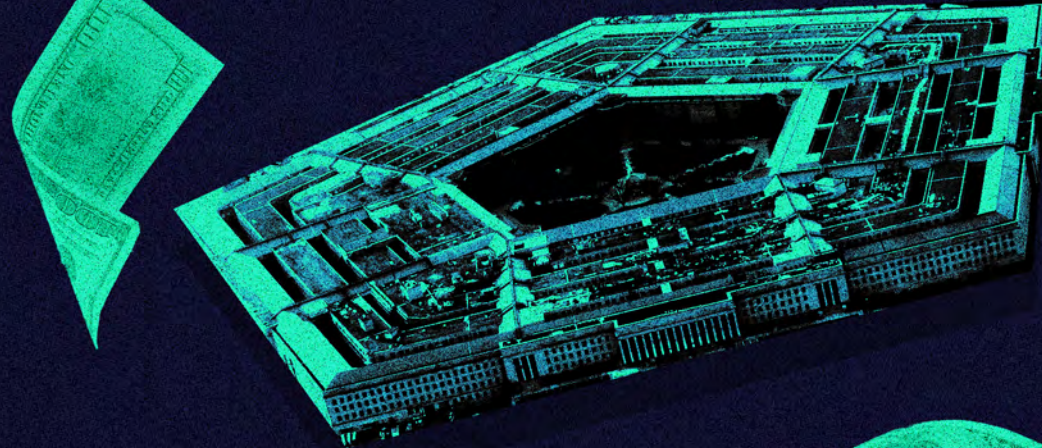


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BRASS PARACHUTES:

Defense Contractors' Capture of Pentagon Officials Through the Revolving Door

November 5, 2018



About

THE PROJECT ON GOVERNMENT OVERSIGHT (POGO)
IS A NONPARTISAN INDEPENDENT WATCHDOG that investigates and exposes waste, corruption, abuse of power, and when the government fails to serve the public or silences those who report wrongdoing.

WE CHAMPION REFORMS to achieve a more effective, ethical, and accountable federal government that safeguards constitutional principles.



PROJECT ON GOVERNMENT OVERSIGHT

1100 G Street, NW, Suite 500
Washington, DC 20005

WWW.POGO.ORG

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Introduction

Governments and corporations want to make sure their leaders and employees act in the best interest of the organization. The private sector has a number of tools for protecting itself from conflicts of interests or otherwise compromising confidential business information. Law firms have conflict-of-interest reviews, and it's pro forma for major corporations to require departing executives to sign non-disclosure and non-compete agreements.¹ Even fast food restaurants can be exceedingly strict about employees taking jobs with competing chains,² or with other franchises in the same chain.³ Private sector companies do this to protect themselves and their bottom lines.

When it comes to government officials, there are ethics laws that are supposed to protect the public interest. These laws should prevent government officials from using their public service to advance their personal or financial interests at the expense of the public. These laws are frequently insufficient, however. For instance, laws regulating the revolving door—the practice of government officials leaving public service to work for companies they oversaw or regulated—have been ineffective at slowing or stopping it. The revolving door between the government and the corporations it does business with often creates the appearance that government officials are improperly favoring a company in awarding or managing federal programs and contracts. Without transparency and more effective protections of the public interest the revolving door between senior Pentagon officials and officers and defense contractors may be costing American taxpayers billions. Taxpayers deserve protecting just as private sector companies do.

In his 1961 farewell address, President Dwight D. Eisenhower warned that the influence of the military-industrial complex could “endanger our liberties or democratic processes.”⁴ The revolving door of Pentagon officials and senior military leaders seeking lucrative post-government jobs does exactly that. It often confuses what is in the best financial interests of defense contractors—excessively large Pentagon budgets, endless wars, and overpriced weapon systems—with what is in the best interest of military effectiveness and protecting citizens.

The Project On Government Oversight (POGO) has consistently found federal ethics laws to be a tangled mess and insufficient to prevent conflicts of interest. Our first in-depth look into those laws, *The Politics of Contracting*, revealed how the revolving door leads to trends of agency capture and large defense contractors gathering more monopoly power.⁵ While those trends may benefit defense industry executives and their stockholders, they undermine competition and performance, lead to higher prices for the military and taxpayers, and can

diminish military effectiveness.⁶ While there have been some improvements to the laws since we published our first report on the revolving door in 2004, our investigation found the tangled mess remains.⁷

The leadership of the Senate Armed Services Committee expressed concerns in 2017 that the Department was too close to and depended too much on its largest contractors. “90 percent of the spending of the taxpayers’ dollars comes out of five different corporations. That’s not what our Founding Fathers had in mind,” then-Senate Armed Services Committee Chair John McCain (R-AZ) noted at a confirmation hearing for Patrick Shanahan, a former Boeing executive nominated to be Deputy Secretary of Defense.⁸ “If you’re drawing from one sector alone, you get this group-think possibility, which could be dangerous,” Ranking Member Jack Reed (D-RI) told reporters.⁹ Despite those concerns, the Senate confirmed Shanahan.

Following World War II, several five-star generals chose *not* to go through the revolving door. General George Marshall led the Red Cross. Before becoming president, General Dwight Eisenhower became president of Columbia University.¹⁰ “[A]n officer who has had procurement duties going with any company which does business with the Government presents a problem to the government, to the company with which he goes, and to himself,” General Omar Bradley told the House Armed Services Special investigations subcommittee in 1959. “[N]o former member of the Government should take advantage of his previous position to bring any influence on members of the Defense Department, or any department of Government, to grant contracts to the company with which he is now affiliated.”¹¹

A number of contemporary retired officers have also found lucrative positions in the private sector that do not create a conflict of interest. Admiral Mike Mullen (USN Ret.), the former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, joined the board of Sprint.¹² Vice Admiral William Burke, formerly the deputy chief of naval operations for warfare systems, became the chief maritime officer for the Carnival cruise company.¹³ Lieutenant General Thomas P. Bostick, the 53rd Army Chief of Engineers, became an executive at Intrexon, a biotechnology company.¹⁴ “I have committed to myself to never do business with the US Army Corps of Engineers. I do not want to use my past position to do business with [the US Army Corps of Engineers] either for myself or as a consultant for anyone else,” Bostick told POGO.

Although it is clear there are opportunities for post-Pentagon service that do not pose conflicts, sadly it is equally clear that a growing number of former military and civilian officials are choosing to take a different path. The vast majority of the individuals identified in this report did not violate any law or regulation. Many of these instances do, however, show the revolving door spinning out of control due to ethics laws that are insufficient to protect the public interest. We should be able to have confidence that government officials are making

informed decisions based on what's best for national security, for men and women in uniform, and for the American people. Instead, the system is skewed by undue influence, rewarding those public officials who favor a future employer or industry with contracts or lucrative jobs. The public is rightfully concerned about the concentration of wealth and self-dealing in the Capitol,¹⁵ with five of the ten richest counties in the United States located within an hour of Washington, DC.¹⁶ Some of that wealth is connected to increased spending on contracting, with the Washington region receiving 17 percent of all federal procurement spending in fiscal year 2016.¹⁷

This system of influence-peddling has long been recognized, but speaking out against it can hurt the post-government careers of military and civilian officials. "If a colonel or a general stands up and makes a fuss about high cost and poor quality no nice man will come to see him when he retires," reads a 1983 internal U.S. Air Force memo. "Even if he has no interest in a post-retirement job in the defense industry he is taking a chance by making a fuss."¹⁸ Today, industry programs like "From Battlefield to Board Room," match up retired and soon-to-be retired military officers with private companies—including large federal contractors—looking to hire new leadership. One individual who benefited from the Battlefield to Board Room program was Major General Mike Boera (USAF Ret.), who was the Air Force's director of programs and director of requirements and developed programs and business plans for weapon systems. After he went through the Board Room program he became the Executive of Intelligence, Information and Services at Raytheon.¹⁹ The year he joined the company they had received approximately \$2.9 billion in Air Force contracts.²⁰

In some instances laws designed to punish influence-peddling work. One of the most egregious revolving door examples involved the Principal Deputy Under Secretary of the Air Force Darleen Druyun, who oversaw the management of the Air Force's weapons acquisition program from 1993 to 2002.²¹ Druyun helped Boeing win billions of dollars in business while simultaneously negotiating jobs at Boeing for her son-in-law, and eventually herself. In 2004, Druyun pleaded guilty to a conspiracy charge and was sentenced to nine months in prison.²² The Congressional Budget Office found that an aerial refueling aircraft deal Druyun was negotiating with Boeing while seeking employment with the company would have overcharged taxpayers nearly \$5.7 billion.²³ In that case, the system ultimately worked, as existing laws did prohibit Druyun's egregious behavior. However, that was an unusual case. A study commissioned by the Department's acquisition office identified an additional eight acquisition actions involving Druyun "where the acquisition process appeared irregular or abnormal and where the results may not have been in the best interest of the Government." The study specifically questioned justifications for sole-source decisions, contract adjustments made

after initial award, and changes resulting in “less stringent requirements for the contractor, but higher costs for the Government.”²⁴

The revolving door is just one of several forms of undue influence on the operations of the Department of Defense. While beyond the scope of this report, the reverse-revolving door (when defense industry officials join the government, raising concerns they will then give preferential treatment to their former employers) is also a matter of significant concern. Top contractors have been over-represented in Department leadership. At the beginning of his Administration, President Obama issued an ethics executive order banning lobbyists from working in agencies they lobbied during the previous two years, only to issue the first waiver shortly thereafter to his first Deputy Secretary of Defense, William Lynn, who was previously a Raytheon lobbyist.²⁵ The last Deputy Secretary for that Administration, Bob Work, joined Raytheon’s board shortly after he retired from the government.²⁶ President Donald Trump’s Secretary of Defense, James Mattis, was a former board member of General Dynamics. His Deputy Secretary, Patrick Shanahan, came from Boeing, the Pentagon’s second largest contractor. Campaign contributions, lobbyists, earmarks, industry-sponsored trips, and contracts structured to garner political support for specific contractors’ programs also undermine the fairness and effectiveness of the procurement system. The government and the public have significantly more—though still inadequate—information about those other forms of influence-peddling. For example, campaign contributions must be periodically disclosed, registered lobbyists must report their expenditures and generic lobbying activities, and incoming executive branch officials have to disclose their positions held outside of government. But the public has significantly less information when it comes to the activities of former government officials.

President Trump has spoken out against that conflict of interest. “I think anybody that gives out these big contracts should never ever, during their lifetime, be allowed to work for a defense company, for a company that makes that product,” then-President-elect Trump said.²⁷

Companies will utilize all of the tools of the industry to gain

- access to senior government policy and program officials;
- a competitive advantage;
- business opportunities; and
- taxpayer dollars.

While all of these influence-peddling methods produce results for companies, the revolving door is truly the quickest and easiest way for a company to get a phone call answered or a person-to-person meeting inside the Pentagon. “I myself don’t get pressured by outsiders, but they do go higher up and get pressure put on me that way,” then-Vice Admiral Hyman G. Rickover told a House oversight committee in 1959 when asked about the revolving door. “It is generally in the nature of urging me to undertake new projects which we consider not worthwhile...it is almost subversive not to want to spend Government money.”²⁸

While ethics restrictions ban some revolving door conflicts, many revolving door instances create an actual conflict of interest, or even the appearance of one, which, although not explicitly illegal, can be just as insidious. Such conflicts can potentially lead to favoritism, ineffective weapons and programs, and bad deals. As a result the conflicts can be detrimental to agencies achieving their mission and waste taxpayer dollars.

Methodology

Many post-government employment ethics laws focus on limiting lobbying or representation before government agencies and officials. The lobbying/representational ban prohibits former federal employees from personally contacting the government on issues they handled during their public service and imposes a one-year or two-year cooling-off period, or a permanent restriction depending on the matter and their level of involvement.²⁹ In 2008 the Government Accountability Office audit found “significant under-reporting of the contractors’ employment of former [Department of Defense] officials.”³⁰ To try to get a handle on conflicts of interest, Congress required in the fiscal year 2008 National Defense Authorization Act that the Department of Defense create and maintain a database to track its ethics opinions for its senior officials and officers who seek employment with DoD contractors.³¹ Unfortunately, that database—known as the After Government Employment Advice Repository (AGEAR)—has never been made public, is limited to certain officials, and, according to several Department of Defense Inspector General reports, is incomplete.³² Notably, the United Kingdom does allow its citizens to see how its government interprets ethics laws for former members of its cabinet offices.³³

It’s also illegal for contractors to knowingly provide compensation to covered officials for two years after the official left the government unless the official received a written ethics opinion that would allow them to receive compensation.³⁴ Contractors must also certify they are in compliance with that restriction.³⁵ If contractors don’t comply with these requirements they could be subject to rescission of their contract, suspension, or debarment.³⁶

For this investigation, POGO compiled, and will continue to update, a database of senior Department officials and senior officers who go through the revolving door. Our database and this report use publicly available information and information obtained through the Freedom of Information Act to show what AGEAR could look like if the public could see it. Our database includes anyone who left the Department of Defense from 2008 to the present and was a senior political appointee, a military officer ranking O-6 and above,³⁷ or a civilian equivalent, who went to work for an entity with a significant financial interest in the operations of the Department of Defense within two years—the recommended “cooling off period” between when someone leaves government service and when they join an entity that has a financial interest in the work they performed while in government. For defense contractors we defined “a significant financial interest” as receiving \$10 million or more in Department of Defense contracts in a fiscal year. This financial threshold mirrors the Department’s standards for its own ethics regulations. We believe two years is long enough to appropriately balance protecting the integrity of the Department’s decision-making processes and the need for

people to make a living. There is quantitative analysis that supports the idea that the “influence industry” provides financial incentives based on an individual’s relationships with current policymakers. A 2010 London School of Economics study found “lobbyists with past working experience in the office of a U.S. Senator suffer a 24% drop in revenue—around \$177,000—when their ex-employers leave office.”³⁸ At that point the former official’s value is based less on who they know and more appropriately on their substantive skills and knowledge.

We reviewed Department websites and Senate confirmation lists to identify officials who fell within the scope of our study. In some cases we used LinkedIn profiles, and independently confirmed information from those profiles when possible. We also sought comment from the companies, and individuals who could be reached, to confirm that information. We also submitted Freedom of Information Act requests for ethics decisions and information on retired military officers who received waivers from the State Department and their prior military Service to allow them to work on behalf of foreign governments. We are still waiting for responses from the Navy, the Air Force, and the State Department. When available, we referenced agency and employer pages, company and agency press releases, press reports, LinkedIn profiles, and financial disclosure documents. Employer names are based on the name of the entity at the time the official joined the company.

For the top 20 contractors we looked at the companies’ senior executives, board members, and registered lobbyists to see who had previous government experience. Unsurprisingly, a number of these individuals were former Congressional staffers or legislative liaisons for Defense agencies or military Services. Some executives were also lobbyists and counted in each category. A number of the lobbyists were employed by multiple contractors, so there were more instances of the revolving door than people. Many of the lobbyists are not employees of the companies but instead hired through outside firms.

Most of the cases in our database and this report are individuals who went from senior Pentagon positions to work directly for defense contractors as board members or executives, or as lobbyists or consultants on behalf of defense contractors. The definition of lobbyist no longer—if it ever did—captures all the methods of peddling influence, however. A 2016 *Politico* investigation revealed that well-intended lobbying reforms enacted in recent years not only failed to slow the revolving door but also “created an entire class of professional influencers who operate in the shadows” as “policy advisers, strategic consultants, trade association chiefs, corporate government relations executives, affiliates of agenda-driven research institutes,” among other positions.³⁹

Many of those people occupying those positions aren't required to register as lobbyists. As another *Politico* investigation revealed, even Lockheed Martin's top government affairs official did not register as a lobbyist.⁴⁰ Tom Eldridge, who was SAIC's senior vice president for government affairs until mid-2018, was not registered while in that position, either.⁴¹ SAIC did not respond to a request for comment about why he was not registered.

Then-presidential candidate Donald Trump appeared to recognize this problem and proposed a five-point plan for ethics reform that would "close all the loopholes that former government officials use by labeling themselves consultants and advisors when we all know they are lobbyists."⁴² We included consultants and strategic advisors when we found evidence that they or their firm were in the business of contracting with the Department of Defense, or they were advising corporations with a significant financial interest in Department of Defense programs. Unless otherwise noted, the entities and individuals mentioned in this report declined to comment or could not be reached for comment on our findings.

Major Findings

- There were 645 instances of the top 20 defense contractors in fiscal year 2016 hiring former senior government officials, military officers, Members of Congress, and senior legislative staff as lobbyists, board members, or senior executives in 2018 (see chart below). Since some lobbyists work for multiple defense contractors, there are more instances than officials.⁴³
- Of those instances, nearly 90 percent became registered lobbyists, where the operational skill is influence-peddling.
- At least 380 high-ranking Department of Defense officials and military officers shifted into the private sector to become lobbyists, board members, executives, or consultants for defense contractors.
- Of the Department of Defense officials POGO tracked through the revolving door, a quarter of them (95) went to work at the Department of Defense's top 5 contractors (Lockheed Martin, Boeing, Raytheon, General Dynamics, and Northrop Grumman).
- Military officers going through the revolving door included 25 Generals, 9 Admirals, 43 Lieutenant Generals, and 23 Vice Admirals.

**Instances in Which Defense Contractors Hired Senior Government Officials
as Executives, Directors, or Lobbyists**

Company (in descending order of contract dollars awarded in FY 2016)	Number of Lobbyists	Number of Executives	Number of Directors, Members, or Trustees	Total
Lockheed Martin	51	0	4	55
Boeing	69	11	4	84
Raytheon	39	3	5	47
General Dynamics	63	4	3	70
Northrop Grumman	50	4	2	56
United Technologies	52	2	3	57
BAE Systems	24	1	1	26
L-3 Communications	19	0	3	22
Huntington Ingalls Industries	32	1	3	36
Humana	14	0	1	15
Bechtel	8	1	0	9
UnitedHealth Group	39	1	1	41
McKesson Corporation	13	0	0	13
Health Net	16	1	1	18
Bell Boeing Joint Program Office	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC)	5	4	2	11
AmerisourceBergen	21	0	1	22
Textron	9	3	2	14
Harris Corporation	8	1	2	11
General Atomics	27	2	1	30
Booz Allen Hamilton	3	2	3	8
	562	41	42	645

The number of instances of the revolving door is certainly much higher than what we found using publicly available sources since those sources largely rely upon self-reporting by the companies and individuals. A 2006 Government Accountability Office survey of contractors and Internal Revenue Service data—the most recent government review available—found that 52 contractors employed 2,435 former Department of Defense senior and acquisition officials who had “previously served as generals, admirals, senior executives, program managers, contracting officers, or in other acquisition positions which made them subject to restrictions on their post-DOD employment.”⁴⁴

Ethics Rule Loopholes

Loophole 1: Senior Officials Face Few Limits

One of the biggest loopholes in current ethics rules is that policy officials are largely exempt from post-government restrictions. Most of those ethics rules focus on specific transactions (for instance, contracting), and do not apply to officials who shape requirements, analyze alternatives, or make acquisition decisions before the award of a specific contract. Other programmatic staff are also exempt if they are not considered to be personally and substantially involved in transactions. The few restrictions that are in place for policy officials only limit their actions as to what they do as lobbyists.⁴⁵

These exemptions have been a longstanding problem, which POGO raised in a 2005 Revolving Door Working Group report:

These policymakers are not restricted from accepting employment with contractors which may have benefited from the policies that these employees helped to formulate. This is especially problematic because senior procurement policymakers, whose decisions can affect many different contracts, are in a better position to influence a contractor's bottom line than an official whose work is limited to a specific contract.⁴⁶

Of those to whom the ethics rules do apply, conflict of interest prosecution studies show only three Pentagon employees have been prosecuted for violating post-employment ethics restrictions in the past ten years.⁴⁷ Those enforcement actions include contracting officers found to have abused their position to gain future employment with companies they previously awarded or managed contracts for.⁴⁸ Low prosecutions are likely due to a number of factors, including complexities and ambiguities in the law. The system in place to identify violations of the law largely relies on voluntary disclosure by departing officials about their future employment plans. Detecting and prosecuting all violations would require the government to pursue politically connected and well-funded entities, which is unappealing given the government's limited resources.

One notable exception is Lieutenant General David A. Deptula (USAF Ret.), who was the first deputy chief of staff for intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance. In that role he led planning and oversight of intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance weapons capabilities.⁴⁹ One of the capabilities he worked on was the Blue Devil airship program. After he retired in 2010 he became chief executive officer of Mav6, a prime contractor for the \$143

million Blue Devil Block II airship program.⁵⁰ A joint investigation by the FBI and the Air Force's Office of Special Investigations found Deptula "engaged in communications or appearances on behalf of Mav6 before United States' officers"⁵¹ regarding the program, apparently violating federal conflict of interest laws because he had been personally and substantially involved in the program while in the Air Force. Then-Air Force Deputy General Counsel Randy Grandon described Deptula's actions as "particularly egregious" violations of post-employment rules.⁵² In 2014 the Air Force barred Deptula from contacting the federal government.⁵³ The next year he paid a \$125,000 civil penalty to settle claims of engaging in a prohibited conflict of interest while serving as Mav6's CEO.⁵⁴

But that case isn't typical. We found a number of instances where senior officials appeared to advocate for specific companies and subsequently join the leadership of that company. Ethics laws should reflect the need to protect the integrity of decisions, and be enforced to avoid even the appearance of a conflict of interest.

When Very Senior Officials Go Through the Revolving Door

General James Cartwright and the Blimp that Got Away: "If He Was Against It, It Wouldn't Have Happened."

The Joint Land Attack Cruise Missile Defense Elevated Netted Sensor System (JLENS) garnered national attention in 2015 when one of its aerostat balloons broke free from its tether and floated away—for 160 miles.⁵⁵ The Army had tried to cancel the program in 2010, but General James E. "Hoss" Cartwright, then the nation's second-highest ranking military officer, saved it. According to reporting by the *Los Angeles Times*, his backing of the program was "crucial" to arranging operational exercises to keep the program alive. "I can guarantee: If he was against it, it wouldn't have happened," a former military officer said.⁵⁶

Five months after he retired as vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Cartwright joined the board of the JLENS program's prime contractor, Raytheon. Since he had no direct role in the contracting aspects of the program, no legal restriction prohibited him from accepting the position. According to the company's Securities and Exchange Commission filings, he earned approximately \$1.4 million in total compensation while on the company's board.⁵⁷ His case highlights a gap in revolving door restrictions and the lack of transparency around it. General Cartwright did not respond to a request for comment.

General James Mattis and the Theranos Fraud

Theranos gave every appearance of being a revolutionary blood-testing company. While Commander of Central Command in 2012, then-Marine General and current Secretary of Defense James Mattis personally pressed the Army to procure and deploy equipment from Theranos. “I’ve met with my various folks and we’re kicking this into overdrive to try to field your lab in the near term,” Mattis wrote in an email to Theranos Chief Executive Officer Elizabeth Holmes, according to The Washington Post.⁵⁸ An Army health unit later “found Theranos wasn’t prepared to meet requirements and halted the procurement.”⁵⁹ Under subsequent pressure from Mattis the Army agreed to conduct a limited experiment, though Theranos did not follow up on the offer.⁶⁰

As he prepared to leave the Marine Corps, General Mattis sought an ethics opinion concerning future employment with Theranos. His counsel advised him not to represent Theranos before the Department of Defense or the Department of the Navy;⁶¹ doing so would have violated 18 U.S.C. § 207. But there was no prohibition against him joining the company’s board, which he did in 2013, receiving \$150,000 in compensation.⁶² In that role he publicly defended the company amidst questions about its compliance with Food and Drug Administration requirements.⁶³ He stepped down from the board in 2016 in preparation for becoming Secretary of Defense.⁶⁴ In 2018, Holmes and Theranos’s former chief operating officer were indicted on charges of wire fraud for allegedly perpetuating a “multi-million scheme to defraud investors, doctors, and patients,” according to a press release from the Department of Justice.⁶⁵ Holmes was also sued by the Securities and Exchange Commission for deceiving investors by, among other things, “making false and misleading statements to the media, hosting misleading technology demonstrations, and overstating the extent of Theranos’s relationships with commercial partners and government entities, to whom they had also made misrepresentations.”⁶⁶ If the deal had gone through it would have been to the detriment of troops and taxpayers.

From Watchdogs to Industry Consiglieres

The Department of Defense and Congress rely on a number of offices to oversee the Pentagon’s monumental spending. Some of those offices include the Department of Defense Office of Inspector General, the Defense Contract Audit Agency, and the Office of the Director, Operational Test and Evaluation.

The Department of Defense Office of Inspector General should be the taxpayer’s watchdog, and its officials are supposed to uphold the standards of ethics and integrity in the federal government. They are also responsible for detecting waste, fraud, and abuse in the

Department's programs and operations and for making referrals for prosecution to the Department of Justice. The office assists the government in investigating fraud claims made in False Claims Act lawsuits, as well as serving as the investigative lead in assessing whether contractors accused of wrongdoing should be excluded (suspended or debarred) from winning future contracts.⁶⁷ According to the agency's most recent semiannual reports, in the last year its criminal investigations resulted in the government recouping \$942 million in civil judgments and settlements; \$370.6 million in criminal fines, penalties, and restitution; and \$351.4 million in administrative recoveries.⁶⁸

Lynne Halbrooks was general counsel and then principal deputy inspector general from 2009 to 2015, and then acting inspector general for 21 months. After she retired, she joined law firm Holland & Knight, where she is a partner. At the firm, she uses her skills to help clients navigate probes by government agencies. Specifically, her "focus is on advising corporations and individuals responding to IG [Inspector General] audits and investigations. Her recent engagements include investigations relating to the False Claims Act, the federal bribery and gratuities statutes, and related suspension and debarment proceedings."⁶⁹

Holland & Knight has had several government contractor clients, and its attorneys are registered lobbyists for top Pentagon contractors Raytheon and Northrop Grumman.⁷⁰ The lobbying/representational bans 18 U.S.C. § 207 prohibits former federal employees from personally contacting the government on issues they handled during their public service and imposes a one-year or two-year cooling-off period or a permanent restriction on former "senior" officials depending on the matter and their level of involvement.⁷¹ Halbrooks, however, was allowed to work right away advising her new clients and colleagues on how to influence her former agency as long as she wasn't the one doing the influencing.⁷² She would also have the insider knowledge necessary to help clients avoid or navigate allegations of fraud or criminal misconduct. Neither Halbrooks nor Holland & Knight responded to a request for comment.

Halbrooks is just one of many oversight officials spinning through the revolving door. Gordon Heddell, Halbrooks' predecessor, became a senior executive advisor for major Pentagon contractor Booz Allen Hamilton after he left his position as Department of Defense Inspector General.⁷³ "With the exception of my departure ceremony, two weeks after retirement, I never again stepped foot inside the Department of Defense, nor did I ever solicit assistance of any kind from anyone employed by the [Department of Defense]," Heddell told POGO.

Patrick Fitzgerald, who led the Pentagon's contract audit office, joined the contractor advisory services practice of consulting firm and Pentagon contractor Baker Tilly Virchow Krause.⁷⁴ Air Force Deputy General Counsel Steven Shaw joined law and lobbying firm Covington &

Burling's government contracts practice group. His "experience negotiating sometimes-creative solutions to suspension and debarment issues [could] serve Covington's contractor clients," the legal press noted.⁷⁵ Fitzgerald, Baker Tilly Virchow Krause, Shaw, and Covington & Burling did not respond to a request for comment.

None of the aforementioned examples violated the law because the former government officials' subsequent activities were not considered lobbying or representation.

Senior Officials Involved in Major Weapon Systems Acquisition and Requirements Face Few Limits

One of the primary motivations for having federal conflict-of-interest laws is the concern that acquisition officials will provide companies an unfair commercial advantage—or outright reward them with government business—in return for future employment. Defining who is an acquisition official has been an ongoing challenge for the federal government. The formal definition of an acquisition official in the Defense Acquisition Workforce Improvement Act includes positions involving such functions as program management, logistics, systems planning, procurement, manufacturing, production, and cost estimating.⁷⁶ But the Government Accountability Office has found those definitions leave out personnel with various acquisition-related responsibilities including functions related to setting requirements, contractor oversight, and auditing.⁷⁷

The Department of Defense's standards and guidance to Department employees show a number of loopholes exist in ethics restrictions regarding procurement. There are one- or two-year cooling off periods for accepting compensation from a contractor if an employee was a contracting officer, program manager, or administrative contracting officer on a procurement with that contractor that was worth more than \$10 million, or if the employee approved a payment to that contractor in excess of \$10 million.⁷⁸ But an employee can accept compensation from a separate "division or affiliate of a contractor that does not produce the same or similar products or services as the entity responsible for the contract."⁷⁹

The revolving door often creates the appearance of government officials improperly favoring a contractor. For example, SpaceX CEO Elon Musk alleged a former Air Force acquisition official, Roger S. Correll, received his job with Aerojet Rocketdyne in return for providing a sole-source contract to United Launch Alliance (ULA).⁸⁰ Aerojet Rocketdyne supplies rocket engines to ULA. Correll's area of responsibility at the Air Force had been the space launch program.⁸¹

While there are many factors that impact which companies win contracts, the revolving door raises questions about whether a company properly and fairly wins its government business.

Rocketdyne's Department of Defense contracts increased significantly the year Correll joined them, from \$57 million in fiscal year 2013 to \$92 million in fiscal year 2014.⁸² Alion Science and Technology Corporation saw its defense contracts increase significantly after hiring Major General Thomas A. Benes (USMC Ret.), formerly the director of the Navy's expeditionary warfare division, in 2009.⁸³ The company went from receiving \$278 million in fiscal year 2009 to receiving \$591 million in fiscal year 2012.⁸⁴ Assured Information Security went from receiving \$10.4 million in fiscal year 2009 to \$24.7 million in fiscal year 2012 after hiring former Air Force Research Laboratory chief scientist Dr. John Bay.⁸⁵ Boston Consulting Group's defense contracts increased from \$1.6 million in fiscal year 2013 to \$32 million in fiscal year 2016 after hiring former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Michele Flournoy as a senior advisor.⁸⁶

Examples

POGO's investigation found a number of instances where officials who were involved in major weapon systems policy, development, or acquisition left government service and then went to work for or join the board of Pentagon contractors within two years:

- **General Carrol H. "Howie" Chandler** (USAF Ret.), who as Air Force vice chief of staff advised the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff about the military's needs for future weapon acquisition,⁸⁷ became vice president of business development and aftermarket services for Pentagon contractor Pratt & Whitney, where he "was responsible for domestic and international military sales, assessing U.S. Military requirements and developing business strategies."⁸⁸
- **General Ole A. Knudson** (USA Ret.) was the deputy director of the Missile Defense Agency. He was previously the program executive officer for missiles and space at Redstone Arsenal and before that was director, assistant secretary of the Army for acquisition, logistics, and technology operations in Iraq. At Redstone, he managed a \$3 billion annual budget with an additional \$1 million in foreign military sales.⁸⁹ He became senior director of precision weapons for Orbital ATK less than a year after he retired.⁹⁰
- **General William S. Wallace** (USA Ret.) was the commander of the Army's Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC). He also "developed the organizational, technical, and warfighting requirements for the Future Combat Systems and other Army modernization efforts."⁹¹ He joined the board of Pentagon contractor CACI International shortly after he retired.⁹²
- **Katrina McFarland** was assistant secretary for acquisition, logistics, and technology for the Army, where she oversaw Army acquisition, including life-cycle management and sustainment of Army weapon systems and research and

development programs.⁹³ She was previously director of acquisition for the Missile Defense Agency. Less than a year after she retired she joined the board of Pentagon contractor Engility.⁹⁴

David M. Van Buren was the Air Force service acquisition executive, where he directed “approximately \$70 billion of annual investments that include major programs like the KC-46A, F-35, Advanced Extremely High Frequency Satellite, Evolved Expendable Launch Vehicle, Global Positioning System Satellite and weapons.” He also oversaw information technology, cyber, and C4ISR (command and control and intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance) systems.⁹⁵ Weeks after he retired he joined Pentagon contractor L-3 Communications as senior vice president of business strategy.⁹⁶

Lieutenant General Michael A. Hamel (USAF Ret.) was Space and Missile Systems Center commander for Air Force Space Command, and was a program executive officer managing research, development, acquisition, and sustainment of space, missile, launch, command and control, and operational satellite systems. He was responsible for an annual budget “in excess of \$10 billion.”⁹⁷ He joined Orbital as senior vice president of strategy and development several months after he retired from the Air Force.⁹⁸

Lieutenant General John T. “Tom” Sheridan (USAF Ret.) succeeded Hamel as Space and Missile Systems Center commander. As program executive officer for Space, he, too, was responsible for a budget of \$10 billion and managing the research, design, development, acquisition, and sustainment of satellite, launch, and command and control systems.⁹⁹ According to his LinkedIn profile, he joined Pentagon contractor Vencore as senior vice president and manager for its Space Group a year after he retired.¹⁰⁰

Lieutenant General Michael R. Moeller (USAF Ret.) was deputy chief of staff for strategic plans and programs, where he led “the development and integration of the Air Force’s long-range plans and the five-year, \$604 billion U.S. Air Force Future Years Defense Program.”¹⁰¹ He joined Pentagon contractor Pratt & Whitney as vice president of business development for the company’s military engines, where he’s responsible for both domestic and international business.¹⁰²

Lieutenant General Jon Davis (USMC Ret.) was deputy commandant for aviation. In that role, he helped the Marine Corps field the F-35, and participated in agreements for Rolls-Royce to provide F135 engines.¹⁰³ He joined the board of major Pentagon contractor Rolls-Royce shortly after he retired.¹⁰⁴

Lieutenant General Thomas J. Owen (USAF Ret.) was commander, Aeronautical Systems Center, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. In that role, he was program

executive officer for aircraft procurement and modernization, executing an annual budget of \$23 billion.¹⁰⁵ According to his LinkedIn profile, he became vice president of F-35 sustainment strategies for top Pentagon contractor Lockheed Martin a year and a half after he retired.¹⁰⁶

Lieutenant General Christopher C. Bogdan (USAF Ret.) was the program executive officer for the F-35 Joint Program Office.¹⁰⁷ According to his LinkedIn profile, he joined major Pentagon contractor Booz Allen Hamilton as a senior vice president shortly after he retired.¹⁰⁸ Booz Allen Hamilton has provided support for the F-35.¹⁰⁹

Lieutenant General Burton M. Field (USAF Ret.) was deputy chief of staff for operations, plans and requirements for the Air Force, where he determined operational requirements, capabilities, and training.¹¹⁰ Shortly after he retired, he became vice president of strategic planning for Lockheed Martin Aeronautics.¹¹¹

Major General Kenneth D. Merchant (USAF Ret.) was director, global reach programs, office of the assistant secretary of the Air Force for acquisition. In that role, he was the acquisition executive for airlift, air refueling, training, and special operations programs. Before assuming that position, he had been a program manager on the F-22 program.¹¹² Shortly after he retired, he joined top Pentagon contractor Lockheed Martin to become an F-22 program manager, according to his LinkedIn profile.¹¹³ He told POGO he did not have any direct contact with the Air Force during his cooling-off period.

Rear Admiral Mark W. Kenny (USN Ret.) was the first director of the Navy Irregular Warfare Office.¹¹⁴ A year after he retired, he joined major Pentagon contractor Northrop Grumman as vice president of irregular warfare programs.¹¹⁵

Rear Admiral Thomas Wears (USN Ret.) was commander of the Naval Undersea Warfare Center.¹¹⁶ His previous acquisition positions included being undersea technology program manager (NAVSEA 073R), joint test and evaluation test director, and undersea weapons program manager.¹¹⁷ According to his LinkedIn profile, he joined top Pentagon contractor Northrop Grumman as director of advanced concepts and technology development after his retirement.¹¹⁸ Wears told POGO he did not begin negotiating for that position until he left government and had no contact with anyone in the Department of the Navy during that period.

Rear Admiral CJ Jaynes (USN Ret.) was program executive officer for air anti-submarine warfare, assault, and special mission programs.¹¹⁹ After she retired, she joined top Pentagon contractor Raytheon as the executive technical advisor on the intelligence, information and services precision landing systems team.¹²⁰

She told POGO that she did not work with her former office until her restricted period ended.

■ **Rear Admiral Donald Gaddis** (USN Ret.) was the program executive officer for tactical aircraft programs at Naval Air Systems Command, providing acquisition, engineering, and technical services to the Navy for the F/A-18A-F, EA-18G, EA-6B, E-2, C-2, E-6B, AV-8B, aircraft protection systems, aircraft launch and recovery equipment, naval undergraduate flight training systems, air traffic control systems and combat ID, air-to-air missiles, air warfare, and information distribution systems.¹²¹ The year after he retired, he was working for second-largest Pentagon contractor Boeing, leading their refueling system program for Phantom Works.¹²²

■ **Rear Admiral James A. Murdoch** (USN Ret.) was the program executive officer for the troubled Littoral Combat Ship (LCS) program from 2011 to 2014.¹²³ After he retired, he became the international business development director for ship and aviation systems for one of the program's prime contractors, Lockheed Martin.¹²⁴

■ **Major General Jack J. Catton Jr.** (USAF Ret.) was the director of requirements for Air Combat Command, managing "the definition of operational requirements, the translation of requirements to systems capabilities, and the subsequent operational evaluation of the new or modified systems."¹²⁵ He became a vice president at top Air Force contractor Boeing one month after he retired.¹²⁶

■ **Major General John F. "Jeff" Newell III** (USAF Ret.) was director of strategy, concepts and assessments, deputy chief of staff for strategic plans and requirements, headquarters U.S. Air Force.¹²⁷ According to his LinkedIn profile, he joined Pentagon contractor PAE as vice president of aviation services shortly after he retired.¹²⁸

■ **Brigadier General Linda R. Medler** (USAF Ret.) was director, capability and resource integration, U.S. Cyber Command, where she was responsible for acquisition and participated in planning, programming, budgeting, and execution for the Command.¹²⁹ A year after she retired, she became director of cyber for the Raytheon Missile Systems.¹³⁰

■ **Brigadier General Michael M. Brogan** (USMC Ret.) was commander, Marine Corps Training Command. He was also the commander of Marine Corps Systems Command and the joint program executive officer for the joint mine resistant ambush protected (MRAP) vehicle program.¹³¹ Shortly after he retired, he joined Pentagon contractor ManTech International as senior vice president for strategy.¹³² According to his official biography, he was a senior vice president, deputy business unit general manager/division manager, and

program executive for all of ManTech's MRAP family of vehicles support contracts. Brogan told POGO he did not work with ManTech while he was on active duty. He was surprised there weren't additional restrictions put in place regarding work for other companies. He chose not to represent any MRAP manufacturers on vehicle production issues.

■ **Brigadier General Peter F. Hoene** (USAF Ret.) was program executive officer for command and control capabilities, Defense Information Systems Agency, and was previously commander of the 350th electronic systems wing at Hanscom Air Force Base in Massachusetts, where he managed a \$9 billion portfolio of programs. After he retired, he joined Pentagon satellite contractor SES Government Solutions as corporate vice president for development.¹³³

■ **Brigadier General Richard S. Stapp** (USAF Ret.) was the director of the Department of Defense special access program central office, and was also the director of special programs, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology, and Logistics.¹³⁴ Shortly after retirement he joined top Pentagon contractor Northrop Grumman as vice president of technology development for its aerospace systems sector.¹³⁵

■ **Brigadier General Larry K. Grundhauser** (USAF Ret.) was director of intelligence, headquarters Air Combat Command, where he helped develop intelligence policy and weapon system requirements.¹³⁶ The next year he had joined top Air Force contractor Boeing as part of its global sales and marketing team for Phantom Works.¹³⁷

■ **Colonel John Bryant** (USMC Ret.) was the program manager for the Expeditionary Fighting Vehicle.¹³⁸ According to his LinkedIn profile, after he retired he joined Pentagon contractor Oshkosh as a vice president/general manager for joint and Marine Corps programs.¹³⁹

■ **Debra Scheider** was the director of the office of contracts for the National Reconnaissance Office. She later joined Pentagon contractor Engility as senior vice president of contracts.¹⁴⁰

■ **Colonel Michael (Hans) Gantt** (USAF Ret.) was vice commander of the Air Force district of Washington. Before assuming that position he had been chief of the "Skunks" division at Eglin, where he was responsible for developing operational concepts and strategy for future force requirements.¹⁴¹ According to his LinkedIn profile he joined Lockheed Martin's advanced development programs a month after he retired.¹⁴²

The Revolving Door Impacts the Cost of Logistics and Military Readiness

Operating and support costs make up an increasing share of the Defense Department's budget, with support activities going from 43 percent during the Reagan buildup to making up 50 percent of the budget now.¹⁴³ Some experts believe those costs are even higher. Former Pentagon Comptroller Robert Hale estimated operating and support costs make up about two-thirds of the budget.¹⁴⁴

Those responsible for logistics buy products and services, manage inventories, and forecast future requirements. Our investigation found a number of those officials went on to work for defense contractors, raising concerns about whether their decisions were in the best interest of the military and taxpayers or in the best interest of their future employers. Spare-parts horror stories—from the \$640 toilet seat cover of the Reagan Administration¹⁴⁵ to the \$10,000 toilet seat covers of today—appear in audit reports and in the press when the logistics system fails to control costs.¹⁴⁶ When it comes to service contracts, auditors have found numerous instances of gross overcharges, such as charging the Air Force for 100-hour workdays.¹⁴⁷ Due to the significant costs, how we support our military is one area ripe for reform to identify savings.¹⁴⁸

Increased spending and reliance on service contracting has created more business opportunities for defense contractors. In 2000, the entire federal government spent \$128 billion on service contracts, with the Department of Defense spending approximately \$75 billion.¹⁴⁹ In 2017, Department of Defense service contract spending totaled \$131 billion.¹⁵⁰ As weapon systems have become increasingly complex, and the federal government fails to secure the intellectual property and data rights for systems taxpayers paid to research and develop, service contract support has become an increasingly profitable line of business for contractors.¹⁵¹

Decisions about outsourcing work should be based on what is most cost-effective, not on who an official hopes to work for in the future. Those decisions can have significant cost repercussions for taxpayers as well. The Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan found in certain contingency situations requiring higher skill levels military and civilian employees cost less than hiring American contractors.¹⁵² POGO's 2011 *Bad Business* report compared the cost of federal contractor, government, and private sector workers and also found taxpayers were often paying more to have federal contractors do government work than it would have cost to have federal employees do it. "The federal government approves service contract billing rates—deemed fair and reasonable—that pay contractors 1.83 times

more than the government pays federal employees in total compensation, and more than 2 times the total compensation paid in the private sector for comparable services,” the report concluded.¹⁵³ The Department of Defense acknowledged as much in its own cost analyses of service contracts obtained by POGO. “The savings are here,” the chart noted about contracted services. “This is Total Force Manpower, but its growth has been unchallenged and often we don’t even know what is in the base.”¹⁵⁴

The Department’s rising operational costs, both in terms of contract support and personnel, takes money from other national security priorities. For example, Navy fighter jet readiness levels were already declining before the Budget Control Act placed caps on Pentagon spending.¹⁵⁵ And as there is more downward budget pressure, military services have repeatedly decided to cut costs by reducing flight training hours, which undermines combat readiness and increases risks to service members’ lives.¹⁵⁶

Logistics costs are a ripe area for focused reform efforts. The revolving door between logistics officials and defense contractors creates the appearance, however, that those officials are more focused on their next lucrative defense industry job than on reducing costs. Frank Kendall, one of the heads of logistics for the entire Department of Defense during the Obama Administration, joined the board of one of the top Department of Defense service contractors, Leidos, a few months after he left the Department.¹⁵⁷ It’s unlikely this violated any ethics laws, since he would not be considered to be personally and substantially involved in a specific contract or program—just in determining and managing the acquisitions and related policies of the whole Department of Defense.

As Congress and the Department of Defense look for opportunities to reduce operational costs and to increase readiness, they should consider the role of the officials making decisions about the strategy to support our military.

Examples

A number of officials overseeing logistics went on to work for Lockheed Martin, the Department’s top contractor:

- **Brigadier General Arthur B. Cameron III** (USAF Ret.) was the director of resource integration in the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics, Installations and Mission Support. In that position he was responsible for planning, programming, budgeting, and managing more than \$23 billion per year for Air Force logistics systems and functions.¹⁵⁸ He became a director of F-35 Cost Alignment for Lockheed Martin a few months after he retired.¹⁵⁹

- **Lieutenant General Bruce A. Litchfield** (USAF Ret.) was commander of the Air Force Sustainment Center (AFSC) at Air Force Materiel Command (AFMC) at Tinker Air Force Base.¹⁶⁰ A year before he retired, the Center signed a partnership agreement with Lockheed Martin.¹⁶¹ He was a vice president of production program support for Lockheed Martin's Aeronautics business within two years of his retirement.¹⁶²
- **Brigadier General David G. Ehrhart** (USAF Ret.) was the staff judge advocate for Air Force Materiel Command at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Ohio. In that role, he was the principal legal adviser for a Command that managed \$47 billion annually in research, development, logistics support, and acquisition.¹⁶³ According to his LinkedIn profile, he became Lockheed Martin's chief counsel for global sustainment less than a year after he retired, and later the associate general counsel for the F-35 program.¹⁶⁴
- **Major General David S. "Scott" Gray** (USAF Ret.) was the director of global reach programs, Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Acquisition, where he was the acquisition executive for airlift, air refueling, training, and special operations programs.¹⁶⁵ He was Lockheed Martin's vice president of F-22 sustainment a year after he retired.¹⁶⁶
- **Rear Admiral Timothy S. Matthews** (USN Ret.) was the director of fleet readiness.¹⁶⁷ According to his LinkedIn profile, he joined Lockheed Martin as deputy director of F-35 sustainment a year after he retired.¹⁶⁸

Logistics officials went on to work for other major Pentagon contractors as well:

- **Lieutenant General Robert T. Dail** (USA Ret.) was the director of the Defense Logistics Agency, retiring in 2009.¹⁶⁹ He became the president of Pentagon contractor Supreme Group USA, a company the agency had awarded billions of dollars in no-bid logistics contracts to in Afghanistan, a few months after he retired.¹⁷⁰
- **Vice Admiral Mark D. Harnitchek** (USN Ret.) was also the director of the Defense Logistics Agency, retiring in 2015.¹⁷¹ According to his LinkedIn profile, he became vice president for Navy and Marine Corps Services for top Pentagon contractor Boeing less than a year after he retired.¹⁷²
- **Major General James A. Kessler** (USMC Ret.) was assistant deputy commandant for installations and logistics. He was hired by DynCorp International to lead its Logistics Civilian Augmentation Program (LOGCAP) contract in Afghanistan after he retired.¹⁷³
- **Major General Kevin A. Leonard** (USA Ret.) was commanding general of the Army's Military Surface Deployment and Distribution Command. That command deploys and sustains more than 90 percent of the Department of Defense's

equipment and supplies.¹⁷⁴ According to his LinkedIn profile, he joined Pentagon contractor Fluor as vice president for contingency operations a year after he retired.¹⁷⁵

Russell B. Howard was the assistant deputy commandant for aviation (sustainment) for the Marine Corps.¹⁷⁶ According to his LinkedIn profile, he became the director, modification and sustainment engineer capability for second-largest Pentagon contractor Boeing a month after he retired.¹⁷⁷

The Revolving Door's Influence on Foreign Military Sales and International Markets

Selling U.S. weapon systems abroad is big business. During the Obama Administration, new foreign military sales totaled as much as \$102 billion in a single year. In the first year of the Trump Administration, Congress was notified of \$82.2 billion in new major arms sales deals brokered by the Administration.¹⁷⁸

It is not always clear that these foreign military sales advance U.S. national security or taxpayers' interests, however. Former senior State Department officials have criticized these sales as “corporate welfare for America’s defense companies.” Those sales are rubber-stamped with “little regard for whether this assistance achieves U.S. foreign policy objectives,” according to the former officials.¹⁷⁹ A Cato Institute analysis found that despite requirements to generate risk assessments to determine whether those sales would result in negative consequences for the United States, “the United States has sold weapons to almost any nation that wanted to buy them—suggesting that the risk assessment process is rigged to not find risk.”¹⁸⁰ Those sales can increase the likelihood of arming America’s enemies or result in unintended blowback when those weapons are used against the United States.¹⁸¹ “There are a large number of risky customers in the world, and the United States sells weapons to almost all of them,” the Cato Institute analysis concluded.¹⁸²

A recent Government Accountability Office audit also shows that taxpayers are not receiving the intended economic benefits from these sales. When a foreign government buys weapons that taxpayers paid the research and development costs for, that government is supposed to reimburse the taxpayers. But the Government Accountability Office found the Department of Defense waived \$16 billion it could have recovered for taxpayers.¹⁸³ Those waivers were issued for wealthy nations, including a \$3.5 billion discount for Saudi Arabia.¹⁸⁴

The Defense Security Cooperation Agency is the Pentagon's "point person" for foreign military sales. That office coordinates development and execution of foreign military sales, while the military services are involved in development of potential sales when a foreign government identifies equipment it wants to buy.¹⁸⁵ President Trump has expanded the U.S. government's efforts to promote foreign military sales through a "whole of government approach" that includes cabinet members, military attaches, and diplomats.¹⁸⁶

The defense industry has considerable influence over foreign military sales programs, and that influence is only increased through the revolving door.

Examples

Near the end of his tenure as Defense Security Cooperation Agency head, Vice Admiral Joseph Rixey (USN Ret.), was guest of honor at a reception co-hosted by the Senate Aerospace Caucus and the Aerospace Industries Association, the latter representing contractors like Lockheed Martin, Boeing, Northrop Grumman, and Raytheon.¹⁸⁷ "Thank you admiral for all that you do...in helping us to sell our products," Lockheed Martin CEO Marillyn Hewson said at the event.¹⁸⁸ Perhaps unsurprisingly, shortly after his retirement Rixey joined Lockheed Martin as vice president for international program support.¹⁸⁹

Vice Admiral Jeffrey A. Wieringa (USN Ret.) was the director of the Defense Security Cooperation Agency before Rixey.¹⁹⁰ According to his LinkedIn profile, he became vice president for global services & support for top Pentagon contractor Boeing less than a year after he retired.¹⁹¹

Rixey and Wieringa are far from being the only former government officials involved in foreign military sales to go through the revolving door to work for defense contractors. POGO found several other examples:

- **Marc Harrelson** was a country program director for Pakistan for the Defense Security Cooperation Agency, according to his LinkedIn profile. In that role, according to his profile, he oversaw the analysis, policy formulation, and management of over \$2 billion, including foreign military sales and counterinsurgency funding.¹⁹² As soon as he retired, he joined then-Hawker Beechcraft to be the company's U.S. Pacific Command business development executive.¹⁹³
- **Rear Admiral Gary W. Rosholt** (USN Ret.) was senior defense official and defense attaché with the U.S. Embassy in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates.¹⁹⁴ In that role, he was responsible for coordinating political-military actions in the region.¹⁹⁵ Two years after he retired, he joined L3 Technologies as vice

president of Middle East operations. The company's press release noted his knowledge of the region and "local partnership opportunities."¹⁹⁶

■ **Colonel Robert Dooley** (USAF Ret.) was air attaché to France from 2007 to 2010, according to his LinkedIn profile. He was previously the chief of international fighter and advanced weapons programs, where he led the export approval process and was the product subject matter expert for the United States' \$3.5 billion bid to provide Poland a new fighter aircraft. He joined Lockheed Martin at the end of 2010 as regional director, Americas / international business development.¹⁹⁷

■ **Brigadier General James E. Haywood** (USAF Ret.) was director, Air Force Security Assistance and Cooperation Directorate at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, where he oversaw the Air Force's \$138.3 billion security assistance budget "supporting foreign military sales to 100 countries."¹⁹⁸ He retired in January 2014 and joined Pentagon contractor Sierra Nevada Corporation as corporate vice president of program management, contracts, and security and Dayton area general manager in August.¹⁹⁹

■ **Colonel John Bryant** (USMC Ret.), mentioned above, led several foreign military sales programs, "including Tank Systems, Light Armored Vehicles and Expeditionary Fighting Vehicles," before joining ground vehicle contractor Oshkosh.²⁰⁰

■ **Brigadier General Joseph A. Lanni** (USAF Ret.) was the commander for the Air Force Security Assistance Center at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, where he administered the "Air Force's \$99.2 billion security assistance budget supporting foreign military sales to 103 countries."²⁰¹ According to his LinkedIn profile, he joined Lockheed Martin as deputy director, operations business development and strategy a few months after he retired.²⁰²

■ **Captain Russ Bartlett** (USN Ret.) was director of security assistance at the Navy International Programs Office. In that role, he was "responsible for all Department of the Navy Foreign Military Sales programs, including development and execution of a complex, global [foreign military sales] portfolio valued at over \$4.5 billion per year."²⁰³ A few months after he retired, he became the director of U.S. and international business development for Hawker Beechcraft.²⁰⁴

Other officials have leveraged their overseas experiences and relationships to benefit defense contractors to promote foreign military sales:

■ Vice Admiral Robert S. Harward (USN Ret.) was deputy commander of U.S. Central Command, which is responsible for U.S. interests from Northeast Africa across the Middle East to Central and South Asia.²⁰⁵ According to his LinkedIn

profile, he joined Lockheed Martin as chief executive for the United Arab Emirates a year after he retired.²⁰⁶

■ **Eric G. John** was the foreign policy adviser to then-Air Force Chiefs of Staff General Norton A. Schwartz (USAF Ret.) and General Mark Welsh (USAF Ret.).²⁰⁷ He joined Boeing as president of Boeing Korea and vice president of Boeing International a year after leaving the Air Force.²⁰⁸

■ **Vice Admiral Thomas H. Copeman III** (USN Ret.) was the commander, naval surface forces (SURFOR) and commander, naval surface force for the U.S. Pacific Fleet (SURFPAC), and was also chief of legislative affairs.²⁰⁹ A year after he retired he joined Raytheon as director of global government relations and releasability.²¹⁰

Something less frequently examined is how the Department's work with other nations, including promoting international sales, can lead to retired U.S. military personnel working for foreign governments. Under the emoluments clause of the Constitution, retired military officers are prohibited from receiving money from a foreign government—even through a contractor. Even though they are retired, the Government Accounting Office has found “since they retain their status of members of their service, this constitutional prohibition consistently has been interpreted to apply to them.”²¹¹ Congress has only allowed exceptions if the retired officer receives permission from the secretary of their uniformed service and from the State Department.²¹² Retired officers found to be in violation of this provision risk losing their pension.²¹³

Through Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests POGO found numerous instances of retired officers who sought permission to receive funds from or work on behalf of foreign governments. General John F. Kelly (USMC Ret.) worked for the Australian Defense Force Joint Task Force Commanders Course as a senior course mentor before he became Secretary of Homeland Security and later White House Chief of Staff. Secretary of Defense James Mattis, a retired Marine Corps General and former commander of U.S. Central Command, was a military advisor to the United Arab Emirates.²¹⁴ Both sought and received permission to do that work. But while Kelly disclosed his employment with Australia in his financial disclosure forms and his ethics agreement, Mattis did not publicly disclose his relationship with the United Arab Emirates.²¹⁵

While beyond the scope of this report's focus on senior officials, documents obtained by POGO show in some instances foreign military sales become employment opportunities for retired officers. In 2011 the United Arab Emirates became the first foreign country to receive approval to buy the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) missile defense system.²¹⁶

When the Defense Security Cooperation Agency notified Congress of the sale, the agency said implementing it would not require providing any additional U.S. government or contractor representatives to the United Arab Emirates.²¹⁷ But documents obtained by POGO found a number of instances that would require retired U.S. military personnel to provide support. One retired Army master sergeant asked for permission to support the UAE military as a THAAD Training Specialist for Global Aerospace Logistics. A retired Army chief warrant officer sought permission to work as an air and missile defense training specialist.²¹⁸

In another instance, the United States has offered to sell the United Arab Emirates 97 Apache helicopters.²¹⁹ Notices for the sale either said no U.S. personnel would be necessary or that they would be there for program management and technical reviews.²²⁰ But what was not transparent to the public was that it appeared the UAE would also need to hire retired U.S. military personnel to provide training and support. In 2015 a number of retired Army chief warrant officers employed by Global Aerospace Logistics sought permission to become helicopter instructor pilots for the UAE government and VIP helicopter standardization instructor pilots.²²¹

Without more public disclosure it can be difficult to know if retired Pentagon officials and officers working for foreign governments while simultaneously providing advice and testimony to the U.S. government may have possible conflicts. Under House Rules, Congressional witnesses must disclose any federal contracts or payments they received from foreign governments that are relevant to the subject of the hearing at which they're testifying.²²² There isn't any requirement to disclose whether a witness is negotiating employment with a foreign government.

Reporting by *the Christian Science Monitor* found a concerted effort by Saudi Arabia to counter and undermine warming relations between Washington and Iran, including the Iran deal. The *Monitor's* investigation found the Saudi government's effort included \$11 million in direct lobbying in 2015.²²³ Public disclosure forms filed under the Foreign Agents Registration Act showed they continued to spend millions until President Trump withdrew the United States from the agreement.²²⁴ Other influence efforts were less transparent. Documents obtained by POGO show that retired Army Lieutenant General Michael D. Barbero was awaiting approval from the Army to be a consultant to Saudi Arabia when he testified before the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee's National Security Subcommittee on the Iran nuclear agreement.²²⁵ A month after Barbero testified,

the Army approved his waiver to work as a consultant for Saudi Arabia.²²⁶

It may be that Barbero's employment with a foreign government went no further—POGO is still awaiting confirmation from the State Department about whether he received approval—but Congress should know whether the individuals from whom it acquires information in order

to do its job are pursuing employment with foreign governments while they provide testimony on foreign policy matters. He did not respond to POGO's request for comment.

Retired officers who receive payments from foreign governments without receiving permission from the State Department and their military service risk losing their pensions. Retired military officers have earned the pensions they receive from U.S. taxpayers, and POGO found no evidence that any of these retired officers had improperly worked for foreign governments. But policymakers should require those receiving pensions who are also on the payrolls of foreign militaries to publicly disclose those foreign payments and relationships.

Loophole 2: Lobbying Restrictions Are Overly Narrow and Miss “Behind the Scenes” Work

Many restrictions focus only on the ability of former officials to lobby or represent companies before their former employers. Officials are permanently barred from lobbying or representing if they were personally and substantially involved in a matter.²²⁷ There is typically a waiting period of about two years if the official supervised others doing the work. (Though this restriction “does not apply unless you supervised the matter during your last year of Federal service”).²²⁸

A federal law, referred to as the Byrd Amendment, prohibits federal contractors from using taxpayer funds to lobby, influence, or attempt to influence federal contracting decisions.²²⁹ Under the law, entities that receive federal contracts must disclose to the agency that awarded the contract their registered lobbyists. As part of that process the entities must certify through a disclosure form (referred to as a SF-LLL form) that those lobbyists have not made any prohibited payments.²³⁰ Any prohibited spending of appropriated funds may result in a civil penalty between \$10,000 and \$100,000 for each illegal expenditure.²³¹ However, there are a number of loopholes in the law. One loophole, for example, is that executives, board members, employees, consultants, and other agents who may try to influence executive branch spending matters are not required to register as lobbyists.²³² There is also a lack of transparency around the lobbying disclosure requirement, making it difficult to assess compliance with the law. The disclosure forms are maintained by individual agencies and not available in a centralized database. Without public access and shared information between agencies it can be difficult for the public to determine if those forms are sufficiently comprehensive and accurate to comply with the law. The few Department of Justice enforcement actions that have occurred were dependent upon internal whistleblowers coming forward.²³³

As discussed earlier, well-intended lobbying reforms have not only failed to slow the revolving door but “created an entire class of professional influencers who operate in the shadows” as “policy advisers, strategic consultants, trade association chiefs, corporate government relations executives, [and] affiliates of agenda-driven research institutes.”²³⁴ The law does not require those influencers to register as lobbyists.

As a presidential candidate, President Trump, recognizing the professional-influencer loopholes created in the wake of lobbying reforms, pledged to expand the definition of lobbyists to “close all the loopholes that former government officials use by labeling themselves consultants and advisors when we all know they are lobbyists.”²³⁵

Many former government employees are hired to promote a contractor’s agenda, and the current system provides little to no transparency in this area. One remedy could be to increase the government’s disclosure of these contacts and meetings. POGO joined the Sunlight Foundation, then-OMB Watch, and Tom Susman in recommending creating a process for timely disclosure when government employees meet with an entity attempting to influence a federal contract award or other financial arrangements. We recommended revising the SF-LLL and requiring government personnel to complete and publicly post a new contact disclosure form (the “SF-LLLShort”) summarizing the nature of the meeting, which would be publicly posted within 48 hours. That way, even if someone is not a registered lobbyist, their attempts to influence acquisitions would be available to the public.²³⁶

Post-employment restrictions on consulting have been weakened to some degree by another loophole in ethics laws, which largely exempted “behind the scenes work.”²³⁷ According to the Office of Government Ethics, that work can include “drafting a proposed communication to an agency, advising on an appearance before a department, or consulting on other strategies designed to persuade departmental or agency decisionmakers [sic] to take certain action.”²³⁸

Congress recently passed a law limiting some of those behind-the-scenes activities, specifically barring for a period of one or two years work that supports lobbying contacts, including “preparation and planning activities, research and other background work that is intended, at the time it is performed, for use in contacts, and coordination with the lobbying activities of others.”²³⁹ But that still allows a multitude of additional activities, due to the 24 exceptions in the Lobbying Disclosure Act. Those exceptions include:

[S]peeches, articles, publications, interviews, media appearances, meeting requests or similar administrative requests, service on advisory committees, responding to public notices in the Federal Register and other invitations for written submissions, written comment, public written petitions to an agency under certain circumstances, among other things. In short, newly separated very senior Department of Defense Officials will

not need to sit around doing nothing to wait out this restriction [on behind-the-scenes activities]—plenty is still permitted.²⁴⁰

Even with those exceptions defense contractors urged Congress through the “Acquisition Reform Group” to weaken the provision this year. The Acquisition Reform Group is composed of a number of defense contractor trade groups, including the Professional Services Council, the National Defense Industrial Association, and the Aerospace Industries Association. These groups say that longer cooling off periods for senior officials would hurt their bottom lines and likely their competitive advantage. “These changes will make it more difficult for industry to receive expert strategic and technical advice from very highly-qualified former Department of Defense officials,” they argued in their 2018 legislative packet.²⁴¹

It’s Not Lobbying, It’s “Business Development”

One of the clear trends POGO found is that a number of former officials go into “business development” for contractors. In some cases that development focused on garnering new contracts with foreign governments, which may not require the official to represent their new employer before their old agency. But a number of former officials took positions explicitly focused on gaining new business with their former employers, which appears, at the very least, to violate the spirit of the law.

Additional restrictions exist for “very senior officials”—cabinet officials, flag and general officers, and most members of the Senior Executive Service.²⁴² Those officials “may not try to influence any department or agency in which [they] served during [their] last year of Government service, on behalf of anyone else (including a new employer), concerning any official matter—even if [they] were never involved with the matter as a Government employee.”²⁴³ But officials may be “allowed to contact certain components of their former department or agency.”²⁴⁴ Given the massive size of the Department bureaucracy, those restrictions still leave open to former officials other avenues for influencing the Pentagon on behalf of a contractor.

Restrictions are clearer when it comes to taking information from bids and proposals to another company. The Procurement Integrity Act prohibits federal employees from disclosing contractor bid or proposal information for three years after leaving a procurement role.²⁴⁵ In 2006 Boeing paid \$615 million to “resolve criminal and civil allegations that the company improperly used competitors’ information to procure contracts for launch services worth billions of dollars from the Air Force and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.”²⁴⁶ Booz Allen Hamilton was temporarily suspended after Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Joselito Meneses shared sensitive pricing data on his first day of work with the

company.²⁴⁷ As part of the settlement agreement the company “acknowledge[d] that these events have revealed significant issues concerning the methods by which it captures business and human assets, including former government personnel, and its handling, dissemination, and use of non-public information.”²⁴⁸

But there isn’t a prohibition against providing other non-public proprietary information someone may have learned in the course of managing a contract, or from providing valuable information about agencies’ future acquisition plans. In business development and strategic roles, those officials may also be able to use non-public proprietary information to give their new employers a competitive edge.

Examples

Some very senior officers who went into business development include:

- **Vice Admiral Evan M. Chanik** (USN Ret.) was commander, U.S. 2nd Fleet and director of Combined Joint Operations from the Sea Centre of Excellence.²⁴⁹ He became vice president of business development for Northrop Grumman’s shipbuilding sector a few months after he retired, where he would be “responsible for all marketing, customer and government relations initiatives.”²⁵⁰
- **Lieutenant General James Terry** (USA Ret.) was the commander of U.S. Army Central Command. A year after he retired he joined Cubic Corporation as senior vice president of business development of ground strategy. In that position, he would “oversee efforts to pursue business opportunities in ground training systems and services for the Army, Marine Corps, Special Operations Forces and the Middle East region.”²⁵¹
- **Lieutenant General Michael J. Basla** (USAF Ret.) was the chief, information dominance and chief information officer for the Office of the Secretary of the Air Force, where he led a \$17 billion portfolio and was responsible for networks, communications, information resources management, information assurance, and related matters for the Air Force.²⁵² He joined defense contractor L-3 National Security Solutions as senior vice president, also serving as an Air Force client executive a year after he retired.²⁵³
- **Vice Admiral Bernard J. "Barry" McCullough III** (USN Ret.) was commander of the U.S. Fleet Cyber Command/U.S. 10th Fleet, where he led a reorganization of cyber assets and was previously deputy chief of naval operations for integration of capabilities and resources.²⁵⁴ He joined Lockheed Martin as vice president of business strategy for mission systems and sensors a month after he retired.²⁵⁵

- Lieutenant General Daniel P. Leaf** (USAF Ret.) was deputy commander of U.S. Pacific Command and previously the Air Force director of operational requirements for air, space, weapons, and command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (C4ISR). He joined Northrop Grumman as vice president of strategic initiatives for the mission sectors system a few months after he retired, where the company said he would “work closely with business development.”²⁵⁶
- Brigadier General Dennis Rogers** (USA Ret.) was director of operations and facilities for Installation Management Command.²⁵⁷ He joined Pentagon contractor Honeywell as director of business development for Army sales a few months after he retired, where he claims to have developed a “pipeline” for over \$700 million in potential Army sales opportunities.²⁵⁸
- Rear Admiral Frank M. Drennan** (USN Ret.) was commander of Naval Mine and Anti-Submarine Warfare Command (NMAWC).²⁵⁹ A few months after he retired, he became director of advanced programs and business development for top Pentagon contractor Lockheed Martin.²⁶⁰
- Major General Galen B. Jackman** (USA Ret.) was the Army’s chief legislative liaison. He became vice president of Army programs and U.S. business development for Raytheon after he retired.²⁶¹
- Lieutenant General Jeffrey A. Remington** (USAF Ret.) was deputy commander for United Nations Command Korea and deputy commander, U.S. Forces Korea. A few months after he retired, he joined Northrop Grumman as vice president and corporate lead executive for company business in Honolulu, where he would “maintain direct liaison with U.S. Pacific Command.”²⁶² He told POGO he did not work with his former office during his one-year cooling-off period.
- Brigadier General Jeffrey R. McDaniels** (USAF Ret.) was the director of air and cyberspace operations, headquarters Pacific Air Forces at Joint Base Pearl Harbor-Hickam.²⁶³ He joined Pentagon contractor Leidos as vice president of international strategy and business development a year after he retired.²⁶⁴
- Lieutenant General Judith A. Fedder** (USAF Ret.) was deputy chief of staff for logistics, installations and mission support for the Air Force, where she set policy and prepared budget estimates for Air Force readiness. She became director of global sales and marketing for Boeing Integrated Logistics after she retired.²⁶⁵
- Rear Admiral Raymond E. Berube** (USN Ret.) was commander, Naval Inventory Control Point. In that role, he managed the Navy's supply chain and weapon systems sustainment, and an annual budget of over \$5 billion. He joined

Pentagon contractor IBM Corporation's operations and supply chain global business services “upon his retirement.”²⁶⁶

Rear Admiral Thomas C. Traaen (USN Ret.) was special assistant to the commander of Naval Supply Systems Command and a commander of Defense Logistics Agency distribution.²⁶⁷ He joined Pentagon contractor ADS Inc. as vice president of strategic business development less than a year after he retired from the Navy.²⁶⁸

Dayton Taking Behind-the-Scenes Work to New Heights

As the home of the Wright Brothers, Dayton, Ohio, earned the state the official designation as the birthplace of aviation.²⁶⁹ When the Wright Brothers first sought to sell their flyer to the military, they found France was a more receptive audience than the U.S. military. The catch, they soon discovered, was that it would require a bribe. If the brothers charged the French government an additional \$50,000, the money could then be “distributed among persons who had the power to put the deal through.” They refused.²⁷⁰

The Wright Brothers might be surprised to see how Dayton has become a hub for the revolving door and influence-peddling. One notable example is Dayton Aerospace, a company founded in 1984 that specializes in hiring retired senior military officers and defense industry executives to consult for defense contractors and the Department of Defense.²⁷¹ The company’s list of Pentagon contractor clients includes most of the top contractors, including Lockheed Martin, Boeing, Raytheon, General Dynamics, Northrop Grumman, BAE Systems, and L-3 Communications. The company also works with a number of foreign governments, including the Australian Department of Defence, Japan’s Air Self-Defense Force, South Korea’s Ministry of National Defense, Norway’s Ministry of Defence, and Switzerland’s Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sport.²⁷²

Dayton Aerospace is uniquely transparent in discussing its personnel and clients. They don’t have to be. Under the Lobbying Disclosure Act registered lobbyists are required to disclose their clients, but nothing in current law requires consulting firms or individual consultants to disclose who they are advising. This means that when officials become consultants it can be difficult to detect if they are advising companies or working on projects they worked on while in their government positions.

Dayton Aerospace shows how these firms connect former government officials with major Pentagon contractors for “behind-the-scenes” work. And while Dayton is relatively transparent about its clients and work, there are a number of other consulting firms doing

similar work without the public being able to assess a potential conflict.²⁷³ For example, Beacon Global Strategies, which employs former Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta as a senior counselor, primarily advises defense contractors but “won’t name the companies on that list because of nondisclosure agreements.”²⁷⁴

Examples

POGO’s investigation found 30 senior officers and Department of Defense civilian officials who joined Dayton Aerospace within two years of retirement. Notable examples include:

- **Lieutenant General C.D. Moore II** (USAF Ret.), who was commander of the Air Force Life Cycle Management Center at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base.²⁷⁵
- **Lieutenant General Thomas J. Owen** (USAF Ret.), who was commander of the Aeronautical Systems Center at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. In that role, he was program executive officer for aircraft procurement and modernization, executing an annual budget of \$23 billion.²⁷⁶
- **Major General Kevin J. Sullivan** (USAF Ret.), who was deputy chief of staff for logistics, installations and mission support for the Air Force, where he was responsible for Air Force logistics readiness and aircraft and missile maintenance. He was also responsible for civil engineering and security forces and setting policy and budget estimates to enhance readiness.²⁷⁷
- **Brigadier General Gary S. Connor** (USAF Ret.), who was the deputy program manager for ballistic missile defense systems at the Missile Defense Agency, overseeing more than \$9 billion annually.²⁷⁸
- **Brigadier General Kenneth J. Moran** (USAF Ret.), who was director for program management and integration directorate at the Space and Missile Systems Center. He was the "primary advisor to the Air Force program executive officer for Space for weapon system management, acquisition, integration and analysis" to provide \$8 billion in training and equipment annually.²⁷⁹
- **Marge Leclaire**, who was the director of acquisition for U.S. Transportation Command.²⁸⁰
- **Deborah A. Bailey**, who was chief engineer for the B-2 program and chief flight systems engineer for the F-22 program.²⁸¹
- **Patsy J. Reeves**, who was executive director of the Air Force Life Cycle Management Center at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, where she managed a \$200 billion budget.²⁸²

- **Brian Rutledge**, who was deputy program executive officer for the fighters and bombers directorate for the Air Force Life Cycle Management Center.²⁸³
- **Colonel Christopher Coombs** (USAF Ret.), who was system program manager for the KC-46 aerial refueling tanker.²⁸⁴
- **Frances A. Duntz**, who was deputy for acquisition at the Electronic Systems Center at Hanscom Air Force Base, making her the senior civilian responsible to the commander of an office with an annual budget exceeding \$4 billion.²⁸⁵
- **Dr. Frederick A. Tokarz**, who was technical adviser for low observables (stealth) in the Aeronautical Systems Center at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. In that role provided advice to the highest Air Force and government officials about low observable technology.²⁸⁶
- **Jorge F. Gonzalez**, who was director of the Air Force Life Cycle Management Center in the engineering and technical management/services directorate. In that role, he was responsible for a \$20 billion budget. He was previously chief of the F-22 airframe integrated product team and the chief engineer for the C-17 Globemaster III.²⁸⁷
- **Robert Carl "Shof" Shofner**, who was deputy director for strategic plans, programs, requirements, and analyses at Air Force Materiel Command. He led a directorate that develops the plans and the programs funded by a \$32 billion annual budget.²⁸⁸
- **Kevin W. Buckley**, who was program executive officer for Air Force mobility programs in the Air Force Life Cycle Management Center at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. The programs he worked on included the C-5, C-17, C-27J, C-130J, C-130 Legacy, Mature and Proven Aircraft, Very Important Person and Special Duty Aircraft, Training Aircraft, and the Large Aircraft Infrared Countermeasures (LAIRCM) System.²⁸⁹
- **Michael Braman**, who was director of the strategic systems integration for Air Force Program Executive Office, where he oversaw ICBM and nuclear gravity bomb programs.²⁹⁰
- **Marc Smith**, who was the technical director of the engineering directorate at the Air Force Life Cycle Management Center.²⁹¹
- **Colonel Rob Strasser** (USAF Ret.), who was B-2 system program manager at the Air Force Life Cycle Management Center, where he managed \$5 billion in current and future budget accounts. He previously was the program manager for the F-15SA (Saudi Advanced) Eagle fighter aircraft and advised the Afghan Air Force.²⁹²

A number of officials who went to work at Dayton Aerospace previously worked on the \$1.5 trillion F-35 program, the Department's largest acquisition program to date. Due to a number of factors, including excessive concurrency between development and production and mismanagement, the program is plagued with numerous cost overruns and delays. The prime contractor for the program is Lockheed Martin, and Northrop Grumman and BAE Systems are principal partners.²⁹³ All three companies are listed as clients of Dayton Aerospace, as is the F-35 program office. Former senior officials who worked on the F-35 program and went to work for Dayton Aerospace include:

- **Rear Admiral Randolph L. Mahr** (USN Ret.), who was deputy program executive officer and deputy program director for the F-35 program.²⁹⁴
- **Dawn McGarvey Buchwalder**, who was pilot systems lead and chief for flight systems engineering for the F-35 program office.²⁹⁵
- **Gary Bailey**, who was chief engineer for the F-35A life cycle support office.²⁹⁶
- **Gerry Freisthler**, who was executive director of the Aeronautical Systems Center at Air Force Materiel Command at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. In this role, he assisted the commander on development and acquisition of aeronautical systems. He was also chief of integration for propulsion engine programs for the B-1, B-2, C-17, F-15, F-16, F-22, F-35, and U-2 aircraft.²⁹⁷
- **Mike Nicol**, who was a technical advisor for embedded computer systems software at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. In that role, he worked on the F-22, F-35, Predator/Reaper, Global Hawk, AT-6C, B-52 Combat Network Communications Technology, and C-130 Avionics Modernization programs.²⁹⁸

Alabama: The Pentagon of the South

Alabama is one of the top recipients of defense spending. In fiscal year 2015, the Department of Defense ranked the state 9th overall for receiving \$12.2 billion, making up 5.9 percent of the state's gross domestic product.²⁹⁹

That level of spending, along with a high concentration of generals and senior civilians, earned Alabama the moniker of being the "Pentagon of the South."³⁰⁰ And just as D.C. has a swamp of government officials going through the revolving door to defense contractors, so too does the Yellowhammer State.

Examples

A few examples of officials who joined defense contractors within two years of retirement include:

- **Cathy Dickens**, who was the deputy commander of the U.S. Army and Missile Command at Redstone Arsenal in Alabama.³⁰¹ In that position, she managed an organization with an annual budget of \$18 billion. She became vice president of business management for Huntsville, Alabama, contractor COLSA Corporation, which received nearly \$200 million in contracts from the Department of Defense in fiscal year 2018.³⁰²
- **Lieutenant General Kevin T. Campbell** (USA Ret.), who was commander of Space and Missile Defense Command/Army Forces Strategy Command in Redstone, Alabama, where he managed the Army's cyber functions and was responsible for new communications satellites.³⁰³ He joined Northrop Grumman as vice president and corporate lead executive for business in Huntsville, Alabama.³⁰⁴
- **Tim Owings**, who was the deputy program manager for the Army's unmanned aircraft systems in Huntsville, Alabama.³⁰⁵ He became a corporate vice president for Sierra Nevada Corporation's integrated mission systems, where he is "responsible for operations in Huntsville, Alabama and Hagerstown, Maryland, managing a large portfolio of [intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance] systems primarily in support of U.S. military and international programs."³⁰⁶
- **General Dennis Via** (USA Ret.), who was the commanding general of Army Materiel Command at Redstone Arsenal in Alabama. He joined Booz Allen Hamilton as a senior executive adviser and fellow for defense futures after his retirement.³⁰⁷
- **Kathy C. Harvey**, who was director of Army Materiel Command's contractor support office at Redstone Arsenal, Alabama. She joined the SPECTRUM Group, a Pentagon contractor consulting and lobbying firm. "Ms. Harvey is conveniently located and can easily provide assistance to clients in the Northern parts of Alabama, especially Huntsville, Birmingham, Montgomery, and Anniston," the company noted in a press release.³⁰⁸

Recommendations

“Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together,” President Eisenhower said in his farewell address.³⁰⁹ But without more transparency the public and Congress cannot properly check the influence of defense contractors and how that influence could be costing the Pentagon and taxpayers.

For the executive branch to shine a light on the revolving door:

1. The Department of Defense should make its AGEAR ethics database public.
2. Require government officials to enter into a binding revolving door exit plan that sets forth the programs and projects from which the former employee is banned from working. Like financial disclosure statements, these reports should be filed with the Office of Government Ethics and made available to the public.

Both of these reforms would benefit government employees who are unaware of or confused by post-government restrictions, or who have multiple post-employment bans covering different time periods. The reforms will also allow the public to see how government agencies interpret laws to prevent conflicts of interest and whether there is consistent and fair application of those laws.

For the executive branch to shine a light on direct lobbying and influence:

1. The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) should improve collection and transparency of executive branch lobbying forms (SF-LLL) by posting them on a centralized, public, searchable website within three days of receiving them. OMB should create a system to allow agencies to post the short-form (SF-LLLShort) on the same centralized, public, searchable website within 48 hours of any meeting between an entity seeking a federal award and an executive branch employee.³¹⁰
2. The Department of Defense should guard against violations of post-employment rules by adopting a Government Accountability Office recommendation to require defense contractors who are awarded a contract to disclose to the contracting officer the names of employees who are former senior military officers, Department of Defense officials, or acquisition officials, and certify those employees are in compliance with post-government ethics rules.³¹¹

For Congress:

1. Expand executive branch lobbying reporting requirements in the SF-LLL form to include any oral or written communication, including email or other electronic types of communication, between an entity attempting to seek a federal award and an executive branch employee.
2. Simplify the complex system of laws, regulations, executive orders, and agency directives for post-government employment. Congress should create a clear, streamlined rule of ethical conduct that can then be used for the entire federal government.
3. Close the loophole that allows former government employees to work for a department or division of a contractor that was not the specific division or department of the contractor they oversaw as a government employee.
4. Prohibit, for a specified period of time, political appointees and Senior Executive Service (SES) policymakers (people who develop rules and determine requirements) from being able to seek employment from companies materially impacted by—including financially benefitting from—the policies they helped draft. Materially benefitting would include obtaining a direct and predictable economic, financial, business, or competitive advantage or right.
5. Require recently retired government officials and their new employers to file revolving door reports attesting that the former official has complied with his or her revolving door exit plan.
6. Require Congressional hearing witnesses to disclose payments received from foreign governments, or pending negotiations to receive money from foreign governments.
7. Require the Government Accountability Office to audit retired military officers' compliance with the Emoluments Clause.
8. Require the military services and the state department to publish when they have approved senior officers' requests to work on behalf of foreign governments.
9. Require the Government Accountability Office to evaluate Department of Defense compliance with post-government employment restrictions every four years.
10. Require government employees to disclose when they become aware that a member of their immediate family is seeking employment with an entity overseen by or doing business with their office or department.
11. Require paid contractor consultants to register with the Office of Government Ethics.

Endnote

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Appendix A – Ethics Laws Guide

Post-Government Employment Restrictions¹

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/Waivers	Notes
Intending to influence any communication to or appearance before any federal agency on a particular matter involving specific parties (or party)² in which the former government employee participated personally and substantially.^{3 4} 18 U.S.C. § 207(a)(1); 5 C.F.R. § 2641.201	Permanent	Any executive branch employee who participated personally and substantially in a particular matter involving specific parties.	Imprisonment for not more than one year and/or a civil penalty of not more than \$98,194 for each violation and/or an order prohibiting the person from engaging in the conduct. If done willfully there could be imprisonment for not more than five years or a \$98,194 fine. ⁶	18 U.S.C. § 207(j)(1), (3), (5), and (6); ⁷	The lifetime ban does not prohibit former government officials from providing strictly “behind-the-scenes” assistance. ¹⁰
		(Does not include enlisted military persons) ⁵		18 U.S.C. § 207(k); ⁸	5 C.F.R. § 2641.301(a), (b), (e), (f), (h), (i) ⁹
Generally these waivers are not publicly posted.					

¹ Generally, such restrictions do not limit who a former government employee works for, but they often limit the work performed by the former government employee for their non-federal employer. Initial and annual ethics training is required pursuant to 5 C.F.R. § 2638 *et seq.* (government ethics education).

² Particular matter involving a specific party or parties generally is “[s]uch a matter typically involves a specific proceeding affecting the legal rights of the parties or an isolatable transaction or related set of transactions between identified parties, such as a specific contract, grant, license, product approval application, enforcement action, administrative adjudication, or court case.” 5 C.F.R. 2641.201(h); 5 C.F.R. § 2641.201(h) (defining a “particular matter involving a specific party or parties”; Office of Government Ethics, “Particular Matter Involving Specific Parties,” “Particular Matter,” and “Matter,” DO-06-029, October 4, 2006. [https://www.oge.gov/Web/OGEnsf/All+Advisories/C10C6B23AC67F74685257E96005FBDD7/\\$FILE/do-06-02_9.pdf?open](https://www.oge.gov/Web/OGEnsf/All+Advisories/C10C6B23AC67F74685257E96005FBDD7/$FILE/do-06-02_9.pdf?open)

³ “Personal participation means that you are directly participating in the matter or that one or more of your subordinates, whom you are directing, is participating” (Emphasis added) U.S Department of Defense Standards of Conduct Office, “Non-Senior Employee Post-Government Employment Restrictions,” January 16, 2018, p. 2. http://ogc.osd.mil/defense_ethics/resource_library/pgser_nonsenior.pdf

⁴ “Substantial participation means your participation must be of significance to the matter, which may be based on the amount and importance of your effort. One act, such as approving a critical step, may be substantial. Likewise, if you have to review and approve a certain step, and work would stop if you did not approve, then your participation is substantial, even though it may have seemed like a paperwork exercise to you. On the other hand, an entire series of peripheral acts might not be substantial.” (Emphasis added) U.S Department of Defense Standards of Conduct Office, “Non-Senior Employee Post-Government Employment Restrictions,” January 16, 2018, p. 2. http://ogc.osd.mil/defense_ethics/resource_library/pgser_nonsenior.pdf

⁵ 5 C.F.R. 2641.104. (definition of employee)

⁶ 18 U.S.C. § 216(a) and (b) (penalties and injunctions); 83 *Federal Register* 3944, 3946, January 29, 2018. <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2018-01-29/pdf/2018-01464.pdf>

⁷ 18 U.S.C. § 207(j) exceptions: (1) official government duties; (2) state and local governments and institutions, hospitals, and organizations; (3) international organizations in which the United States participates; (4) special knowledge in the particular area that is the subject of the statement, if no compensation is thereby received; (5) scientific or technological information; (6) testimony; and (7) political parties and campaign committees.

⁸ 18 U.S.C. § 207(k) (allowing the President to waive a restriction for executive branch employees, other than employees in the Executive Office of the President, “if the President determines and certifies in writing that it is in the public interest to grant the waiver and that the services of the officer or employee are critically needed for the benefit of the Federal Government.”)

⁹ 5 C.F.R. 2641.301 waivers: (a) acting for the United States; (b) acting on behalf of state or local government as an elected official; (c) acting for specified entities; (d) uncompensated statement based on special knowledge; (e) furnishing scientific or technological information; (f) testimony or statements made under oath; (g) acting for a candidate or political party; (h) acting for an international organization; (i) re-employment by a government-owned, contractor-operated entity; (j) waiver for certain positions; and (k) miscellaneous statutory exceptions.

¹⁰ Office of Government Ethics, “Introduction to the Primary Post-Government Employee Restrictions Applicable to Former Executive Branch Employees,” September 23, 2016, p. 3. [https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/All+Advisories/3741DC247191C8B88525803B0052BD7E/\\$FILE/LA-16-08.pdf?open](https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/All+Advisories/3741DC247191C8B88525803B0052BD7E/$FILE/LA-16-08.pdf?open)

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Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/Waivers	Notes
<p>Intending to influence any communication to or appearance before any federal agency on a particular matter involving specific parties¹² in which the former government employee knows or reasonably should know was pending under their official responsibility¹³ within 1 year before termination of government employment.</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 207(a)(2);</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2641.202</p>	<p>Two Years</p>	<p>Any executive branch employee who had official responsibility over a particular matter involving specific parties during the final year of federal employment, even if the employee did not personally and substantially participate in any of the matters.</p> <p>(Does not include enlisted military persons)</p>	<p>Imprisonment for not more than one year and/or a civil penalty of not more than \$98,194 for each violation and/or an order prohibiting the person from engaging in the conduct. If done willfully there could be imprisonment for not more than five years or a \$98,194 fine.¹⁴</p>	<p>18 U.S.C. § 207(j)(1), (3), (5), and (6);¹⁵</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 207(k);¹⁶</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2641.301 (a), (b), (e), (f), (h), (i)¹⁷</p> <p>Generally these waivers are not publicly posted.</p>	<p>The ban does not prohibit former government officials from providing strictly “behind-the-scenes” assistance.¹⁸</p> <p>This restriction applies even if the employee is not receiving compensation.</p>

¹² See footnote 2 (particular matter involving specific parties).

¹³ “Official responsibility” means the direct administrative or operating authority, whether intermediate or final, and either exercisable alone or with others, and either personally or through subordinates, to approve, disapprove, or otherwise direct Government action. Note, however, that nonsupervisory employees do not have official responsibility for their own assignments within the meaning of section 207(a)(2). 5 C.F.R. § 2641.202(j)(1).

¹⁴ 18 U.S.C. § 216(a) and (b) (penalties and injunctions); 83 *Federal Register* 3944, 3946, January 29, 2018. <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2018-01-29/pdf/2018-01464.pdf>

¹⁵ See footnote 7.

¹⁶ See footnote 8.

¹⁷ See footnote 9.

¹⁸ Office of Government Ethics, “Introduction to the Primary Post-Government Employee Restrictions Applicable to Former Executive Branch Employees,” September 23, 2016, p. 3. [https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/All+Advisories/3741DC247191C8B88525803B0052BD7E/\\$FILE/LA-16-08.pdf?open](https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/All+Advisories/3741DC247191C8B88525803B0052BD7E/$FILE/LA-16-08.pdf?open)

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/ Waivers	Notes
<p>Aiding or advising an entity on an ongoing trade or treaty negotiation¹⁹ in which the employee was personally and substantially involved within the 1-year period preceding their termination.</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 207(b);</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2641.203</p>	<p>One Year</p>	<p>Any executive branch employee, legislative branch employee, or former Member of Congress who (1) participated personally and substantially in any ongoing trade or treaty negotiation on behalf of the United States <i>and</i> (2) who had access to information concerning the negotiations that the agency has designated as exempt from disclosure under FOIA.</p> <p>(Does not include enlisted military persons)</p>	<p>Imprisonment for not more than one year and/or a civil penalty of not more than \$98,194 for each violation and/or an order prohibiting the person from engaging in the conduct. If done willfully there could be imprisonment for not more than five years or a \$98,194 fine.²⁰</p>	<p>18 U.S.C. § 207(j)(1), (3), and (6);²¹</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 207(k);²²</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2641.301(a), (b), (f), (h), and (i)²³</p> <p>Generally these waivers are not publicly posted.</p>	<p>Could bar a limited number of former government officials from providing strictly “behind-the-scenes” assistance.²⁴</p> <p>This restriction applies even if the employee is not receiving compensation.</p>

¹⁹ The term “trade negotiation” means negotiations which the President determines to undertake to enter into a trade agreement pursuant to section 1102 of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988, and does not include any action taken before that determination is made; and the term “treaty” means an international agreement made by the President that requires the advice and consent of the Senate. 18 U.S.C. § 207(b)(2).

²⁰ 18 U.S.C. § 216(a) and (b) (penalties and injunctions); 83 *Federal Register* 3944, 3946, January 29, 2018. <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2018-01-29/pdf/2018-01464.pdf>

²¹ See footnote 7.

²² See footnote 8.

²³ See footnote 9.

²⁴ Office of Government Ethics, “Introduction to the Primary Post-Government Employee Restrictions Applicable to Former Executive Branch Employees,” September 23, 2016, pp. 3-4. [https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/All+Advisories/3741DC247191C8B88525803B0052BD7E/\\$FILE/LA-16-08.pdf?open](https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/All+Advisories/3741DC247191C8B88525803B0052BD7E/$FILE/LA-16-08.pdf?open)

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/ Waivers	Notes
<p>Intending to influence any communication to or appearance before any federal agency, in which the person served within the one-year period preceding their termination, regarding any matter on which the former government employee seeks official action by the agency.</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 207(c);</p> <p>Executive Order 13770, Sec. 1, Par. 2 (citing 18 U.S.C. § 207(c));²⁵</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 207(d);</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2641.204;</p>	<p>One year for senior personnel²⁶</p> <p>Two years for very senior personnel²⁷</p>	<p>Senior officials²⁸ and very senior officials²⁹</p>	<p>Imprisonment for not more than one year and/or a civil penalty of not more than \$98,194 for each violation and/or an order prohibiting the person from engaging in the conduct. If done willfully there could be imprisonment for not more than five years or a \$98,194 fine.³⁰</p>	<p>Senior Personnel:</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 207(c) (2)(C);</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 207(j) (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), and (7);³¹</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 207(k);³²</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2641.301 (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), (h), (i), and (j);³³</p> <p>Generally these waivers are not publicly posted.</p> <p>EO 13770, Sec. 3 (The President or his designee may grant a waiver of Executive Order (EO) restrictions.³⁴</p>	<p>The ban does not prohibit former government officials from providing strictly “behind-the-scenes” assistance.⁴⁰</p> <p>“[T]he term ‘matter’ covers even the consideration or adoption of broad policy options that are directed to the interests of a large and diverse group of persons....the post-employment restrictions apply only to matters ‘on which [the former employee] seeks official action.’”⁴¹</p> <p>This restriction applies even if the employee is not receiving compensation.</p>

²⁵ President Donald Trump, “Executive Order: Ethics Commitments by Executive Branch Appointees,” January 28, 2017. (Hereinafter EO 13770) <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-ethics-commitments-executive-branch-appointees/>

²⁶ 18 U.S.C. § 207(c)(2), including “Positions with pay fixed according to the Executive Schedule; Basic pay at or above 86.5 percent of the rate of basic pay for level II of the Executive Schedule = \$189,600 for CY 2018; O-7 or above uniformed services grade; Appointed by the President under 3 U.S.C. § 105(a)(2)(B); Appointed by the Vice President to a position under 3 U.S.C. § 106(a)(1)(B). Office of Government Ethics, 18 U.S.C. § 207: Applicability Chart. [https://www.oge.gov/web/OGE.nsf/0/532392FC066A86048525815A004FE986/\\$FILE/Combined%20Senior%20Employees.pdf](https://www.oge.gov/web/OGE.nsf/0/532392FC066A86048525815A004FE986/$FILE/Combined%20Senior%20Employees.pdf)

²⁷ 18 U.S.C. § 207(d)(1), including Vice President; Paid at the rate of basic pay for level I of the Executive Schedule = \$210,700 for CY 2018; Employed in a position in the EOP at a rate of pay for level II of the Executive Schedule = \$189,600 for CY 2018; Appointed by the President under 3 U.S.C. § 105(a)(2)(A); Appointed by the Vice President to a position under 3 U.S.C. § 106(a)(1)(A). Office of Government Ethics, 18 U.S.C. § 207: Applicability Chart. [https://www.oge.gov/web/OGE.nsf/0/532392FC066A86048525815A004FE986/\\$FILE/Combined%20Senior%20Employees.pdf](https://www.oge.gov/web/OGE.nsf/0/532392FC066A86048525815A004FE986/$FILE/Combined%20Senior%20Employees.pdf)

²⁸ “Senior” employees include employees whose rate of basic pay equals or exceeds 86.5 percent of the rate for level II of the Executive Schedule (\$189,600) (which includes members of the Senior Executive Service and others employed at high rates of pay), employees serving at Levels II-V of the Executive Schedule, and military officers at or above O-7, and some presidential appointees.

²⁹ “Very senior” employees include people serving at Level I of the Executive Schedule, officials at Level II of the Executive Schedule serving in the Executive Office of the President, and certain presidential appointees, as well as any employees (regardless of pay) serving in either the White House Office or the Office of the Vice President who have been appointed pursuant to 3 U.S.C. § 105(a)(2)(A) (generally, this usually means Assistants to the President) or 3 U.S.C. § 106(a)(1)(A) (generally, this usually means Assistants to the Vice President).

³⁰ 18 U.S.C. § 216(a) and (b) (penalties and injunctions); 83 *Federal Register* 3944, 3946, January 29, 2018. <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2018-01-29/pdf/2018-01464.pdf>

³¹ See footnote 7.

³² See footnote 8.

³³ See footnote 9.

³⁴ EO 13770, Sec. 3 (waivers).

⁴⁰ Office of Government Ethics, “Introduction to the Primary Post-Government Employee Restrictions Applicable to Former Executive Branch Employees,” September 23, 2016, p. 3.

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⁴¹ Office of Government Ethics, “Particular Matter Involving Specific Parties,” “Particular Matter,” and “Matter,” DO-06-029, October 4, 2006.

[https://www.oge.gov/Web/OGE.nsf/All+Advisories/C10C6B23AC67F74685257E96005FBDD7/\\$FILE/do-06-02_9.pdf?open](https://www.oge.gov/Web/OGE.nsf/All+Advisories/C10C6B23AC67F74685257E96005FBDD7/$FILE/do-06-02_9.pdf?open)

5 C.F.R. § 2641.205				<p>There is no legal standard for giving an EO waiver, so it is strictly a political decision. The EO does not provide for release EO waivers publicly but, as a matter of practice, the White House has posted some of the EO waivers on its website.³⁵ Others appear on OGE’s website.³⁶)</p> <p>Very senior personnel:</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 207(j) (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), and (7);³⁷</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 207(k);³⁸</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2641.301 (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), (h), and (i)³⁹</p> <p>Generally these waivers are not publicly posted.</p>	<p>OGE lists separate components in cases involving 18 U.S.C. § 207(c) for senior personnel.⁴² As a result, the restrictions apply only to the agency component in which the former employee worked (e.g., Department of the Army, Defense Logistics Agency). Employees should be careful, however, because component designations are not necessarily intuitive. DoD officials could work for a separate component of a non-federal employer for a year or two, so that their cooling off period expires, and then work for the component in which the conflict existed.</p>
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³⁵ White House, Disclosures, “2018 Financial Disclosures.” <https://www.whitehouse.gov/disclosures/>

³⁶ Office of Government Ethics, “Agency Ethics Pledge Waivers (EO 13770).” [https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Agency%20Ethics%20Pledge%20Waivers%20\(EO%2013770\)?openview](https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Agency%20Ethics%20Pledge%20Waivers%20(EO%2013770)?openview)

³⁷ See footnote 7.

³⁸ See footnote 8.

³⁹ See footnote 9.

⁴² 18 U.S.C. § 207(h) (designating “separate statutory agencies and bureaus”); 5 C.F.R. § 2641.302 (“Separate agency components”); 5 C.F.R. § 2641, Appendix B (“Agency Components for Purposes of 18 U.S.C. 207(c)”); 5 C.F.R. § 3601.102 (designating separate agency components).

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/Waivers	Notes
<p>Making communications to or appearances before any Member, officer, or employee of either House of Congress or any employee of any other legislative office of the Congress on behalf of any other person (except the United States) in connection with any matter with the intent to influence.</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 207(e)</p>	<p>Two years for Senators</p> <p>One year for Members and officers of the House of Representatives, and others</p>	<p>Members of Congress and officers of the legislative branch</p>	<p>Imprisonment for not more than one year and/or a civil penalty of not more than \$98,194 for each violation and/or an order prohibiting the person from engaging in the conduct. If done willfully there could be imprisonment for not more than five years or a \$98,194 fine.⁴³</p>	<p>18 U.S.C. § 207(j)(1), (2), (3), (4), (6), and (7);⁴⁴</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 207(k)⁴⁵</p> <p>Generally these waivers are not publicly posted.</p>	<p>This section solely deals with Congress and was thus not a focus of this report.</p> <p>Although this restriction doesn't apply to anyone at DoD, it could apply to a Secretary of Defense or a Secretary of the Army, etc., who served in Congress and then quit the DOD job before the end of the cooling-off period.</p>

⁴³ 18 U.S.C. § 216(a) and (b) (penalties and injunctions); 83 *Federal Register* 3944, 3946, January 29, 2018. <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2018-01-29/pdf/2018-01464.pdf>

⁴⁴ See footnote 7.

⁴⁵ See footnote 8.

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/ Waivers	Notes
<p>Representing or aiding/advising a foreign entity before an agency with the intent to influence a government decision.</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 207(f);</p> <p>Executive Order 13770, Sec. 1, Para. 4;</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2641.206</p>	<p>One year</p>	<p>Senior officials, very senior officials, and legislative branch officials.</p>	<p>Imprisonment for not more than one year and/or a civil penalty of not more than \$98,194 for each violation and/or an order prohibiting the person from engaging in the conduct. If done willfully there could be imprisonment for not more than five years or a \$98,194 fine.⁴⁶</p>	<p>18 U.S.C. § 207(j) (1), (3), and (6);⁴⁷</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 207(k);⁴⁸</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2641.206 (b);</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2641.301 (a), (b), (f), (h), (i), and (j)⁴⁹</p> <p>Generally these waivers are not publicly posted.</p> <p>The President or his designee may grant a waiver of any EO restrictions.⁵⁰ Certain waivers of the EO are publicly available.⁵¹</p>	<p>Foreign entity means a government of a foreign county or foreign political party,⁵² which is slightly different than the definition of “foreign principal” in the Foreign Agents Registration Act.⁵³</p> <p>Also bars former government officials from providing “behind-the-scenes” assistance to a foreign entity.⁵⁴</p> <p>This restriction applies even if the employee is not receiving compensation.</p>

⁴⁶ 18 U.S.C. § 216(a) and (b) (penalties and injunctions); 83 *Federal Register* 3944, 3946, January 29, 2018. <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2018-01-29/pdf/2018-01464.pdf>

⁴⁷ See footnote 7.

⁴⁸ See footnote 8.

⁴⁹ See footnote 9.

⁵⁰ EO 13770, Sec. 3 (waivers).

⁵¹ Office of Government Ethics, “Agency Ethics Pledge Waivers (EO 13770).” [https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Agency%20Ethics%20Pledge%20Waivers%20\(EO%2013770\)?openview](https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Agency%20Ethics%20Pledge%20Waivers%20(EO%2013770)?openview)

⁵² 18 U.S.C. § 207(f)(3) (restrictions relating to foreign entities); Lydia Dennett, “Justice Department Reveals (Some) of How It Interprets Foreign Influence Law,” Center for Defense Information, June 15, 2018. <https://www.pogo.org/investigation/2018/06/justice-department-reveals-some-of-how-it-interprets-foreign-influence-law/>

⁵³ 22 U.S.C. § 611(b) (defining foreign principal).

⁵⁴ Office of Government Ethics, “Introduction to the Primary Post-Government Employee Restrictions Applicable to Former Executive Branch Employees,” September 23, 2016, pp. 10-11. [https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/All+Advisories/3741DC247191C8B88525803B0052BD7E/\\$FILE/LA-16-08.pdf?open](https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/All+Advisories/3741DC247191C8B88525803B0052BD7E/$FILE/LA-16-08.pdf?open)

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/ Waivers	Notes
<p>Representing, aiding, or counseling a private sector organization in connection with any contract with an agency.</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 207(l);</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2641.207</p>	<p>One year</p>	<p>Participants in the “Information Technology Exchange Program.”⁵⁵</p>	<p>Imprisonment for not more than one year and/or a civil penalty of not more than \$98,194 for each violation and/or an order prohibiting the person from engaging in the conduct. If done willfully there could be imprisonment for not more than five years or a \$98,194 fine.⁵⁶</p>	<p>18 U.S.C. § 207(j) (1), (3), and (6);⁵⁷</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2641.301 (a), (b), (f), (h), and (i)⁵⁸</p> <p>Generally these waivers are not publicly posted.</p>	<p>This restriction applies even if the employee is not receiving compensation.</p>

⁵⁵ 5 U.S.C. § 3701 *et seq.* (Information Technology Exchange Program).

⁵⁶ 18 U.S.C. § 216(a) and (b) (penalties and injunctions); 83 *Federal Register* 3944, 3946, January 29, 2018. <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2018-01-29/pdf/2018-01464.pdf>

⁵⁷ See footnote 7.

⁵⁸ See footnote 9.

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/ Waivers	Notes
<p>Receiving compensation from a contractor who received federal contracts in excess of \$10 million.</p> <p>41 U.S.C. § 2104</p>	<p>One year</p>	<p>Former officials who were part of selecting or managing contracts in excess of \$10 million.</p>	<p>The official and contractor are subject to penalties for knowing violations, including a “civil penalty of not more than \$102,606 for each violation plus twice the amount of compensation that the individual received or offered for the prohibited conduct.” An agency may also cancel the procurement, rescind the contract, initiate suspension/debarment proceedings, or initiate an adverse personnel action.⁵⁹</p>	<p>Does not prevent a former official from “accepting compensation from a division or affiliate of a contractor that does not produce the same or similar products or services”⁶⁰</p>	<p>A “30-day Letter” may be requested regarding the compensation ban when a current or former employee has been offered a definite position with a private employer.⁶¹</p> <p>Working for free for a for-profit entity for a year is likely prohibited by the Fair Labor Standards Act.⁶²</p> <p>This provision is part of what is officially known as the Procurement Integrity Act (PIA).⁶³ Other PIA provisions relate to procurement officials and possible non-federal employment (<i>see</i> 41 U.S.C. § 2103 below) and prohibitions against disclosing or obtaining contractor bid or proposal information or source-selection information before a contract award.⁶⁴</p>

⁵⁹41 U.S.C. § 2105(b)(1) and (c) (penalties and injunctions); 83 *Federal Register* 3944, 3946, January 29, 2018. <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2018-01-29/pdf/2018-01464.pdf>; FAR Subpart 3.104-3(d) (prohibition on former official’s acceptance of compensation from a contractor).

⁶⁰41 U.S.C. § 2104(b) (when compensation may be accepted).

⁶¹Air Force General Counsel, “Pre- and Post-Employment Restrictions For Separating and Retiring Air Force Personnel,” April 2016, p. 11. <http://www.safgc.hq.af.mil/Portals/80/documents/gca/ethics/AFD-160727-002.pdf?ver=2016-08-18-110459-677>

⁶²Department of Labor, “Fair Labor Standards Act Advisor: Volunteers.” <https://webapps.dol.gov/elaws/whd/flsa/docs/volunteers.asp>

⁶³41 U.S.C. §§ 2101-2107 (restrictions on obtaining and disclosing certain information).

⁶⁴41 U.S.C. § 2102 (prohibitions on disclosing and obtaining procurement information); 41 U.S.C. § 2103 (involving non-federal employment).

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/Waivers	Notes
<p>Lobbying contacts and other lobbying activities with respect to the Department of Defense including “lobbying contacts and efforts in support of such contacts, including preparation and planning activities, research and other background work that is intended, at the time it is performed, for use in contacts, and coordination with the lobbying activities of others.”⁶⁵</p> <p>Public Law 115-91, § 1045</p>	Two Years	Department of Defense personnel grade O-9 or higher or the civilian grade equivalent			<p>The provision is directed at senior military and civilian officials, whether they’re a registered lobbyist or not. Any reference to the LDA appears to be for definitional purposes only, and nothing in the new law suggests that the bans apply to registered lobbyists. But guidance should specifically clarify to whom the new law applies.⁶⁶</p> <p>This is important because many people engage in lobbying activities without registering as a lobbyist.</p>
	One Year	Department of Defense personnel grades O-7 and O-8 and their civilian equivalents			<p>There are 24 exceptions in the Lobbying Disclosure Act (LDA), including speeches, articles, publications, and meeting requests that aren’t covered.⁶⁷</p>

⁶⁵ 2 U.S.C § 1602(7) (defining lobbying activities).

⁶⁶ Scott Amey, “Defense Lobbying Ban Might Drain the Pentagon Swamp,” Project On Government Oversight, March 12, 2018. <https://www.pogo.org/analysis/2018/03/defense-lobbying-ban-might-drain-pentagon-swamp/>

⁶⁷ David B. Robbins and Peter J. Eyre, “NDAA Lobbying Restrictions--Not As Onerous As Many Seem to Fear,” Government Contracts Legal Forum, February 20, 2018.

<https://www.governmentcontractslegalforum.com/2018/02/articles/ethics-compliance/ndaa-lobbying-restrictions-no-as-onerous-as-many-seem-to-fear/>

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/ Waivers	Notes
<p>Engaging in any activity on behalf of any foreign government or foreign political party that would require registration under the Foreign Agents Registration Act⁶⁸</p> <p>Executive Order 13770, Sec. 1, Para. 4</p>	Lifetime	Political appointees who were appointed by President Trump	<p>Enforceable “by any legally available means, including any or all of the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. debarment proceedings within any affected executive agency or 2. civil judicial proceedings for declaratory, injunctive, or monetary relief.”⁶⁹ 	The President or his designee may grant a waiver of this restriction. ⁷⁰ Certain waivers of the EO are publicly available. ⁷¹	The Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) includes an often-misunderstood exemption that allows some agents representing foreign clients to register under the far less strict Lobbying Disclosure Act (LDA) . The EO’s ethics restriction might be void if the LDA exemption is not clarified in the law or eliminated. ⁷²

⁶⁸ 22 U.S.C §§ 601-621(registration of foreign propagandists).

⁶⁹ EO 13770, Sec. 5(a) (enforcement).

⁷⁰ EO 13770, Sec. 3 (waivers).

⁷¹ Office of Government Ethics, “Agency Ethics Pledge Waivers (EO 13770).” [https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Agency%20Ethics%20Pledge%20Waivers%20\(EO%2013770\)?openview](https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Agency%20Ethics%20Pledge%20Waivers%20(EO%2013770)?openview)

⁷² Lydia Dennett and Ben Freeman, “Loopholes, Filing Failures, and Lax Enforcement: How the Foreign Agents Registration Act Falls Short,” Project On Government Oversight, December 16, 2014, p. 30. <http://pogoarchives.org/m/fara/pogo-fara-report-20141216.pdf>

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/ Waivers	Notes
<p>Lobbying an appointee’s former agency.</p> <p>Executive Order 13770, Sec. 1, Para. 1</p>	<p>Five years after termination of employment as an executive branch appointee</p>	<p>Political appointees who were appointed by President Trump</p>	<p>Enforceable “by any legally available means, including any or all of the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. debarment proceedings within any affected executive agency or 2. civil judicial proceedings for declaratory, injunctive, or monetary relief.”⁷³ <p>Violations can result in an additional five-year ban being added to the original five-year time period covered by the EO.⁷⁴</p>	<p>The President or his designee may grant a waiver of this restriction.⁷⁵ Certain waivers of the EO are publicly available.⁷⁶</p>	<p>Covers former appointees registered under the Lobbying Disclosure Act. However, many individuals engage in lobbying activities without registering as a lobbyist. The restriction does not cover individuals who are not registered.</p> <hr/> <p>The definition of “lobbying activities” in the EO “departs from the Lobbying Disclosure Act in that it exempts actions regarding rulemaking, adjudication, and licensing, among other things.”⁷⁷ It also does not include consultants and advisors, which President Trump raised concerns about in his ethics plan while he was on the campaign trail.⁷⁸</p>

⁷³ EO 13770, Sec. 5(a) (enforcement).

⁷⁴ EO 13770, Sec. 5(b) (enforcement).

⁷⁵ EO 13770, Sec. 3 (waivers).

⁷⁶ Office of Government Ethics, “Agency Ethics Pledge Waivers (EO 13770).” [https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Agency%20Ethics%20Pledge%20Waivers%20\(EO%2013770\)?openview](https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Agency%20Ethics%20Pledge%20Waivers%20(EO%2013770)?openview)

⁷⁷ EO 13770, Sec. 2 (defining lobbying activities); Daniel Van Schooten and Laura Peterson, “Trump’s Ethics Pledge is Paper-Thin,” Project On Government Oversight, June 6, 2017.

<https://www.pogo.org/investigation/2017/06/trumps-ethics-pledge-is-paper-thin/>

⁷⁸ Scott Amey, “Trump Fails to Expand Definition of Lobbyist in Ethics Order,” Project On Government Oversight, January 30, 2017. <https://www.pogo.org/analysis/2017/01/trump-fails-to-expand-definition-of-lobbyist-in-ethics-order/>

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/ Waivers	Notes
<p>Lobbying any covered executive branch official or non-career SES appointee.⁷⁹</p> <p>Executive Order 13770, Sec. 1, Para. 3</p>	<p>Duration of President Trump’s administration</p>	<p>Political appointees who were appointed by President Trump</p>	<p>Enforceable “by any legally available means, including any or all of the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. debarment proceedings within any affected executive agency or 2. civil judicial proceedings for declaratory, injunctive, or monetary relief.”⁸⁰ 	<p>The President or his designee may grant a waiver of this restriction.⁸¹ Certain waivers of the EO are publicly available.⁸²</p>	<p>Covers former appointees registered under the Lobbying Disclosure Act. However, many individuals engage in lobbying activities without registering as a lobbyist. The restriction does not cover individuals who are not registered.</p> <p>Lobbying activities “does not include communicating or appearing with regard to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. a judicial proceeding; 2. a criminal or civil law enforcement inquiry, investigation, or proceeding; or 3. any agency process for rulemaking, adjudication, or licensing[.]”⁸³ <p>Lobbying does not include activities by consultants and advisors, which President Trump raised concerns about in his ethics plan while he was on the campaign trail.⁸⁴</p>

⁷⁹ Covered executive branch officials means the president, vice president, employees of the Executive Office of the President, employees serving in levels I-V of the Executive Schedule, members of the uniformed services at or above the O-7 paygrade, and various other employees as described in 5 U.S. Code § 7511(b)(2)(B). 2 U.S.C. § 1602(3).

⁸⁰ EO 13770, Sec. 5(a) (enforcement).

⁸¹ EO 13770, Sec. 3 (waivers).

⁸² Office of Government Ethics, “Agency Ethics Pledge Waivers (EO 13770).” [https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Agency%20Ethics%20Pledge%20Waivers%20\(EO%2013770\)?openview](https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Agency%20Ethics%20Pledge%20Waivers%20(EO%2013770)?openview)

⁸³ EO 13770, Sec. 2 (defining lobbying activities).

⁸⁴ Scott Amey, “Trump Fails to Expand Definition of Lobbyist in Ethics Order,” Project On Government Oversight, January 30, 2017. <http://www.pogo.org/blog/2017/01/trump-fails-to-expand-lobbyist-definition-ethics-order.html>

Restrictions for Government Employees with Financial Interests

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/ Waivers	Notes
<p>Participating personally or substantially in a particular matter⁸⁵ in which an employee, the employee’s spouse, minor child, general partner, organization, or prospective employer has a financial interest.</p> <p>18 U.S.C. § 208(a);</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2640.101 <i>et seq.</i> (applying 18 U.S.C. § 208);</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2635.101(b) (2), (3), (10) (applying to financial conflicts and non-government employment);</p>	<p>During government service</p>	<p>Executive branch employees, including enlisted military persons.⁸⁶</p>	<p>Imprisonment for not more than one year and/or a civil penalty of not more than \$98,194 for each violation and/or an order prohibiting the person from engaging in the conduct. If done willfully there could be imprisonment for not more than five years or a \$98,194 fine.⁸⁷</p>	<p>The law and regulations permit the employee to participate in a particular matter affecting the financial interest of a prospective employer with which the employee is seeking or negotiating only if the employee receives a written waiver from an authorized official prior to participating in the matter. OGE has indicated that waivers for matters affecting prospective employers with whom an employee is negotiating are generally disfavored, due to the significant influence a prospective employer would have over an employee. A somewhat lower standard applies if the employee is</p>	<p>Public financial disclosure reports, including SF-278s, ethics agreements, and OGE Form 201 will often disclose financial conflicts of interest for certain high ranking government officials.⁹¹</p> <p>Seeking employment covers negotiations and sending in a resume. It also includes receiving an unsolicited communication regarding possible employment and responding with anything other than an unambiguous rejection.⁹²</p> <p>Although executive branch regulations obligate an employee to disqualify him- or herself from conflicted matters, the prohibition on prospective employment does not generally require the employee to file a disclosure or recusal statement for lower level employees.⁹³ In fact, “an employee may elect to create a record of his actions by providing written</p>

⁸⁵ 18 U.S.C. § 207(i)(3) (particular matter means “any investigation, application, request for a ruling or determination, rulemaking, contract, controversy, claim, charge, accusation, arrest, or judicial or other proceeding.”); 5 C.F.R. § 2635.402(b)(3) (“The term particular matter encompasses only matters that involve deliberation, decision, or action that is focused upon the interests of specific persons, or a discrete and identifiable class of persons.”); 5 C.F.R. § 2640.102(m) (“Particular matter of general applicability means a particular matter that is focused on the interests of a discrete and identifiable class of persons, but does not involve specific parties.”); 5 C.F.R. § 2640.103(a)(1) (“‘particular matter’ includes only matters that involve deliberation, decision, or action that is focused upon the interests of specific persons, or a discrete and identifiable class of persons.”); EO 13770, Sec. 2(r); Office of Government Ethics, “Particular Matter Involving Specific Parties,” “Particular Matter,” and “Matter,” DO-06-029, October 4, 2006.

⁸⁶ While 18 U.S.C. § 208 doesn’t apply to enlisted personnel, those personnel are covered under the Joint Ethics Regulation (JER), DoD 555-07R 1-300(b)(1)(a). <http://www.esd.whs.mil/Portals/54/Documents/DD/issuances/dodm/550007r.pdf>

⁸⁷ 18 U.S.C. § 216(a) and (b) (penalties and injunctions); 83 *Federal Register* 3944, 3946, January 29, 2018. <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2018-01-29/pdf/2018-01464.pdf>

⁹¹ Office of Government Ethics, “Presidential, Vice Presidential, Appointee, and Nominee Records.” <https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Presidential%20Appointee%20%20Nominee%20Records>

⁹² Air Force General Counsel, “Pre- and Post -Employment Restrictions For Separating and Retiring Air Force Personnel,” April 2016, p. 5. <http://www.safgc.hq.af.mil/Portals/80/documents/gca/ethics/AFD-160727-002.pdf?ver=2016-08-18-110459-677>

⁹³ 18 U.S.C. § 208 (personal financial interests); 5 C.F.R. § 2635.402(c) and (d) (stating that “oral or written notification of the employee’s disqualification may be made to coworkers by the employee or a supervisor to ensure that the employee is not involved in a matter from which he is disqualified” and that “an employee may elect to create a record of his actions by providing written notice to a supervisor or other appropriate official,” but the “employee need not file a written disqualification statement unless he is required by part 2634[.]”); 5 C.F.R. § 2635.502(e) (stating that employees with conflicts “should notify the person responsible for his assignment” and that documentation isn’t required unless required by 5 C.F.R. § 2634); 2635.604(b) and (c) (stating that although it is “prudent” to create a record and provide “written notice to an agency ethics official,” such notice isn’t required and “[a]ppropriate oral or written notification of the employee’s recusal may be made to an agency ethics official, coworkers, or a supervisor to document and help effectuate the employee’s recusal.”).

<p>5 C.F.R. § 2635.401 <i>et seq.</i> (outlining disqualifying and prohibited conflicting financial interests);</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2635.501 <i>et seq.</i> (outlining disqualifying and prohibited personal and business relationships);</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2635.601 <i>et seq.</i> (government employees seeking non-government employment)</p>				<p>merely seeking employment and not negotiating for employment, but requests for such waivers should still be given strict scrutiny for the potential that an employee’s participation in a matter will create an appearance that the employee has lost his or her impartiality with respect to the prospective employer.⁸⁸</p> <p>A special government employee serving on a Federal Advisory Committee Act (FACA) committee may be able to rely on an exemption in OGE’s regulations in certain circumstances.⁸⁹ Other special government employees may be able to obtain a waiver if the necessity of the individual’s service outweighs the potential for a conflict of interest created by the financial interest involved.⁹⁰</p>	<p>notice to a supervisor or other appropriate official.”⁹⁴</p> <p>OGE’s regulations and the STOCK Act of 2012 require every public financial disclosure filer to submit written notification of employment negotiations within 3 business days of either the commencement of negotiations or an agreement for future employment, whichever occurs first. The notification must include a statement that the employee will recuse from particular matters affecting the prospective or future employer. For purposes of this notification requirement (but not for other purposes) “employment” includes any compensated activity following government employment (including, for example, a book deal); it does not include outside employment while the employee is serving in the government.</p> <p>DoD employees who are required to disqualify themselves shall “provide written notice of disqualification to his supervisor upon determining that he will not participate in the matter.”⁹⁵ That notice can be withdrawn if disqualification is no longer required.⁹⁶ Generally these waivers are not publicly posted.</p> <p>This restriction leaves out a number of family members (siblings, parents, and</p>
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⁸⁸ See 5 C.F.R. §§ 2635.605, 2640.301(a) (issuing an individual waiver under 18 U.S.C. 208(b)(1)).

⁸⁹ 5 C.F.R. § 2640.203(g) (exemptions involving special government employees).

⁹⁰ 18 U.S.C. § 208(b)(3) (exemption for special government employees); 5 C.F.R. § 2635.607 (notification requirements for certain officials); 5 C.F.R. § 2641.201 *et seq.* (post-employment conflict of interest restrictions); 5 C.F.R. § 2641.301 *et seq.* (involving waivers).

⁹⁴ 5 C.F.R. § 2635.502(e)(2) (disqualification documentation).

⁹⁵ 5 C.F.R. § 3601.105(a), (b), (c) (disqualification standards).

⁹⁶ 5 C.F.R. § 3601.105(d) (withdraw notification).

					adult children) who potentially can benefit from a close relative's government activities.
					Financial conflicts can also apply to a government employee coming into public service. In that case, a government employee has a one-year cooling-off period when coming into a government position if "circumstances would cause a reasonable person with knowledge of the relevant facts to question his impartiality in the matter" unless a written authorization is received from an agency designee. ⁹⁷

⁹⁷ 5 C.F.R. § 2635.502(a), (b)(iv), and (d) (applying to personal and business relationships).

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/ Waivers	Notes
<p>Contacting or being contacted by bidders or offerors regarding possible non-federal employment while personally and substantially participating in procurement involving those parties.</p> <p>41 U.S.C. § 2103</p>	<p>During government service</p>	<p>Acquisition officials personally and substantially involved in procurements in excess of the simplified acquisition threshold. They must report the contact and reject the non-federal employment or disqualify themselves.</p>	<p>A penalty of not more than \$102,606 for each violation plus twice the amount of compensation that the individual received or offered for the prohibited conduct and/or initiating a suspension or debarment proceeding.⁹⁸</p>	<p>Disqualification isn't necessary if the person who offered non-federal employment is no longer a bidder or offeror in a procurement or all discussions with the bidder or offeror regarding possible non-federal employment terminated without an agreement or arrangement for employment.⁹⁹</p>	<p>Seeking employment covers negotiations and sending in a resume. It also includes receiving an unsolicited communication regarding possible employment and responding with anything other than an unambiguous rejection.¹⁰⁰</p> <p>This provision is part of what is officially known as the Procurement Integrity Act (PIA).¹⁰¹ Other PIA provisions relate to certain procurement officials accepting compensation for non-federal employment (<i>see</i> 41 U.S.C. § 2104 above) and prohibitions against “disclosing or obtaining contractor bid or proposal information or source selection information before a contract award.”¹⁰²</p>

⁹⁸ 41 U.S.C. § 2105(b)(1) and (c)(1)(C) (civil penalties and administrative actions); 83 *Federal Register* 3944, 3946, January 29, 2018. <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2018-01-29/pdf/2018-01464.pdf>; FAR Subpart 3.104-3(c) (regarding non-federal employment).

⁹⁹ 41 U.S.C. § 2103(a)(2)(B)(i)-(ii) (regarding non-federal employment).

¹⁰⁰ Air Force General Counsel, “Pre- and Post -Employment Restrictions For Separating and Retiring Air Force Personnel,” April 2016, p. 5. <http://www.safgc.hq.af.mil/Portals/80/documents/gca/ethics/AFD-160727-002.pdf?ver=2016-08-18-110459-677>

¹⁰¹ 41 U.S.C. §§ 2101-2107 (restrictions on obtaining and disclosing certain information).

¹⁰² 41 U.S.C. § 2102 (prohibitions on disclosing and obtaining procurement information); 41 U.S.C. § 2104 (prohibition on former official’s acceptance of compensation from contractor).

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/ Waivers	Notes
<p>Receiving gifts from registered lobbyists and lobbying organizations.</p> <p>Executive Order 13770, Sec. 1, Para. 5;</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2635.101(b) (4) (banning soliciting or accepting gifts from any person or entity seeking official action from, doing business with, or regulated by the employee’s agency, or whose interests may be substantially affected by the employee’s duties);</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2635.202(a) and (b) (prohibition on soliciting and accepting gifts)</p>	<p>During government service</p>	<p>Political appointees who were appointed by President Trump</p>	<p>Violations can be enforced through disciplinary action, including termination.</p> <p>Also, enforceable “by any legally available means, including any or all of the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. debarment proceedings within any affected executive agency or 2. civil judicial proceedings for declaratory, injunctive, or monetary relief.”¹⁰³ 	<p>The President or his designee may grant a waiver of this restriction.¹⁰⁴ Certain waivers of the EO are publicly available.¹⁰⁵</p>	<p>Gift includes any gratuity, favor, discount, entertainment, hospitality, loan, forbearance, other item having monetary value, services, training, transportation, local travel, lodgings and meals. Gift excludes modest items of food and non-alcoholic refreshments, greeting cards and items with little intrinsic value, loans generally available to the public, and anything for which market value is paid by the employee, to name a few.¹⁰⁶</p> <p>There are many exceptions to the prohibition on accepting gifts, including gifts of \$20 or less, gifts based on personal relationships, and gifts of free attendance at widely attended gatherings.¹⁰⁷ EO 13770, Sec. 2(k)(3) explicitly permits the acceptance of gifts based on a personal, business, or employment relationship.</p> <p>Due to “separate agency components” regulations, an Army official could receive a gift from a Navy contractor if the Navy contractor isn’t a prohibited source for the Army.¹⁰⁸</p>

¹⁰³ EO 13770, Sec. 5(a) (enforcement).

¹⁰⁴ EO 13770, Sec. 3 (waivers).

¹⁰⁵ Office of Government Ethics, “Agency Ethics Pledge Waivers (EO 13770).” [https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Agency%20Ethics%20Pledge%20Waivers%20\(EO%2013770\)?openview](https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Agency%20Ethics%20Pledge%20Waivers%20(EO%2013770)?openview)

¹⁰⁶ 5 C.F.R. § 2635.203(b) (defining gift).

¹⁰⁷ 5 C.F.R. § 2635.204 (gift exceptions).

¹⁰⁸ 5 C.F.R. § 2635.203(a) (defining agency) and (d) (defining prohibited source); 4; 18 U.S.C. § 207(h) (designating separate statutory agencies and bureaus); 5 C.F.R. § 2641.302 (separate agency components); 5 C.F.R. § 2641, Appendix B (agency components); 5 C.F.R. § 3601.102 (designating separate agency components).

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/ Waivers	Notes
Accepting emoluments, offices, or titles from a foreign government. 37 U.S.C. § 908 Constitution, Article I, § 9, Clause 8	Permanent	Retired members of the uniformed services, members of a reserve component of the armed forces, and members of the Commissioned Reserve Corps of the Public Health Service	Officers who receive emoluments from foreign governments without receiving permission risk losing their pension. ¹⁰⁹	A government official “may accept employment or compensation ... only if the Secretary concerned and the Secretary of State approve the employment.” ¹¹⁰	Approvals issued under this provision are not available to the public.

¹⁰⁹ Government Accounting Office, B-2220850, February 2, 1990. <https://www.gao.gov/products/437146>

¹¹⁰ 37 U.S.C. § 908(b).

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/ Waivers	Notes
<p>Working on particular matters involving specific parties that are directly and substantially related to former employers or clients.</p> <p>Executive Order 13770, Sec. 1, Para. 6</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2635.501 <i>et seq.</i> (outlining disqualifying and prohibited personal and business relationships)</p>	<p>Two years from the date of appointment</p>	<p>Political appointees who were appointed by President Trump</p>	<p>Violations can be enforced through disciplinary action, including termination.</p> <p>Also, enforceable “by any legally available means, including any or all of the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. debarment proceedings within any affected executive agency or 2. civil judicial proceedings for declaratory, injunctive, or monetary relief.”¹¹¹ 	<p>The President or his designee may grant a waiver of this restriction.¹¹² Certain waivers of the EO are publicly available.¹¹³</p>	<p>Generally, a government employee has a one-year cooling-off period when coming into a government position if “circumstances would cause a reasonable person with knowledge of the relevant facts to question his impartiality in the matter” unless an authorization is received.¹¹⁴</p> <p>Although executive branch regulations obligate an employee to disqualify him- or herself from conflicted matters, the prohibition on prospective employment does not generally require the employee to file a disclosure or recusal statement for lower level employees.¹¹⁵ In fact, “an employee may elect to create a record of his actions by providing written notice to a supervisor or other appropriate official.”¹¹⁶</p> <p>OGE’s regulations and the STOCK Act of 2012 require every public financial disclosure filer to submit written notification of employment negotiations within 3 business days of either the commencement of negotiations or an agreement for future employment, whichever occurs first. The notification must include a statement that the employee will recuse from particular matters affecting the prospective or future employer. For purposes of this notification requirement (but not for other purposes) “employment” includes any compensated activity following government employment (including, for example, a book deal); it does not include outside employment while the employee is serving in the government.</p>

¹¹¹ EO 13770, Sec. 5(a) (enforcement).

¹¹² EO 13770, Sec. 3 (waivers).

¹¹³ Office of Government Ethics, “Agency Ethics Pledge Waivers (EO 13770).” [https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Agency%20Ethics%20Pledge%20Waivers%20\(EO%2013770\)?openview](https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Agency%20Ethics%20Pledge%20Waivers%20(EO%2013770)?openview)

¹¹⁴ 5 C.F.R. § 2635.502(a) and (b)(iv) (applying to financial interests involving business relationships).

¹¹⁵ 18 U.S.C. § 208 (personal financial interests); 5 C.F.R. § 2635.402(c) and (d) (stating that “oral or written notification of the employee’s disqualification may be made to coworkers by the employee or a supervisor to ensure that the employee is not involved in a matter from which he is disqualified” and that “an employee may elect to create a record of his actions by providing written notice to a supervisor or other appropriate official,” but the “employee need not file a written disqualification statement unless he is required by part 2634[.]”); 5 C.F.R. § 2635.502(e) (stating that employees with conflicts “should notify the person responsible for his assignment” and that documentation isn’t required unless required by 5 C.F.R. § 2634); 2635.604(b) and (c) (stating that although it is “prudent” to create a record and provide “written notice to an agency ethics official,” such notice isn’t required and “[a]ppropriate oral or written notification of the employee’s recusal may be made to an agency ethics official, coworkers, or a supervisor to document and help effectuate the employee’s recusal.”).

¹¹⁶ 5 C.F.R. § 2635.502(e)(2) (disqualification documentation).

					<p>DoD employees who are required to disqualify themselves shall “provide written notice of disqualification to his supervisor upon determining that he will not participate in the matter.”¹¹⁷ That notice can be withdrawn if disqualification is no longer required.¹¹⁸ Generally these waivers are not publicly posted.</p>
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¹¹⁷ 5 C.F.R. § 3601.105(a), (b), (c) (disqualification standards).

¹¹⁸ 5 C.F.R. § 3601.105(d) (withdraw notification).

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/ Waivers	Notes
<p>Working on any particular matter involving specific parties in which a former employer is a party or represents a party if the employee received an extraordinary payment from that person prior to entering government service.</p> <p>5 C.F.R. § 2635.503(a)</p>	<p>Two years</p>	<p>An employee who has received “any item, including cash or an investment interest, with a value in excess of \$10,000” paid after it became known the person was being considered or had accepted a government position and is outside a former employer’s established compensation, partnership, or benefits program.¹¹⁹</p>		<p>“[M]ay be waived based on a finding that the amount of the payment was not so substantial as to cause a reasonable person to question the employee’s ability to act impartially in a matter in which the former employer is or represents a party.”¹²⁰</p> <p>Generally these waivers are not publicly posted.</p> <p>The waiver must be issued in writing prior to the employee’s participation in the matter.¹²¹</p>	<p>Particular matter means “any investigation, application, request for a ruling or determination, rulemaking, contract, controversy, claim, charge, accusation, arrest, or judicial or other proceeding.”¹²²</p> <p>The prohibition applies only to those particular matters that involve a specific party or parties.</p>

¹¹⁹ 5 C.F.R. § 2635.503(b) (defining extraordinary payment and former employer).

¹²⁰ 5 C.F.R. § 2635.503(c) (waiver of disqualification).

¹²¹ 5 C.F.R. § 2635.503(c) (waiver of disqualification).

¹²² 18 U.S.C. § 207(i)(3) (particular matter means “any investigation, application, request for a ruling or determination, rulemaking, contract, controversy, claim, charge, accusation, arrest, or judicial or other proceeding.”); 5 C.F.R. § 2635.402(b)(3) (“The term particular matter encompasses only matters that involve deliberation, decision, or action that is focused upon the interests of specific persons, or a discrete and identifiable class of persons.”); 5 C.F.R. § 2640.102(m) (“Particular matter of general applicability means a particular matter that is focused on the interests of a discrete and identifiable class of persons, but does not involve specific parties.”); 5 C.F.R. § 2640.103(a)(1) (“‘particular matter’ includes only matters that involve deliberation, decision, or action that is focused upon the interests of specific persons, or a discrete and identifiable class of persons.”); EO 13770, Sec. 2(r); Office of Government Ethics, “Particular Matter Involving Specific Parties,” “Particular Matter,” and “Matter,” DO-06-029, October 4, 2006.

Banned Behavior & Sources	Duration	Who it Applies to	Punishment	Exceptions/ Waivers	Notes
<p>Participating personally and substantially particular matter on which the employee was a registered lobbyist within two years before the date of their appointment or participating personally and substantially in the specific issue area in which that particular matter falls.</p> <p>Executive Order 13770, Sec. 1, Para. 7</p>	<p>Two years from the date of appointment</p>	<p>Political appointees of President Trump who were registered lobbyists within two years before their appointment</p>	<p>Violations can be enforced through disciplinary action, including termination.</p> <p>Also enforceable “by any legally available means, including any or all of the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. debarment proceedings within any affected executive agency or 2. civil judicial proceedings for declaratory, injunctive, or monetary relief.”¹²³ 	<p>The President or his designee may grant a waiver of this restriction.¹²⁴ Certain waivers of the EO are publicly available.¹²⁵</p>	<p>EO 13770, Sec. 2(t) states that “Participate” means to participate personally and substantially.</p> <p>“‘Particular matter’ shall have the same meaning as set forth in section 207 of title 18, United States Code, and section 2635.402(b)(3) of title 5, Code of Federal Regulations.”¹²⁶</p> <p>Many individuals engage in lobbying activities without registering as a lobbyist. They are not covered by this restriction if they did not register.</p>

¹²³ EO 13770, Sec. 5(a) (enforcement).

¹²⁴ EO 13770, Sec. 3 (waivers).

¹²⁵ Office of Government Ethics, “Agency Ethics Pledge Waivers (EO 13770).” [https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Agency%20Ethics%20Pledge%20Waivers%20\(EO%2013770\)?openview](https://www.oge.gov/web/oge.nsf/Agency%20Ethics%20Pledge%20Waivers%20(EO%2013770)?openview)

¹²⁶ EO 13770, Sec. 2(r).

Appendix B – Top 20 Department of Defense Contractors in Fiscal Year 2016

Lockheed Martin

Executives: 0 of 7 previously served in government positions

Board Members: 4 of 12 previously served in government positions

Bruce A. Carlson

General Bruce A. Carlson (USAF Ret.) retired from the Air Force on [January 1, 2009](#). He was the commander of Air Force Materiel Command at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, managing \$59 billion annually in research, development, test, and evaluation. He was the director of the National Reconnaissance Office from 2009 to 2012. He joined the board of Lockheed Martin in [2015](#).

James O. Ellis Jr.

Admiral James O. Ellis Jr. (USN Ret.) retired from active duty in [July 2004](#) after serving as commander of United States Strategic Command. He is also an Annenberg Distinguished Visiting Fellow at the [Hoover Institution](#). He joined the board of Lockheed Martin in [November 2004](#).

Jeh C. Johnson

Jeh C. Johnson was secretary of homeland security from [December 2013 to January 2017](#), general counsel for the Department of Defense from 2009 to 2012, and general counsel of the Air Force from 1998 to 2001. He joined the board in January 2018.

Joseph W. Ralston

General Joseph W. Ralston (USAF Ret.) retired from active duty in March 2003 as the commander of U.S. European Command and NATO supreme allied commander for Europe. He has also been a distinguished senior adviser at the Center for Strategic and

International Studies since [March 2003](#). He joined the board of Lockheed Martin in [April 2003](#).

Lobbyists: 51 of 62 previously served in government positions

Loren K. Aho

Loren K. Aho was Congressional adviser to the Embassy of Finland in 2013, held a variety of staff positions, including legislative assistant, for former Representative Laura Richardson (D-CA) from [2010 to 2013](#) and was staff assistant to former Representative Bart Stupak from 2007 to 2010. He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2014](#).

Valerie Baldwin

Valerie Baldwin was assistant secretary for financial management and comptroller for the Army from [2004 to 2006](#), was staff assistant and later clerk for the House Appropriations Committee's Homeland Security Subcommittee from 2013 to 2017. She was previously a staff assistant on the Military Construction, Veterans Affairs, and Related Agencies Subcommittee as well as the Veterans Affairs, Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee, and was legislative counsel to the House Financial Services Committee's Housing and Insurance Subcommittee from 1993 to 1996. She has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2017](#).

Jennifer Debes Bang

[Jennifer Debes Bang](#) worked for former Representative Ander Crenshaw in various roles from 2007 to 2016, including legislative director from 2013 to 2016, and was his assistant on the House Appropriations Committee. According to an [official press release](#) she was "instrumental in helping craft high level funding and policy decisions for the \$20 billion annual [Financial Services and General Government] bill." She has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2017](#).

George M. Bernier III

George M. Bernier was Congressional affairs officer for the National Nuclear Security Administration from [2007 to 2009](#) and senior legislative assistant to former Senator Rick Santorum (R-PA) from 1995 to 2007. He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2017](#).

Gwendolyn A. "Gwen" Brown

Gwen Brown was deputy assistant secretary of defense for health budgets and financial policy from [1995 to 2001](#). She has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2011](#).

Scott Burnison

Scott Burnison was a staff assistant for the [House Appropriations Committee](#). He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2008](#).

Gabrielle Carruth

Gabrielle Carruth was an assistant to former Representative John Murtha (D-PA) on the [House Appropriations Committee's Defense Subcommittee](#) from [2002 to 2007](#). She has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2009](#).

Alfonse M. D'Amato

Former Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-NY) was in the Senate from [1981 to 1999](#), and was chair of the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee from [1995 to 1999](#). He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2005](#).

Melody Dargis

Melody Dargis was an administrative aide for the House Appropriations Committee from [2001 to 2004](#). She has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2014](#).

Carrie E. Desmond

Carrie E. Desmond was a legislative assistant to Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) from 2005 to 2010. She has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2010](#).

Jim Dyer

Jim Dyer was staff director and clerk for the House Appropriations Committee from [1995 to 2005](#). Prior to that, he held various positions in the executive branch, including deputy assistant for legislative affairs for the White House from [1991 to 1993](#), budget consultant for the Office of the Secretary of the Navy in 1989, and principal deputy assistant secretary for legislative affairs for the Department of State from 1985 to 1987. He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2005](#).

Steven Eichenauer

Steven Eichenauer was a legislative assistant for Senator Jack Reed (D-RI) from [1999 to 2005](#). He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2006](#).

Jonathan Etherton

Jonathan Etherton was a professional staff member for the Senate Armed Services Committee from [1985 to 1999](#). He's been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2006](#).

Daniel P. Fata

Daniel P. Fata was deputy assistant secretary of defense for European and NATO policy from [2005 to 2008](#), foreign affairs policy analyst for Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ) on the Senate Republican Policy Committee from 2003 to 2005 and an aide to the House Republican Conference from 2001 to 2003. He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2018](#).

Kristine Kearns Fauser

Kristine Kearns Fauser was a staffer for [Senator Susan Collins](#) (R-ME) and the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee from [2001 to 2002](#). She has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2008](#).

Mary Ellen Fraser

Mary Ellen Fraser was counsel for the House Armed Services Committee from [1999 to 2006](#), counsel for the Navy Office of Legislative Affairs from 1996 to 1999, and procurement attorney for the Office of Naval Research from 1991 to 1996. She has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2012](#).

Charles Towner French III

Charles Towner French III was deputy staff director for the House Rules Committee from [2013 to 2015](#), deputy chief of staff and later chief of staff for Representative Pete Sessions (R-TX) from 2011 to 2013, chief parliamentarian for the House Homeland Security Committee in 2011, and associate to former Representative Lincoln Diaz-Balart from 2003 to 2011. He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2016](#).

Lorenzo Vernon Goco

Lorenzo Vernon Goco was democratic deputy staff director for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence from [2014 to 2015](#), budget director for the Committee from 2007 to 2014, and minority deputy staff director before that. He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2016](#).

Kaylene Green

Kaylene Green was a staffer for the [Senate Armed Services Committee](#). She has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2013](#).

Douglas M. Gregory

Douglas M. Gregory was a professional staff member on the House Appropriations Committee from [1995 to 2007](#) and was chief of staff to former Representative C.W. Bill Young (R-FL) from 1971 to 1995. He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2007](#).

Timothy Hannegan

Timothy Hannegan was an assistant director of the Government Accountability Office. According to his [official biography](#), he “spent 10 years conducting executive agency oversight and developing expertise on key issues including trade, financial services, tax, energy, transportation, defense, and telecommunications.” He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2018](#).

Robert Head

Robert Head was chief of staff to former Senator Kay Granger (R-TX) from [2006 to 2009](#). He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2009](#).

Josh C. Holly

Josh C. Holly worked for the House Armed Services Committee from [2005 to 2011](#), serving as a professional staff member from [2007 to 2011](#). He was media affairs director for the House Education and Workforce Committee from 2003 to 2005, and according to an archived version of his [official biography](#), he was an “early staffer for Rep. John Boehner (R-OH) and Sen. Lamar Alexander (R-TN)... With close ties to Republican leadership, Josh offers Podesta Group clients varied legislative expertise from national security to education and workforce issues.” He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2011](#).

Kevin Walker Jones

Kevin Jones was staff assistant to the House Appropriations Committee’s Surveys and Investigations unit from [2003 to 2016](#). He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2017](#).

Paul Juola

Paul Juola was Democratic clerk for the House Appropriations Defense Subcommittee for Representative Pete Visclosky (D-IN) from [2013 to 2015](#), for former Representative Norm Dicks (D-WA) from 2010 to 2013, and for former Representative John Murtha (D-PA) from 2009 to 2010. He was a staff assistant for Representative Murtha from 1995 to 2009. He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2015](#).

David C. Leach

David C. Leach was a professional staff member for the [House Energy and Commerce Committee](#). He has lobbied for Lockheed Martin [since 2010](#).

David J. Leiter

David J. Leiter was [principal deputy assistant secretary for energy efficiency and renewable energy](#) at the Department of Energy from [1998 to 2001](#) and was chief of staff to former Senator John Kerry (D-MA) from [1991 to 1997](#). He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2009](#).

John J. Lynch

Captain John J. Lynch (USN Ret.), according to his [official biography](#), was on the staff of the chief of naval operations and the secretary of defense. He was also the director for Senate affairs in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2013](#).

Rory Maynard

Rory Maynard was deputy director of legislative affairs for the [National Reconnaissance Office](#). He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2004](#).

Christina McGarry

Christina McGarry was a legislative assistant for Representative Mario Diaz-Balart (R-FL) from [2015 to 2017](#) and his scheduler from 2014 to 2015. She has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2018](#).

Howard “Buck” McKeon

Former Representative Howard “Buck” McKeon (R-CA) was the chair of the [House Armed Services Committee from 2011 to 2015](#). He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2016](#).

Thomas W. Nagle

Thomas W. Nagle was chief of staff to Senator Tom Udall (D-NM) from [2009 to 2012](#). He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2017](#).

John F. “Jake” O’Donnell

John F. “Jake” O’Donnell was a military legislative assistant and press secretary for former Representative Don Sherwood (R-PA) from [1990 to 2007](#). He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2007](#).

David M. Olander

David M. Olander was chief tax counsel for the House Ways and Means Committee from [2009 to 2015](#), having previously been tax counsel from 2008 to 2009. Before that, he was tax and policy counsel to former Representative Thomas Reynolds (R-NY). He has lobbied for Lockheed Martin since [2017](#).

Samuel Olchyk

Samuel Olchyk was legislative counsel for the Joint Committee on Taxation from [1998 to 2003](#). He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2005](#).

Chris Peace

Chris Peace was an [Appropriations Committee associate](#) for former Representative Dave Hobson (R-OH). He's been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2016](#).

Robert S. Rangel

Robert S. Rangel was staff director for the House Armed Services Committee from [2000 to 2005](#) and deputy staff director from 1995 to 2000. He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2017](#).

Mark E. Rey

Mark E. Rey was [under secretary of agriculture for natural resources and environment](#) from [2001 to 2009](#). He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2009](#).

Pete Rose

Pete Rose was legislative director for former Representative [Pete Geren](#) (D-TX) from [1990 to 1996](#), and for former Representative Mike McNulty (D-NY) from 1989 to 1990. He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since at least [1998](#).

Sidney Jerome "Jerr" Rosenbaum III

Sidney Jerome "Jerr" Rosenbaum III was legislative director for Senator John Cornyn (R-TX) from [2013 to 2016](#), chief of staff to former Representative Robert Hurt (R-VA) from 2011 to 2012, and House Appropriations Committee assistant and chief of staff to former Representative Jack Kingston (R-GA) from 2009 to 2011 and to former Representative Virgil Hamlin Goode (R-VA) from 2004 to 2009. He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2018](#).

Bob Shepler

Bob Shepler was a legislative aide to former Senator Larry Craig (R-ID) for the Senate Special Committee on Aging from [1999 to 2001](#) and legislative correspondent for former Senator Bob Smith (R-NH) from 1998 to 1999. He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2018](#).

Cedric Sheridan

Cedric Sheridan was the Congressional affairs liaison for the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2003](#).

Kraig Michael Siracuse

Kraig Michael Siracuse was a professional staff member for the Senate Appropriations Committee from [2000 to 2005](#) and was a legislative assistant to former Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY) on the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee from 1991 to 1998. He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2005](#).

Charles Smith

Charles Smith was the executive director and special assistant to the chairman for the [1995 Defense Base Realignment and Closure Commission](#). He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2013](#).

Robert L. Smith II

Robert L. Smith Jr. was a [legislative director for former Representative Wes Watkins \(R-OK\)](#). He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2002](#).

Georgette Spanjich

Georgette Spanjich, according to her [official biography](#), “provided support for constituent services and had the responsibility of scheduling” former Senator Hillary Clinton (D-NY) and her staff. She has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2017](#).

Mary Springer

Mary Springer was chief of staff to Representative Rob Wittman (R-VA) from [2008 to 2014](#). She has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2015](#).

Bart Stupak

Former Representative Bart Stupak (D-MI) was [chair of the Oversight and Investigations](#) Subcommittee of the House Energy and Commerce Committee. He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2013](#).

Darrel L. Thompson

Darrel L. Thompson, according to his [archived official biography](#), was “Deputy Chief of Staff for Intergovernmental and External Affairs to U.S. Senate Majority Leader, Harry Reid. In this role, Mr. Thompson advised the Majority Leader on labor and employment issues, such as workplace rules and regulations, business and labor negotiations, job growth and protection, as well as social justice issues. Mr. Thompson’s unique position with Majority Leader Reid also tasked him with increasing economic development in the

state of Nevada in the industries of finance & banking, renewable energy, transportation, health care, and housing....Additionally, he served in several senior positions over a five-year period during Mr. [Richard] Gephardt's [(D-MO)] tenure as House Democratic Leader. Mr. Thompson was also the Deputy Executive Director of the House Democratic Caucus." He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2016](#).

Jeffrey M. Walter

Jeffrey M. Walter was an aide to former Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY) from [1995 to 1999](#). He has lobbied for Lockheed Martin since [2006](#).

Gregory Walters

Gregory Walters was a staff assistant for the House Appropriations Committee from [1989 to 2003](#). He has been lobbying for Lockheed Martin since [2003](#).

The Boeing Company

[Executives](#): 11 of 68 previously served in government positions

Conrad Chun

[Conrad Chun](#), vice president of communications for Boeing Global Services, served for 24 years in the Navy, retiring as a captain. Chun was special assistant for public affairs to the Chief of Naval Operations (CNO).

Keith Cooper

[Keith Cooper](#) is vice president of training and professional services for Boeing Global Services. Before joining Boeing, Cooper spent several years at Pentagon contractor Raytheon; he retired from the Army as a colonel, having served 26 years in the infantry.

Matt Cooper

[Matt Cooper](#), vice president and assistant general counsel for Boeing Commercial Airplanes, was an Assistant U.S. Attorney in the Southern District of Texas. Previously, he was a law clerk at the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

Rik Geiersbach

Rik Geiersbach, vice president of strategy, for Boeing Defense, Space & Security, is “responsible for the alignment and integration of the BDS strategy across the Boeing enterprise,” according to his [official biography](#). Early in his career, Geiersbach was a case officer in the Central Intelligence Agency’s Directorate of Operations.

Timothy Keating

[Timothy Keating](#), executive vice president of government operations for the Boeing Company, was a special assistant to President Clinton and staff director of White House Legislative Affairs. He was also assistant floor manager for the House Democratic leadership from 1986 to 1992. He is also a member of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) advisory board.

J. Michael “Mike” Luttig

[J. Michael “Mike” Luttig](#), executive vice president and general counsel of the Boeing Company, was a judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit for 15 years. He has also served as assistant attorney general of the United States and counselor to the attorney general, and as assistant counsel in the Office of Counsel to the President.

Phil Musser

Phil Musser, according to an [archived copy of his official biography](#), was chief communications officer for the Boeing Company and senior vice president for communications until he stepped down in October 2018. He previously served as deputy chief of staff and senior policy advisor of the Department of Housing and Urban Development from 2001 through 2004. He was also deputy director of the 2004 G8 Summit for the Department of State.

Jake “Jake” Phillips

[John “Jake” R. Phillips](#), vice president and assistant general counsel for Boeing Defense, Space & Security, served as senior counsel to the U.S. deputy attorney general and counsel to the assistant attorney general in the Justice Department’s Office of Legal Counsel. Phillips also clerked for former Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia and then-United States Circuit Judge J. Michael Luttig.

Kristin A. Robertson

According to her [official biography](#), “Kristin Robertson is vice president and general manager of Autonomous Systems, a division within Boeing Defense, Space & Security (BDS) that focuses on autonomous technologies, intelligence capabilities and

networking solutions from seabed to space.” Before working for Boeing, Robertson was a civilian electronics engineer at the Naval Aviation Depot in San Diego.

Jeff Shockey

[Jeff Shockey](#) was the staff director for the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence from [2015 to 2016](#) and the minority staff director for the House Appropriations Committee from [2005 to 2010](#). He was also legislative director for former Representative Jerry Lewis (R-CA) from 1991 to 1999. He joined Boeing in 2016 and is currently vice president of global sales and marketing for Boeing Defense, Space & Security.

Robert “Bob” Simmons

[Robert “Bob” Simmons](#) is vice president of government operations for Boeing Global Services. According to his official biography, “[p]rior to joining Boeing, Simmons served as staff director for the U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Armed Services, where he was responsible for strategic planning to frame and focus the largest committee in Congress on its long-term objectives.”

Board Members: 4 of 13 previously served in government positions

Kenneth M. Duberstein

Kenneth M. Duberstein was White House chief of staff from [1988 to 1989](#) and has been a director since 1997.

Edmund P. Giambastiani Jr.

Admiral Edmund P. Giambastiani Jr. was seventh vice chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, NATO supreme allied commander transformation, and commander of U.S. Joint Forces Command. His staff experience includes service as co-chairman of the Defense Acquisition Board and chairman of the Joint Requirements Oversight Council. He retired from the U.S. Navy in 2007 and has been a director since [2009](#).

Caroline B. Kennedy

Caroline B. Kennedy served as U.S. ambassador to Japan from November 2013 to January 2017. She has been a director for Boeing since [2017](#).

Susan C. Schwab

Ambassador Susan C. Schwab was U.S. trade representative from 2006 to 2009 and deputy U.S. trade representative from 2005 to 2006. She also served as a consultant for the Department of the Treasury in 2003. She has been a director since [2010](#).

Lobbyists: 69 of 86 previously served in government positions

Lauren Aronson

Lauren Aronson was director of the Office of Legislation for the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services from [2012 to 2015](#) and professional staff member for the House Ways and Means Committee's Health Subcommittee from 2010 to 2012. Prior to that, she was a legislative advisor and policy advisor for then-Representative Rahm Emanuel (D-IL) from [2005 to 2009](#), and a health-policy advisor for the House Democratic Caucus from 2005 to 2009. She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Joseph Barton

Joseph Barton was a legislative assistant to then-House Minority Leader John Boehner (R-OH) from [2007 to 2011](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2016](#).

Curtis E. Beaulieu

Curtis E. Beaulieu was tax counsel for the Senate Finance Committee from [2011 to 2014](#) and tax counsel for Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT) from 2008 to 2011. Prior to that, he was legislative assistant to then-Representative Jim McCrery (R-LA) from 2007 to 2008 and to Representative Sam Johnson (R-TX) from 2006 to 2007. He also worked for then-Senator David Vitter (R-LA) from 2005 to 2006. Beaulieu has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Kate Bernard

Kate Bernard was press secretary for former Senator Olympia Snowe (R-ME) from [2010 to 2011](#). She was also communications director for then-Representative Mary Fallin (R-OK) from [2009 to 2010](#). Prior to that, Bernard was a legislative assistant from 2006 to 2009, with stints in that role for former Representatives John Boehner (R-OH), Howard McKeon (R-CA), Chris Shays (R-CT), and Representative John Culberson (R-TX). She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Heath D. Bumgardner

Heath D. Bumgardner was a [legislative assistant](#) for former Representative Jim Moran (D-VA) [from 2005 to 2009, who served on the House Appropriations Committee at the time](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2009](#).

Arthur E. Cameron Jr.

[Arthur E. Cameron Jr.](#) was a professional staff member for the Senate Appropriations Committee from [2006 to 2011](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2011](#).

David Castagnetti

David Castagnetti was [chief of staff](#) to former Senator Max Baucus (D-MT) from [1995 to 1997](#) and to former Representative Norman Mineta (D-CA) from 1993 to 1995. He was also executive assistant to then-Representative Ed Markey (D-MA) from 1991 to 1993. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Anne M. Chotvacs

Anne M. Chotvacs was a [clerk](#) for the House Appropriations Committee's State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Subcommittee from 2011 to 2016. Prior to that, she was a Republican staff assistant on the House Appropriations Committee from [2004 to 2011](#). She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2016](#).

Michael T. Collins

Michael T. Collins worked for Senator Tom Udall (D-NM) as [chief of staff](#) from 2012 to 2015 and as legislative director from 2009 to 2012. Collins also worked for then-Representative Udall from 2000 to 2008. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Jay N. Cranford III

Jay N. Cranford III was a policy advisor to former Representative John Boehner (R-OH) during his time as House speaker in [2011](#), House minority leader from [2007 to 2011](#), and House majority leader in 2006. Cranford also was a policy adviser for the House Natural Resources Committee from 2004 to 2006. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2012](#).

Martin P. Delgado

Martin P. Delgado was staff director for the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies from [2011 to 2014](#) and Republican staff assistant for the House Appropriations Committee from [1998 to 2011](#). Earlier in his career he was a budget analyst at the Department of Agriculture's Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service. According to his [official biography](#), in that capacity he was "selected to detail at the Office of Management and Budget in 1991, and the House Appropriations Committee in 1996." He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2014](#).

Kate Dickens

Kate Dickens was communications director, then deputy chief of staff, and most recently chief of staff to former Senator Mark Kirk (R-IL) from [2010 to 2017](#). Prior to that, she was legislative director for former Representative Mike Castle (R-DE) from [2003 to 2010](#) and legislative assistant for former Representative Connie Morella (R-MD) from 1998 to 2003. She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Norm Dicks

[Former Representative Norm Dicks \(D-WA\)](#) served in the House from [1977 to 2013](#) and was the [Ranking Member of the House Appropriations Committee](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2015](#).

Sage Eastman

Sage Eastman worked for the House Ways and Means Committee from [2009 to 2014](#), serving most recently as strategy and public affairs director. Prior to that, he was director of communications for the Office of the Michigan Attorney General in 2003, for former Representative Dave Camp (R-MI) from [2003 to 2009](#), and for the Michigan Republican Party from 1996 to 2001. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Jonathan L. Etherton

Jonathan L. Etherton was a [professional staff member](#) for the Senate Armed Services Committee from [1985 to 1999](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2006](#).

Mike Ference

Mike Ference was outreach director for then-House Majority Leader Eric Cantor (R-VA) from [2011 to 2012](#). Prior to that, he was a policy advisor to Representative Cantor during his time as House minority whip from 2009 to 2011. Ference also served as a policy advisor to then-House Majority Leader and later Minority Whip Roy Blunt (R-MO) from 2006 to 2009 and as a legislative assistant to Senator James Inhofe (R-OK) from [2004 to 2006](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2013](#).

Jacqueline A. Ferko

Jacqueline A. Ferko was a [professional staff member](#) for the Senate Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee from [2003 to 2007](#). She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2010](#).

Mike Freeman

Mike Freeman was counsel for the House Natural Resources Committee from [2015 to 2017](#) and legislative counsel for Senator Mike Lee (R-UT) from 2011 to 2015. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Sam K. Geduldig

Sam K. Geduldig was coalitions director for then-House Republican Whip Roy Blunt (R-MO) from [2003 to 2006](#). He was also coalitions director for the House Financial Services Committee from [2001 to 2003](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2012](#).

Dario J. Gomez

Dario J. Gomez was associate administrator for international trade at the Small Business Administration from [2011 to 2013](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2016](#).

Sohini Gupta

Sohini Gupta was legislative assistant and then health and social policy counsel for former Senator Evan Bayh (D-IN) from [1999 to 2004](#). She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Mark L. Haaland

Mark L. Haaland was a professional staff member for the Senate Appropriations Committee from [2004 to 2007](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2007](#).

T.A. Hawks

T.A. Hawks was [minority staff director](#) for the Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee from [2013 to 2015](#). Prior to that, Hawks worked for former Senator Thad Cochran (R-MS) from 2000 to 2013, starting as a legislative aide and eventually becoming chief of staff. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2015](#).

Ralph Hellmann

Ralph Hellmann was policy director for former House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-IL) from [1999 to 2001](#) and for then-House Majority Whip Tom DeLay (R-TX) from 1995 to 1998. Prior to those positions, Hellmann was director of external affairs for the Small Business Administration from [1991 to 1992](#), senior legislative assistant for former Representative Pat Saiki (R-HI) from 1988 to 1990, and legislative assistant for former Representative Newt Gingrich (R-GA) from 1986 to 1988. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Dean Hingson

Dean Hingson was chief of staff to then-Senator Dan Coats (R-IN) from [2011 to 2016](#). Prior to that, he was counsel and legislative director for former Senator Judd Gregg (R-NH) from [2009 to 2011](#), and general counsel for former Senator Elizabeth Dole (R-NC) from 2007 to 2009. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Ashley Hoy

Ashley Hoy served as coalitions director for the Senate Republican Conference from [2009 to 2010](#) and for House Minority Whip Roy Blunt (R-MO), from [2007 to 2008](#). She was also an administrative assistant, legislative director, and legislative assistant for former Representative Sue Myrick (R-NC) from 1998 to 2007. She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2011](#).

W. Campbell “Camp” Kaufman IV

W. Campbell Kaufman IV was communications director for former Representative John Cooksey (R-LA) from [1997 to 1998](#), and [press secretary](#) for former Representative Jim McCrery (R-LA) from 1994 to 1996. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2016](#).

John Keast

John Keast was chief of staff to Representative Roger Wicker (R-MS) from [1995 to 2006](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2012](#).

Timothy Keating

[Timothy Keating](#), executive vice president of Government Operations for the Boeing Company, was a special assistant to President Clinton and staff director for White House Legislative Affairs. He was also assistant floor manager for the House Democratic leadership from 1986 to 1992. He is also a member of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) advisory board.

Thomas Lamont

Thomas Lamont was assistant secretary of the Army for manpower and reserve affairs from [2009 to 2013](#). Prior to that, he was a judge advocate general for the National Guard from 1982 to 2007, and assistant attorney general for the state of Illinois. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

John Leggieri

John Leggieri was chief Congressional budget liaison for the Department of the Army from [2008 to 2014](#). He was also a legislative affairs officer for the Department of the Army from [2001 to 2006](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2015](#).

Rachel Lipsey

Rachel Lipsey was a military legislative assistant for Senator Joe Donnelly (D-IN) from 2014 to 2018. Lipsey also worked for Representative Paul Tonko (D-NY) from 2009 to 2012, most recently serving as legislative director. She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2018](#).

Heather Meade

Heather Meade was deputy scheduler and assistant to the chief of staff to Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) from [2000 to 2002](#). She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2009](#).

Bruce P. Mehlman

Bruce P. Mehlman was assistant secretary for technology policy at the [Department of Commerce](#) from [2001 to 2004](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Meredith Mellody

Meredith Mellody was a floor staff member for the Senate Democratic secretary from [2010 to 2014](#) and cloakroom assistant for the Senate Democratic secretary from 2006 to 2010. She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2014](#).

Kathryn Rae “Katie“ Mitchell

Katie Mitchell was a scheduler for Representative Paul Cook (R-CA) in [2014](#). She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Heather Moeder Molino

Heather Moeder Molino worked for the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence as a professional staff member, deputy staff director, and Democratic staff director between [2011 and 2015](#). Prior to that, she was press secretary and then deputy chief of staff and communications director for [Representative C.A. Dutch Ruppersberger \(D-MD\)](#) between 2003 and 2011. She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2015](#).

John P. Mulligan

John P. Mulligan worked for Representative Adam Smith (D-WA) as his legislative director and later his chief of staff from [2000 to 2007](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2013](#).

Mark William Murray

Mark William Murray was a minority staff assistant on the House Appropriations Committee from [1985 to 2005](#). He was also a professional staff member for the Senate Appropriations Committee. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2010](#).

Michelle Reinke Neblett

Michelle Reinke Neblett served as [professional staff](#) for the House Education and Workforce Committee from [2015 to 2017](#). She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Philip Michael Nielsen

Philip Michael Nielsen worked on the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee as senior policy director from [2007 to 2010](#) and as Republican staff director of the Financial Institutions Subcommittee from [2002 to 2006](#). Prior to that, he was professional staff for the Joint Economic Committee from 2001 to 2002 and legislative assistant to former Senator Bob Bennett (R-UT) from 1999 to 2001. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2013](#).

Janice M. O'Connell

Janice M. O'Connell was a senior professional staff member for the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee in 2007. Prior to that, she was a professional staff member for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a legislative assistant to former [Senator Chris Dodd \(D-CT\)](#) from [2001 to 2006](#). She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2011](#).

Thomas J. O'Donnell

Thomas J. O'Donnell was chief of staff for then-Representative Dick Gephardt (D-MO) from [1989 to 1997](#), during which time he was [House majority and then minority leader](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2008](#).

Krista Ellis O'Neill

Krista Ellis O'Neill was a fellow for the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee from [2015 to 2016](#). Prior to that, she was a legislative assistant for Representative Doris Matsui (D-CA) from 2012 to 2014 and a staff assistant for former Representative Melissa Bean (D-IL) from 2010 to 2011. She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Peter A. Pagano

Peter A. Pagano was a Congressional liaison at the Environmental Protection Agency from [1998 to 2006](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2015](#).

Schley Louis Perry III

Schley Louis Perry III was press secretary and legislative assistant for former Representative Jerry Huckaby (D-LA) from [1989 to 1992](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2016](#).

Elise Finley Pickering

Elise Finley Pickering was chief of staff to former Representative John Shadegg (R-AZ) from [2001 to 2006](#), with a brief leave in 2004 to work as legislative director on the

Bush-Cheney 2004 campaign. She was also chief of staff of the House Republican Policy Committee from [2005 to 2006](#). She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

James Richards

James Richards was [chief of staff](#) to Representative Steve Pearce (R-NM) from 2003 to 2005. Prior to that, he was director of intergovernmental relations for the Department of Agriculture from [2002 to 2003](#), appropriations associate for then-Representative Henry Bonilla (R-TX) from 2001 to 2002, and legislative assistant and appropriations associate to former Representative Joe Skeen (R-NM) from 1995 to 2001. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2016](#).

Michael C. Robinson

Michael C. Robinson was coalitions and member services director for the House Appropriations Committee from [2011 to 2015](#). Robinson was also deputy chief of staff and legislative director for then-House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-TX) from 2005 to 2006 and legislative director for Representative Hal Rogers (R-KY) from 2002 to 2005. Prior to that, he was senior legislative assistant to former Representative Ralph Regula (R-OH) from 2001 to 2002 and to former Representative Bob Franks (R-NJ) from 2000 to 2001. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Dean Rosen

Dean Rosen was chief health care advisor for former Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-TN) from [2003 to 2005](#) and [staff director](#) for the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee's Public Health Subcommittee from 2001 to 2003. Prior to that, he was health policy coordinator and majority counsel for the then-Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, as well as legislative aide to former Representative Jim Ramstad (R-MN). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Robert A. Russell

Robert A. Russell was chief of staff to former Senator Mark Pryor (D-AR) from [2003 to 2010](#). Prior to that, Russell was chief deputy attorney general for the state of Arkansas from [1999 to 2000](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2015](#).

Douglas Schwartz

Douglas Schwartz was chief of staff for the Senate Republican Conference from [2012 to 2014](#). He was also staff director and deputy staff director for the Senate Republican Policy Committee from 2010 to 2012 and 2009 to 2010, respectively. Prior to his work for Congress, Schwartz worked for the executive branch as chief of staff for the undersecretary of energy from 2005 to 2009, as an associate director in the White

House Office of Cabinet Affairs from 2004 to 2005, and as chief of staff for the Department of Energy's Office of Efficiency and Renewable Energy from [2003 to 2004](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2015](#).

John Scofield

John Scofield was communications director for the House Appropriations Committee from [2001 to 2006](#) and deputy communications director from 1999 to 2000. Prior to that, he was press secretary for Representative Frank LoBiondo (R-NJ) from [1996 to 1999](#) and press assistant for former Senator Mark Hatfield (R-OR) from 1995 to 1996. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2008](#).

John G. Shank

John G. Shank was the staff director for the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense from [2005 to 2008](#). Shank was also a staff assistant on the House Appropriations Committee's Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs from [1995 to 2005](#). Prior to that, he was professional staff for the Senate Appropriations Committee's Commerce, Justice, State, and the Judiciary Subcommittee from 1982 to 1995. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2009](#).

Jeff Shockey

[Jeff Shockey](#) was the staff director for the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence from [2015 to 2016](#) and the minority staff director for the House Appropriations Committee from [2005 to 2010](#). He was also legislative director for former Representative Jerry Lewis (R-CA) from 1991 to 1999. He joined Boeing in 2016 and is currently vice president of global sales and marketing for Boeing Defense, Space & Security.

Jenness Bergeron Simler

Jenness Bergeron Simler was deputy staff director for the House Armed Services Committee from [2013 to 2017](#) and a professional staff member from 2005 to 2013. She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2018](#).

Robert Simmons

Robert Simmons was Republican [staff director](#) for the House Armed Services Committee from [2005 to 2017](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

William Kyle Simmons

William Kyle Simmons was chief of staff to Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY) from [1996 to 2000](#) and [2002 to 2003](#). Simmons also served as chief of staff for Senator

McConnell during his time as Senate majority whip from 2003 to 2007 and as Senate minority leader from 2007 to 2010. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2015](#).

Amy Burnside Steinmann Smith

Amy Burnside Steinmann Smith was majority policy director for the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee from [2007 to 2013](#) and served as policy analyst and then director of floor operations for the House majority whip from [2001 to 2007](#). Prior to that, she was legislative director for former Representative Dan Miller (R-FL) from 1999 to 2001. She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2013](#).

Thomas J. Stapleton

Thomas J. Stapleton was a legislative assistant for then-Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX) from [2005 to 2006](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2006](#).

John Stipicevic

John Stipicevic was floor operations director for then-House Republican Whip Kevin McCarthy (R-CA) from [2011 to 2014](#), and then deputy chief of staff for Representative McCarthy when he became [House majority leader](#). Prior to that, Stipicevic was floor assistant for House Republican Whips Roy Blunt (R-MO) and Eric Cantor (R-VA) from 2006 to 2011. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2016](#).

Lydia C. Strunk

Lydia C. Strunk was deputy floor director for the House Republican Cloakroom from [2013 to 2017](#). Prior to that, she was a professional staff member on the House Rules Committee from 2011 to 2013 and floor assistant for the House Republican Cloakroom from 2008 to 2011. She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Juliane Carter Sullivan

Juliane Carter Sullivan was staff director for the House Education and Workforce Committee from [2013 to 2017](#). She was also policy director for then-House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-TX) from 2003 to 2005 and senior appropriations staff member for Representative DeLay from 2001 to 2003, when he was House majority whip. Prior to that, Sullivan was a senior legislative assistant for former Representative Anne Meagher Northup (R-KY) from 1997 to 1999 and a legislative assistant for former Representative Ed Whitfield (R-KY) from [1995 to 1997](#). She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2005](#).

Howard Goodloe Sutton Jr.

Howard Goodloe Sutton Jr. served as a [professional staff](#) member for the Senate Appropriations Committee from [2006 to 2013](#). He previously served as a legislative assistant to Senator Richard Shelby (R-AL). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2013](#).

David Rogan Thomas

David Rogan Thomas was the [director of congressional relations](#) for the Federal Trade Commission and chief of staff to Representative Zoe Lofgren (D-CA) from [2002 to 2006](#). He was also the deputy director of legislative affairs for Vice President Al Gore. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Nicole K. Vernon

Nicole K. Vernon was deputy chief of staff for former Senator Norm Coleman (R-MN) from [2007 to 2009](#). Vernon also worked for former Representative Mark Green (R-WI) from 1999 to 2007, most recently as his chief of staff. She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2016](#).

Lynn Marie Williams

Lynn Williams was a professional staff member for the House Armed Services Committee from [2005 to 2016](#) and a defense budget analyst for the Congressional Research Service from 2016 to 2018. She has been lobbying for Boeing since [2018](#).

Peter Bridgman "Todd" Webster Jr.

Todd Webster was chief of staff for Senator Chris Coons (D-DE) from [2011 to 2016](#). Prior to that, he was communications director for then-Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (D-SD) from [2003 to 2005](#) and for Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) from 2001 to 2003. He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2016](#).

Charles Reynolds Wooters III

Charles Wooters was chief of staff to then-Representative Chris Van Hollen (D-MD) from 2011 to 2012 and member services director for then-House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) from [2009 to 2011](#). Wooters also served as chief of staff to former Representative Louise Slaughter (D-NY) from 2007 to 2008, and worked for the Democratic National Committee from [2003 to 2005](#). He has been lobbying for Boeing since [2017](#).

Raytheon

Executives: 3 of 18 previously served in government positions

Frank R. Jimenez

[Frank R. Jimenez](#) is Raytheon's vice president, general counsel, and corporate secretary. He was the general counsel for the Department of the Navy from 2006 to 2009. His company biography also notes that he served as the deputy general counsel for the Department of Defense, where he "advised senior DoD officials on a wide variety of legal questions and supervised the Office of Legislative Counsel and the Defense Office of Hearings and Appeals."

Taylor Lawrence

[Dr. Taylor Lawrence](#) is a vice president for Raytheon and serves as the president of its missile systems division. Earlier in his career, Lawrence was staff director for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and deputy director of the Information Systems Office at the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency. He was also a deputy program leader at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory.

M. David Wilkins

[M. David Wilkins](#) is Raytheon's vice president of contracts and supply chain. He previously worked at the Department of Defense Space and Missile Systems Center and the Air Force Contract Management Division as a contracting officer and acquisition analyst.

Board Members: 5 of 14 previously served in government positions

Vernon E. Clark

Admiral Vernon E. Clark (USN Ret.) was the chief of naval operations and retired in July 2005. He has been a director for Raytheon since 2005.

Stephen J. Hadley

[Stephen J. Hadley](#) was national security advisor from 2005 to 2009. In this role, according to his official biography, "Hadley served as the principal White House foreign policy advisor to President George W. Bush, directed the National Security Council staff

and managed the interagency national security policy development and execution process.” Prior to that, Hadley was “Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor from 2001 to 2005. He has also served as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy (1989-1993) and Counsel to the Special Review Board established by President Reagan in 1987 to inquire into arms sales to Iran (the Tower Commission).” He has been a director for Raytheon since 2009. (Hadley is also [an executive vice chair](#) at the Atlantic Council.)

Letitia A. Long

[Letitia A. Long](#) was the director of the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency from 2010 to 2014 and deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Agency from 2006 to 2010. She has been a director for Raytheon since March 2015.

[James Winnefeld Jr.](#)

[James Winnefeld Jr.](#) had a 37-year career in the Navy and was the ninth vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff prior to his retirement in 2015. He has been a director for Raytheon since 2017.

[Robert O. Work](#)

[Robert O. Work](#) was deputy secretary of defense from 2014 until July 2017 and undersecretary of the Navy from 2009 to 2013. Work’s 27-year career in the Marine Corps included serving as military assistant and senior aide to the secretary of the Navy. He has been a director for Raytheon since 2017.

Lobbyists: 39 of 46 previously served in government positions

Bethany Bassett

Bethany Bassett was a legislative team chief for the Department of Defense from [2010 to 2013](#). Prior to that, Bassett was veterans and military affairs legislative assistant to former Senator Paul Kirk (D-MA) from [2009 to 2010](#) and an aide and defense legislative aide to former Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) from 2003 to 2009. She has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2017](#).

Nathaniel Bell

Nathaniel Bell was a senior legislative assistant for former Representative Rob Andrews (D-NJ), and worked for Representative Andrews from 2007 to 2011. He has been lobbying for Raytheon since 2011.

Ethan Scott Cooper

Ethan Scott Cooper was legislative counsel to former Representative Curt Weldon (R-PA) from [2000 to 2003](#). He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2017](#).

Ryan Crumpler

Ryan Crumpler was a professional staff member for the House Armed Services Committee from [2009 to 2015](#), military legislative assistant for former Representative Howard “Buck” McKeon (R-CA) from 2008 to 2011, and legislative assistant/legislative correspondent/systems administrator for Representative Mac Thornberry (R-TX) from [2006 to 2008](#). He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2015](#).

Jonathan Etherton

Jonathan Etherton was a professional staff member for the Senate Armed Services Committee from [1985 to 1999](#). He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2006](#).

Michael Friedberg

Michael Friedberg was staff director for the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee’s Railroads, Pipelines, and Hazardous Materials Subcommittee from [2013 to 2015](#). Friedberg was also staff assistant for the [House Appropriations Committee](#)’s Transportation, Housing and Urban Development, and Related Agencies Subcommittee from 2010 to 2013. Prior to that, he was a program examiner for the Office of Management and Budget from 2006 to 2010. He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2015](#).

Jennifer Wagner Gallagher

Jennifer Wagner Gallagher was a professional staff member for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence from [2005 to 2011](#). Prior to that, she was a receptionist and later a legislative staff assistant for the Senate Judiciary Committee from 2001 to 2005. She has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2011](#).

Richard Grafmeyer

Richard Grafmeyer was deputy chief of staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation from 1998 to 2000. Grafmeyer was also deputy Republican staff director and senior Republican tax counsel for the Senate Finance Committee. He has been lobbying for Raytheon since 2017.

Eric Hannis

Eric Hannis was a Congressional liaison and country director for Air Force International Affairs from [2012 to 2015](#). Earlier in his career, Hannis was senior

legislative assistant to former Representative Dave Weldon (R-FL) from [2006 to 2008](#) and military legislative assistant to former Representative Randy Forbes (R-VA) from 2004 to 2006. Hannis was also a Congressional analyst for the Department of Defense and is a lieutenant colonel in the Air Force Reserve. He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2011](#).

Todd P. Harmer

Todd P. Harmer, according to his [official biography](#), was a legislative assistant for former Senator Saxby Chambliss (R-GA), the Air Force legislative liaison for the House from 2010 to 2012, chief of the Commander's Action Group for United States Forces in Iraq, and an executive officer to the commander of the Allied Air Component Command Headquarters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2014](#).

Michael Herson

Michael Herson, according to his [official biography](#), was the special assistant to the assistant secretary of defense for force management and personnel from [1990 to 1993](#). He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2001](#).

Carl Kime

[Carl Kime](#) was a "technology transition specialist" for the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, an appropriations associate and legislative fellow for the House Appropriations Committee from [2001 to 2006](#). He was also legislative liaison for the Joint Chiefs of Staff Office of the Chairman and a staff director and analyst in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Manpower and Reserve Affairs. He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2015](#).

Stephanie Sanok Kostro

Stephanie Sanok Kostro was a strategic analysis officer for the Department of State from [2008 to 2009](#). Prior to that, she was a professional staff member for the House Armed Services Committee from 2005 to 2008 and a foreign affairs specialist for the Office of the Secretary of Defense from [2000 to 2005](#). She has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2015](#).

Lenwood A. "Pete" Landrum

Lenwood A. "Pete" Landrum was senior adviser to former Senator Luther Strange (R-AL) in [2017](#) and to then-Senator Jeff Sessions (R-AL) from [2007 to 2017](#). He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2018](#).

Jack Livingston

Jack Livingston was a counsel for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence for 13 years, until 2016. He has been lobbying for Raytheon since 2016.

William M. Marsh

William M. Marsh was a military legislative assistant for former Representative Joel Hefley (R-CO) from [1999 to 2000](#) and for former Representative Van Hilleary (R-TN) from [1997 to 1999](#). Prior to that, Marsh was a staff assistant for the House Armed Services Committee from 1995 to 1997. He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2012](#).

Joseph Mikrut

[Joseph Mikrut](#) worked in legislative/Congressional affairs for the Department of the Treasury and was associate deputy chief of staff for the Joint Committee on Taxation. He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2017](#).

Brandon L. Milhorn

Brandon L. Milhorn was Republican staff director and chief counsel for the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee from [2007 to 2011](#). Prior to that, Milhorn was counsel and later general counsel for the Senate Intelligence Committee from [2003 to 2007](#) and assistant general counsel for the Central Intelligence Agency from 1999 to 2003. He lobbied for Raytheon from [2011](#) to 2018. In [July 2018](#) he was appointed chief of staff for Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Chair Jelena McWilliams.

Loren L. Monroe

[Loren L. Monroe](#) was an aide to former Senator Pete Domenici (R-NM). He has been lobbying for Raytheon since 2007.

Melissa Mueller

Melissa Mueller was staff director for the House Ways and Means Committee from 2009 to 2011, tax counsel for the House Ways and Means Committee from [2007 to 2009](#), and tax counsel for the Senate Finance Committee from [2004 to 2007](#). Mueller was also legislative director for Representative Richard Neal (D-MA) from [2002 to 2004](#), ways and means counsel to Representative Lloyd Doggett (D-TX) from 1999 to 2001, legislative counsel to former Senator Harry Reid (D-NV) from 1992 to 1993, and legislative aide to former Representative Ralph Hall (D-TX) from 1991 to 1992. She has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2017](#).

David T. Myers

David T. Myers became an executive assistant for former Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY) from [1992 to 1996](#) and later was the military legislative assistant [for Senator Pete Domenici](#) (R-NM) from 2001 until [2006](#), where, according to his archived biography, his "responsibilities included working with the Senate Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations and managing a portfolio of defense and military construction requests totaling more than \$100 million." He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2012](#).

Robert Neal

Robert Neal was a legislative assistant for former Representative George Nethercutt Jr. (R-WA) from 2000 to 2005. He has been lobbying for Raytheon since 2007.

Steven R. Phillips

Steve R. Phillips was legislative director for former Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) from 1987 to 1997. He has been lobbying for Raytheon since 1999.

Timothy Prince

Timothy Prince was a staff assistant for the House Appropriations Committee from 2007 to 2016. He has been lobbying for Raytheon since 2016.

Walker Roberts

Walker Roberts, according to his [official biography](#), served on the then-House Committee on International Affairs for 17 years, serving as deputy staff director from 2001 to 2006. He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2008](#).

Edward Rogers Jr.

Edward M. Rogers Jr., according to his [official biography](#), "served in the White House as Deputy Assistant to the President and Executive Assistant to the Chief of Staff. Ed also served as Senior Deputy to Bush-Quayle Campaign Manager Lee Atwater from 1987 through the general election in 1988. From 1985 through February of 1987, Ed worked in the Reagan White House in the Office of Political Affairs, where he served as Haley Barbour's deputy as Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Director of the Office of Political Affairs." He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2006](#).

Neely Silbey

Neely Silbey was the personnel branch chief of the program division for the Army Office of the Chief Legislative Liaison from [December 2012 to January 2015](#). Prior to that, she was a [legislative assistant](#) to Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) from 2010 to 2012. She was also military legislative assistant to then-Representative Neil Abercrombie (D-HI)

from 2007 to 2010. Earlier in her career, she was a surface warfare officer for the Navy. She has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2017](#).

Jessica Beeson Tocco

Jessica Beeson Tocco was confidential assistant to the secretary of commerce from 2006 to 2007. She has been lobbying for Raytheon since 2017.

Jacob Triolo

Jacob Triolo was tax counsel and then legislative director for then-Representative Todd Young (R-IN) from [2013 to 2015](#) and a professional and later legislative staff member for the Senate Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee from [2007 to 2013](#). Triolo was also an aide to former Senator Gordon Smith (R-OR) from 2004 to 2007. He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2017](#).

Anne M. Wake

Anne M. Wake was an administrative aide for the House Appropriations Committee's Homeland Security Subcommittee from [2014 to 2017](#). She has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2017](#).

Matthew Bryan Weinstein

Matthew Bryan Weinstein was legislative director for Representative Bradley Byrne (R-AL) from 2013 to 2015. He was also legislative assistant and later senior legislative assistant to former Representative Jo Bonner (R-AL) from 2010 to 2013 and staff assistant, legislative correspondent, and later legislative assistant to Representative Mike Rogers (R-AL) from 2007 to 2010. He has been lobbying for Raytheon since 2016.

Erskine Wells

Erskine Wells, according to his [official biography](#), "served in the office of Sen. Roger Wicker (R-Miss.) in various capacities, including deputy chief of staff, deputy legislative director and military legislative assistant. Earlier, Erskine managed appropriations accounts for then-Rep. Roger Wicker's office in the House of Representatives. In these positions, Erskine advised the Senator and Congressman on national security, defense, foreign policy, transportation, national infrastructure, financial services and telecommunications, working closely with Committee staff and Administration officials. ... Erskine also served as chief of staff to freshman Rep. Steven Palazzo (R-Miss.), establishing the freshman Congressman's office." Wells has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2011](#).

Philip R. West

Philip R. West was international tax counsel for the Department of the Treasury. He has been lobbying for Raytheon since 2018.

Letitia White

Letitia White was chief of staff to former Representative Jerry Lewis (R-CA) from 1981 to 2003. She has been lobbying for Raytheon since 2010.

David C. Whitestone

David C. Whitestone worked for former Representative Frank Wolf (R-VA). According to his official biography, he “was an associate staff member on the House Appropriations Committee. During his time on Capitol Hill, he assisted in the development and review of high-level federal agency budgets.” He has been lobbying for Raytheon since 2011.

Shavenor Winters

Shavenor Winters was a legislative aide for Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) from 2016 to 2017. She has been lobbying for Raytheon since 2017.

Lawrence G. Willcox

Lawrence G. Willcox was staff director for the Senate Republican Policy Committee from [2003 to 2006](#). He was also tax counsel and legislative director for Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ) from [2001 to 2003](#). Prior to that, Willcox was tax counsel for Representative Sam Johnson (R-TX) from 1998 to 2001, trial attorney for the Department of Justice from 1997 to 1998, and clerk for the U.S. Court of Federal Claims from 1996 to 1997. He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2017](#).

Alexandra Wich

Alexandra Wich worked as a legislative correspondent, legislative aide, and legislative assistant to former Senator Mark Kirk (R-IL) from [2011 to 2015](#). She has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2017](#).

Joseph E. Zummo

Joseph E. Zummo was a professional staff member and legislative aide for the Senate Finance Committee from [1992 to 1996](#). He has been lobbying for Raytheon since [2005](#).

General Dynamics

Executives: 4 of 26 previously served in government positions

Phebe Novakovic

Phebe Novakovic, chairman and chief executive officer, used to work for the [Central Intelligence Agency](#) and for the Department of Defense. According to a [Fortune profile](#), she oversaw defense and intelligence budgets as [deputy associate director](#) at the Office of Management and Budget and worked as a special assistant to then-Defense Secretary William Cohen and his deputy, John Hamre.

M. Amy Gilliland

M. Amy Gilliland, [president](#) of General Dynamics Information Technology, [served in the Navy](#) as a surface warfare and public affairs officer, and was also a House liaison for the Navy.

Robert W. Helm

Robert W. Helm, senior vice president for planning and development, joined the National Security Council staff as the director of defense programs and national security telecommunications policy in [1982](#) and served as assistant secretary of defense from [1984 to 1988](#). He also handled national security policy for the Senate Budget Committee.

Elizabeth L. “Betsy” Schmid

Elizabeth Schmid, vice president for government relations, was a subcommittee clerk and staff director for the Senate Appropriations Committee’s Defense Subcommittee from March 2003 to February [2014](#). Before her work in the Senate, Schmid worked in the [Office of the Secretary of Defense](#) on issues such as “defense planning guidance.”

[Board Members: 3 of 10 previously served in government positions](#)

Rudy F. deLeon

Rudy F. deLeon was deputy secretary of defense from [2000 to 2001](#), undersecretary of defense for personnel and readiness from 1997 to 2000, and undersecretary of the Air Force from 1994 to 1997. DeLeon also served as a professional staff member and staff director for the House Armed Services Committee from 1985 to 1993. He has been a director since [2014](#).

Lester Lyles

General Lester L. Lyles (USAF Ret.) served as the commander of Air Force Materiel Command from 2000 to 2003 and was vice chief of staff of the Air Force from 1999 to 2000. He has been a director since [2003](#).

Phebe N. Novakovic

Phebe Novakovic, chairman and chief executive officer, used to work for the [Central Intelligence Agency](#) and for the Department of Defense. According to a [Fortune profile](#), she oversaw defense and intelligence budgets as [deputy associate director](#) at the Office of Management and Budget and worked as a special assistant to then-Defense Secretary William Cohen and his deputy John Hamre. She has been a director since 2012 and chairman and chief executive officer since 2013.

[Lobbyists](#): 63 of 81 previously served in government positions

A. Michael Barbera

Michael Barbera worked for former Representative Curt Weldon (R-PA) as chief of staff from [1999 to 2002](#) and as press secretary from 1989 to 1994. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2016](#).

Joseph Barton

Joseph Barton was legislative assistant to then-House Minority Leader John Boehner (R-OH) from [2007 to 2011](#). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2012](#).

Michael J. Beer

Michael J. Beer was senior legislative assistant for former Representative Dave Hobson (R-OH) from [1997 to 2003](#). Prior to that, Beer was a staff assistant for the Ohio Office of the Governor in 1996. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2011](#).

John Blount

John Blount was a senior aide to former Representative Bill Emerson (R-MO) from [1981 to 1983](#). He also worked for former [Representatives Toby Roth](#) (R-WI) and William Whitehurst (R-VA). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since 2016.

Rebecca Anderson Cantrell

Rebecca Anderson was a legislative correspondent and senior legislative assistant for Representative Tom Graves (R-GA) from August 2012 to January 2016, “focusing on issues pertaining to financial services, telecommunications, education, healthcare, housing, agriculture and veterans’ affairs.” She has been lobbying for General Dynamics since 2014.

Bert Carp

Bert Carp was legislative counsel for then-Senator Walter Mondale (D-MN) in the 1970s. He later served as deputy assistant for domestic affairs to President Jimmy Carter. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since 2014

Alfonse M. D'Amato

Former Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-NY) served from January 1981 to January 1999. He was a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee and Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and chaired the Senate Banking, Housing, & Urban Affairs Committee. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2014](#).

Martin Delgado

Martin Delgado was clerk and staff director for the House Appropriations Committee's Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Subcommittee from [February 2011 to January 2014](#). Earlier in his career, he was a senior budget analyst at the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service. According to an [official biography](#), in that capacity he was "selected to detail at the Office of Management and Budget in 1991, and the House Appropriations Committee in 1996." He also worked for the Senate Appropriations Committee's Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration and Related Agencies subcommittee from 1997 to 1998. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2014](#).

Norm Dicks

Former Representative Norm Dicks (D-WA) served in the House from 1977 to 2013 and was the [ranking member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee](#). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2014](#).

Jenny DiJames

Jenny DiJames was a legislative director for Representative Bud Cramer (D-AL) from 2003 to 2005. She has been lobbying for General Dynamics since 2011.

Jim Dyer

Jim Dyer was staff director and clerk for the House Appropriations Committee from [1995 to 2005](#). Prior to that, he held various positions in the executive branch, including deputy assistant of legislative affairs for the White House from [1991 to 1993](#), budget consultant for the Navy's Office of the Secretary in 1989, and principal deputy assistant secretary for legislative affairs for the Department of State from 1985 to 1987. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2005](#).

James Ervin

James Ervin served as director of House affairs in the Office of the Secretary of Defense and was also the Air Force legislative liaison “[responsible for weapon systems legislation](#).” He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2000](#).

Mike Ference

Mike Ference was outreach director for then-House Majority Leader Eric Cantor (R-VA) from [2011 to 2012](#). Prior to that, he was a policy adviser to then-House Republican Whip Cantor from 2009 to 2011. Ference also served as policy advisor to then-House Minority Whip Roy Blunt from 2006 to 2009 and as a legislative assistant to Senator James Inhofe (R-OK) from [2004 to 2006](#). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2013](#).

Menda Fife

Menda Fife was a professional staff member for the Senate Appropriations Committee’s Subcommittee on Defense from [2002 to 2004](#). Fife was also an aide to Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) and former Senators Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and Tom Harkin (D-IA). She has been lobbying for General Dynamics since 2004.

Archibald Galloway II

Archibald Galloway Jr. was defense policy advisor to then-Senator Jeff Sessions (R-AL) from [1997 to 2007](#). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2010](#).

Gary M. Hall

Gary M. Hall was a professional staff member for the Senate Armed Services Committee from [1997 to 2002](#). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2006](#).

Timothy Hannegan

Tim Hannegan was assistant director for aviation issues at the General Accounting Office from [1987 to 1997](#). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since 2013.

Todd Harmer

Todd Harmer, according to his [official biography](#), was a legislative assistant for former Senator Saxby Chambliss (R-GA), the Air Force legislative liaison to the House from 2010 to 2012, chief of the Commander’s Action Group for United States Forces in Iraq, and an executive officer to the commander of the Allied Air Component Command Headquarters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2014](#).

Robert W. Helm

Robert W. Helm, senior vice president for planning and development, joined the National Security Council staff as the director of defense programs and national security telecommunications policy in [1982](#) and served as assistant secretary of defense (from [1984 to 1988](#)). He also handled national security policy for the Senate Budget Committee. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2013](#).

Michael Herson

Michael Herson, according to his [official biography](#), was the special assistant to the assistant secretary of defense for force management and personnel in [1990](#) until [1993](#). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2010](#).

Chelsey Hickman

Chelsey P. Hickman worked for Representative Kay Granger (R-TX) from 2007 to 2012, most recently serving as her chief of staff. Prior to that, she was a staff assistant, legislative assistant, and then deputy legislative director for former Senator Larry Craig (R-ID) from 2002 to 2007. She has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2012](#).

John Keast

[John Keast](#) was chief of staff to then-Representative Roger Wicker (R-MS) from 1995 to 2006. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since 2006.

Carl Kime

[Carl Kime](#) was an appropriations associate and legislative fellow for the House Appropriations Committee from [2001 to 2006](#). He was also legislative liaison for the Joint Chiefs of Staff Office of the Chairman. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2015](#).

Gerry Lamb

Gerry Lamb was legislative assistant and then legislative director for former Representative Brian Donnelly (D-MA) from [1979](#) to [1986](#). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since at least [1998](#).

Anthony “Lazer” Lazarski

Anthony Lazarski was senior adviser on military, foreign relations, and veterans affairs for Senator Jim Inhofe (R-OK) from [2015 to 2017](#), as well as military legislative assistant for Inhofe from 2007 to 2013. Lazarski was also a professional staff member on the Senate Armed Services Committee from [2013 to 2015](#). Lazarski, a retired Air

Force colonel who led the Air Force Senate Liaison Office, has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2017](#).

John Leggieri

John Leggieri was chief Army Congressional budget liaison from [2008 to 2014](#). He was also a legislative affairs officer for the Department of the Army from [2001 to 2006](#). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2014](#).

Christina McGarry

[Christina McGarry](#) was a scheduler and then legislative assistant for Representative Mario Diaz-Balart (R-FL) from [December 2014 to April 2017](#). She has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2018](#).

Michael Merola

Michael A. Merola was legislative assistant and later legislative director to former Senator Robert Torricelli (D-NJ) from [1998 to 1999](#). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since 2013.

Jim Moran

Former Representative Jim Moran (D-VA) served from [1991](#) to [2015](#) and was a member of the House Appropriations Committee. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2016](#).

Colby Miller

Colby Miller was the military legislative assistant for former Senator Kay Bailey Hutchinson (R-TX) from [2007 to 2009](#) and for former Representative Roscoe Bartlett (R-MD) from [2005 to 2007](#). He was also the Congressional liaison for the Navy from 2003 to 2005. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2017](#).

David Morriss

David Morriss was Republican counsel and then Republican staff director for the Senate Armed Services Committee from [2005](#) to [2012](#). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2012](#).

Michelle Mrdeza

Michelle Mrdeza served as professional staff for the House Appropriations Committee, serving [two years](#) as majority staff director of the Subcommittee on Homeland Security. Mrdeza worked for the House Appropriations Committee from [1992 to 2006](#) and the Senate Budget Committee from 1985 to 1992. She has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2008](#).

Donna F. Mullins

Donna F. Mullins was chief of staff to former Senator Jeff Chiesa (R-NJ) from [June 2013 to October 2013](#). She was also chief of staff to Representative Rodney Frelinghuysen (R-NJ) from 1995 to 2002 and held various positions, including chief of staff, for former Representative Dean Gallo (R-NJ) from [1985 to 1994](#). She has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2013](#).

David T. Myers

David T. Myers became an executive assistant for Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-NY) from [1992](#) to 1996 and later was the military legislative assistant [for former Senator Pete Domenici](#) (R-NM) until [2006](#), where, according to his archived biography, his "responsibilities included working with the Senate Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations and managing a portfolio of defense and military construction requests totaling more than \$100 million." He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2010](#).

Kyle Nevins

Kyle Nevins was floor assistant and then floor operations director for then-House Majority Whip Roy Blunt (R-MO) from [2003 to 2009](#) and deputy chief of staff to then-Representative Eric Cantor (R-VA) from [2011 to 2013](#). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2015](#).

William John Nichols

John Nichols was [special assistant for space, special operations, and intelligence programs](#) to Secretary of Defense William Perry's legislative affairs office. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2003](#).

John O'Neill

John O'Neill was policy director for then-Senate Minority Whip Trent Lott (R-MS) in [2007](#) and tax and pension counsel for the Senate Finance Committee from [2004 to 2007](#). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2015](#).

Adam Paulson

Adam Paulson held several positions in the office of Representative Pete King (R-NY) from [2001 to 2012](#), including legislative director. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2012](#).

Patrick Pettey

Patrick Pettey held several positions in the office of former Representative and Senator Bob Smith (R-NH) from [1985 to 1999](#), including chief of staff. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2014](#).

John J. Pollard III

John J. Pollard III was chief of staff to Representative Ike Skelton (D-MO) from [1993 to 1998](#). He was also [counsel](#) for the House Armed Services Committee. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2007](#).

James Richards

James Richards was [chief of staff](#) to Representative Steve Pearce (R-NM) from 2003 to 2005. Prior to that, he was director of intergovernmental relations for the Department of Agriculture from [2002 to 2003](#), appropriations associate for former Representative Henry Bonilla (R-TX) from 2001 to 2002, and legislative assistant to former Representative Joe Skeen (R-NM) from 1995 to 2001. He was also a sergeant in the Army from 1987 to 1991. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2018](#).

Douglas D. Ritter

Douglas D. Ritter served as [administrative assistant](#) for former Representative Curt Weldon (R-PA). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2005](#).

Jerr Rosenbaum

Jerr Rosenbaum was legislative director for Senator John Cornyn (R-TX) from 2013 to 2016. He previously served as chief of staff to former Representatives Robert Hurt (R-VA), Jack Kingston (R-GA), and Virgil Goode (R-VA). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since 2016.

Manny Rossman

Manny Rossman was chief of staff to Senate Republican Whips Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ) from [December 2007 to March 2009](#) and Senator Trent Lott (R-MS). Prior to becoming chief of staff, Rossman was a Senior Policy Adviser for Senator Lott from [2005 to 2007](#). Prior to that, he was a legislative assistant and legislative director for Representative Phil Crane (R-IL) from 2001 to 2005. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2015](#).

David Rudd

David Rudd was [chief of staff to former Senator Fritz Hollings \(D-SC\)](#) from 1991 to 1999. Prior to that, he served as a legislative assistant and legislative director for Hollings from [1984 to 1991](#). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2018](#).

Elizabeth L. “Betsy” Schmid

Elizabeth Schmid, vice president for government relations at General Dynamics, was a subcommittee clerk and staff director for the Senate Appropriations Committee’s Defense Subcommittee from March 2003 to February [2014](#). Before her work in the Senate, Schmid worked in the [Office of the Secretary of Defense](#) on issues including “defense planning guidance.” She has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2015](#).

John Scofield

John Scofield was communications director for the House Appropriations Committee from [2001 to 2006](#). Prior to that, he was press secretary for Representative Frank LoBiondo (R-NJ) from [1996 to 1999](#) and press assistant for former Senator Mark Hatfield (R-OR) from 1995 to 1996. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2007](#).

Thomas Hunt Shipman

Thomas Hunt Shipman was staff director for the Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee from [2003 to 2004](#). Prior to that, he was deputy undersecretary at the Department of Agriculture from 2001 to 2003 and a legislative aide for former Senator Thad Cochran (R-MS) from [1992 to 2001](#). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2018](#).

Jennifer Shirley

Jennifer Shirley has over fifteen years of experience working for members of both the House and the Senate, most recently serving as legislative director for Representative Mike Gallagher (R-WI) in [2017](#) and as senior policy adviser for Representative Mike Bost (R-IL) in [2016](#). She has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2017](#).

Neely Silbey

Neely Silbey was the program division personnel branch chief for the Army Office of the Chief of Legislative Liaison from [December 2012 to January 2015](#). Prior to that, she was [legislative assistant](#) to Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) from 2010 to 2012. She was also military legislative assistant to former Representative Neil Abercrombie (D-HI) from 2007 to 2010. Earlier in her career, she was a surface warfare officer for the Navy. She has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2017](#).

Kraig Siracuse

Kraig M. Siracuse was a professional staff member for the Senate Appropriations Committee from [2000 to 2005](#) and a legislative assistant for Senator Alfonse D’Amato

(R-NY) on the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee from [1991 to 1998](#). He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2014](#).

William Arthur “Bill” Smith Jr.

[William Smith](#) was chief of staff to then-Representative Mike Pence (R-IN) from 2001 to 2012. Smith was also a senior adviser to the House Republican Conference from 2009 to 2012. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2017](#).

Gary Sojka

[Gary L. Sojka](#) was a professional staff member for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence from 1994 to 1998. He also worked for the Senate Armed Services Committee, the Defense Intelligence Agency, and the Department of the Navy. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since 1998.

Steve Stombres

Steve Stombres was chief of staff to former Representative Eric Cantor (R-VA) from 2001-2014 (from 2009 to 2014 Representative Cantor was the House Republican Whip and then House Majority Leader). Stombres previously worked for former Representatives Bob Walker (R-PA), Elton Gallegly (R-CA), and Herb Bateman (R-VA) as well as for the House Science and Technology Committee. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since 2015.

Erica Striebel

Erica Striebel worked for former Representative Ander Crenshaw (R-FL) from [2002 to 2017](#), serving as a military legislative assistant, legislative director, and most recently as [chief of staff](#). She was a staff assistant for the House Armed Services Committee from 2000 to 2002 and for the House Appropriations Committee from 2011 to 2016. Striebel was also a staff assistant for former Representative Joe Scarborough (R-FL) from 1996 to 1998. She has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2017](#).

James Turner

James T. Turner was a policy analyst and counsel for the White House from [1996 to 1997](#). He also held positions in the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Transportation, and the Interstate Commerce Commission from 1977 to 1980. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2007](#).

David Urban

David Urban was chief of staff to former Senator Arlen Specter (R-PA) from [1997 to 2002](#). Prior to his work in the Senate, he served in the Army from [1986 to 1991](#). More

recently, Urban worked as Pennsylvania director of President Trump's 2016 campaign. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2017](#).

Anne Wake

- Anne Wake was an [administrative aide](#) for the House Appropriations Committee's Homeland Security Subcommittee from [2014 to 2017](#). She has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2017](#).

Todd Webster

- Todd Webster was chief of staff to Senator Chris Coons (D-DE) from [2011 to 2016](#). Prior to that, he was communications director for then-Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (D-SD) from [2003 to 2005](#) and for Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) from 2001 to 2003. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2018](#).

Matthew Bryan Weinstein

- Matthew Weinstein was legislative director for Representative Bradley Byrne (R-AL) from [2013 to 2015](#). He was also [legislative assistant and later senior legislative assistant](#) to former Representative Jo Bonner (R-AL) from 2010 to 2013 and staff assistant, legislative correspondent and later legislative assistant to Representative Mike Rogers (R-AL) from 2007 to 2010. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2015](#).

Letitia White

- Letitia White was chief of staff to Representative Jerry Lewis (R-CA) from [1981 to 2003](#). She has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2004](#).

Shavenor Winters

- Shavenor Winters was a [legislative aide](#) to Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) from [2016 to 2017](#). She has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2017](#).

Robert Zucker

- Robert Zucker was [legislative director](#) for former Representative Steve Rothman (D-NJ), a member of the House Appropriations Committee, from [2000 to 2003](#). He also worked for former Representative Lane Evans (D-IL) and former Senator Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ) in 1998 and 1996, respectively. He has been lobbying for General Dynamics since [2014](#).

Northrop Grumman

Executives: 4 of 14 previously served in government positions

Sheila C. Cheston

[Sheila C. Cheston](#), corporate vice president and general counsel, previously served as general counsel of the United States Air Force, “where she oversaw approximately 1,500 lawyers stationed worldwide,” and was special associate counsel to the President.

Lisa R. Davis

[Lisa R. Davis](#), corporate vice president of communications, was a press secretary for the Democratic Leadership Council and national deputy press secretary for the 1996 Clinton/Gore re-election campaign. According to her LinkedIn profile, she left Northrop Grumman in August 2018.

Christopher T. Jones

[Christopher T. Jones](#), corporate vice president and president of Northrop Grumman Technology Services, was an active duty Air Force officer serving as a systems analyst at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, “where he performed analysis on foreign ballistic missile and space systems.”

Lesley Kalan

[Lesley Kalan](#), corporate vice president of government relations for Northrop Grumman, was a professional staff member for the Senate Appropriations Committee’s Defense Subcommittee from [2001 to 2006](#). Kalan also served as a presidential management fellow in the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

Board Members: 2 of 13 previously served in government positions

Gary Roughead

[Admiral Gary Roughead \(USN Ret.\)](#) was the 29th chief of naval operations, retiring in September 2011. “As Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Roughead stabilized and accelerated ship and aircraft procurement plans and the Navy’s capability and capacity in ballistic missile defense and unmanned air and underwater systems.” He has been a member of the Board of Directors since 2012.

Mark A. Welsh III

[General Mark A. Welsh III \(USAF Ret.\)](#) was Air Force chief of staff. “During his long career, Welsh also served as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Commander of the U.S. Air Forces in Europe and Commander of NATO’s Air Command, Associate Director for Military Affairs at the Central Intelligence Agency and Commandant of the United States Air Force Academy.” He has been a member of Board of Directors since 2016.

Lobbyists: 50 of 54 previously served in government positions

Benjamin Abrams

Benjamin Abrams was deputy chief of staff to former Representative Frank Kratovil (D-MD) from [2009 to 2011](#) and special assistant and policy assistant to Representative Steny Hoyer (D-MD) from [2003 to 2009](#). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2011](#).

Gabrielle Batkin

Gabrielle Batkin was the Democratic staff director for the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs and [Environment and Public Works](#) Committees from [2014 to 2018](#), deputy staff director for the Senate Appropriations Committee from 2013 to 2014, and served other roles on that Committee from 2001 to 2013. She was also a budget analyst for the Senate Budget Committee from 2000 to 2001, a legislative assistant for Representative Frank Pallone (D-NJ) in 1999, and legislative correspondent and special projects assistant for former Senator Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ) from 1995 to 1999. She has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2018](#).

William Evan Berl

William Evan Berl was a [surface warfare officer](#) in the Navy. According to his LinkedIn profile he was also “a legislative director and principal military advisor to two senior members of Congress who served on appropriations & authorization committees.” He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2017](#).

John Blount

John Blount was a legislative director to former Representative Bill Emerson (R-MO) from [1981 to 1983](#). He also worked for former [Representative Toby Roth](#) (R-WI) and former Representative William Whitehurst (R-VA). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since 2016.

Anne Bradbury Thorsen

Anne Bradbury was floor director for the House Republican Cloakroom from [2011 to 2016](#). Prior to that, she was deputy legislative operations director for the House Republican leadership from [2005 to 2011](#). Bradbury was also a legislative director for former Representative Charles Boustany (R-LA) in 2005. She has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2017](#).

David Broome

David Broome was special assistant to the President from [2006 to 2008](#) and deputy assistant secretary of defense for Senate affairs from [2005 to 2006](#). Prior to that, Broome was deputy assistant administrator for government and industry affairs for the Federal Aviation Administration from 2002 to 2005. He also was a legislative assistant for former Senator Bill Frist (R-TN) from 1995 to 2002. He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2017](#).

Wally Burnett Jr.

Wally Burnett was a clerk for Senator Richard Shelby (R-MS) for the Senate Appropriations Committee's [Transportation and Related Agencies Subcommittee](#) from [1996 to 2002](#). He was previously assistant general counsel for financial management and special assistant to the secretary of the Navy from 1992 to 1993, and was deputy assistant secretary for budget and programs at the Department of Transportation from 1990 to 1992. He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2014](#).

Bud Cramer

Former Representative Robert Edward "Bud" Cramer Jr. (D-AL) served from [1991 to 2009](#), serving on the House Appropriations, Intelligence, Science, and Transportation and Infrastructure Committees. He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2014](#).

Robert A. Emmett

Robert A. Emmett was a professional staff member for the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence from [1998 to 2004](#). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2017](#).

James Ervin

James Ervin, according to his [official bio](#), "served for 20 years in the U.S. Air Force where his assignments included systems program management, logistics management, and legislative affairs. He spent much of his career involved with international foreign military sales and was involved in two major aircraft system program offices. At one point he was also responsible for logistics support functions for aircraft sales in

Europe, the Middle East, and South America. During the last half of his Air Force career, Ervin was responsible for legislative affairs activities as the Air Force legislative liaison responsible for weapon systems legislation and the House liaison officer on Capitol Hill. His final assignment in the Air Force was as Director of House Affairs in the Office of the Secretary of Defense.” He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since at least [1998](#).

Jonathan Etherton

Jonathan Etherton was a professional staff member for the Senate Armed Services Committee from [1985 to 1999](#). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2012](#).

Edward Fortunato

Edward Fortunato retired as an Army lieutenant colonel and was the Congressional liaison for the Army for aviation programs from [2005 to 2008](#). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2017](#).

John M. Green

John M. Green, according to his [official biography](#), “handled policy and administrative matters for the Assistant Majority Leader and eventual Majority Leader of the United States Senate” from [1993 to 1996](#). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2017](#).

Brian J. Griffin

Brian J. Griffin was [senior leadership adviser](#) for former Senator Byron Dorgan (D-ND) until [2003](#). Griffin was also a staff assistant for the Senate Democratic Policy Committee. He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2018](#).

G. Stewart Hall

G. Stewart Hall, according to his [official biography](#), “served as Legislative Director to Senator Richard Shelby (R-AL) from 1992-1996. During his tenure, Mr. Hall acquired a substantial background in defense policy, appropriations, financial services, and Senate procedure.” He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2017](#).

Shay Michael Hancock

Shay Michael Hancock was a legislative aide for Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) from 1993 to 1997 and a legislative assistant from [2003 to 2006](#), and a legislative assistant for Representative Adam Smith (D-WA) from 1997 to 1998. According to his [official biography](#) “His experience in Washington, DC brings process knowledge, strong

contacts and the ability to know when to apply aggressive pressure or passive advocacy to best suit the clients' short- and long-term goals.” He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2014](#).

Todd Harmer

Todd P. Harmer was military legislative assistant for former Senator Saxby Chambliss (R-GA) from [2012 to 2013](#), and previously was a colonel in the Air Force, retiring in 2012. He has been lobbying Northrop Grumman since [2014](#).

John William “Jay” Heath Jr.

John William “Jay” Heath Jr. was Republican investigative counsel for the Senate Armed Services Committee from [2009 to 2012](#), professional staff on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence from 2005 to 2009, and an officer in the Army Judge Advocate General’s Corps from 2001 to 2005. He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2014](#).

Michael Herson

Michael Herson, according to his [official biography](#), was appointed as the special assistant to the assistant secretary of defense for force management and personnel in [1990, serving](#) until [1993](#). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2011](#).

Kevin Walker Jones

Kevin Jones was staff assistant to the House Appropriations Committee Surveys and Investigations Staff from [2003 to 2016](#). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2018](#).

Mark Kadesh

Mark Kadesh was chief of staff for Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) from [1999 to 2006](#), chief of staff to former Representative Jane Harman from 1995 to 1997, and a legislative assistant for former Senator Daniel Moynihan (D-NY) from 1991 to 1995. He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2008](#).

Lesley Kalan

Lesley Kalan was a professional staff member for the [Senate Appropriations Committee's](#) Defense Subcommittee, where, according to [Northrop Grumman’s press release](#), “she served for five years as senior analyst for Department of Defense and intelligence community procurement, research, development, test and evaluation programs.” She has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2010](#).

Kevin Kane

Kevin Kane was a military legislative assistant and later legislative director for Senator Richard Shelby (R-AL) from [2012 to 2014](#), a military legislative assistant for former Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX) from 2010 to 2012, a military legislative assistant for Senator Richard Burr (R-NC) from 2008 to 2010, and a military legislative correspondent for Hutchison from 2007 to 2008. He has lobbied for Northrop Grumman since [2017](#).

Christian Kierig

Christian Kierig, according to his [official bio](#), “[f]or eight years, he served as Legislative Assistant for Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) where he was responsible for handling the Senator’s membership on the Senate Appropriations Committee.” He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2008](#).

Carl Kime

[Carl Kime](#) was an appropriations associate and legislative fellow for the House Appropriations Committee from [2001 to 2006](#). He was also legislative liaison for the Joint Chiefs of Staff Office of the Chairman. He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2015](#).

John Patrick Koehn

John Patrick Koehn was a special assistant at the Department of Defense from [2005 to 2009](#). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2012](#).

Meagan Linn

Meagan Linn was in several positions up to deputy chief of staff and legislative director for Representative Dave Loebsack from [2007 to 2014](#) and was staff assistant for former Representative Ellen Tauscher (D-CA) from 2005 to 2007. She has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2014](#).

Muftiah McCartin

Muftiah McCartin was staff director for the House Rules Committee from [2009 to 2010](#) and senior advisor for the Committee from 2007 to 2009; general counsel for the House Select Committee on the Voting Irregularities of August 2, 2007 from 2007 to 2008; staff assistant to the House Appropriations Committee’s Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies Subcommittee from 2006 to 2007; and was in the House Parliamentarian’s office in various roles from 1986 to 2005. She has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2016](#).

Ed McClellan

Ed McClellan was tax counsel for the Senate Finance Committee from [1999 to 2005](#). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2017](#).

Howard “Buck” McKeon

Former Representative Howard “Buck” McKeon (R-CA) served from 1993 to 2015 and was chair of the House Armed Services Committee from [2011 to 2015](#). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2018](#).

Thomas McLemore

Thomas McLemore was staff director for the Senate Appropriations Committee’s [Defense and Homeland Security](#) Subcommittees from [2003 to 2014](#). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2014](#).

Zachary Mears

Zachary Mears was [deputy chief of staff to Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter](#), leaving in 2016. He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2018](#).

Daniel Meyer

Daniel Meyer was assistant to the President for legislative affairs from [2007 to 2009](#). Earlier in his career, Meyer was chief of staff to Representative Newt Gingrich (R-GA) from [1989 to 1996](#). He was also administrative assistant to former Representative Vin Weber (R-MN) from 1986 to 1989, and worked for former Senator Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN) from 1979 to 1986. He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2018](#).

Christopher Jeffrey Miller

Christopher Jeffrey Miller was legislative director and later chief of staff for Representative Dave Reichert (R-WA) from [2005 to 2011](#); senior legislative assistant for former Representative Gary Miller (R-CA) from 2004 to 2005; legislative assistant for former Representative Jennifer Dunn (R-WA) from 2003 to 2004; research assistant for the Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee from 2002 to 2003; legislative correspondent for former Senator Tim Hutchinson (R-AR) from 2001 to 2002; and a constituent services representative for former Senator Gordon Smith (R-OR). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2015](#).

Colby Miller

Colby Miller was the military legislative assistant for former Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX) from [2007 to 2009](#) and for former Representative Roscoe Bartlett (R-MD) from [2005 to 2007](#). He was also the Congressional liaison for the Navy from 2003 to 2005. He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2017](#).

Jim Moran

Former Representative Jim Moran (D-VA) served from [1991](#) to [2015](#) and was a member of the House Appropriations Committee. He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2016](#).

Jeffrey W. Munk

Jeffrey W. Munk was legislative counsel for former Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX) from [1993 to 1996](#). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2018](#).

Jefferies Murray

Jefferies Murray was [chief of staff for former Representative Bud Cramer \(D-AL\)](#) and legislative director for former Representative [Bill Brewster \(D-OK\)](#). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2015](#).

Marc Numedahl

Marc Numedahl was legislative director for Representative David Loebsack (D-IA) from [2014 to 2015](#), aide and legislative assistant to Representative Rick Larsen (D-WA) from 2011 to 2014, and in the [Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisitions, Technology and Logistics](#). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2016](#).

Erin Pierce

Erin Pierce was senior policy adviser to former Senator Conrad Burns (R-MT) from [2003 to 2005](#) and legislative assistant from 1999 to 2003. She has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2005](#).

Dave Ramey

From [1993 to 2016](#), Dave Ramey worked for Representative Ken Calvert (R-CA), serving most recently as his chief of staff. Prior to that, Ramey was a foreign policy analyst and then director for the House Republican Policy Committee from [1985 to 1992](#). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2016](#).

Gary Reese

Gary Reese was a professional staff member for the Senate Appropriations Committee's Defense Subcommittee from [2007 to 2012](#) and from 2000 to 2002. He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2018](#).

David Schiappa

David Schiappa worked for the [Senate Republican Cloakroom](#) from [1984 to 2013](#) as a senior cloakroom assistant, floor assistant, assistant secretary, and secretary. He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2017](#).

Neely Silbey

Neely Silbey was the program division personnel branch chief for the Army Office of the Chief of Legislative Liaison from [2012 to January 2015](#). Prior to that, she was [legislative assistant](#) to Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) from 2010 to 2012. She was also military legislative assistant to former Representative Neil Abercrombie (D-HI) from 2007 to 2010. Earlier in her career, she was a surface warfare officer for the U.S. Navy. She has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2018](#).

Suzanne C. Sterner

Suzanne C. Sterner was legislative assistant and office manager for former Representative Dick Zimmer (R-NJ) from 1991 to 1994 and was legislative and staff assistant for former Representative Peter Smith (R-VT) in 1990. She has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2017](#).

Anne Wake

Anne Wake was an [administrative aide](#) for the House Appropriations Committee's Homeland Security Subcommittee from [2014 to 2017](#). She has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2018](#).

Letitia White

Letitia White was chief of staff to former Representative Jerry Lewis (R-CA) from [1981 to 2003](#). She has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2010](#).

Brian Timothy Wilson

Brian Wilson was a [professional staff member](#) for the Senate Appropriations Committee's Defense Subcommittee from [2003 to 2011](#). He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2011](#).

Shavenor Winters

Shavenor Winters was a [legislative aide](#) for Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) from [2016 to 2017](#). She has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2018](#).

Roger Zakheim

Roger Zakheim was general counsel and deputy staff director of the House Armed Services Committee from [2011 to 2013](#), general counsel in 2011, and counsel for the

committee from 2005 to 2011. He has been lobbying for Northrop Grumman since [2015](#).

United Technologies Corporation

Executives: 2 of 13 previously served in government positions

Paul Eremenko

[Paul Eremenko](#), senior vice president and chief technology officer, “headed [the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency’s (DARPA)] Tactical Technology Office, developed and led DARPA’s advanced design and manufacturing program portfolio, and served as program manager for several spacecraft efforts, including the 100 Year Starship.” He joined United Technologies in 2018.

Timothy J. McBride

[Timothy J. McBride](#) is senior vice president for government relations. According to his official profile, “[f]rom 1985 until 1993, McBride served in a number of senior government positions. Beginning in 1985, he was a member of George H.W. Bush’s Vice Presidential and Presidential staffs, serving as the President’s personal aide or private secretary for five years. In 1990, the United States Senate confirmed McBride as Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Trade Development, responsible for helping U.S. companies increase exports. In 1992, he returned to the White House to serve as Assistant to the President for Management and Administration, where he managed White House operations, including facilities, budget and personnel. His duties also included managing the White House Military Office, overseeing the continuity of government programs, Camp David, and the Marine One and Air Force One squadrons.” He joined United Technologies in 2015.

Board Members: 3 of 12 previously served in government positions

Lloyd J. Austin III

[General Lloyd J. Austin III \(USA Ret.\)](#) was the commander of U.S. Central Command from March 2013 to March 2016. He was also the thirty-third vice chief of staff of the Army. He has been on the United Technologies Board of Directors since September 1, 2016.

Margaret (Meghan) L. O’Sullivan

[Margaret \(Meghan\) L. O'Sullivan](#), according to her official biography, served “on the [National Security Council as Special Assistant to the President from July 2004 to September 2007](#) and as [Deputy National Security Advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan for the last two years of that time](#). [Dr. O'Sullivan previously served as Deputy Director \(Governance\) for the Iraq Coalition Provisional Authority from March 2003 to July 2004](#) and in the State Department as principal advisor to the President’s Special Envoy to the Northern Ireland Peace Process from November 2001 to March 2003.” She has been on the United Technologies Board of Directors since 2017.

[Christine Todd Whitman](#)

[Christine Todd Whitman](#) was administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency from January 2001 to June 2003 and governor of New Jersey from 1994 to 2001. She has been on the United Technologies Board of Directors since 2003.

[Lobbyists: 52 of 59 previously served in government positions](#)

Sam Adcock

Sam Adcock, according to his [official biography](#), “was Legislative Director for Senator Trent Lott and acted as his Director of Defense and Security Policy while Senator Lott was Senate Majority Leader. ... Between 2002 and 2004, Sam sat on the Defense Science Board for Department of Defense.” He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2018](#).

Kevin Batteh

Kevin Batteh was counsel to the commissioner at the Commodity Futures Trading Commission from [2011 to 2013](#) and was detailed to the Senate Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry Committee from 2013 to 2014. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2015](#).

Jonathan H. Becker

Jonathan H. Becker was chief of staff to Senator Amy Klobuchar (D-MN) from [2010 to 2013](#) and was her chief counsel from 2007 to 2010. According to his [official biography](#), he has also worked in the White House and the Department of Justice’s Antitrust Division. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2018](#).

Matthew Edward Bravo

Matthew Edward Bravo was floor director for House Majority Whip Steve Scalise (R-LA) from [2016 to 2017](#), professional staff member for the House Energy and Commerce Committee from 2012 to 2014, staff assistant, special assistant and later floor

assistant for then-House Majority Leader Eric Cantor (R-VA) from 2006 to 2012. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2018](#).

Elizabeth Coffin

Elizabeth Coffin was tax counsel for the House Ways and Means Committee in [2007](#) and for former Representative Jim McCrery (R-LA) from 2004 to 2007. She has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2008](#).

Alfonse M. D'Amato

Former Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY) was in the Senate from [1981 to 1999](#), serving as chair of the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee from 1995 to 1999. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2007](#).

Geoff Davis

Former Representative Geoff Davis (R-KY) served in Congress from [2005 to 2012](#). He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2013](#).

Martin Delgado

Martin Delgado was clerk and staff director for the House Appropriations Committee's Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Subcommittee from [2011 to 2014](#); staff assistant for the full Committee from 1998 to 2011; staff assistant to the Subcommittee from 1997 to 1998; budget analyst for the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service from 1992 to 1996 and 1989 to 1991; and was detailed to the Office of Management and Budget from the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service from 1991 to 1992. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2014](#).

Jonathan Etherton

Jonathan Etherton was a professional staff member for the Senate Armed Services Committee from [1985 to 1999](#). He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2011](#).

Mike Ference

Mike Ference was outreach director for then-House Majority Leader Eric Cantor (R-VA) from [2011 to 2012](#). Prior to that, he was a policy adviser to Representative Cantor during his time as House Minority Whip from 2009 to 2011. Ference also served as policy adviser to then-House Majority Leader and later Minority Whip Roy Blunt (R-MO) from 2006 to 2009 and as a legislative assistant to Senator James Inhofe (R-OK) from [2004 to 2006](#). He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2014](#).

Todd P. Harmer

Todd P. Harmer was military legislative assistant for then-Senator Saxby Chambliss (R-GA) from [2012 to 2013](#) and was previously a colonel in the Air Force, retiring in 2012. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2014](#).

Graham Harper

Graham Harper was a professional staff member for the Senate Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry Committee from [2003 to 2006](#), and for the Senate Appropriations Committee from 2006 to 2008, and served in the Commodity Futures Trading Commission's Legislative Affairs Office from 2008 to 2009. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2013](#).

Michael Herson

Michael Herson, according to his [official biography](#), served as the special assistant to the assistant secretary of defense for force management and personnel from [1990](#) until [1993](#). He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2011](#).

John Krister Holladay

John Krister Holladay was chief of staff to former Senator Saxby Chambliss (R-GA) from [2003 to 2007, and from 1999 to 2003, while Chambliss served in the House. Holladay served as his](#) deputy chief of staff and later chief of staff. He was legislative director for then-Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich (R-GA) from 1997 to 1998. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2012](#).

Charles Ingebretson

Charles Ingebretson was chief of staff at the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) from [2005 to 2009](#), associate assistant administrator of the EPA's Office of Congressional and Intergovernmental Relations from 2004 to 2005, and counsel and later general counsel to the House Energy and Commerce Committee from 1990 to 1998. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2018](#).

Sean Joyce

Sean Joyce was chief of staff to Representative Patrick McHenry (R-NC) from [2015 to 2017](#), and, from 2009 to 2015, held various positions in the office of Representative Bill Shuster (R-PA), eventually serving as legislative director. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2018](#).

Ben Klein

Ben Klein was a legislative assistant and then legislative director for former Senator Byron Dorgan (D-ND) from [2005 to 2010](#). He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2018](#).

Lenwood A. “Pete” Landrum

Lenwood A. “Pete” Landrum was a senior adviser to former Senator Luther Strange (R-AL) in [2017](#) and senior adviser for defense policy for then-Senator Jeff Sessions (R-AL) from 2007 to 2017. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2017](#).

Greg Lankler

Greg Lankler was a professional staff member on the House Appropriations Committee’s Subcommittee on Defense from 2001 to 2011 and held various positions up to legislative director for former Representative Bill Young (R-FL) from [1990 to 2001](#). According to his [official biography](#), he “managed multiple portfolios including the Air Force, Central Intelligence Agency, and Special Operations Command; the information technology programs for the Department of Defense, Military Services, and Intelligence Community; and the acquisition programs of the Defense-Wide Agencies and the Office of the Secretary of Defense.” He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2012](#).

Trent Lott

Former Senator Trent Lott (R-MS), according to his [official biography](#), served in the House and the Senate for 35 years, becoming Senate Majority Leader in 1996. Then, “during the first two years of President George W. Bush’s administration, Senator Lott led the fight for passage of the President’s tax cut package, the President’s historic education reform bill, the largest increase in defense spending since the Cold War, the most significant trade legislation in a decade, and the resolution supporting the President of military action in Iraq. Senator Lott later helped to reach the compromises leading to the creation of the Department of Homeland Security.” He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2018](#).

Jeffrey M. MacKinnon

Jeffrey M. MacKinnon was a legislative assistant and then legislative director for Representative Joe Barton (R-TX) from [1985 to 1993](#). He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2015](#).

Larissa M. Martinez

Larissa M. Martinez was a senior legislative assistant and later senior adviser and executive director for Senator Deb Fischer (R-NE) from [2013 to 2015](#), legislative

assistant for then-Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE) from 2008 to 2009, executive assistant and later legislative correspondent for then-Representative Nathan Deal (R-GA) from 2005 to 2006, and assistant scheduler for Senator Johnny Isakson (R-GA) in 2005. She has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2018](#).

Timothy J. McBride

[Timothy J. McBride](#) is senior vice president for government relations. According to his official profile, “[f]rom 1985 until 1993, McBride served in a number of senior government positions. Beginning in 1985, he was a member of George H.W. Bush’s Vice Presidential and Presidential staffs, serving as the President’s personal aide or private secretary for five years. In 1990, the United States Senate confirmed McBride as Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Trade Development, responsible for helping U.S. companies increase exports. In 1992, he returned to the White House to serve as Assistant to the President for Management and Administration, where he managed White House operations, including facilities, budget and personnel. His duties also included managing the White House Military Office, overseeing the continuity of government programs, Camp David, and the Marine One and Air Force One squadrons.” He has been [lobbying for United Technologies](#) since [2015](#).

Jeffrey McMillen

Jeffrey McMillen was staff director for the House Ways and Means Committee’s Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures from [2001 to 2004](#) and counsel to the Committee’s Oversight Subcommittee from 1998 to 2001. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2008](#).

Jeff Mortier

Jeff Mortier was a professional staff member on the House Energy and Commerce Committee in [2011](#), and served as a legislative assistant to former Representative Ed Whitfield (R-KY) from 2006 to 2011. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2015](#).

Lester E. “Les” Munson III

Lester E. “Les” Munson III was Republican staff director for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from [2012 to 2015](#), chief of staff to former Senator Mark Kirk (R-IL) from 2010 to 2012, and House Appropriations Committee legislative assistant and chief of staff to then-Representative Kirk from 2007 to 2010. Prior to that, he was deputy assistant administrator for the U.S. Agency for International Development from 2003 to 2007, communications director for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 2001 to 2003, and communications director for the House Foreign Affairs

Committee from 1999 to 2001, among other Congressional positions starting in 1989. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2018](#).

Daniel J. Murphy

Daniel J. Murphy was chief of staff at the Department of Housing and Urban Development from [2001 to 2002](#) and served in the office of former Vice President Dan Quayle from 1989 to 1991. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2017](#).

David Myers

David Myers, according to an archived version of his [official biography](#), joined the staff of Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-NY) in 1992, and "later joined the personal staff of Senator Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico, where he held the position of Military Legislative Assistant until 2006. His responsibilities included working with the Senate Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations and managing a portfolio of defense and military construction requests totaling more than \$100 million. He also advised Senator Domenici on veteran's affairs, foreign affairs, intelligence and base realignment and closure issues." He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2011](#).

James E. Newsome

James E. Newsome was chairman of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission from [2001 to 2004](#) and commissioner from 1998 to 2001. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2013](#).

Lauren Burke O'Brien

Lauren Burke O'Brien served in various positions for former Representative Geoff Davis (R-KY), including legislative director and deputy chief of staff, from [2005 to 2012](#). She has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2013](#).

Annie Palisi

Annie Palisi was special assistant to the House Education and Workforce Committee in [2016](#), member services adviser to the House Homeland Security Committee from 2015 to 2016, deputy member services director for then-Speaker John Boehner (R-OH) from 2013 to 2015, and chief of staff to Representative Diane Black (R-TN) from 2011 to 2013. She has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2018](#).

Scott Parsons

Scott Parsons was the chief of staff and chief operating officer for the Commodity Futures Trading Commission from 1998 to 2004 and legislative director for former

Representative Charles Pickering Jr. (R-MS) from [1997 to 1998](#). He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2013](#).

Heather Miller Podesta

Heather Miller Podesta was counsel to former Representative Bob Matsui (D-CA) in [2003](#), and legislative counsel for former Representative Earl Pomeroy (D-ND) from 2002 to 2003. She has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2018](#).

Scott W. Reed

Scott W. Reed, according to his [official biography](#), was chief of staff to then-Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2010](#).

George Rogers

George Rogers was a policy adviser and assistant to former House Minority Leader and later House Speaker John Boehner (R-OH) from [2007 to 2012](#), Republican counsel for the House Rules Committee from 2004 to 2007, professional staff member for the Rules Committee from 2003 to 2004, subcommittee professional staff member and counsel for the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee from 2001 to 2002, and legislative assistant for former Senator Dick Lugar (R-IN) before that. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2013](#).

Eric D. Rosen

Eric D. Rosen was counsel to former Senator Joe Biden (D-DE) from [2005 to 2006](#), counsel for the Senate Caucus on International Narcotics Control from 2001 to 2006, counsel on the Senate Judiciary Committee in 2001, legislative director for former Representative Anthony Weiner (D-NY) from 1999 to 2001, deputy director of the Department of Justice's Office of Intergovernmental Affairs from 1997 to 1999, and legislative assistant for former Representative Chester Atkins (D-MA) from 1992 to 1993. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2018](#).

Zach Rudisill

Zach Rudisill was tax counsel for Senator Rob Portman (R-OH) from [2004 to 2018](#), legislative director and tax counsel for Representative Dave Reichert (R-WA) from 2012 to 2014, and legislative assistant for the House Ways and Means Committee from 2010 to 2012. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2018](#).

John Scofield

John Scofield was communications director for the House Appropriations Committee from [2001 to 2006](#) and deputy communications director from 1999 to 2000. Prior to that, he was press secretary for Representative Frank LoBiondo (R-NJ) from [1996 to 1999](#) and press assistant for former Senator Mark Hatfield (R-OR) from 1995 to 1996. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2009](#).

Arshi Siddiqui

Arshi Siddiqui was a senior policy adviser and counsel to then-Minority leader and later-Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) from [2003 to 2010](#). She has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2010](#).

Kraig Michael Siracuse

Kraig Michael Siracuse was a professional staff member for the Senate Appropriations Committee from [2000 to 2005](#) and was a legislative assistant to former Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY) on the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee from 1991 to 1998. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2007](#).

Mary Beth Stanton

Mary Beth Stanton was a legislative assistant for former Senator Herb Kohl (D-WI) from [2007 to 2008](#), policy adviser to Senator Kohl on the Senate Special Committee on Aging from 2005 to 2007, legislative assistant for former Representative Anthony Weiner (D-NY) from 2004 to 2005, and staff assistant to Senator Kohl from 2002 to 2004. She has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2018](#).

Landon Stropko

Landon Stropko was legislative director for Senator Mike Enzi (R-WY) from [2017 to 2018](#), and held various positions up to chief of staff to former Representative Cynthia Lummis (R-WY) from 2009 to 2017, and served as policy director for the Congressional Western Caucus from 2014 to 2017. Prior to that, he was an aide, a legislative aide, and a legislative correspondent to then-Representative Barbara Cubin (R-WY) from 2003 to 2009. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2018](#).

Allen L. Thompson

Allen L. Thompson was senior professional staff member and subcommittee coordinator for the House Homeland Security Committee in [2006](#), and served as Democratic professional staff for the Committee from 2003 to 2006. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2009](#).

Matthew P. Thornblad

Matthew P. Thornblad was a legislative assistant for former Senator Tim Johnson (D-SD) from [2003 to 2010](#), for former Representative Max Sandlin (D-TX) from 2001 to 2002, and for former Senator Bob Kerrey (D-NE) before that. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2010](#) as the company's director of energy and environmental government affairs.

Cindy Jimenez Turner

Cindy Jimenez Turner was adviser to then-Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) from [2003 to 2007](#), and was her deputy communications director from 2002 to 2003. She was communications director and scheduler for Representative Gene Green (D-TX) from 1996 to 2002, and prior to that, was a staff assistant for then-Representative Jim McDermott (D-WA). She has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2009](#) as the company's director of government relations.

Joseph V. Vasapoli

Joseph V. Vasapoli was special assistant to the deputy secretary of energy in [1992](#) and was special assistant to then-Commissioner Anthony G. Sousa at the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission from 1984 to 1985. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2015](#).

Bob Walker

Former Representative Bob Walker (R-PA) served in the House from [1977 to 1997](#). According to his [official biography](#), "he specializes in issues that stem from his chairmanship of the Science, Space and Technology Committee." He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2017](#).

J. Daniel Walsh

J. Daniel Walsh was legislative director for former Representative Wayne Gilchrest (R-MD) from [1991 to 1997](#) and assistant press secretary and legislative assistant for former Representative Jack Buechner (R-MO) from 1989 to 1990. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2017](#).

Sarah Walter

Sarah Walter was legislative director for the Senate Special Committee on Aging from [2000 to 2004](#) and legislative assistant to former Senator John Breaux (D-LA) from 1995 to 2000. She has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2017](#).

Erskine Wells

Erskine Wells, according to his [official biography](#), “served in the office of Sen. Roger Wicker (R-Miss.) in various capacities, including deputy chief of staff, deputy legislative director and military legislative assistant. Earlier, Erskine managed appropriations accounts for then-Rep. Roger Wicker’s office in the House of Representatives. In these positions, Erskine advised the Senator and Congressman on national security, defense, foreign policy, transportation, national infrastructure, financial services and telecommunications, working closely with Committee staff and Administration officials ... Erskine also served as chief of staff to freshman Rep. Steven Palazzo (R-Miss.), establishing the freshman Congressman’s office.” He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2017](#).

Ed Whitfield

Former Representative Ed Whitfield (R-KY) served in the House from [1995 to 2016](#); he [resigned after the House Ethics Committee](#) found he violated House rules by giving his wife, a lobbyist for the Humane Society Legislative Fund, “special favors.” He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2017](#).

Todd Alan Wooten

Todd Alan Wooten was senior counsel for energy and tax for Senator Ron Wyden (D-OR) on the Senate Finance Committee from [2014 to 2017](#), senior counsel on the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee from 2013 to 2014, counsel to Senator Debbie Stabenow (D-MI) on the Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee from 2012 to 2013, and served as Senator Stabenow’s senior counsel and later legislative director from 2011 to 2012. Prior to that, he was a legislative correspondent and later legislative assistant and then judiciary counsel to former Senator Blanche Lincoln (D-AR) from 2003 to 2008. He has been lobbying for United Technologies since [2017](#).

BAE Systems

[Executives](#): 1 of 12 previously served in a government position

[Jerry DeMuro](#)

[President and CEO Jerry DeMuro](#) “spent nearly a decade as an acquisition official at the U.S. Department of Defense.”

Board Members: 1 of 11 previously served in a government position

Jerry DeMuro

President and CEO Jerry DeMuro “spent nearly a decade as an acquisition official at the U.S. Department of Defense.”

Lobbyists: 24 of 29 previously served in government positions

Samuel Adcock

Samuel Adcock was director of defense and security policy for then-Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-MS) from [1996 to 1997](#). Adcock had previously served as legislative director for Senator Lott from [1990 to 1996](#). He has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2017](#).

Thomas Bishop

Thomas Bishop was a professional staff member for the Senate Appropriations Committee from [February 2014 to May 2016](#), staff assistant for the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee from May 2006 to July 2007, legislative aide to the Committee from July 2007 to 2009, and a professional staff member for the Committee from 2009 to [July 2010](#). He has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2016](#).

John Buscher

John Buscher was the staff assistant to former Senator Alan John Dixon (D-IL) in 1992 before becoming a legislative assistant to former Senator Carol Elizabeth Moseley Braun (D-IL) from [1993 to 1996](#). He has been lobbying for BAE since [2018](#).

Leo Clark

Leo Clark, according to his [official biography](#), “served as the Special Assistant for Space, Intelligence and Special Programs for the Secretary of Defense’s Legislative Affairs. His Air Force career has included eight years in the Pentagon, in which, six years was spent in the Air Force’s Budget Liaison Office and DoD’s Legislative Affairs. He also has 15 years experience in Acquisition Management. While in Legislative Affairs, he was responsible for developing and leading Congressional game plans for program reviews, hearings and travel with the six Defense and Intelligence Committees. The two years prior to his time in Legislative Affairs, he served as the Program Element Monitor for the Defense Support Program and the Space Based Infrared System program.” He has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2016](#).

Frank Collins III

Frank C. Collins III was chief of staff for former Representative Randy “Duke” Cunningham from [1991 to 1997](#) and district director for former Representative Duncan Lee Hunter (R-CA) from [1985 to 1991](#). He has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2003](#).

John Deschauer Jr.

John Deschauer Jr. was the director of Senate affairs for the Department of Defense from [1990 to 1994](#). Before that, he was legislative counsel for the Department of the Navy from [1988-1990](#). He has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2017](#).

Nicole Di Resta

Nicole Di Resta worked on Capitol Hill for 16 years, in positions including professional staff member for Senate Appropriations Committee’s Defense Subcommittee from [2001 to 2012](#). According to her [official biography](#), “[h]er portfolio for the Defense Subcommittee included the Defense Health Program and all medical research and health information technology; missile procurement for all Services; Marine Corps Procurement; Joint Improvised Explosive Device Defeat Fund; programs and authorities related to security stabilization and operations in the Global War on Terrorism; and military bases and commands in Hawaii and the Pacific Area of Responsibility. She also supported the Hawaii delegation through the 2005 BRAC process, successfully removing Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard from the closure list.” She has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2014](#).

Jonathan Etherton

Jonathan Etherton was a [professional staff member](#) for the Senate Armed Services Committee from [1985 to 1999](#). He has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2006](#).

Jeff Forbes

Jeff Forbes was a deputy assistant and deputy director of scheduling for former President Bill Clinton from [1998 to 1999](#). From 1999 to 2003, he was the chief of staff for former Senator Max Baucus (D-MT) and was the staff director for the Senate Finance Committee in 2003. He has been lobbying for BAE since [2018](#).

Michelle Greene

Michelle Greene, according to her [official biography](#), was “Chief of Congressional Affairs in the U.S. Army’s Office of the Surgeon General and an Army Budget Congressional Liaison. As the principal advisor to the Army Surgeon General on all congressional and legislative matters, she formulated the Surgeon General’s position

on legislative issues and developed the congressional engagement strategy for all senior leaders of the Army Medical Department. As an Army Budget Congressional Liaison to the U.S. House and Senate Appropriations Committees she served as a conduit and advisor for the Army leadership and the Congressional Appropriations Committees on topics including Army Healthcare, Medical Research and Development, Medical Procurement, Chemical Demilitarization, Military Construction and Chemical and Biological Defense.” She has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2014](#).

Morley Greene

Morley Greene was military legislative assistant to Representative Mike Turner (R-OH) from [June 2013 to March 2016](#), and military legislative assistant and special assistant to then-House Armed Services Committee Chair Howard “Buck” McKeon from [January 2011 to June 2013](#). He has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2016](#).

Elizabeth “Libby” Greer

Elizabeth “Libby” Greer was the chief of staff for former Representative Allen Boyd (D-FL) from [2004 to 2009](#). She has been lobbying for BAE since [2018](#).

Todd Harmer

Todd Harmer, according to his [official biography](#), was a legislative assistant for former Senator Saxby Chambliss (R-GA), the Air Force legislative liaison for the House from 2010 to 2012, chief of the Commander’s Action Group for United States Forces in Iraq, and an executive officer to the commander of the Allied Air Component Command Headquarters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. He has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2015](#).

Michael Herson

Michael Herson, according to his official biography, was the special assistant to the assistant secretary of defense for force management and personnel from [1990 to 1993](#). He has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2005](#).

Josh Holly

Josh Holly worked for the House Armed Services Committee from [2005 to 2011](#), serving as a professional staff member from [2007 to 2011](#). He was media affairs director for the House Education and Workforce Committee from 2003 to 2005, and according to an [archived professional biography](#), he was an “early staffer for Rep. John Boehner (R-OH) and Sen. Lamar Alexander (R-TN)... With close ties to Republican leadership, Josh offers Podesta Group clients varied legislative expertise from national

security to education and workforce issues.” He has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2011](#).

Jack Kingston

Former Representative Jack Kingston (R-GA) served Georgia’s First Congressional District from [1993](#) to [2015](#). He has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2017](#).

Michael McBride

Michael McBride, according to an [official press release](#), was minority staff director on the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee’s State, Local, and Private Sector Preparedness and Integration Subcommittee from May 2007 to May 2010, and also served as a legislative correspondent for Senator Judd Gregg (R-NH) from [August 2001 to May 2003](#). He has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2010](#).

Muftiah McCartin

[Muftiah McCartin](#) was staff director for the House Rules Committee from [2009 to 2010](#), [a senior adviser to the Committee from 2007-2009](#), and staff assistant to the House Appropriations Committee’s Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies Subcommittee from [2006 to 2007](#). From 1986-2005, she worked in the House Parliamentarian’s office. She has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2012](#).

Rick Murphy

Rick Murphy was the chief of staff for former Senator Kelly Ayotte (R-NH) from [2014 to 2017](#). He has been lobbying for BAE since [2018](#).

William John Nichols

John Nichols was [special assistant for space, special operations, and intelligence programs](#) in Secretary of Defense William Perry’s legislative affairs office. He has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2008](#).

Frank Ruggiero

Frank Ruggiero, according to his [official biography](#), “was the U.S. Senior Deputy Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan from July 2010 to June 2012. From June 2009 to July 2010, he was the Senior U.S. Civilian Representative for Southern Afghanistan, where he led the civilian efforts in concert with the surge of U.S. military forces into Afghanistan. Ruggiero was Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Political Military Affairs from January 2009 to June 2009 and from 2006 to 2008 he served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Defense Trade and Regional

Security, with special emphasis on international military sales. Ruggiero has worked in diplomatic and government policy roles for 18 years. He also was a foreign policy and defense adviser in the U.S. House of Representatives.” He has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2014](#).

John Schwenk

John Schwenk worked for the Department of State from [June 2004 to February 2013](#), serving as a team leader in the Office of Regional Security and Arms Transfers and Bureau of Political-Military Affairs from January 2010 to February 2013, as a foreign affairs officer from 2006 to 2010, and as a program analyst from 2004 to 2006. He also was a State Department fellow for Senator Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH) in 2011. He has been lobbying for BAE Systems since [2015](#).

Ryan Welch

Ryan Welch was a legislative assistant for Senator Richard Shelby (R-AL) from [2002 to 2007](#). According to his [official biography](#), “as a Legislative Assistant, Mr. Welch served as the primary staffer on all domestic appropriations issues, which required the evaluation of projects being considered for inclusion in Senator Shelby’s priority list. Along those lines, Ryan brings unparalleled expertise in regards to issues related to the Appropriations Committee.” He has been lobbying for BAE since [2018](#).

[Roger Zakheim](#)

[Roger Zakheim](#) was counsel and then general counsel and deputy staff director of the House Armed Services committee from [2005 to 2013](#). He was also deputy assistant secretary of defense for coalitions from [2008 to 2009](#). He has been lobbying for BAE since [2015](#).

L3 Technologies (Previously L-3 Communications)

[Executives: 0 of 8 previously served in government positions](#)

[Board Members: 3 of 10 previously served in government positions](#)

Ann E. Dunwoody

General Ann E. Dunwoody (USA Ret.), according to the [press release](#) announcing her election to the board, “headed the Army Materiel Command, one of the largest commands in the Army, employing more than 69,000 people across 145 countries and all 50 states. General Dunwoody also served as Strategic Planner for the Chief of Staff

of the Army and as Executive Officer to the Director, Defense Logistics Agency.” She retired from the Army in 2012 and has been a director since [June 2013](#).

Lloyd W. “Fig” Newton

General Lloyd W. “Fig” Newton (USAF Ret.) was commander of the Air Force, Air Education and Training Command, where he was responsible for the recruitment, training, and education of all Air Force personnel from 1997 until his retirement in 2000. He has been a director since [September 2012](#).

[H. Hugh Shelton](#)

[General H. Hugh Shelton \(USA Ret.\)](#) was the fourteenth chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, retiring in 2001, and also previously served as commander of U.S. Special Operations Command. He has been a director since April 2011.

[Lobbyists: 19 of 24 previously served in government positions](#)

Linda H. Daschle

Linda H. Daschle was a deputy administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration from [1993 to 1997](#). She has been lobbying for L-3 Communications/L3 Technologies since [1999](#).

Gary M. Hall

Gary M. Hall was a professional staff member for the Senate Armed Services Committee from [1997 to 2002](#). He has been lobbying for L-3 Communications/L3 Technologies since [2006](#).

Todd P. Harmer

Todd P. Harmer was military legislative assistant for then-Senator Saxby Chambliss (R-GA) from [2012 to 2013](#) and was previously a colonel in the Air Force, retiring in 2012. He has been lobbying for L3 Technologies since [2017](#).

Michael Herson

Michael Herson, according to his [official biography](#), was the special assistant to the assistant secretary of defense for force management and personnel from [1990](#) until [1993](#). He has been lobbying for L-3 Communications/L3 Technologies since [2005](#).

Paul J. Hirsch

Paul J. Hirsch was the director of review and analysis for the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission from [1991 to 1993](#), special assistant to the assistant secretary of state for administration from 1990 to 1991, and was assistant for

legislative affairs for the Air Force. He has been lobbying for L-3 Communications/L3 Technologies and L-3 Wescam Sonoma Operations since [2010](#).

Hugh “Rusty” Johnston Jr.

Hugh “Rusty” Johnston Jr. was deputy staff director for the House Armed Services Committee from [2001 to 2007](#). He has been lobbying for L-3 Communications/L3 Technologies since [2008](#).

Kevin Walker Jones

Kevin Walker Jones was staff assistant to the House Appropriations Committee surveys and investigations staff from [2003 to 2016](#). He has been lobbying for L3 Technologies since [2018](#).

Thomas L. Lankford

Thomas L. Lankford was a military legislative assistant for then-Senator Bob Smith (R-NH) from [1990 to 1997](#). He has been lobbying for L-3 Communications/L3 Technologies since [2010](#).

Marcus P. Lubin

Marcus P. Lubin was chief of staff to former Representative Henry Bonilla (R-TX), who was a [member of the House Appropriations Committee](#) and later a senior Defense Subcommittee member, from [1993 to 2006](#). [Lubin was](#) previously legislative assistant to former Representative Charlie Stenholm (D-TX) from 1982 to 1991. According to his [official biography](#), Lubin “not surprisingly has significant knowledge of the appropriations process.” He has been lobbying for L-3 Communications/L3 Technologies since [2014](#).

Howard Philip “Buck” McKeon

Former Representative Howard Philip “Buck” McKeon (R-CA) served from 1993 to 2015 and was chairman of the House Armed Services Committee from [2011 to 2015](#). He has been lobbying for L-3 Communications/L3 Technologies since [2016](#).

Robert M. Meissner

[Robert M. Meissner](#) was a Senate liaison officer for the secretary of the Navy in 1985 and later served as the director of congressional affairs in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and as defense legislative assistant to former Senator Phil Gramm (R-TX). He has been lobbying for L-3 Communications/L3 Technologies since [2009](#).

David T. Myers

David T. Myers joined the staff of Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-NY) in 1992, and, according to an [archived version of his official biography](#), “later joined the personal staff of Senator Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico, where he held the position of Military Legislative Assistant until 2006. His responsibilities included working with the Senate Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations and managing a portfolio of defense and military construction requests totaling more than \$100 million. He also advised Senator Domenici on veteran’s affairs, foreign affairs, intelligence and base realignment and closure issues.” He has been lobbying for L-3 Communications/L3 Technologies since [2016](#).

William John Nichols

[William John Nichols](#), according to his [official biography](#), “was assigned to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs, where he was Special Assistant for Space, Special Operations, and Intelligence Programs, to Secretary of Defense William Perry. Here he provided representation for the Secretary of Defense on all Space, Special Operations, Intelligence, and Command and Control issues with the United States Congress, managing over \$55 billion in Budget Authority.” He has been lobbying for L-3 Communications/L3 Technologies since [2004](#).

Adrienne Ramsay

Adrienne Ramsay was a staff assistant on the House Appropriations Committee’s Defense Subcommittee from [2008 to 2017](#), a professional staff member on the House Armed Services Committee from 2007 to 2008, a senior budget analyst at the Office of Management and Budget between 2005 and 2007, and principal analyst at the Congressional Budget Office from 2004 to 2005. According to her [official biography](#), her “work involved consultation, coordination, and negotiation with Members and Staff of the majority and minority Staff of the Defense and Intelligence Authorization Committees of both the House and Senate. These relationships allow her to achieve her clients’ legislative goals through strong, bipartisan advocacy.” She has been lobbying for L3 Technologies since [2017](#).

William Greg Riels

William Greg Riels, according to his [official biography](#), was “a senior aide and military adviser to U.S. Senator Elizabeth Dole [R-NC] during her tenure on the prestigious U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee” in [2006](#). He also served in the Navy as an F-14 pilot and flight instructor, and as an “Admiral’s aide and Navy Reserve officer flying senior Navy Department officials worldwide.” He has been lobbying for L3 Technologies since [2017](#).

Stephanie Sanok Kostro

Stephanie Sanok Kostro was a professional staff member on the House Armed Services Committee from [2005 to 2008](#) and a foreign affairs specialist for the Office of the Secretary of Defense from 2000 to 2005. She has been lobbying for L-3 Communications/L3 Technologies since [2015](#).

Gary L. Sojka

Gary L. Sojka was a professional staff member for the Senate Select Intelligence Committee from [1994 to 1998](#). He has been lobbying for L-3 Communications/L3 Technologies since [2003](#).

D'Anna Tindal

D'Anna Tindal was a staffer for former [Representative Charlie Wilson \(D-TX\)](#). She has been lobbying for L-3 Communications/L3 Technologies since [2013](#).

Mark Van De Water

Mark Van De Water, according to his [official biography](#), “served on the staff of the Senate Appropriations Committee as Deputy Staff Director and as a professional staff member to Chairman Thad Cochran [(R-MS)] and members and staff of the Senate Homeland Security Appropriations Subcommittee. In addition, he...played a leading staff role on the Defense Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee.” He has been lobbying for L-3 Communications/L3 Technologies since [2007](#).

Huntington Ingalls Industries

[Executives:](#) 1 of 10 previously served in government positions

Mitchell B. Waldman

Mitchell B. Waldman is executive vice president of government and customer relations. According to his [official biography](#), he “served as national security advisor for former Sen. Trent Lott and as a national security consultant to the office of the Senate Majority Leader. Waldman has served in a number of executive positions for the U.S. Navy, including deputy assistant secretary of the Navy (Ship Programs), director of cost engineering and industrial analysis for Naval Sea Systems Command, and deputy program manager for Amphibious Warfare Programs. He has also served as project manager for the U.S. Navy’s Small Boat Security Assistance Program and completed several senior-level staff assignments with the Navy and the Defense Department.”

Board Members: 3 of 10 previously served in government positions

Augustus Leon Collins

Major General Augustus Leon Collins (USA Ret.), according to his [official biography](#), “retired in 2016 after serving five years as the adjutant general of both the Mississippi Army National Guard and the Mississippi Air National Guard.” He has been on the board since [2016](#).

Kirkland H. Donald

Admiral Kirkland H. Donald (USN Ret.), according to his [archived official biography](#), retired in 2013 “as the director, Naval Nuclear Propulsion Program, where he was responsible for the safe and effective operation of the service’s nuclear-powered warships, which today includes all submarines and aircraft carriers. Donald previously served as commander, Naval Submarine Forces, and commander, Submarine Group 8, in Naples, Italy. He also commanded the attack submarine *USS Key West* (SSN 722) and served on the Joint Staff, the Pacific Fleet Nuclear Propulsion Examining Board and the staffs of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, Naval Reactors and the Pacific Fleet.” He has been on the board since [2017](#).

Thomas B. Fargo

Admiral Thomas B. Fargo (USN Ret.) is chair of the board. According to his [archived official biography](#), he was “commander of U.S. Pacific Command (2002 to 2005), commander-in-chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet (1999 to 2002) and commander of the U.S. Fifth Fleet and Naval Forces of the Central Command (1996 to 1998).” He has been chair of the board since 2011.

Lobbyists: 32 of 34 previously served in government positions

Sam Adcock

Sam Adcock, according to his [official biography](#), “was Legislative Director for Senator Trent Lott and acted as his Director of Defense and Security Policy while Senator Lott was Senate Majority Leader. ... Between 2002 and 2004, Sam sat on the Defense Science Board for Department of Defense.” He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2016](#).

Carolyn Apostolou

Carolyn Apostolou, according to an [official press release](#), “worked on the U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations since 1987. She served as staff director of the legislative branch subcommittee from 2001 to 2009 and as minority staff director of the

subcommittee on energy and water development from 2009 to 2013.” She has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2013](#).

Haley Barbour

Haley Barbour was the governor of Mississippi from [2004 to 2012](#). He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2012](#).

Bret Boyles

Bret Boyles, according to his [official biography](#), was chief of staff to former Senator Trent Lott from 2005 to 2007 and was previously a legislative assistant for him. He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2011](#).

John Breaux

John Breaux served as a Democratic Representative and Senator for Louisiana from [1972 to 2005](#). According to his [official biography](#), he was a senior member of the Senate Finance Committee; served on the Senate Commerce, Science and Technology Committee; was chair of the Special Committee on Aging; co-chaired the Oil and Gas Caucus. He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2012](#).

Wally Burnett

Wally Burnett was a clerk for Senator Richard Shelby (R-AL) for the Senate Appropriations Committee from [1996 to 2002](#). He was previously assistant general counsel for financial management and special assistant to the secretary of the Navy from 1992 to 1993, and was deputy assistant secretary for budget and programs at the Department of Transportation from 1990 to 1992. He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2017](#).

Paul Cambon

Paul Cambon, according to his [archived official biography](#), “worked in the House of Representatives for Congressman Bob Livingston (R-LA) for just over 22 years. In his position as legislative director and associate appropriations staffer for Congressman Livingston, he was a primary advisor on all federal appropriations and related federal agency and executive branch policy matters.” He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2012](#).

Peter T. Courtney

Commander Peter T. Courtney (USN Ret.), [according to floor remarks](#) by Representative Kay Granger (R-TX), was a defense legislative fellow to Representative Granger and “the Deputy Director, Appropriations Liaison in the Office of the Assistant

Secretary of the Navy (Financial Management and Comptroller)” for three years. He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2014](#).

Gregory Robert Dahlberg

Gregory Robert Dahlberg was Democratic staff assistant to the House Appropriations Committee’s Defense Subcommittee from [2001 to 2003](#), an [Army undersecretary](#), and before that a senior Democratic adviser on the Subcommittee. He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2017](#).

John P. Flynn

John P. Flynn, according to his [official biography](#), was “legislative assistant and congressional fellow to US Senator John Breaux (1998-2004). In this capacity, he functioned as Senator Breaux’s primary adviser on maritime, marine resource and transportation issues and related policy development. During his tenure as a staff member in the senate, John worked on a wide variety of maritime, transportation and ocean resource matters, including the Maritime Transportation Safety Act, Oceans Act, Aquatic Resources Trust Fund (Wallop-Breaux), Magnuson-Stevens Fisheries Conservation and Management Act and numerous Coast Guard authorization bills. He has served as US delegate to the International Convention for the Conservation of Atlantic Tuna. John served in the US Coast Guard, both as a commissioned officer and senior enlisted member, from 1978-2003, in increasingly responsible positions, principally in the marine safety program.” He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2011](#).

Brian Glackin

Captain Brian Glackin (USN Ret.), according to his [official biography](#), was “the Deputy Director of the Navy Appropriations Matters office where he was responsible for coordinating the Navy’s budget with Capitol Hill.” He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2016](#).

John M. Green

John M. Green, according to his [official biography](#), “handled policy and administrative matters for the Assistant Majority Leader and eventual Majority Leader of the United States Senate” from [1993 to 1996](#). He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2013](#).

Lanny Griffith

Lanny Griffith, according to his [official biography](#), was special assistant to President George H.W. Bush, “serving as President Bush’s liaison to governors and other

statewide elected officials.” He later served as assistant secretary of education in the same Administration. He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2012](#).

G. Stewart Hall

G. Stewart Hall, according to his [official biography](#), “served as Legislative Director to Senator Richard Shelby (R-AL) from 1992-1996. During his tenure, Mr. Hall acquired a substantial background in defense policy, appropriations, financial services, and Senate procedure.” He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2013](#).

Sarah Hamlett

Sarah Hamlett was legislative director for former Representative Thelma Drake (R-VA) from 2005 to 2006 and a legislative correspondent and later a legislative assistant to former Representative Ed Schrock (R-VA) from [2001 to 2005](#). She has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2014](#).

Shay Michael Hancock

Shay Michael Hancock was a legislative assistant for Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) from [2003 to 2006](#) and a legislative aide from 1993 to 1997, and a legislative assistant for Representative Adam Smith (D-WA) from 1997 to 1998. According to his [official biography](#), “his experience in Washington, DC brings process knowledge, strong contacts and the ability to know when to apply aggressive pressure or passive advocacy to best suit the clients’ short- and long-term goals.” He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2017](#).

Sheldon Harris

Sheldon Harris, according to [NPR](#), worked for the House Rules Committee for a decade. He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2011](#).

Charles Andrew Hicks

Charles Hicks, according to [lobbying disclosure forms](#), was legislative director to former Representative Terry Everett (R-AL) from [2007 to 2008](#) and a military legislative assistant to former Representative Jo Ann Davis (R-VA) from 2004 to 2007. He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2011](#).

Meghan Johnson

Meghan Johnson, according to her [official biography](#), was chief of staff to Representative Linda Sanchez (D-CA), “managing all aspects of the Congresswoman’s professional and political operations as well as serving as the liaison to the House

Ways & Means Committee” from [2009 to 2010](#). She has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2012](#).

Lenwood A. “Pete” Landrum

Lenwood A. “Pete” Landrum was a senior adviser to former Senator Luther Strange (R-AL) in [2017](#) and senior adviser for defense policy for then-Senator Jeff Sessions (R-AL) from 2007 to 2017. He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2017](#).

Robert L. Livingston

Former Representative Robert L. Livingston (R-LA), according to his [official biography](#), was “a member of the Appropriations Committee through most of his time in Congress, and for the maximum period of six years on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. From 1995 through 1998, he served as the Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, shepherding the 13 appropriations bills through the legislative process. At the start of the 105th Congress in 1997, Mr. Livingston chaired the bi-partisan ethics reform task force, in which role he was responsible for reshaping the House ethics rules. He was chosen by his peers to serve as Speaker-designate for the 106th Congress.” He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2012](#).

Trent Lott

Former Senator Trent Lott (R-MS), according to his [official biography](#), served in the House and the Senate for a total of 35 years, becoming Senate Majority Leader in 1996. Then, “during the first two years of President George W. Bush’s administration, Senator Lott led the fight for passage of the President’s tax cut package, the President’s historic education reform bill, the largest increase in defense spending since the Cold War, the most significant trade legislation in a decade, and the resolution supporting the President of [sic] military action in Iraq. Senator Lott later helped to reach the compromises leading to the creation of the Department of Homeland Security.” He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2011](#).

John Allen Martin

John Allen Martin, according to his [official biography](#), “was Chief of Staff to Congressman Bob Livingston (R-LA) throughout Mr. Livingston’s 20-plus year congressional career.” He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2012](#).

Hunter Moorhead

Hunter Moorhead, according to his [official biography](#), was “a legislative assistant to former Congressman Mike Parker of Mississippi. Mr. Moorhead then joined the U.S. House of Representatives’ Committee on Agriculture serving as legislative assistant, and eventually as staff director for the Specialty Crops and Foreign Agricultural Programs Subcommittee. In 2001, Mr. Moorhead joined the office of Senator Thad Cochran of Mississippi. He served as the policy advisor monitoring the federal appropriations process along with agriculture and natural resources policy. Mr. Moorhead also served as professional staff for the U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee where he focused on funding programs under the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Drug Administration (FDA), and the Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC). In 2006, Mr. Moorhead joined the White House National Economic Council (NEC) as Special Assistant to former President George W. Bush.” He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2013](#).

Marc Numedahl

Marc Numedahl was legislative director for Representative David Loebsack (D-IA) from [2014 to 2015](#) and military legislative assistant to Representative Rick Larsen (D-WA) from 2011 to 2014, both of whom serve on the House Armed Services Committee. Prior to that, according to his [official biography](#), he “spent more than 4 years in the Pentagon, most recently in the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisitions, Technology and Logistics.” He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls since [2017](#).

Walker Roberts

Walker Roberts, according to his [official biography](#), “joined BGR in 2006 after serving nearly 17 years under four chairmen on the staff of the House Committee on International Relations, including as Deputy Staff Director under Chairman Henry J. Hyde from 2001 to 2006. In that capacity, he served as chief foreign policy aide to Chairman Hyde, and as principal advisor to the Republican Members of the Committee, where he was the principal contact to the White House and to the Departments of State, Commerce and Defense. Walker also served as the primary liaison to the Republican Leadership and Appropriations Committee on all legislative and oversight matters, including the State Department Authorization Act, the Export Administration Act and the Defense Authorization Act. ... From 1987 to 1989, Walker served under President Ronald Reagan in the White House Office of Legislative Affairs, before which he worked on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee under Chairman Richard G. Lugar.” He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2012](#).

John Bernard “Bernie” Robinson

John Bernard “Bernie” Robinson was [chief of staff](#) to Representative James McGovern (D-MA) from [1997 to 1999](#). He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2017](#).

Darrel Thompson

Darrel Thompson, according to his [archived official biography](#), was “Deputy Chief of Staff for Intergovernmental and External Affairs to U.S. Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid. In this role, he advised the Majority Leader on labor and employment issues such as workplace rules and regulations, business and labor negotiations, job growth and protection, as well as social justice issues. Mr. Thompson’s unique position with Majority Leader Reid also tasked him with increasing economic development in the state of Nevada in the industries of finance & banking, renewable energy, transportation, health care, and housing....Additionally, he served in several senior positions over a five-year period during Mr. [Richard] Gephardt’s [(D-MO)] tenure as House Democratic Leader. Mr. Thompson was also the Deputy Executive Director of the House Democratic Caucus.” He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2016](#).

Patrick A. Tucker

Patrick A. Tucker held various positions on the Senate Armed Services Committee, including Republican staff director and counsel from [1983 to 1993](#). He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2011](#).

Mitchell Waldman

Mitchell Waldman, according to his [official biography](#), “served as national security advisor for former Sen. Trent Lott and as a national security consultant to the office of the Senate Majority Leader. Waldman has served in a number of executive positions for the U.S. Navy, including deputy assistant secretary of the Navy (Ship Programs), director of cost engineering and industrial analysis for Naval Sea Systems Command, and deputy program manager for Amphibious Warfare Programs. He has also served as project manager for the U.S. Navy’s Small Boat Security Assistance Program and completed several senior-level staff assignments with the Navy and the Defense Department.” He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2012](#).

Erskine Wells

Erskine Wells, according to his [official biography](#), “served in the office of Sen. Roger Wicker (R-Miss.) in various capacities, including deputy chief of staff, deputy legislative director and military legislative assistant. Earlier, Erskine managed appropriations

accounts for then-Rep. Roger Wicker’s office in the House of Representatives. In these positions, Erskine advised the Senator and Congressman on national security, defense, foreign policy, transportation, national infrastructure, financial services and telecommunications, working closely with Committee staff and Administration officials. ... Erskine also served as chief of staff to freshman Rep. Steven Palazzo (R-Miss.), establishing the freshman Congressman’s office.” He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2012](#).

Matt Wise

Matt Wise, according to his [archived official biography](#), was a legislative assistant and later legislative director for former Representative Mary Fallin (R-OK), from [2007 to 2011](#), and was previously a legislative assistant to former Senator Conrad Burns (R-MT), where he focused on “telecommunications [and] assisting the Senator with his duties on the Senate Commerce Committee.” As legislative director for Representative Fallin, he “worked on legislation including the American Energy Innovation Act, the Economic Freedom Act, and the Empowering Patients First Act. Wise was also instrumental in the development of the Federal Exploration and Production Reform Act, as well as several pieces of legislation to relieve the regulatory burden faced by small businesses and those who operate in the transportation, infrastructure, and construction sectors.” He has been lobbying for Huntington Ingalls Industries since [2013](#).

Humana

[Executives](#): 0 of 15 total previously served in government positions

[Board Members](#): 1 of 12 previously served in government positions

[Karen DeSalvo](#)

[Karen DeSalvo MD, MPH, MSc](#) was acting assistant secretary for health at the Department of Health and Human Services from 2014 to 2017. According to her official biography, in that role she oversaw “the development of public health policy recommendations.” She also served as the national coordinator for health information technology from 2014 to 2016. She has been on the board since [2017](#).

[Lobbyists](#): 14 of 15 previously served in government positions

Lauren Aronson

Lauren Aronson, according to her [official biography](#), “spent close to three years [2012 to 2015] at the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS), where she directed the Office of Legislation and led the Agency’s interactions with Capitol Hill.” In this role, she developed and executed legislative strategy for conveying CMS policy positions to Congress. She was also a “Professional Staff Member for the House Ways and Means Committee, working on Medicare Advantage and Medicare Part D payment policies.” Aronson also served in the White House from 2009 to 2010 as the policy director in the Office of Health Reform. She was also health policy advisor to then-Representative Rahm Emmanuel (D-IL). She has been lobbying for Humana since [2015](#).

David Castagnetti

David Castagnetti, according to his [official biography](#), was chief of staff to former Senator Max Baucus (D-MT), where he “advised the Senator on trade, tax, transportation, technology, and matters before the Finance and Environment and Public Works Committees” from [1995 to 1998](#). Before that, he was chief of staff to former Representative Norman Y. Mineta (D-CA) when Representative Mineta was Chairman of the House Transportation Committee. He also worked for then-Representative Ed Markey (D-MA). He has been lobbying for Humana since [2007](#).

Michael Collins

Michael Collins, according to his [official biography](#), was chief of staff and previously legislative director for Senator Tom Udall (D-NM). He has been lobbying for Humana since [2015](#).

Sage Eastman

Sage Eastman, according to his [official biography](#), spent nearly six years—from [2009 to 2014](#)—as a senior counselor to the Ways and Means Committee and its Members, serving variously as Senior Advisor, Deputy Staff Director and Director of Strategy. According to an [older biography](#), “there isn’t a tax, health or trade battle that Eastman hasn’t worked. During his tenure on the Hill, Eastman was as likely to be found huddled on the House floor with senior House Republican leadership staff as he was working to bring about an unprecedented era of cooperation between the Ways and Means and Energy and Commerce committees.” He has been lobbying for Humana since [2014](#).

Sohini Gupta

Sohini Gupta, according to her [official biography](#), was health and social policy counsel to then-Senator Evan Bayh (D-IN) from [2002 to 2004](#). She has been lobbying for Humana since [2014](#).

Dean Hingson

Dean Hingson, [according to his official biography](#), was chief of staff to Senator Dan Coats (R-IN) from [2011 to 2016](#), counsel and legislative director to former Senator Judd Gregg (R-NH) from 2009 to 2011, and general counsel to former Senator Elizabeth Dole (R-NC) from 2007 to 2009. He has been lobbying for Humana since [2016](#).

Rachel Magnuson

Rachel Magnuson, was previously chief of staff, press secretary, communications director, and senior advisor to former Representative Allyson Schwartz (D-PA) from [2005 to 2014](#). She has been lobbying for Humana since [2014](#).

Bruce P. Mehlman

Bruce P. Mehlman, according to his [official biography](#), was an assistant secretary of commerce for technology policy. He was also policy director and general counsel to the House Republican Conference under then-Representative J.C. Watts (R-OK). He has been lobbying for Humana since [2007](#).

Elise Finley Pickering

Elise Finley Pickering, according to her [official biography](#), “served as Executive Director for the House Republican Policy Committee (the 5th ranking entity in House Leadership) [from [2005 to 2006](#)] while also tackling the high-performance duties of Chief of Staff to Arizona Rep. John Shadegg [from 2001 to 2006].” She also worked as “Legislative Assistant for then-Representative William E. Dannemeyer (R-CA), and as the Legislative Director for Representative Roscoe G. Bartlett (R-MD).” She has been lobbying for Humana since [2007](#).

Michael C. Robinson

Michael C. Robinson, according to his [official biography](#) “served as the first-ever Director of Coalitions and Member Services for the House Appropriations Committee, where he spearheaded outreach to Members of Congress and third-party groups” from [2011 to 2015](#). He was also “Deputy Chief of Staff and Policy Advisor for the Office of the Majority Leader from 2005-06, Legislative Director to former Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee Rep. Hal Rogers (R-KY) from 2002-05, and...senior legislative aide to members of the Appropriations and Transportation and Infrastructure committees. He began his tenure on Capitol Hill serving on the staff of the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee.” He has been lobbying for Humana since [2015](#).

Dean Rosen

Dean Rosen, according to his [official biography](#), was “the Chief Healthcare Advisor to then-Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-TN), a leading voice on national medical and health issues.... [H]e helped draft and navigate to final passage landmark legislation creating a Medicare prescription drug benefit...patient safety legislation and laws in the wake of the September 11th and bioterrorism attacks in 2001 to ensure that local, state and national public health systems had new authorities and additional resources to respond to future threats.” Before working for the Senate Majority Leader, Rosen served as staff director for the Senate Subcommittee on Public Health, majority counsel for the House Ways and Means Health Subcommittee, and health policy coordinator for the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources (now called the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee). At Ways and Means, “he played a leading role in crafting the Medicare provisions of the Balanced Budget Act of 1997.” At Labor, he was the lead Senate staffer in drafting the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996 (HIPAA). He has been lobbying for Humana since [2007](#).

Doug Stoss

Doug Stoss, according to an [official press release](#), “spent four years (2005-2009) as Chief of Staff to three former Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS) administrators during the period when CMS launched the Medicare Prescription Drug Program (PDP), and significantly expanded the Medicare Advantage (MA) program.” He was also chief of staff to former Representative John Shadegg (R-AZ) and a legislative aide for Senator Susan Collins (R-ME). He has been lobbying for Humana since [2014](#).

David Rogan Thomas

David Rogan Thomas, according to his [official biography](#), was chief of staff to Representative Zoe Lofgren (D-CA) (from [2002 to 2006](#)), director of Congressional relations at the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), and was “senior liaison between Vice President Gore and the U.S. Congress.” He has been lobbying for Humana since [2007](#).

Charles Reynolds “CR” Wooters III

Charles Wooters was chief of staff to then-Representative Chris Van Hollen (D-MD) from 2011 to 2012 and member services director for then-House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) from [2009 to 2011](#). Wooters also served as chief of staff to former Representative Louise Slaughter (D-NY) from 2007 to 2008, and worked for the Democratic National Committee from [2003 to 2005](#).

Bechtel Group

Executives: 1 of 11 previously served in government positions

David Welch

David Welch, president of regions and corporate relations for Bechtel Group, was previously an American diplomat. According to his [official company biography](#), he “served as Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs in the U.S. Department of State from 2005 through 2008, Ambassador to Egypt 2001–2005, and Assistant Secretary for International Organizations 1998–2001. Ambassador Welch also served in Pakistan, Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, and on the staff of the National Security Council at the White House.” He has been with Bechtel Group since [2009](#).

Board Members: 0 of 14 previously served in government positions

Lobbyists: 8 of 12 previously served in government positions

Weston Coulam

Weston Coulam, according to his [official biography](#), was “a Legislative Assistant and tax policy advisor to Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT), the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. As an aide to Senator Hatch, Wes had responsibility for tax, banking, and employee benefit issues. In addition, Wes served as Staff Director of the Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship, chaired by Senator Olympia J. Snowe (R-ME). Wes joined Senator Snowe’s staff as Senior Tax Policy Advisor, assisting her in her role as a senior member of the Senate Finance Committee, and was later appointed Staff Director of the Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee.” He has been [lobbying](#) for Bechtel Group since [2015](#).

Colleen Deegan

Colleen Deegan is an executive at Bechtel. She was counsel for the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee from [February 1999 to January 2003](#). Before that she was a legislative assistant for Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ) from [1995 to 1999](#). She has been [lobbying](#) for Bechtel Group since [2015](#).

Jay C. Farrar

Jay C. Farrar is an executive at Bechtel. According to his [official biography](#), “was the deputy assistant secretary for legislative affairs at the Department of Defense, director

of legislative affairs for the National Security Council at the White House, and legislative assistant to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Jay served 23 years in the U.S. Marine Corps, where he specialized in public affairs and political/military affairs.” He has been [lobbying](#) for Bechtel Group since [2012](#).

Rocco Femia

Rocco V. Femia, according to his [official biography](#), was associate international tax counsel at the Department of the Treasury from 2003 to 2004 and an attorney advisor at Treasury from 2000 to 2003. He has been lobbying for Bechtel Group since [2011](#).

Stephen Adam Francis

Stephen Adam Francis according to his archived [official biography](#), “spent more than 14 years on Capitol Hill, most recently serving as Deputy Chief of Staff and Legislative Director to Congressman Patrick J. Tiberi (R-OH), a senior member of the House Ways & Means Committee and current Chairman of the Select Revenue Measures (Tax) Subcommittee. Adam served as the lead staff on all tax matters and worked with the professional committee staff on operations of the Select Revenue Measures Subcommittee. His portfolio also included advising Congressman Tiberi on all legislative issues before the U.S. House of Representatives and managing the daily operations of his Washington, D.C., office. Adam’s broad knowledge of tax and legislative policy ranges from domestic and international corporate tax reform, to the congressional budget process and health policy. Prior to his service with Mr. Tiberi, Adam worked on the staff of Congressman John Kasich (R-OH), then Chairman of the House Budget Committee, from 1996 through 2000. As Legislative Director for Mr. Kasich, Adam crafted legislative policy and strategy and served as the primary advisor on votes and procedure in the U.S. House of Representatives.” He has been [lobbying](#) for Bechtel Group since [2015](#).

Gary Gasper

Gary Gasper, according to his [official biography](#), was “Senior Tax Advisor in the Office of Tax Policy at the Department of the Treasury and as Assistant to the Internal Revenue Service Commissioner” from 1989 to 1993. He has been [lobbying](#) for Bechtel Group since [2015](#).

Marc J. Gerson

Marc J. Gerson, according to his [official biography](#), was “Majority Tax Counsel to the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Ways and Means [from 2005 to 2006]. He provided policy and technical analysis with respect to the development and evaluation of tax legislation. He counseled the Committee on Ways and Means on

issues relating to international taxation, corporate taxation, tax shelters, financial services taxation, taxation of pass-through entities, tax-exempt bond financing, and tax accounting methods.” He has been [lobbying](#) for Bechtel Group since [2011](#).

Nick Giordano

Nick Giordano, according to his [official biography](#), was “the Chief Tax Counsel of the U.S. Senate Committee on Finance under Senator Moynihan (D-NY), where he advised the Committee and other members of the Senate on substantive tax policy issues, as well as budget and parliamentary issues.... He has also served as Legislative Director and Tax Counsel for Senator Max Baucus (D-MT), where his responsibilities included coordination of all Senate floor items.” He has been [lobbying](#) for Bechtel Group since [2015](#).

UnitedHealth Group Incorporated

[Executives: 1 of 15](#) previously served in government positions

[Cory B. Alexander](#)

[Cory B. Alexander](#), executive vice president for corporate affairs, was formerly chief of staff to House Democratic Whip Steny Hoyer (MD) from [January 2003 to 2006](#), legislative director and floor assistant from 1997 to 2002, and legislative assistant to the House Democratic Steering and Policy Committee from 1995 to 1997. He was also a special counselor to President Bill Clinton for the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

[Board Members: 1 of 11](#) previously served in government positions

Gail R. Wilensky

Gail R. Wilensky, Ph.D was administrator of the Health Care Finance Administration for the Department of Health and Human Services from [1990 to 1992](#) and was a deputy assistant for policy development to President George H.W. Bush. According to the [resume](#) she published on her website, she served on a number of Presidential and Congressional healthcare commissions. She has been a director since 1993.

[Lobbyists: 39 of 43](#) previously served in government positions

Mike Ahern

Mike Ahern was legislative assistant for Senator Bob Corker (R-TN) from [2015 to 2016](#), a senior professional staff member for the House Financial Services Committee from 2013 to 2015, legislative assistant and then later legislative director for Representative Ed Royce (R-CA) from 2007 to 2012. He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2017](#).

Stacey Alexander

Stacey Alexander, according to her [official biography](#), was chief of staff to former Representative Jim Matheson (D-UT) from 2000 to 2009, “a senior member of the House Energy and Commerce and Science Committees and a member of the Leadership of the Blue Dog Coalition.” She has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2009](#).

Elizabeth Barnett

Elizabeth Barnett, according to her [official biography](#), was principal health policy advisor to former Senator Blanche Lincoln (D-AR) for eight years, acting “as her chief negotiator on priority legislation, including the Medicare Prescription Drug, Improvement, and Modernization Act of 2003, the Deficit Reduction Act of 2005, and Temporary Assistance for Needy Families reauthorization. Elizabeth also spent time serving as the Senator’s chief speechwriter.” She was also a researcher for the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources. She has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2009](#).

Kirk Blalock

Kirk Blalock, according to his [official biography](#), was special assistant to the President and deputy director of the White House Office of Public Liaison under President George W. Bush, and was a special assistant to former Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander. He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2009](#).

Pat Bousliman

Pat Bousliman, according to his [official biography](#), was “lead staffer on the Senate Finance Committee for issue areas focused on energy, transportation and excise taxes under committee chairman Senator Max Baucus (D-MT).” He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2012](#).

John Breaux

Former Senator John Breaux (D-LA) represented Louisiana in the Senate from 1987 to 2005, and previously served in the House of Representatives from 1972 to 1987. According to his [official biography](#), he was a senior member of the Senate Finance

Committee; served on the Senate Commerce, Science and Technology Committee; chaired the Special Committee on Aging, and was co-chair of the Oil and Gas Caucus. He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2016](#).

Kirsten Chadwick

Kirsten Chadwick, according to her [official biography](#), was a special assistant to the president for legislative affairs for President George W. Bush, acting “as the primary point of contact for the President and senior White House staff to the House Republican leadership and the Agriculture, Education and the Workforce, Energy and Commerce, and Ways & Means committees.” She has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2009](#).

Mike Chappell

Mike Chappell, according to his [official biography](#), was deputy chief of staff for former Representative Chip Pickering (R-MS), overseeing “Pickering's activities on the Energy and Commerce Committee and his roles as the Co-Chairman of the Congressional Wireless Telecommunications Caucus and the Congressional Electricity Caucus” from [1997 to 2003](#). He was also office manager and press aide for then-Representative Roger Wicker (R-MS). He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2009](#).

Amy Jensen Cunniffe

Amy Jensen Cunniffe was policy assistant to then-House Speaker Denny Hastert (R-IL) from [1999 to 2001](#), policy analyst to then-House Majority Whip Tom DeLay (R-TX) from 1998 to 1999, and assistant scheduler and later legislative assistant to Hastert from 1995 to 1998. She has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2017](#).

Sarah Kuehl Egge

Sarah Kuehl Egge was senior analyst for Social Security and Medicare for former Senator Kent Conrad (D-ND) on the Senate Budget Committee from [2011 to 2012](#) and a professional staff member on the Committee from 2001 to 2011; deputy staff director for Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) on the Joint Select Committee on Deficit Reduction in 2011; and legislative assistant to Senator Bob Kerrey (D-NE) from 1998 to 2000. She has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2017](#).

Steve Elmendorf

Steve Elmendorf, according to his [official biography](#), was “a senior advisor to House Democratic Leader Dick Gephardt [(MO)] for 12 years.” He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2006](#).

William E. “Ed” Flynn III

Ed Flynn, according to an archived copy of his [official biography](#), was a senior policy advisor to the director of the Office of Personnel Management in 2002 and associate director for retirement and insurance at OPM from 1994 to 2002. He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2009](#).

Christina Langelier Hamilton

Christina Hamilton was administrative assistant and appropriations coordinator for former Representative Dave Obey (D-WI) from [2001 to 2011](#) and his legislative assistant from 2000 to 2001. According to her [official biography](#), she was “a principal strategic advisor to one of the longest serving Members of Congress and one of the longest serving leaders of the House Appropriations Committee.” She has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2015](#).

Brad Holsclaw

Brad Holsclaw, according to his [official biography](#) and [Open Secrets](#), was “Senior Legislative Advisor on the Senate Republican Leader’s floor staff” for former Senators Bob Dole (R-KS) and Trent Lott (R-MS). He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2014](#).

Kate Hull

Kate Hull, according to her [official biography](#), was staff director for the Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee’s Subcommittee on Aging from [2001 to 2003](#), spent four years as senior legislative assistant to former Senator Tim Hutchinson (R-AR), and was on the legislative staff for former Senator Bill Cohen (R-ME). She has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2009](#).

Aleix Jarvis

Aleix Jarvis, according to his [official biography](#), worked for Senator Lindsey Graham (R-SC) for ten years, including six as his legislative director focusing on defense, energy, budget and trade, acting “as Graham’s designee on both the House and Senate Armed Services Committees, where he developed substantial expertise in defense, nonproliferation, environmental and energy policy.” He previously worked for former Representative Charles Taylor (R-NC). He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2009](#).

Kristi Kennedy

Kristi Kennedy, according to her [official biography](#), was “counsel to Senator Paul S. Sarbanes (D-MD) from 1999-2001, and... his Legislative Director from 2001 through 2006.” She has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2006](#).

Jack Kingston

Former Representative Jack Kingston (R-GA) served Georgia’s First Congressional District from [1993](#) to [2015](#). He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2017](#).

Ed Kutler

Ed Kutler was an aide to then-Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA) from [1995 to 1997](#). He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2017](#).

Barry LaSala

Barry LaSala, according to his [official biography](#), was “Counsel to Senator John F. Kerry (D-MA), when he served [sic] Chairman of the Senate Committee on Small Business & Entrepreneurship. He also advised Senator Kerry on his work on the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science & Transportation, and the Senate Finance Committee.” He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2009](#).

Trent Lott

Former Senator Trent Lott (R-MS), according to his [official biography](#), served in the House and the Senate for 35 years, becoming Senator Majority Leader in 1996: “Senator Lott led the fight for passage of [President George W. Bush’s] tax cut package, the President’s historic education reform bill, the largest increase in defense spending since the Cold War, the most significant trade legislation in a decade, and the resolution supporting the President of [sic] military action in Iraq. Senator Lott later helped to reach the compromises leading to the creation of the Department of Homeland Security.” He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2016](#).

Kathryn Elise “Katie” Novaria

Kathryn Elise “Katie” Novaria was a professional staff member for the House Energy and Commerce Committee’s Health Subcommittee from [2015 to 2016](#), a professional staff member for the full Committee from 2013 to 2015, staff assistant to Representative Fred Upton (R-MI) from 2009 to 2011 and staff assistant to former Representative Joe Knollenberg (R-MI) from 2007 to 2009. She has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2016](#).

Tom O’Donnell

Tom O'Donnell, according to his [official biography](#), was chief of staff to former House Democratic Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-MO) from 1989-1997. He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2013](#).

Billy Piper

Billy Piper, according to his [official biography](#), was chief of staff for Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY) from 2002 to 2011 and spent “nearly 20 years working on Capitol Hill.” He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2011](#).

John Prible

John Prible was a senior legislative assistant for former Representative Darlene Hooley (D-OR) from [2002 to 2005](#) and a legislative correspondent for former Representative Jim Davis (D-FL) from 2001 to 2002. He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2015](#).

Mark W. Rodgers

Mark W. Rodgers, according to an archived [official biography](#), was deputy staff director for the House Committee on Education and the Workforce. He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2009](#).

Jimmy Ryan

Jimmy Ryan, according to his [official biography](#), worked for the House Judiciary Committee's Crime and Criminal Justice Subcommittee under then-Representative Chuck Schumer (D-NY), and “rose to the position of Chief Counsel and Floor Policy Director for U.S. Senator Harry Reid (D-NV), the Assistant Democratic Leader and Whip.” He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2009](#).

David Schnittger

David Schnittger, according to his [official biography](#), worked for former Speaker John Boehner (R-OH) for 21 years, “working as Deputy Chief of Staff in Speaker Boehner's leadership office from 2006 to 2015.” He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2016](#).

Kara Smith

Kara Smith was legislative director for former Senator Kit Bond (R-MO) from [2001 to 2008](#), staff director for the Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee's Aging Subcommittee, legislative assistant for the Senate Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee, legislative director for Representative Sam Graves (R-

MO), and a senior legislative assistant for then-Representative Jim Talent (R-MO). She has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2011](#).

Tracy B. Spicer

Tracy Spicer, according to her [official biography](#), was deputy chief of staff to former Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) from [2001 to 2002](#). She has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2005](#).

Shanti Stanton

Shanti Stanton, according to her [official biography](#), was floor assistant for former House Democratic Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-MO) for nearly 8 years, so her “expertise in House floor procedure is a critical asset.” She has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2007](#).

Tyler Stephens

Tyler Stephens, according to his [official biography](#), was a senior policy advisor and professional staff member for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence from [2007 to 2015](#). “working on counterterrorism, cybersecurity, and other national security matters. He also supported Senator [Saxby] Chambliss's [R-GA] work on the Senate Armed Services Committee.” He was previously a legislative assistant for Senator Chambliss for four years, and a staff assistant for Senator Johnny Isakson (R-GA). He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2015](#).

Alex Sternhell

Alex Sternhell was [deputy staff director for the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee](#) for former Senator Chris Dodd (D-CT). According to his [official biography](#), he also was “the Staff Director for the Senate Banking Subcommittee on Securities and Investment. Additionally, he worked in legislative policy positions for three Members of the House of Representatives.” He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth since [2018](#).

Amy C. Tejral

Amy C. Tejral was legislative director for former Senator Ben Nelson (D-NE) from [2002 to 2007](#). According to her [official biography](#), her “specific areas of focus [included] a pro-business agenda, education, appropriations, and judiciary issues. She also coordinated the Senator’s work on the Senate Commerce, Agriculture, and Armed Services Committees.” She has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2017](#).

Marti Thomas

Marti Thomas, according to her [official biography](#), held the posts of “Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs and Public Liaison and also of Deputy Assistant Secretary for Tax and Budget at the U.S. Department of Treasury in the Clinton Administration.” She previously was executive floor assistant to former House Democratic Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-MO), and also worked for former Senator Don Riegle (D-MI) and former Representative Sam Gejdenson (D-CT). She has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2014](#).

Michael Tongour

Michael Tongour, according to his [official biography](#), was “Counsel to what is now the Senate HELP (Health, Education, Labor, Pensions) Committee. He then served as Chief Counsel/Staff Director to the Senate Republican Whip, Alan K. Simpson (R-WY)...and was also Legislative Director to Simpson’s Wyoming Senate office.” He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2014](#).

John Versaggi

John Versaggi was staff director and chief of staff from [2000 to 2003](#) for then-Representative Richard Burr (R-NC) and his legislative assistant and communications director from 1996 to 2000. He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2011](#).

Jamie Wall

Jamie Wall was legislative assistant for Senator Roy Blunt (R-MO) from [2011 to 2013](#), a legislative correspondent and then legislative assistant for former Senator Kit Bond (R-MO) from 2009 to 2011. She has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2017](#).

Eric Zulkosky

Eric Zulkosky was in various roles for Representative Steve Scalise (R-LA) from 2011 to 2017, including member services director, policy adviser, and legislative director. Before that, he was an aide and systems analyst for former Senator Mike Johanns (R-NE) from 2009 to 2011, and correspondence director and systems administrator for former Senator Elizabeth Dole (R-NC) from 2006 to 2009. He has been lobbying for UnitedHealth Group since [2017](#).

McKesson

Executives: 0 of 7 previously served in government positions

Board Members: 0 of 9 previously served in government positions

Lobbyists: 13 of 17 previously served in government positions

James J. Bonham

James J. Bonham was chief of staff to former Representative Bob Matsui (D-CA) from [2000 to 2003](#), his legislative and communications director from 1997 to 1999, and his communications director from 1995 to 1997. He was also communications director for former Senator Jeff Bingaman (D-NM) from 1999 to 2000. He has been lobbying for McKesson since [2017](#).

Claire Brandewie

Claire Brandewie was a legislative assistant for Senator Tim Scott (R-SC) from [2015 to 2017](#), and a legislative assistant and later legislative counsel for Representative Joe Wilson (R-SC) from 2014 to 2015. She has been lobbying for McKesson since [2017](#).

Martin A. Corry

Martin Corry was special assistant to the administrator of the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services from [2002 to 2007](#). He has been lobbying for McKesson since [2017](#).

James Derderian

James Derderian was the chief of staff for the House Energy and Commerce Committee from [1995 to 2001](#) and legislative director for former Representative Thomas J. Bliley Jr. (R-VA) from 1987 to 1995. He has been lobbying for McKesson since [2011](#).

Sarah B. Hamlett

Sarah B. Hamlett was legislative director for former Representative Thelma Drake (R-VA) from 2005 to 2006 and a legislative correspondent and later a legislative assistant to former Representative Ed Schrock (R-VA) from [2001 to 2005](#). She has been lobbying for McKesson since [2017](#).

Valerie Henry

Valerie Henry was a legislative assistant to Representative Greg Walden (R-OR) from [2003 to 2011](#). She has been lobbying for McKesson since [2011](#).

Ben Jones

Ben Jones worked in various roles, including district director, for former House Speaker Tom DeLay (R-TX) from [2002 to 2006](#). He has been lobbying for McKesson since [2015](#).

Lisa Langenderfer

Lisa Langenderfer was legislative director for Representative Brad Wenstrup (R-OH) from 2013 to 2017, policy adviser to the House Republican Conference from 2012 to 2013, and a legislative aide to Representative Jim Renacci (R-OH) from 2011 to 2012. She has been lobbying for McKesson since [2017](#).

Emily Shetty

Emily Shetty was a legislative assistant and legislative director for former Representative Edolphus Towns (D-NY) from [2008 to 2012](#). She has been lobbying for McKesson since [2014](#).

Peter B. Slone

Peter B. Slone was legislative director for former Representative William Richard Ratchford (D-CT) from [1979 to 1983](#). He has been lobbying for McKesson since [2015](#).

Erin Coyle Strawn

Erin Coyle Strawn was a legislative assistant ([education appropriations aide](#)) to former Representative Randy “Duke” Cunningham (R-CA) from [2000 to 2005](#) and was legislative director for Representative Curt Weldon (R-PA). She has been lobbying for McKesson since [2011](#).

Daniel M. Todd

Daniel M. Todd was a health policy advisor for Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT) on the Senate Finance Committee from [2011 to 2014](#). He was also a special assistant in the Office of the Administrator at the [Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services](#) from 2003 to 2005. He has been lobbying for McKesson since [2014](#).

Darren Willcox

Darren Willcox was policy assistant to then-House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-IL) from [2001 to 2004](#). He has been lobbying for McKesson since [2016](#).

Health Net, Inc.

(Note: In [2016](#) Health Net was acquired by Centene Corporation.)

Executives: 1 of 15 previously served in government positions

Patricia T. Clarey

Patricia T. Clarey is the chief state health programs and regulatory relations officer for Health Net. According to her official biography, she was chief of staff to California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. She was previously deputy director of the U.S. National Park Service and Congressional liaison at the Department of the Interior.

Board Members: 1 of 10 previously served in a government position

George Miller

Former Representative George Miller (D-CA) was a Member of Congress from 1975 to January 2015. He was chair of the House Committee on Education and Labor from 2007 to 2011. According to his official biography, the committee “was one of the three committees responsible for passage of the Affordable Care Act in the House. In addition, Mr. Miller also served as the Chairperson of the House Committee on Natural Resources from 1991 to 1995, served on the House select Committee on Children, Youth and Families from 1982 to 1984, and served as the Vice-Chair of the Democratic Committee on Steering and Policy for eight years and as a member of the House Committee on the Budget.” He has been on Health Net’s board since March 2015.

Lobbyists: 16 of 21 previously served in government positions

Haley Barbour

Haley Barbour was the governor of Mississippi from 2004 to 2012. He has been lobbying for Centene since 2017.

Lauren Bazel

Lauren Bazel, according to her official biography, was “Senior Tax Policy Advisor to former Senator John Kerry (D-MA) and his interim replacement, Sen. William Cowan (D-MA). She joined the Kerry staff in October 2011 to support the Senator’s work on the Joint Select Committee on Deficit Reduction and continued to serve him and Sen. Cowan as the primary advisor on a range of tax, budget, housing and general economic matters.” She was also senior advisor for tax policy to Senator Maria Cantwell (D-WA). She has been lobbying for Centene and Health Net since 2016.

Dan Boston

Dan Boston was health policy advisor to the House Commerce Committee from 1998 to 1999, press secretary for former Representative Sue Kelly (R-NY) from 1995 to 1998,

and press secretary for former Representative Joe Knollenberg (R-MI) from 1994 to 1995. He has been lobbying for Centene since [2009](#).

Edward H. Edens IV

Edward H. Edens IV, according to his [official biography](#), was “a professional staff member on the Senate Armed Services Committee from January 1999 until January 2003,” “Deputy Staff Director for the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration from 1995 through 1998,” and on the personal staff of former Senator John Warner (R-VA) from 1986 to 1995. He has been lobbying for Health Net and Centene since [2014](#).

Joseph Michael “Mike” Hogan Jr.

Mike Hogan, according to his [official biography](#), was deputy chief of staff for former Senator Ben Nelson (D-NE). According to [Legistorm](#), he was previously legislative director for former Representative Peter Deutsch (D-FL). He has been lobbying for Centene and [Health Net](#) since [2016](#).

Matt Jessee

From [2001 to 2003](#), Matt Jessee was a legislative correspondent and systems administrator for former Representative Eric Cantor (R-VA) and was later assistant to Cantor when he became chief deputy Republican whip. He has been lobbying for Centene since [2012](#).

Courtney Johnson

Courtney Johnson, according to [her official biography](#), “worked in various capacities on the House Committee on Energy and Commerce Democratic staff” for “nearly four years.” She has been lobbying for Centene and Health Net since [2011](#).

Melissa Koloszar

Melissa Koloszar, according to her [official biography](#), was “Chief of Staff (2002-2005) and Legislative Director (1998-2001) to a senior Democratic Member who serves on the House Appropriations Committee” (that Member was former Representative Jim Moran (D-VA) according to public sources). As Moran’s legislative director, Koloszar served as “Associate Staff to the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense,” according to her bio. She lobbied for Health Net from 2006 to 2008 and from [2011](#) until it was acquired by Centene. She has been lobbying for Centene since 2015.

Jim Lariviere

Major General Jim Lariviere (USMC Ret.), according to his [official biography](#), was deputy director, politico-military affairs (Africa) for the Joint Staff. He previously “worked on Capitol Hill as a military legislative assistant, a Professional Staff Member with the House Armed Services Committee; and as both Staff Director and Minority Staff Director of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee.” He lobbied for Health Net in 2012 and 2013 and has lobbied for Centene since [2015](#).

Daniel P. Meyer

Daniel P. Meyer, according to his [official biography](#), worked for President George W. Bush as assistant and deputy assistant to the president for legislative affairs. He was previously chief of staff to then-House Minority Whip (and later Speaker) Newt Gingrich (R-GA), and also was chief of staff to former Representative Vin Weber (R-MN) and legislative director for former Senator Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN). He lobbied for Health Net from 2011 to 2014 and has lobbied for Centene since [2015](#).

Joseph “Joe” Musker

Joseph “Joe” Musker was a legislative staff member for the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee from [1995 to 1996](#). He has been lobbying for Centene since [2008](#).

Jim Slattery

Representative Jim Slattery (D-KS) was a Member of the House from [1983 to 1995](#). In that role, he served on the [House Energy and Commerce Committee](#), House Budget Committee, House Financial Services Committee, and House Veterans' Affairs Committee. He has been lobbying for Centene since [2009](#).

Monica S. Tencate

Monica S. Tencate was health policy director for the Senate Finance Committee in [2001](#) and was previously a senior policy advisor for the Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pension Committee. She has been lobbying for Centene since [2009](#).

Robert “Robb” Walton

Robert Walton was a legislative assistant and later senior advisor and senior counsel for health policy for Senator Bill Cassidy (R-LA) from [2012 to 2016](#) and was previously an assistant for Senator Mike Enzi (R-WY) on the Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee. He has been lobbying for Centene since [2018](#).

Robert Scott Weaver

Robert Scott Weaver worked for former Representative Katherine Harris (R-FL) from 2005 to 2007 in various roles, including chief of staff and legislative director, and was a legislative correspondent and legislative assistant for former Representative John Sullivan (R-OK) from 2003 to 2005. He has been lobbying for Centene since [2009](#).

Robert “Bob” Wood

Robert “Bob” Wood was chief of staff to former Health and Human Services Secretary Tommy Thompson from [2001 to 2003](#). He has been lobbying for Centene since [2017](#).

SAIC

Executives: 4 of 14 previously served in government positions

Mark Escobar

[Mark Escobar](#) is the senior vice president and general manager of the National Security Customer Group at SAIC. Earlier in his career, he served as a civilian employee in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and served as an officer in the Air Force from 1987 through 1991. He joined SAIC in 1999.

Robert Fecteau

[Robert Fecteau](#) is SAIC’s senior vice president and chief information officer. He was previously chief information officer for the Army’s Intelligence Security Command. He joined SAIC in [2013](#).

Steven Mahon

[Steven Mahon](#) is SAIC’s executive vice president and general counsel. From 1986 to 2012, he was in the Army Judge Advocate General’s Corps, ultimately serving as judge advocate for U.S. Army Europe and V Corps. He joined SAIC in 2015.

John Walsh III

[John Walsh III](#) is the senior vice president and general manager of the Information Technology Solutions Market Segment for SAIC. Walsh worked for the Space and Naval Warfare Systems Command and the Space and Missile Systems Center. He joined SAIC in 2018.

Board Members: 2 of 9 previously served in government positions

Deborah Dunie

[Deborah Dunie, according to her SAIC biography](#), “worked with the Department of Defense as a member of the Defense Intelligence Senior Executive Service from 2002 to 2006. Ms. Dunie served within the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence as Director, Plans and Analysis and as the Director of the Business Transformation Office at the National Imagery & Mapping Agency (currently known as the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency).” She has been a director since [2015](#).

John Hamre

[John Hamre, according to his SAIC biography](#), was “Deputy Secretary of Defense from 1997 to 2000 and Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller) from 1993 to 1997.” He has been a director since [2013](#).

Lobbyists: 5 of 6 previously served in government positions

John Bonsell

[John Bonsell](#) was deputy chief of staff to Senator James Inhofe (R-OK) in 2015 and his legislative director from 2012 to 2013. He also worked as the Republican staff director for the Senate Armed Services Committee from 2013 to 2015. He lobbied for SAIC from [2015 to 2018](#). In [September 2018](#), he was named majority staff director of the Committee.

Amy Childers

Amy Childers was a [special projects director](#) in the House of Representatives and district special assistant for Representative Walter Jones (R-NC), leaving his office in [2001](#). She has been lobbying for SAIC since [2005](#).

Jonathan Etherton

Jonathan Etherton was a professional staff member for the Senate Armed Services Committee from [1985 to 1999](#). He has been [lobbying](#) for SAIC since [2013](#).

Judy Hafner

Judy Hafner was a [Congressional liaison](#) for the Department of Transportation. Hafner previously worked as a research assistant for the then-House Public Works and Transportation Committee. She has been lobbying for SAIC since [2014](#).

Thomas J. Stapleton

Thomas J. Stapleton was a military legislative assistant for former Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX) from [2005 to 2006](#). He has been [lobbying](#) for SAIC since [2013](#).

AmerisourceBergen

[Executives](#): 0 of [11](#) previously served in government positions

[Board Members](#): 1 of [10](#) previously served in a government position

[Jane E. Henney](#)

[Jane E. Henney, MD](#) was commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration from 1998 to 2001.

[Lobbyists](#): 21 of 27 previously served in government positions

Julie Hershey Carr

Julie Hershey Carr was [legislative director](#) for former Representative Joseph Pitts (R-PA) from [1997 to 2005](#). She has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2018](#).

Lori Denham

Lori Denham worked for former Representative Cal Dooley (D-CA) for [more than 13 years](#), including as legislative director and [chief of staff](#). She has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2018](#).

John Easton

John Easton was chief of staff for former Senator Kelly Ayotte (R-NH) from [2011 to 2014](#). In [1997](#), he started as a communications director for Senator Gordon H. Smith (R-OR), and ultimately served as his chief of staff from 2002 to 2009. He has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2017](#).

John Feehery

John Feehery was communications director for then-House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-IL) from [1999 to 2005](#). He previously worked as communications director for then-House Majority Whip Tom Delay (R-TX) and as a speechwriter and research analyst for then-House Minority Leader Bob Michel (R-IL). He has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2017](#).

Shelby Hagenauer

Shelby Hagenauer was legislative director for Representative Kevin McCarthy (R-CA) from 2007 to 2011 and was a senior legislative assistant to former Representative Bill Thomas (R-CA) from [2004 to 2007](#). She has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2011](#).

Brent Heberlee

Brent Heberlee was legislative director for former Senator Richard Bryan (D-NV) from 1995 to 2001 and legislative director for former Representative James Bilbray (D-NV) from [1993 to 1995](#). He has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2009](#).

John Bradley Holsclaw

Brad Holsclaw was an aide to former Senators Trent Lott (R-MS) and Bob Dole (R-KS) from [1987 to 1998](#). He has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2015](#).

Steven Irizarry

Steven Irizarry was counsel on the Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee from [2001 to 2005](#). Before that, he was health counsel to then-Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE) from April 1999 to April 2001, and health counsel on the House Energy and Commerce Committee from [1997 to 1998](#). He has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2014](#).

Jennifer Kaufmann

Jennifer Kauffman was counsel for Representative Alcee Hastings (D-FL) from [2014 to 2016](#) and assistant scheduler for Senator Ben Cardin (D-MD) from 2007 to 2009. She has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2018](#).

Lisa Kountoupes

Lisa Kountoupes was assistant director for legislative affairs at the Office of Management and Budget for three years during the Clinton Administration, served as a deputy assistant for legislative affairs for President Clinton, and was also a special assistant to the secretary's office at the Department of Energy where, according to her [official biography](#), she was "deeply involved in issues related to the electric utility industry, the nation's nuclear weapons complex, and the nation's research laboratories. She also worked on the Department's budget and management matters." She was also a staff member for former House Energy and Commerce Committee Chair John Dingell (D-MI). She has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2018](#).

[Vivienne Elizabeth "Beth" Stafford Mitchell](#)

Beth Mitchell worked for former [Senator Elizabeth Dole](#) (R-NC) in [2008](#). She has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2017](#).

Kyle Nevins

Kyle Nevins was floor assistant and then floor operations director for then-House Majority Whip Representative Roy Blunt (R-MO) from [2003 to 2009](#) and deputy chief of staff to then-House Majority Leader Eric Cantor (R-VA) from [2011 to 2013](#). He has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2017](#).

Rita Norton

Rita Norton was [an aide on the Senate Appropriations Committee](#). She has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2005](#).

John O'Neill

John O'Neill was policy director for then-Senate Minority Whip Trent Lott (R-MS) in [2007](#) and tax and pension counsel for the Senate Finance Committee from [2004 to 2007](#). He has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2017](#).

David Paul Peluso

David Paul Peluso was chief of staff to Representative and House Republican Conference Chair Cathy McMorris Rodgers (R-WA) from 2013 to 2016 and chief of staff, communications director, and executive assistant to former Gus Bilirakis (R-FL) from 2010 to 2013, 2008 to 2010, and 2007 to 2008, respectively. According to his [official biography](#), his “legislative successes include securing policy victories in appropriations, energy and homeland security bills, as well as shepherding bills concerning tax, regulatory reform, telecommunications and cybersecurity.” He has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2018](#).

Emanuel “Manny” Rossman

Manny Rossman was chief of staff for Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ) and former Senator Trent Lott (R-MS) from [December 2007 to March 2009](#) and [January to December 2007, during their respective tenures as Senate Republican whip](#). Prior to that, he was legislative director for former Representative Phil Crane (R-IL) from 2003 to 2005. He has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2017](#).

Allen Simpson

Al Simpson was chief of staff to then-Representative Mick Mulvaney (R-SC) from [January 2011 to January 2017](#). He has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2017](#).

Steve Stombres

Steve Stombres was chief of staff to former Representative Eric Cantor (R-VA) from [2001-2014](#) (for [approximately five of those years](#), Representative Cantor was House Republican whip and then House Republican majority leader). Stombres previously worked for former Representatives Bob Walker (R-PA), Elton Gallegly (R-CA), and Herb Bateman (R-VA), and on the House Science and Technology Committee. He has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2017](#).

Michael Tongour

Michael Tongour was chief counsel to former Senator Alan Simpson (R-WY) from [1989 to 1994](#), legislative director for former Senator Strom Thurmond (R-SC) from 1986-1987, and counsel on the Senate Labor & Human Resources Committee from [1985 to 1986](#). He has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2015](#).

[Joel White](#)

Joel White was majority staff director for the House Ways and Means Committee's Subcommittee on Health from [2003 to 2007](#), a professional staff member for the Ways and Means Committee from [2001 to 2004](#), and a senior legislative assistant to former Representatives James Greenwood (R-PA) and Christopher Shays (R-CT). He has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2011](#).

Sherry Harper Widicus

Sherry Harper Widicus worked for Representative Ron Kind (D-WI) from [1999 to 2007](#), serving as his legislative director from 2003-2007. She has been lobbying for AmerisourceBergen since [2007](#).

Textron

[Executives](#): 3 of 23 previously served in government positions

Lisa Atherton

[Lisa Atherton](#), president and chief executive officer of Textron Systems, “spent eight years at Air Combat Command’s Directorate of Requirements, helping to shape the budget and operational requirements and needs for the Combat Air Forces and was a contracting officer in the U.S. Air Force.”

Russ Bartlett

[Russ Bartlett](#), president and chief executive officer of Textron Airborne Solutions, was “Director, Security Assistance at the Navy International Programs Office. He was responsible for all Department of the Navy Foreign Military Sales programs, including development and execution of a complex, global FMS portfolio valued at over \$4.5 billion per year. Previously, he was Team Lead for the Joint Integrated Air Capabilities and Combating Weapons of Mass Destruction groups for the Navy’s Quadrennial Defense Review cell.”

Stewart Holmes

[Stewart Holmes](#), Senior Vice President, Washington Operations, was “staff director/minority clerk for the Senate Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, overseeing recommendations for the annual appropriations for the Department of Defense and the intelligence community. He had previously worked as a staff member for the Senate Appropriations Committee and as an aide to Senator Thad Cochran of Mississippi.”

Board Members: 2 of 11 previously served in government positions

James T. Conway

[General James T. Conway \(USMC Ret.\)](#) was commandant of the Marine Corps from 2006 to 2010. “Prior to being named Commandant, Mr. Conway served as Director of Operations (J-3) on the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Among his previous postings were Commanding General of I Marine Expeditionary Force from 2002 through 2006 (which involved two combat tours in Iraq), Commanding General of the 1st Marine Division, and President of the Marine Corps University.” He has been a director since 2011.

Deborah Lee James

[Deborah Lee James](#) was secretary of the Air Force from December 2013 to January 2017. She was previously a professional staff member for the House Armed Services Committee and assistant secretary of defense for reserve affairs. She has been a director since 2017.

Lobbyists: 9 of 10 previously served in government positions

A. Michael Barbera

A. Michael Barbera was chief of staff to former Representative Curt Weldon (R-PA) from [1999 to 2002](#) and was his press secretary from 1989 to 1994. He has been lobbying for Textron since [2017](#).

Marc Ehudin

Marc Ehudin was a legislative assistant for former Representative Frank Tejeda (D-TX) from [1993 to 1996](#). He has been lobbying for Textron since [2007](#).

Stewart Holmes

[Stewart Holmes](#), Senior Vice President, Washington Operations, was “staff director/minority clerk for the Senate Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, overseeing recommendations for the annual appropriations for the Department of Defense and the intelligence community. He had previously worked as a staff member for the Senate Appropriations Committee and as an aide to Senator Thad Cochran of Mississippi.” He has been lobbying for Textron since [2015](#).

Susan Hotsenpiller Harber

Susan Hotsenpiller Harber was senior legislative assistant for then-Representative Rick Renzi (R-AZ) from 2003 to 2004, and a staff assistant and later military legislative assistant for former Representative Bob Stump (R-AZ) from [1990 to 2002](#). She has been lobbying for Textron since 2008.

Riley M. Moore

Riley M. Moore was on the staff of the House Foreign Affairs Committee from [2006 to 2013](#). He has been lobbying for Textron since [2014](#).

Kraig Michael Siracuse

Kraig Michael Siracuse was a professional staff member for the Senate Appropriations Committee from [2000 to 2005](#) and was a legislative assistant to former Senator Alfonse D’Amato (R-NY) on the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee from 1991 to 1998. He has been lobbying for Textron since [2018](#).

Shawn Smeallie

Shawn Smeallie was special assistant for legislative affairs to President George H.W. Bush from [1990 to 1993](#), special assistant to the director for legislative affairs at the Office of Management and Budget from [1989 to 1990](#), and was a national security advisor to former Senator Alfonse D’Amato (R-NY), serving as his representative on the Senate Appropriations Committee’s Defense and Foreign Operations Subcommittees. He has been lobbying for Textron since [2017](#).

David J. Urban

David J. Urban was chief of staff to former Senator Arlen Specter (R-PA) from [1997 to 2002](#). He has been lobbying for Textron since [2017](#).

Randall West

Major General Randall West (USMC Ret.) was [formerly deputy assistant secretary of defense for legislative affairs](#). He has been lobbying for Textron since [2002](#).

Harris Corporation

[Executives](#): 1 of 13 total previously served in a government position

Tania Hanna

[Tania Hanna](#), vice president of government relations, was a senior attorney at the Federal Communications Commission from 1995 to 2000. She joined the Harris Corporation in 2003.

[Board of Directors](#): 2 of 13 previously served in government positions

Peter W. Chiarelli

General Peter W. Chiarelli (USA Ret.) was vice chief of staff for the Army, retiring in March 2012. He has been on Harris's board since August 2012.

Leslie F. Kenne

[Lieutenant General Leslie F. Kenne \(USAF Ret.\)](#) was deputy chief of staff for warfighting integration at Air Force headquarters, retiring in September 2003. She has been on Harris's board since April 2004.

[Lobbyists](#): 8 of 9 previously served in government positions

Frank Cristinzio

Frank Cristinzio was legislative assistant and national security adviser to former Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD) from [2008 to 2011](#), and worked for the Government Accountability Office from 2005 to 2008. He was a senior policy advisor to former Representative Ed Schrock (R-VA) from 2003 to 2005 and Congressional liaison officer for the Navy Office of Legislative Affairs from [2001 to 2003](#). He has been lobbying for Harris since [2012](#).

Paul S. Doerrer

Paul S. Doerrer was a professional staff member and clerk for the Senate Appropriations Committee's Transportation, Treasury, the Judiciary, Housing and Urban Development, and Related Agencies Subcommittee from [1999 to 2006](#), a legislative assistant for Senator Richard Shelby (R-AL) from [1996 to 1999](#), and a

legislative assistant for then-Representative Jim Talent (R-MO) from 1994 to 1996. He has been lobbying for Harris since [2007](#).

Tania Hanna

Tania Hanna was a senior attorney at the Federal Communications Commission from 1995 to 2000. She has been lobbying for Harris since 2003.

Robert T. Herbert

Robert T. Herbert went from legislative assistant to senior policy adviser/appropriations director for then-Senator Harry Reid (D-NV) from [2001 to 2017](#). He has been lobbying for Harris since [2017](#).

Jon Porter

Former Representative Jon Porter (R-NV) was a Member of Congress from 2003 to 2009. He has been lobbying for Harris since 2017.

Kelley Powell

Kelley Powell was a staff assistant and later a legislative assistant for former Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD) from [2011 to 2016](#). She has been lobbying for Harris since [2016](#).

Andrew Stephen Quinn

Andrew Stephen Quinn was appropriations legislative assistant to Representative Steny Hoyer (D-MD) from [1995 to 2002](#). He has been lobbying for Harris since [2012](#).

Carla N. Zeppieri

Carla N. Zeppieri was a legislative assistant for then-Representative Neil Abercrombie (D-HI) from [2001 to 2004](#). She has been lobbying for Harris since [2014](#).

General Atomics

Executives: 2 of 7 previously served in government positions

Jim Mosquera

Jim Mosquera, chief technology officer and vice president, according to an [official press](#) statement announcing his joining the company, “has held director and program management positions as a federal civilian and naval officer working for the U.S. Naval

Nuclear Propulsion Program (Naval Reactors), a joint program of the Navy and Department of Energy responsible for the application and oversight of nuclear reactor power and propulsion for approximately 80 warships, 100 reactor plants, and other projects.”

Robert E. Peterkin

Dr. Robert E. Peterkin is General Atomics' [director of operations for Albuquerque](#). He was previously the [chief scientist](#) for the directed energy directorate at the Air Force Research Laboratory.

[Board Members:](#) 1 of 2 previously served in government positions

George A. Keyworth II

Dr. George A. Keyworth II was director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy from [1981 to 1985](#). According to his CV, he has been on the board of General Atomics since [1995](#).

Lobbyists: 27 of 37 previously served in government positions

Alfonse M. D'Amato

Former Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-NY) was in office from January 1981 to January 1999, and was a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and chaired the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee. He has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2005](#).

Jennifer Dionne

Jennifer Dionne, according to her [official biography](#), was a Senate liaison for the 2005 Defense Base Realignment and Closure Commission and an environmental specialist and military affairs advisor for former Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD) from 2002 to 2005. She has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2014](#).

Celes Eckerman

Celes Eckerman was a staff assistant for the House Appropriations Committee from [2008 to 2011](#). Prior to that, she worked for former Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD) as a legislative assistant and then senior adviser for national security policy from 2005 to 2008. Eckerman was also a legislative assistant for then-Senator John Kerry (D-MA) and professional staff member for the House International Relations Committee. She has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2018](#).

Todd Harmer

Todd P. Harmer was military legislative assistant for then-Senator Saxby Chambliss (R-GA) from [2012 to 2013](#) and was previously a colonel in the Air Force, retiring in 2012. He has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2016](#).

Clayton Heil

Clayton Heil worked for the Senate Appropriations Committee as general counsel from 2005 to 2007 and as a professional staff member for the Commerce, Justice, State, and the Judiciary Subcommittee from 1999 to 2001. Heil also worked for former Senator Thad Cochran (R-MS) as a legislative assistant from 1995 to 1999, legislative director from 2001 to 2003, and legislative director/counsel from 2004 to 2005. He has been lobbying for General Atomics since 2007.

Michael Herson

Michael Herson, according to his [official biography](#), was the special assistant to the assistant secretary of defense for force management and personnel from [1990 to 1993](#). He has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2002](#).

Graham Hill

Graham Hill was senior counsel for the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee and staff director for the Highways, Transit and Pipelines Subcommittee from [2001 to 2006](#) and legislative director for former Representative Charles “Chip” Pickering Jr. (R-MS) from [1999 to 2001](#). He has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2007](#).

Van D. Hipp Jr.

Van D. Hipp Jr. was deputy assistant secretary of the Army for reserve forces and mobilization from 1990 to [1992](#). [In that position](#), he “served as the Army Secretariat's ‘point man’ for the successful mobilization and then demobilization, of the Army's reserve forces for Operation Desert Shield/Storm.” Hipp was also principal deputy general counsel for the Navy. His responsibilities included “government contracts, ethics, environmental and counter-narcotics law until January 1993.” He has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2017](#).

Carl Kime

Carl Kime was an appropriations associate and legislative fellow for the House Appropriations Committee from 2001 to 2006. He was also legislative liaison for the Joint Chiefs of Staff Office of the Chairman. He has been lobbying for General Atomics since 2015.

Greg Lankler

Greg Lankler was a professional staff member for the House Appropriations Committee's Defense Subcommittee from [2001 to 2011](#). Prior to that, Lankler was staff assistant, legislative assistant, and then legislative director for former Representative C.W. Bill Young (R-FL) from [1990 to 2001](#). He has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2011](#).

Thomas P. Lynch

Thomas P. Lynch was staff director for the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee's Transportation and Infrastructure Subcommittee from [2009 to 2012](#). Prior to that, Lynch was legislative assistant for former Senator Max Baucus (D-MT) from 2008 to 2011 and legislative director for former Representative Nick Rahall (D-WV) from [2002 to 2005](#). He has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2012](#).

Rachel Miller

Rachel D. Miller, according to her [official biography](#), "served for nearly four years as Legislative Assistant to Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA), the Ranking Member of the Senate Energy and Water Appropriations Subcommittee and Vice Chair of the Senate Intelligence Committee, as a policy advisor on energy, transportation, and agriculture issues," and was also a legislative assistant for Representative Eliot Engel (D-NY). She has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2011](#).

Manica L. Noziglia

Manica L. Noziglia has over 10 years of government experience working for both the executive and the legislative branches. She was legislative affairs policy team chief for the Office of the Secretary of Defense from [2016 to 2017](#) and special assistant for Middle East and Africa policy for the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs from 2015 to 2016. Prior to that, Noziglia was legislative assistant for former Representative Jim Moran (D-VA) from 2013 to 2015 and held various positions working for Senator Mark Warner (D-VA) from 2009 to 2013. She has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2017](#).

Adrienne Ramsay

Adrienne Ramsay was a staff assistant for the House Appropriations Committee's Defense Subcommittee from [2008 to 2017](#). Prior to that, she worked for both the executive and legislative branches from 2003 to 2008, as a professional staff member for the House Armed Services Committee, senior budget analyst for the Office of Management and Budget, principal analyst for the Congressional Budget Office, and

Brookings Institution Congressional fellow for Senator Patty Murray (D-WA). She has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2018](#).

William Thomas Rice

William Thomas Rice was a legislative assistant to former Representative C.W. Bill Young (R-FL) on the House Appropriations Committee from [2007 to 2010](#). Prior to that, Rice was legislative director to former Representative Henry Bonilla (R-TX) from 2004 to 2006, senior legislative aide to former Representative Bud Cramer (D-AL) in 2004, and senior policy adviser to Representative David Price (D-NC) from 2003 to 2004. He has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2011](#).

Hayden Rogers

Hayden Rogers was chief of staff to Senator Joe Manchin (D-WV) from 2013 to 2015 and to former Representative Heath Shuler (D-NC) from 2007 to 2012. He has been lobbying for General Atomics since 2018.

Jennifer Shirley

Jennifer Shirley has over 15 years of experience working for members of both the House and the Senate, most recently serving as legislative director for Representative Mike Gallagher (R-WI) in [2017](#) and as senior policy adviser for Representative Mike Bost (R-IL) from [2016 to 2017](#). Shirley has also worked for Representatives Mike Coffman (R-CO) and Frank LoBiondo (R-NJ), former Representatives Jon Runyan (R-NJ) and Robin Hayes (R-NC), and former Senator Tim Hutchinson (R-AR). She has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2017](#).

Neely Silbey

Neely Silbey was the program division personnel branch chief for the Army Office of the Chief Legislative Liaison from [December 2012 to January 2015](#). Prior to that, she was [legislative assistant](#) to Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) from 2010 to 2012. She was also military legislative assistant to former Representative Neil Abercrombie (D-HI) from 2007 to 2010. Earlier in her career, she was a surface warfare officer for the Navy. She has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2017](#).

Helen “Cece” Siracuse

Helen “Cece” Siracuse, according to her [official biography](#), was a Department of Defense liaison to the House of Representatives from 1996 to 1998, the director of Congressional and intergovernmental affairs for the Defense Base Realignment and Closure Commission from 1994 to 1996, and was projects director and principal

legislative assistant for military affairs for former Senator Sam Nunn (D-GA). She has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2014](#).

Kraig M. Siracuse

Kraig M. Siracuse was a professional staff member for the Senate Appropriations Committee from [2000 to 2005](#) and a legislative assistant for Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY) on the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee from [1991 to 1998](#). He has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2005](#).

Hadley Sosnoff

Hadley Sosnoff was legislative assistant and legislative director to former Representative Walt Minnick (D-ID) from [2009 to 2011](#) and a staff assistant and legislative correspondent for Representative Nita Lowey (D-NY) from [2006 to 2009](#). He has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2018](#).

Dan C. Tate Jr.

Dan C. Tate Jr., according to his [official biography](#), was special assistant to President Bill Clinton for legislative affairs, served as deputy assistant secretary of energy, and was legislative director for former Representative W.J. "Billy" Tauzin (D-LA). He has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2011](#).

Michael Telson

Michael L. Telson, according to an [official biography](#), was chief financial officer of the Department of Energy from 1997 to 2001, and energy and science analyst for the House Budget Committee from 1975 to 1995. He was "the staff economist of the House Ad Hoc Committee on Energy, created to help enact the 1978 National Energy Act. In the 96th Congress, he served as staff coordinator of Speaker Thomas Phillip O'Neill's Task Force on Energy created to deal with problems relating to the 1979 oil shortages that led to the enactment of the 1980 Energy Security Act." He is vice president for energy and electromagnetic systems for General Atomics and has been lobbying for the company since [2010](#).

Anne M. Wake

Anne M. Wake was an administrative aide for the House Appropriations Committee's Homeland Security Subcommittee from [2014 to 2017](#). She has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2017](#).

Wesley Ryan Welch

Wesley Ryan Welch, according to his [official biography](#), was a legislative correspondent, legislative assistant, and legislative director for Senator Richard Shelby (R-AL) from 2002 to 2007 “as the primary staffer on all domestic appropriations issues.” He has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2014](#).

Letitia White

Letitia White was chief of staff to former Representative Jerry Lewis (R-CA) from [1981 to 2003](#). She has been lobbying for General Atomics since [2003](#).

Shavenor Winters

Shavenor Winters was a legislative aide for Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) from 2016 to 2017. She has been lobbying for General Atomics since 2017.

Booz Allen Hamilton

[Executives: 2 of 11 previously served in government positions](#)

[Karen Dahut](#)

[Executive vice president and Global Defense Group lead Karen Dahut](#) “was an officer in the U.S. Navy and served as the comptroller for the Navy’s premier biomedical research institute.”

Joe Mahaffee

Chief Administrative Officer [Joe Mahaffee](#) “was an information security engineer with the NSA,” before joining Booz Allen Hamilton.

[Board Members: 3 of 11 previously served in government positions](#)

[Melody Barnes](#)

[Melody Barnes](#) “formerly served President Barack Obama as an assistant to the president and as the director of the Domestic Policy Council, which coordinates the domestic policy-making process in the White House.” Barnes also served as chief counsel to Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) on the Senate Judiciary Committee and as his general counsel from 1995 to 2003. She joined Booz Allen Hamilton’s board in 2015.

[Gretchen McClain](#)

[Gretchen McClain](#) was deputy associate administrator for space development for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for nine years. At NASA, she was “pivotal in the successful development and launch of the International Space Station Program as chief director of the space station, and deputy director for space flight.” She joined Booz Allen Hamilton’s board in 2014.

[Charles Rossotti](#)

[Charles Rossotti](#) was “commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service from 1997 to 2002.” He joined Booz Allen Hamilton’s board in 2008.

Lobbyists: 3 of 4 previously served in government positions

Nathaniel Bell

[Nathaniel Bell](#) was a [senior legislative assistant](#) for Representative Rob Andrews (D-NJ), and worked for Andrews from [2007 to 2011](#). He has been lobbying for Booz Allen Hamilton since [2016](#).

Anne Kierig

[Anne Kierig](#) was a correspondence director/office counsel, then legislative aid for Senator Dick Durbin (R-IL), from [2010 to 2016](#). She has been lobbying for Booz Allen Hamilton since [2017](#).

Steven Phillips

[Steve Phillips](#) was [legislative director](#) for former Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) from [1987 to 1997](#). He has been lobbying for Booz Allen Hamilton since [2014](#).

