charge. 11 C.F.R. § 100.52(d)(1). “Usual and normal charge” is defined as the price of goods in the market from which they ordinarily would have been purchased at the time of the contribution, or the commercially reasonable rate prevailing at the time the services were rendered. *Id.* § 100.52(d)(2). “Contribution” also includes all expenditures made “in cooperation, consultation, or concert, with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate, his authorized political committees, or their agents.” 52 U.S.C. § 30116(a)(7)(B); *see also* 11 C.F.R. § 109.20.
28. The Commission, “in light of the broad scope of the prohibition on contributions from foreign nationals,” construes the foreign national ban to encompass the provision of *anything* of value, even if the value of such an in-kind contribution “may be nominal or difficult to ascertain.” Advisory Opinion 2007-22 (Hurysz).
29. The Commission broadly defines “solicit” to mean “to ask, request, or recommend, explicitly or implicitly, that another person make a contribution . . . or otherwise provide anything of value,” and includes “an oral or written communication that, construed as

reasonably understood in the context in which it is made, contains a clear message asking, requesting, or recommending that another person make a contribution.” *Id.* § 300.2(m).³⁵ Solicitations may be made directly or indirectly. *Id.* Examples of such solicitations include any “communication that provides a method of making a contribution,” *id.* § 300.2(m)(1)(i), or that “provides instructions on how or where to send contributions,” *id.* § 300.2(m)(1)(ii).

30. A solicitation prohibited under 11 C.F.R. § 110.20 is made “knowingly” if the person is “aware of facts that would lead a reasonable person to inquire whether the source of the funds solicited, accepted or received is a foreign national, but the person failed to conduct a reasonable inquiry.” *Id.* § 110.20(a)(4)(iii); Advisory Opinion 2016-10 (Parker) at 3. A solicitation is also made “knowingly” if a person is “aware of facts that would lead a reasonable person to conclude that there is a substantial probability that the source of the funds solicited, accepted or received is a foreign national.” 11 C.F.R. § 110.20(a)(ii).
31. The Commission’s regulations at 11 C.F.R. § 110.20 implementing the statutory foreign national solicitation ban provide that “[n]o person shall knowingly solicit, accept, or receive from a foreign national any contribution or donation” to a political committee in connection with U.S. elections. 11 C.F.R. § 110.20(g).
32. Commission regulations additionally provide that “[n]o person shall knowingly provide substantial assistance in the solicitation [or] making . . . of a contribution or donation” prohibited under this section. *Id.* § 110.20(h)(1).
33. The Commission by regulation has defined “agent,” in the case of agents of a candidate, to include “any person who has actual authority, either express or implied, to . . . solicit,

³⁵ The “solicit” definition at 11 C.F.R. § 300.2(m) is the relevant definition for section 110.20. *See* 11 C.F.R. § 110.20(a)(6).

receive, direct, transfer, or spend funds in connection with any election.” 11 C.F.R. § 300.2(b)(3).

CAUSES OF ACTION

I. DONALD J. TRUMP FOR PRESIDENT, INC. AND DONALD TRUMP JR, KNOWINGLY SOLICITED A CONTRIBUTION FROM A FOREIGN NATIONAL IN VIOLATION OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT

34. Federal law and Commission regulations prohibit any person from knowingly soliciting contributions from a foreign national, 52 U.S.C. § 30121(a)(2); 11 C.F.R. § 110.20(g).
35. Donald Trump Jr., an agent of Donald J. Trump for President Inc.,³⁶ violated the ban on knowingly soliciting a contribution from a foreign national by arranging and attending a meeting to request and accept what he understood to be a valuable in-kind contribution to his father’s presidential campaign in the form of opposition research on Hillary Clinton from the Russian government.
36. The expenditure of funds for opposition research on a candidate’s opponent that is provided to the candidate or the use of which is coordinated with the candidate meets the definition of a “contribution,” since it constitutes “anything of value...made for the purpose of influencing any election,” 52 U.S.C. § 30101(8)(A)(i), and amounts to the provision of goods or services without charge or at below market rate, 11 C.F.R. § 100.52(d)(1)(2).³⁷ The definition of “contribution” is construed expansively “in light of

³⁶ At a minimum, Donald Trump Jr. had authority to solicit funds on behalf of Donald J. Trump for President, Inc. *See supra* ¶ 5; 11 C.F.R. § 300.2(b)(3).

³⁷ The Commission has consistently found that intangible “information” can be a “thing of value” that constitutes a contribution. For example, in Advisory Opinion 1990-12, the Commission found that information about poll results could constitute a “contribution,” even if the actual poll data was not provided to the campaign. Similarly, in MUR 5409, the Commission found that voter contact information constituted a “thing of value” that satisfied the contribution definition if provided to a campaign. The Commission also noted that in certain situations, it may be “difficult to ascertain a market value for unique goods,” but that “[t]he lack of a market, and thus the lack of a ‘usual and normal charge,’ however, does not necessarily equate to a lack of value.” *Id.* at 8, n. 12; *cf.* Advisory Opinion 2014-06

the broad scope of the prohibition on contributions from foreign nationals,” and encompasses the provision of *anything* of even “nominal” value from a foreign national. Advisory Opinion 2007-22. That definition is satisfied here: Trump Jr. believed the Trump campaign was going to receive “political opposition research”³⁸ from the Russian government, and that it would be of value to the campaign, as evidenced by his statement that he arranged the meeting with the Russian government attorney because he had been told that she possessed “potentially helpful information” that could be “helpful to the campaign.”³⁹ As a further indication of the apparent value of the “political opposition research” to the campaign, Trump Jr. invited two other senior campaign officials, campaign manager Paul Manafort and candidate Trump’s son-in-law Jared Kushner, who presumably, in the midst of a presidential campaign, would not have agreed to spend time in a meeting about the receipt of material from the Russian government unless they anticipated that the material would be of significant value to the campaign.

37. Trump Jr.’s conduct satisfied the definition of “to solicit” in several ways. By Trump Jr. receiving an offer of an in-kind contribution from the Russian government, then declaring “I love it,” arranging for a telephonic meeting with Agalarov, and then making arrangements to accept the contribution at an in-person meeting, Trump Jr. at a minimum “recommend[ed] . . . implicitly” that the foreign national make the contribution at or in connection with their meeting, thereby satisfying the definition of “solicitation.” 11 C.F.R. § 300.2(m). Additionally, by requesting a telephone meeting, then requesting and

(Ryan) at 8 (“The Commission has long recognized that a political committee’s mailing lists are assets that have value and that are frequently sold, rented, or exchanged in a market.”).

³⁸ See Donald Trump Jr. (@DonaldJTrumpJr), Twitter (July 11, 2017, 8:00 a.m.); see also N.Y. Times, *Read the Emails on Donald Trump Jr.’s Russia Meeting*, *supra* note 17.

³⁹ Stack, *supra* note 10.

attending a meeting where he anticipated that he would accept an in-kind contribution, Trump Jr. also made a “solicitation,” which includes any “communication that provides a method of making a contribution,” 11 C.F.R. § 300.2(m)(1)(i), or that “provides instructions on how or where to send contributions,” *id.* § 300.2(m)(1)(ii). By setting the time and place—indeed, the same building that houses the Trump campaign headquarters—for a meeting where the campaign’s agents could accept the in-kind contribution from a Russian national acting on behalf of the Russian government, Trump Jr. provided both a “method of making a contribution” and “instructions on how or where” to make the contribution, and therefore solicited a contribution from a foreign national.⁴⁰ Trump Jr. also admitted in an interview that, at the meeting itself, he “was probably pressing [Veselnitskaya] because the pretext of the meeting was, Hey, I have information about your opponent,”⁴¹ thereby acknowledging that he “ask[ed], request[ed], or recommend[ed]” that a foreign national make a contribution, 11 C.F.R. § 300.2(m).

38. Finally, Trump Jr.’s violation of the foreign national solicitation ban was without a doubt “knowing,” since he was “aware of facts that would lead a reasonable person to conclude that there is a substantial probability that the source of the funds solicited ... is a foreign national.” 11 C.F.R. § 110.20(a)(ii); Advisory Opinion 2016-10 (Parker) at 3. The initial June 3, 2016 email to Trump Jr. stated expressly that the “Crown prosecutor of Russia” had “offered to provide the Trump campaign with some official documents and

⁴⁰ By analogy, if a person had wanted to give a check to the campaign, and Trump Jr. arranged and attended an in-person meeting in order to accept that check, he would have similarly solicited a contribution.

⁴¹ Transcript, *Donald Trump Jr. on 'Hannity': In retrospect, I would've done things differently*, *supra* note 33.

information that would incriminate Hillary [Clinton] and her dealings with Russia and would be very useful,” to be offered as “part of Russia and its government’s support for Mr. Trump,”⁴² and subsequent emails stated a “Russian government attorney” would be “flying over from Moscow” to convey the in-kind contribution.⁴³

39. Therefore, based on published reports, there is reason to believe that Donald J. Trump for President, Inc. and Donald Trump Jr. knowingly solicited a contribution from a foreign national in violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30121(a)(2) and 11 C.F.R. § 110.20(g).

II. JARED KUSHNER AND PAUL MANAFORT KNOWINGLY SOLICITED, OR PROVIDED SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE IN THE SOLICITATION OF, A FOREIGN NATIONAL CONTRIBUTION

40. In addition to the solicitation ban discussed above, Commission regulations also provide that “[n]o person shall knowingly provide substantial assistance in the solicitation [or] making . . . of a contribution or donation” prohibited under this section. 11 C.F.R.

§ 110.20(h)(1).

41. On June 8, 2016, Trump Jr. forwarded the email chain between himself and Goldstone to Kushner and Manafort, with the subject line “FW: Russia – Clinton – private and confidential.” These emails provided Kushner and Manafort with unequivocal notice that the purpose of the meeting they would be attending the following day was to receive “official documents and information that would incriminate Hillary and her dealings with Russia” from the Russian government, according to the email.⁴⁴ As described *supra* ¶ 36, this information constitutes an in-kind contribution.

⁴² Ex. A at 4.

⁴³ *Id.* at 2. Additionally, at the meeting the “Russian government attorney” was accompanied by a translator. Becker, Apuzzo, and Goldman, *Trump Team Met With Lawyer Linked to Kremlin During Campaign*, *supra* note 6.

⁴⁴ Becker, Apuzzo, and Goldman, *Russian Dirt on Clinton? ‘I Love It,’ Donald Trump Jr. Said*, *supra* note 17.

42. By Kushner and Manafort participating in Trump Jr's arrangements to accept the foreign national contribution at an in-person meeting at Trump campaign headquarters, and by attending the meeting at which they had been told the contribution would be discussed, Kushner and Manafort solicited a contribution from a foreign national, in violation of 52 U.S.C. § 30121(a)(2), or provided substantial assistance in the solicitation of a foreign national contribution, in violation of 11 C.F.R. § 110.20(h)(1).

III. ROB GOLDSTONE PROVIDED SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE IN THE SOLICITATION OF A CONTRIBUTION FROM A FOREIGN NATIONAL

43. Goldstone, by working to connect Russian nationals with Donald J. Trump for President Inc. officials for the purpose of effecting an in-kind contribution, and by providing substantial assistance to Trump Jr. in arranging the meeting at which that contribution was to be discussed and solicited, violated the prohibition on any person "knowingly provid[ing] substantial assistance in the solicitation [or] making . . . of a contribution or donation" from a foreign national. 11 C.F.R. § 110.20(h)(1).

PRAYER FOR RELIEF

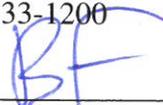
44. Wherefore, the Commission should find reason to believe that Donald J. Trump for President, Inc., Donald Trump Jr., Jared Kushner, Paul Manafort, and Rob Goldstone violated 52 U.S.C. § 30101, *et seq.*, including 52 U.S.C. § 30121, and conduct an immediate investigation under 52 U.S.C. § 30109(a)(2). Further, the Commission should determine and impose appropriate sanctions for any and all violations, should enjoin respondent from any and all violations in the future, and should impose such additional remedies as are necessary and appropriate to ensure compliance with the FECA.

July 13, 2017

Respectfully submitted,



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Counsel to the Campaign Legal Center

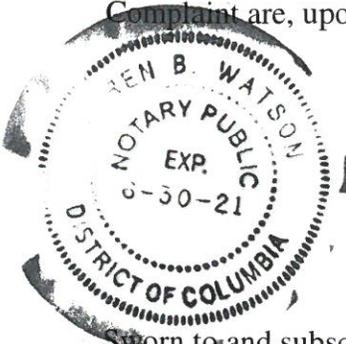
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Counsel to Democracy 21

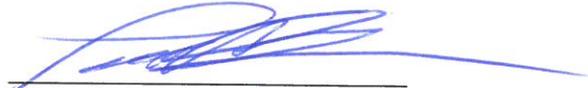
July 12, 2017

VERIFICATION

The complainants listed below hereby verify that the statements made in the attached Complaint are, upon their information and belief, true. Sworn pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

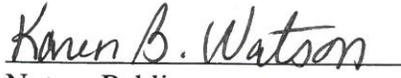


For Complainants Common Cause and Paul S. Ryan



Paul S. Ryan

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 13th day of July 2017.



Notary Public



For Complainant Catherine Hinckley Kelley



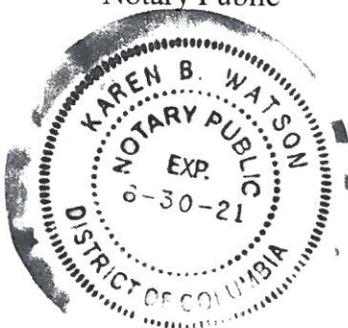
Catherine Hinckley Kelley

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 13th day of July 2017.

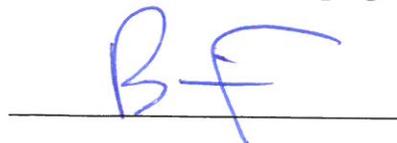


Notary Public

Notary Public



For Complainant Campaign Legal Center



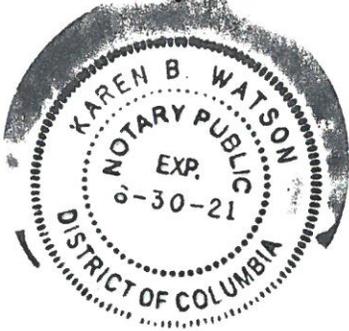
Brendan M. Fischer

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 13th day of July 2017.



Notary Public

Notary Public



For Complainant Democracy 21

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Fred Wertheimer", written over a horizontal line.

Fred Wertheimer

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 13th day of July 2017.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Karen B. Watson", written over a horizontal line.

Notary Public

EXHIBIT A



From: Donald Trump Jr.
Sent: Wednesday, June 08, 2016 12:03 PM
To: Jared Kushner; Paul Manafort
Subject: FW: Russia - Clinton - private and confidential

Meeting got moved to 4 tomorrow at my offices.
 Best,
 Don

Donald J. Trump Jr.
 Executive Vice President of Development and Acquisitions The Trump Organization
 725 Fifth Avenue | New York, NY | 10022
 | trump.com

-----Original Message-----

From: Rob Goldstone
Sent: Wednesday, June 08, 2016 11:18 AM
To: Donald Trump Jr.
Subject: Re: Russia - Clinton - private and confidential

They can't do today as she hasn't landed yet from Moscow 4pm is great tomorrow.
 Best
 Rob

This iphone speaks many languages

On Jun 8, 2016, at 11:15, Donald Trump Jr. wrote:

Yes Rob I could do that unless they wanted to do 3 today instead... just let me know and ill lock it in either way.
 d

Donald J. Trump Jr.
 Executive Vice President of Development and Acquisitions The Trump Organization
 725 Fifth Avenue | New York, NY | 10022
 | trump.com

-----Original Message-----
From: Rob Goldstone

1

4.6K

8.4K

13K





Sent: Wednesday, June 08, 2016 10:34 AM
To: Donald Trump Jr.
Subject: Re: Russia - Clinton - private and confidential

Good morning
Would it be possible to move tomorrow meeting to 4pm as the Russian attorney is in court until 3 i was just informed.
Best
Rob

This iphone speaks many languages

On Jun 7, 2016, at 18:14, Donald Trump Jr. wrote:

Great. It will likely be Paul Manafort (campaign boss) my brother in law and me. 725 Fifth Ave 25th floor.

Sent from my iPhone

> On Jun 7, 2016, at 5:19 PM, Rob Goldstone wrote:

>
> Perfect...I won't sit in on the meeting, but will bring them at 3pm and introduce you etc.
> I will send the names of the two people meeting with you for security when I have them later today.

>
> best

>
> Rob

>
>> On Jun 7, 2016, at 5:16 PM, Donald Trump Jr. wrote:

>>
>> How about 3 at our offices? Thanks rob appreciate you helping set it up.

>> D
>>
>> Sent from my iPhone

>>
>>> On Jun 7, 2016, at 4:20 PM, Rob Goldstone wrote:

>>> Don
>>> Hope all is well
>>> Emin asked that I schedule a meeting with you and The Russian government attorney who is flying over from Moscow for this Thursday.

>>> I believe you are aware of the meeting - and so wondered if 3pm or later on Thursday works for you?
>>> I assume it would be at your office.

>>> Best
>>> Rob Goldstone
>>> This iphone speaks many languages

>>>
>>> On Jun 6, 2016, at 16:38, Donald Trump Jr. wrote:

>>>
>>> Rob thanks for the help.

>>> D
>>>





>>> Sent from my iPhone
>>>
>>>> On Jun 6, 2016, at 3:43 PM, Rob Goldstone wrote:
>>>>
>>>> Ok he's on stage in Moscow but should be off within 20 Minutes so I
>>>> am sure can call Rob
>>>>
>>>> This iphone speaks many languages
>>>>
>>>> On Jun 6, 2016, at 15:38, Donald Trump Jr. wrote:
>>>>
>>>> My cell thanks
>>>> d
>>>>
>>>>
>>>> Donald J. Trump Jr.
>>>> Executive Vice President of Development and Acquisitions The Trump
>>>> Organization
>>>> 725 Fifth Avenue | New York, NY | 10022
>>>> | trump.com
>>>>
>>>>
>>>>
>>>> -----Original Message-----
>>>> From: Rob Goldstone [mailto:rob@goldstone.com]
>>>> Sent: Monday, June 06, 2016 3:37 PM
>>>> To: Donald Trump Jr. <@realDonaldTrump>
>>>> Subject: Re: Russia - Clinton - private and confidential
>>>>
>>>> Let me track him down in Moscow
>>>> What number he could call?
>>>>
>>>> This iphone speaks many languages
>>>>
>>>> On Jun 6, 2016, at 15:03, Donald Trump Jr. wrote:
>>>>
>>>> Rob could we speak now?
>>>> d
>>>>
>>>>
>>>>
>>>> Donald J. Trump Jr.
>>>> Executive Vice President of Development and Acquisitions The Trump
>>>> Organization
>>>> 725 Fifth Avenue | New York, NY | 10022
>>>> | trump.com
>>>>
>>>>
>>>>
>>>> -----Original Message-----
>>>> From: Rob Goldstone [mailto:rob@goldstone.com]



>>>> Sent: Monday, June 06, 2016 12:40 PM
>>>> To: Donald Trump Jr. >
>>>> Subject: Re: Russia - Clinton - private and confidential
>>>>
>>>> Hi Don
>>>> Let me know when you are free to talk with Emin by phone about this
>>>> Hillary info - you had mentioned early this week so wanted to try
>>>> to schedule a time and day Best to you and family Rob Goldstone
>>>>
>>>> This iphone speaks many languages
>>>>
>>>> On Jun 3, 2016, at 10:53, Donald Trump Jr. > wrote:
>>>>
>>>> Thanks Rob I appreciate that. I am on the road at the moment but perhaps I just speak to Emin first. Seems we have some time and if it's what you say I love it especially later in the summer. Could we do a call first thing next week when I am back?
>>>> Best,
>>>> Don
>>>>
>>>>
>>>> Sent from my iPhone
>>>>
>>>>> On Jun 3, 2016, at 10:36 AM, Rob Goldstone > wrote:
>>>>>
>>>>> Good morning
>>>>> Emin just called and asked me to contact you with something very interesting.
>>>>> The Crown prosecutor of Russia met with his father Aras this morning and in their meeting offered to provide the Trump campaign with some official documents and information that would incriminate Hillary and her dealings with Russia and would be very useful to your father.
>>>>> This is obviously very high level and sensitive information but is part of Russia and its government's support for Mr. Trump - helped along by Aras and Emin.
>>>>> What do you think is the best way to handle this information and would you be able to speak to Emin about it directly?
>>>>> I can also send this info to your father via Rhona, but it is ultra sensitive so wanted to send to you first.
>>>>> Best
>>>>> Rob Goldstone
>>>>>
>>>>> This iphone speaks many languages
>>>>>
>>>>> This e-mail message, and any attachments to it, are for the sole use of the intended recipients, and may contain confidential and privileged information. Any unauthorized review, use, disclosure or distribution of this email message or its attachments is prohibited. If you are not the intended recipient, please contact the sender by reply email and destroy all copies of the original message. Please note that any views or opinions presented in this email are solely those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of the company. Finally, while the company uses virus protection, the recipient should check this email and any attachments for the presence of viruses. The company accepts no liability for any damage caused by any virus transmitted by this email.