

## A Primer On Five Of McCain's Top Lobbyist Cronies

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### Charlie Black

#### Charlie Black's International Clients

Country	Client
Angola	UNITA (later Center for Democracy in Angola)
Armenia	Stepan Matirosyan
Australia	News Corporation, Ltd.
Bahamas	Government of the Bahamas
Barbados	Government of Barbados
Bermuda	Government of Bermuda
Canada	Horsahm
Canada	Nordion International
Canada	Forest Product Association of Canada
China	Chinese National Off-Shore Oil Corp.
Colombia	Noemi Sanin
Curacao	Institute for Financial and Fiscal Studies of Curacao
Cyprus	Embassy of the Republic of Cyprus
Djibouti	Government of the Republic of Djibouti, Embassy
Dominican Republic	Government of the Dominican Republic
Ecuador	Government of Ecuador, Embassy
El Salvador	Executive Hydroelectric Commission of the Lempa River
Equatorial Guineau	Government of Equitorial Guinea, Embassy
Great Britain	Aston Martin Lagonda, Ltd.
Great Britain	National Convention for Reconstruction and Development
Greece	Government of Greece
Greece	Government of Greece, Embassy
Haiti	Government of Haiti
Iraq	Embassy of the Republic of Iraq
Isle of Man	Vittoria Consultants, Ltd.
Israel	Magal Security Systems Ltd.
Italy	Fiat Ferroviaria
Japan	Eitaro Itoyama
Kenya	Government of Kenya
Korea	Intercultural Association of Korea
Korea	Korea Silo Company, Ltd.
Lebanon	Adcom Group
Liberia	Government of Liberia
Maldives	Maldives Democratic Party
Nigeria	Government of Nigeria
Nigeria	His Excellency Ibrahim Sarninu Turaki, Governor, Jigawa State, Nigeria

Peru	Minpeco U.S.A., Inc.
Peru	Government of Peru
Philippines	Union for National Action
Philippines	Chamber of Philippine Manufacturers, Exporters & Tourism
Philippines	League of Leaders for Philippine Development
Portugal	Luso American Foundation for International Relations
Russia	Russian Information Agency
Somali Democratic Republic	Government of Somalia
St. Lucia	Government of St. Lucia
Taiwan / China	Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States
Thailand	N/A
Togo	Government of the Republic of Togo
Ukraine	Agency for Humanitarian Technologies
Zaire	Government of Zaire

[Department of Justice, Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) Records, accessed 2/26/08]

## Charlie Black And Iraq

*Beginning in 1999 and continuing throughout the years leading up to the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Charlie Black's lobbying firm represented Ahmed Chalabi and his Iraqi National Congress (INC), the most vocal Iraqi group calling for regime change [Los Angeles Times, 7/14/04]. Chalabi clearly had a lot to gain personally from a U.S. invasion. Living in exile from his homeland and viewed by many in Washington "as a possible successor to Saddam Hussein," regime change would allow him to return home and take a leadership role in rebuilding Iraq [BBC, 10/3/02]. Charlie Black's lobbying firm pushed Chalabi's interests in Washington and allowed him to gain access to the highest levels of government. Nothing illustrates this more clearly than the fact that Chalabi was meeting in the Pentagon with high-level officials pushing for an invasion of Iraq **nine days after 9/11** [New Yorker, 6/7/04]. It has since come to light that Chalabi helped engineer the claims that Saddam Hussein had W.M.D. and is very much responsible for helping bring about the U.S. war in Iraq. He has also been accused of passing American secrets to Iran.*

*Charlie Black and his lobbying firm had a lot to gain from their connection to Chalabi, too. In the early days of the Iraq war, Black and his firm were touting their connection to Chalabi and their experience dealing in Iraq [St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 10/1/03]. Black clearly saw his work prior to the 2003 invasion as laying the groundwork for new business opportunities for him and his clients. In August 2003, just months after the invasion, Black said:*

*Due to our past representation of the INC, we know and have worked with a lot of people who will be in the provisional government. We have a number of clients who are interested in doing business in Iraq. [National Journal, 8/2/03]*

*Black even said he was 'strongly considering' opening an office in Baghdad [National Journal, 8/2/03]. Over the past five years, Black and his firm have used their prior experience working in Iraq to help their clients gain lucrative contracts, and the firm has used its experience to draw new clients.*

*Black and Chalabi both got what they wanted. For Chalabi, it was a chance at power. For Black, it was endless war in a country he had more experience dealing than anyone else, allowing him to profit while American soldiers died. Now, it's clear that a McCain presidency would be in Black's best interest, as an endless war in Iraq and future wars across the region will continue to bring in the big bucks for him and his clients.*

## Black's Firm Worked for Ahmed Chalabi and the INC

**Black and BKSH Represented Iraqi National Congress.** "BKSH & Associates, headed by longtime Republican insider Charles Black, represents Chalabi's Iraqi National Congress, his former exile group, in Washington." [Newsday, 10/5/03]

**Black Touted Connections to Chalabi.** “BKSH & Associates, the lobby firm run by GOP strategist Charlie Black, touts its connections to Ahmed Chalabi (until recently a Pentagon sweetheart), who formerly headed the exiled Iraqi National Congress and is currently on Iraq’s governing council.” [St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 10/1/03]

**BKSH’s Lobbying Gave Chalabi Inside Access to Bush Administration.** Roll Call reported that Chalabi gets help from “BKSH & Associates, the Washington firm founded by Charles Black, a longtime ally of President Bush. Those contacts have paid off: At this year’s state of the union address, Chalabi sat in the VIP Box with first lady Laura Bush. [Roll Call, 2/24/04]

**BKSH Developed INC’s Communications Strategy.** BKSH “won a State Department contract to help develop a communications strategy for the Iraqi National Congress (INC) in the years before the war.” BKSH had a lobbyist in Baghdad in 2003 “to help the INC build a communications operation in Iraq.” [The Hill, 2/7/06]

## Chalabi’s Role Leading up to the War

**Chalabi Helped Engineer WMD Claims and Pushed Bush Administration to Attack Iraq.** Meeting at the Pentagon nine days after the 9/11 attacks, Chalabi urged the Defense Policy Board, which advised Secretary Rumsfeld, “to skip any intervention in Afghanistan, where the Taliban had harbored Al Qaeda, and to proceed immediately with targeting Iraq. A participant at the meeting, who asked not to be named, recalled that Chalabi made a compelling case that the Americans would have an easy victory there: ‘He said there’d be no resistance, no guerilla warfare from the Baathists, and a quick matter of establishing a government.’ Soon afterward, however, Chalabi began to clash with the Administration. Chalabi told me that he would have preferred to sell the war to the American people on philosophical grounds, as a fight against genocidal tyranny and in favor of bringing democracy to the Arab world, but that this approach was rejected by the Bush Administration. ‘Look, our focus was on Saddam’s crimes, moral crimes, genocide,’ Chalabi said. ‘We were not focused on W.M.D. The U.S. asked us. We didn’t bring these people up; they asked us! They requested this help from us.’” [New Yorker, 6/7/04]

- **Former BKSH Employee Helped Sell WMD Claims.** Francis Brooke, who “worked with Mr. Chalabi since 1990 – first as a consultant paid by the CIA and most recently as a consultant for BKSH and Associates, a company run by Charlie Black, a Republican Party veteran,” helped focus on WMDs in the case for war. “Francis Brooke said that nobody had ordered the I.N.C. to focus solely on W.M.D.s. ‘I’m a smart man,’ he said. ‘I saw what they wanted, and I adapted my strategy.’” Brooke and “the I.N.C. was enlisted to promote the danger posed by Saddam’s regime. Brooke said, ‘I sent out an all-points bulletin to our network, saying, ‘Look, guys, get me a terrorist, or someone who works with terrorists. And, if you can get stuff on W.M.D., sent it!’” [New Yorker, 6/7/04; Sunday Telegraph, 6/6/04]

**Chalabi Accused of Giving False Info to U.S. Leading up to War.** “Well, Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Ahmed Chalabi is stirring controversy again. Once the favorite of the Bush administration, Chalabi is in the U.S. on a trip some see as an attempt to rebuild his reputation. Critics, including some lawmakers on Capitol Hill, vilify Chalabi for allegedly feeding false pre-war intelligence on Saddam Hussein’s weapons.” [CNN, 11/14/05]

**Chalabi Helped Spur U.S. Invasion with False Information.** Knight Ridder described Chalabi as “the former exile who helped spur the U.S.-led invasion by feeding false intelligence to Washington about Saddam Hussein’s alleged weapons of mass destruction, and who returned to Iraq after Saddam’s fall to craft himself into a political leader.” [Knight Ridder, 1/14/06]

## Chalabi’s Shady Character

**Chalabi Investigated for Passing American Secrets to Iran.** The FBI investigated Chalabi, raiding his home and his office, “for allegedly passing classified information to Iran.” According to CNN’s Wolf Blitzer: “The FBI

assistant director, John Miller, just put out a statement the other day saying they've interviewed a lot of people on the accusation that Ahmed Chalabi may have provided Iran with classified information about U.S. codes, code breaking equipment." [CNN, 11/14/05]

**Chalabi Wanted for Fraud in Jordan.** According to CNN's Wolf Blitzer: "He makes it clear he doesn't like the government of King Abdullah because he's wanted in Jordan for fraud. Supposedly, accused of stealing some \$50 million over the year[s]." [CNN, 11/14/05]

## Charlie Black: War Profiteer?

**Black's Firm Involved "Pushing for the War."** "BKSH had a special interest in Iraq. The firm was a key member of the coterie of talking heads, lobbyists, and politicians pushing for the war in Iraq that centered around Ahmed Chalabi's Iraqi National Congress (INC), the anti-Saddam exile group, which was itself a BKSH client." [Washington Monthly, 6/1/05]

- **Black's Firm Compared to Operators in Gold Rush.** "In the gold rush of 1849, they say, it was not the miners who got rich, but the operators who sold the picks and the shovels and the wagons and the denim. So it was in Iraq, with the likes of Peg Bartel, the INC, and BKSH." [Washington Monthly, 6/1/05]

**Black's Comments Show he Saw Iraq as a Personal Money-Maker for him and his Clients.** "Over the past four years, BKSH has been boosting the interests of the Iraqi National Congress, whose leader, Ahmed Chalabi, was a key anti-Saddam opponent and now sits on the newly formed Iraqi Governing Council." "Due to our past representation of the INC," says Black, "we know and have worked with a lot of people who will be in the provisional government. We have a number of clients who are interested in doing business in Iraq." Black adds that his firm is "strongly considering" opening an office in Baghdad." [National Journal, 8/2/03]

- **Black Planned to Set up Iraq's First Lobbying Firm.** According to the New Yorker, "Another top Republican lobbyist in Washington, Charlie Black, told me that his firm, BKSH & Associates, has plans to help Iraqis set up their own affiliated public-relations and government-relations firm; the company would become perhaps the first lobbying shop in Baghdad. Black is excited by the opportunities in Iraq, but he, too, has complaints. 'The problem in Iraq so far is it's slow and very confusing for people to figure out how to do business there,' he said. 'One week you go to Baghdad, and they say the decisions are being made at the Pentagon. Then you go to the Pentagon, and they say the decisions are being made in Baghdad. Only Halliburton is making money now!' He laughed. 'Is there too much cronyism? I just wish I could find the cronies.'" [The New Yorker, 2/16/04]

**Black's Firm had Leg Up Because of Work for INC.** Newsday reported, "BKSH & Associates, headed by longtime Republican insider Charles Black, represents Chalabi's Iraqi National Congress, his former exile group, in Washington." Said one of lobbyists working for black: "What I think gives us a leg up, and I think we have a leg up, is the fact we have been working this issue for four-and-a-half years, and we know a lot of Iraqis that have been involved in the political process." [Newsday, 10/5/03]

**Black's Clients Could Expect to be Well-Served in Seeking Iraq Contracts Because of Firm's History in Iraq.** According to Energy Compass, "BKSH Associates is attracting similar interest. The company, which says its lobbyists include individuals who have worked for both Republican and Democratic administrations, has over the years promoted the interests of Ahmed Chalabi, head of the Iraqi National Congress (INC). Since Chalabi and other INC members are on the governing council, BKSH's clients can expect to be well-served. They include, among others, Fluor, which has bid for work in Iraq, as well as US telecoms and engineering firms." [Energy Compass, 10/16/03]

**Black's Firm has Represented 8 of Top 60 Defense Contractors.** Charlie Black's firm, BKSH, has lobbied for 8 (or roughly 13%) of the top 60 companies receiving DOD contracts during 2007, including the top DOD contractor (Lockheed Martin) and six of the top 16 contractors. BKSH has represented Lockheed Martin, ranked first with

over \$36 billion in FY 2006 defense revenue; United Technologies, ranked 10<sup>th</sup> with over \$7 billion in contracts; Thales, ranked 11<sup>th</sup> with nearly \$7 billion in contracts; General Electric, ranked 14<sup>th</sup>, with over \$4.5 billion in defense contracts; Honeywell, ranked 15<sup>th</sup> with \$4.4 billion in contracts; Rolls-Royce, ranked 16<sup>th</sup> with over \$4 billion in contracts; Harris, ranked 38<sup>th</sup> with \$1.5 billion in contracts; and NEC, ranked 59<sup>th</sup> with over \$700 million in contracts. [Army Times, accessed [5/16/08](#); Senate Lobbyist Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]

- **Lockheed Paid Black's Firm Over \$625,000 Since 2002.** Between 2002 and 2007, Lockheed Martin has paid Black's lobbying firm at least \$627,500 for to lobby the Department of Defense, the CIA, the Office of Management and Budget, the House and the Senate. Black himself is listed as one of the lobbyists working on Lockheed's behalf for a portion of the firm's work. All of the lobbying done by the firm for Lockheed was on defense issues. [Analysis of Senate Lobbyist Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]
- **United Technologies Paid Black's Firm \$650,000 since 2003.** Since the middle of 2003, United Technologies has paid Black's lobbying firm \$650,000 to lobby on its behalf. Charlie Black is listed as having personally handled this client. [Analysis of Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]
- **Thales Inc. Paid Black's Firm \$935,000 Since 2000.** Between 2000 and the middle of 2007, Thales Inc. paid Charlie Black's lobbying firm \$935,000 to lobby on its behalf. The firm has charged the contractor higher fees since the beginning of the Iraq war. From 2000-2003, the firm charged an average of just over \$120,000. Since then, the firm has charged an average of approximately \$160,000 per year. [Analysis of Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]
- **General Electric Paid Black's Firm Nearly \$1 Million Between 1999 And 2008.** Since 1999, General Electric and General Electric Capital Services have paid Charlie Black's lobbying firm between \$940,000 and \$980,000 to lobby on its behalf. [Analysis of Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]
- **Honeywell Paid Black's Firm \$140,000 Between 2000 And 2001.** Between 2000 and 2001, Honeywell paid Black's lobbying firm \$140,000 for its services. [Analysis of Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]
- **Rolls-Royce Paid Black's Firm At least \$240,000 from 1999-2001.** Between 1999 and 2001, Rolls-Royce paid Black's lobbying firm between \$240,000 and \$250,000. [Analysis of Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]
- **Harris Corp. Paid Black's Firm \$40,000 In 2006.** In 2006, Harris Corp. paid Charlie Black's lobbying firm \$40,000 for lobbying services. [Analysis of Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]
- **NEC Paid Black's Firm \$660,000 Between 2001 and 2005.** Between 2001 and 2005, NEC USA, the U.S. branch of the Japanese defense contractor, paid Charlie Black's lobbying firm \$660,000 to lobby Congress and the Department of Homeland Security. Charlie Black personally worked on the account. [Analysis of Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]

**Four Black Clients Got Lucrative Iraq Contracts.** An analysis of the Center for Public Integrity's (CPI) list of Iraq contractors and of the Senate's Lobbyist Disclosure Database shows that four of BKS's clients have received lucrative government contracts for Iraq reconstruction. According to CPI, BKS client Fluor has received over \$3.7 billion in Iraq contracts; Harris Corporation has received \$165 million; General Electric has received an unknown amount; and new client Blackwater – the notorious security firm – has received over \$21 million. [Center for Public Integrity, accessed 2/29/08; Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 2/29/08]

**Black Helped Fluor Corporation Become Top Contractor.** "Through his lobbying firm, BKS & Associates (a division of the public relations firm Burson-Marsteller), Black represents Fluor Corporation, an engineering and construction firm that is one of the top contractors for post-war reconstruction in Iraq."

- **Fluor Knowingly Over-Charged DOD And Dept. Of Energy.** The American Prospect reported, “Last November, Fluor agreed to pay the government \$12.5 million to settle a whistleblower suit alleging that the company had knowingly overbilled the Departments of Defense and Energy on contracts for tens of millions of dollars of illegal costs, including executive bonuses, land investments, construction and building improvements, luxury condos, fine art, a Mercedes driven by the company’s president, and an antique Chippendale chair.” [The American Prospect, 1/2006]

**BKSH Lobbied For Firm That Handled Propaganda Articles In Iraqi Newspapers.** The Hamilton Spectator reported, “The Lincoln Group, a previously little-known business intelligence company headed by a heretofore little known young Briton and Oxford graduate, Christian Bailey, now at the centre of controversy surrounding the Bush administration’s covert propaganda war in Iraq. It was recently revealed that Bailey’s company got the lion’s share of a \$100-million contract from Donald Rumsfeld’s Department of Defense for buying space in Iraqi newspapers to place deliberately one-sided stories written by U.S. ‘psy-ops’ troops.” Additionally, the Lincoln Group was paid \$20 million to place misleading stories in Anbar province about U.S. forces running up to Iraqi elections. “The Lincoln Group has Republican links. Its lobbyists include Charles Black, an adviser to Ronald Reagan, George Bush Sr. and Marlin ‘Buzz’ Hefti, a former Pentagon director.” [Hamilton Spectator, 1/7/06]

- **Black’s Firm Hired By “Psychological Warfare” Firm.** Jack O’Dwyer’s Newsletter reported, “BKSH & Assoc. has been hired by the Lincoln Group. One of three firms selected last month by the U.S. Special Operations Command, to wage psychological warfare on behalf of the Pentagon in Iraq and other hot spots.” [Jack O’Dwyer’s Newsletter, 7/27/05]

**Wye Oak Technology Hired BKSH To help Contractor Get Contracts In Post-Invasion Iraq.** Washington Monthly reported, “In April of 2003, after the United States invaded Iraq, Stoffel retained the lobbying powerhouse BKSH, the firm headed by the influential Republican lobbyist Charles Black, to provide ‘assistance in defense contract procurement,’ for Wye Oak.” [Washington Monthly, 6/1/05]

- **Wye Oak Was “Proudly And Openly In Iraq To Make A Fortune.”** According to Washington Monthly, Dale Sfoffel, the founder and head of Wye Oak Technologies, “was a self-professed man of action, who was proudly and openly in Iraq to make a fortune.” [Washington Monthly, 6/1/05]

**Blackwater Enlisted Black To Repair Reputation.** The International Herald Tribune reported, “Blackwater Worldwide, its reputation in tatters and its lucrative government contracts in jeopardy, is mounting an aggressive legal, political and public relations counterstrike.” The work was “landed by BKSH...led by Charles Black Jr.” A “BKSH associate had worked briefly in Iraq and met several Blackwater personnel.” [International Herald Tribune, 11/2/07]

## Philippine Dictator Ferdinand Marcos

**Black Enlisted to Improve Marcos’s Image.** “A politically well-connected U.S. lobbying firm is being paid nearly \$1-million to help a Philippine client linked with President Ferdinand Marcos, and some analysts believe its task is to improve Mr. Marcos’ image.” “The firm, Black, Manafort & Stone Public Affairs, began a year-long contract with a client called the Chamber of Philippines Manufacturers, Exporters and Tourist Associations.” “Stanley Roth, who serves on the staff of a congressional subcommittee investigating Mr. Marcos’ business dealings in the United States, called the arrangement ‘just means of Marcos hiring a public relations firm.’ Under the terms of the contract, the suburban Washington-based concern is to be paid \$950,000 plus expenses to provide ‘advice and assistance on matters relating to the media, public relations and public affairs interests’ as well as lobbying services.” [The Globe and Mail, 12/20/85]

**Under Guise of Organization, Black’s Firm Brought Foreign Minister to U.S.** As the lobbyist for the Chamber of Philippine Manufacturers, Exporters and Tourism, Black’s firm arranged a 1986 trip for “Pacifco A. Castro, acting foreign minister of the Philippines,” who came to Washington as part of Marco’s effort “to defuse international criticism surrounding preparation for the Feb. 7 balloting, in which President Ferdinand Marcos is

seeking his fourth reelection in 20 years. There have been repeated charges, including recent allegations from senior Philippine church officials, that the potential exists for massive fraud in the election.” Castro brought a letter from Marcos to President Reagan and met with Secretary of State Shultz and NSA John Poindexter. [[Washington Post](#), 1/23/86]

**Black Lobbied for Philippine Dictator.** The [New York Times](#) reported, “Three of the guys who ran the 1984 Reagan campaign – Charles Black, Paul Manafort and Roger Stone – get a million or so from a Marcos-dominated Philippine business association.” [[New York Times](#), 2/17/86]

**Black And Partner Set Up Meetings With Key Government Officials.** According to [Christian Science Monitor](#) “However, for a fee of \$950,000, the firm is expected to do more than promote tourism and investment in the Philippines. When the Philippines foreign minister wanted to meet with the House Asian and Pacific Affairs subcommittee, for example, it was Black, Manafort that set it up, a committee staff member says. (Usually, he says, such meetings are set up by the embassy.)” [[Christian Science Monitor](#), 2/5/86]

**Black’s Firm was Only Substantial Representation Except Sugar Commission.** The [Christian Science Monitor](#) reported, “And last November, three months before the Philippine elections, the Chamber of Philippine Manufacturers, Exporters and Tourism Associations hired Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly. Prior to that, the only substantial representation the Philippines had was for the Philippine Sugar Commission.” [[Christian Science Monitor](#), 2/5/86]

**Partner at Black’s Firm Traveled to Manila to Advise Marcos.** According to [Newsweek](#), “Similarly, while the White House was trying to maintain an evenhanded policy during the recent Philippine elections, Paul Manafort was in Manila advising Ferdinand Marcos on how to respond to the American media. Manafort’s firm received a \$950,000 fee from a business group closely allied with the beleaguered Philippine president.” At the time, Black’s firm was called Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly. [[Newsweek](#), 3/3/86]

**Black’s Firm Has Received “More Heat Than Most” For Its Controversial Clients, Tactics.** The National Journal’s [Hotline](#) reported, “Tampa Tribune’s Ray Locker looks at the lobbying firm of Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelley [sic], under subhead, ‘Florida Republicans may feel fallout.’ Writes Locker, ‘From the lobbying firm’s list of controversial clients, such as former Miami businessman and fugitive Miguel Recarey to former Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos, to their hardball political work, the Black, Manafort partners have attracted more heat than most of Washington’s numerous lobbying and consulting firms.’” [[Tampa Tribune](#), 6/24/90, via [Hotline](#), 6/26/90]

**Clinton-Gore Hit Bush I on Black’s Work for Marcos.** In an October 1992 press release, the Clinton-Gore Campaign hit President Bush for hiring Black to run his campaign. The release stated, “A number of Bush’s senior advisers act as foreign lobbyists for a number of foreign interests and governments. Senior Advisor Charles Black is a foreign agent, who has lobbied for single-party African states and Ferdinand Marcos’ re-election campaign.” [[U.S. Newswire](#), 10/19/92]

**Black’s Ties to Marcos Re-Surfaced in 2008.** Amidst the McCain lobbying scandal in February 2008, Salon.com wrote about Black’s former work for Marcos. Salon.com reported, “Among the loudest McCain mouthpieces is Charlie Black, a seasoned Republican operative whose client roster dates back to such paragons as the late Filipino President Ferdinand Marcos.” [[Salon.com](#), 2/22/08]

**Black Forced to Drop Marcos in 1986.** The [Washington Post](#) reported, “One of the first casualties of President Reagan’s decision yesterday to withdraw support from Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos was the high-powered Washington lobbying firm of Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly, which was forced to drop its \$900,000 contract to represent Marcos’ interests here and his struggle for political survival at home.” [[Washington Post](#), 2/25/86]

## **History Of Ferdinand Marcos Regime**

**Federal Jury Awarded \$1.2 Billion in Damages to Marcos's Victims.** The Associated Press reported, "A jury ruled in 1992 that Marcos was responsible for human rights violations, tortures, disappearances and summary executions between 1972, when he declared martial law, and 1986, when he was overthrown. Marcos died in Hawaii in 1989. This February, the same jury awarded the plaintiffs \$1.2 billion in exemplary damages, similar to punitive damages." Of the 10,000 plaintiffs, about 4,300 were relatives of murdered Filipinos, "and the others are torture victims." In 1991, a U.S. federal judge in Hawaii froze Marcos's estate, a decision upheld by the 9<sup>th</sup> U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in 1994. [Associated Press Worldstream, 6/16/94]

**Marcos Allegedly Stole Between \$5 Billion and \$10 Billion from Country.** According to Transparency International, Ferdinand Marcos "allegedly stole between \$5 and \$10 billion" while he ruled the Philippines. [CNN International, 12/8/07]

**Political Activists and Journalists were "Routinely Assassinated" Under Marcos's Martial Law.** The Morning Star reported, "Ask anyone to locate the period in Philippine history when troublesome journalists and political activists were routinely assassinated and they will probably reply that this could only have been during the regime of the late President Ferdinand Marcos, particularly after he declared martial law in 1972." [Morning Star, 4/14/05]

**"Disappearances" Were Common During Marcos Years.** According to the International Herald Tribune, "The Manila-based Asian Federation Against Involuntary Disappearances documented 855 cases of disappearances during martial law from 1972 to 1981." [International Herald Tribune, 6/5/04]

**AP: Marcos Has Been Accused Of The Torture, Murder and Kidnapping of Dissidents.** The Associated Press reported, "Marcos imposed martial law on Sept. 21, 1972 and ruled by decree for the next 14 years until he was ousted in a popular revolt and driven into exile in Hawaii...He has been accused of illegally enriching himself in office and allowing the torture, murder and kidnapping of thousands of dissidents." [Associated Press Worldstream, 9/21/00]

**Marcos Barred Foreign Journalists from Philippines.** Marcos blacklisted "more than 9,000 foreigners" while running the Philippines, including many "banned for critical reports on the Marcos administration," including "Arnold Zeitlin, then The Associated Press bureau chief in Manila." "Foreign journalists were credited with exposing corruption and human rights violations under Marcos when the Philippine press was muzzled under martial law." [Associated Press Worldstream, 4/17/98]

## **Somali Dictator Mohamed Siad Barre**

**Black's Firm Lobbied for Somalia's Dictator.** According to Common Cause Magazine, "The well-connected Washington lobbying firm of Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly has seen dictators such as Somalia's Mohamed Siad Barre" as its clients. [Common Cause Magazine, Winter 1993]

**Black's Firm Lobbied for Government of Somalia.** According to the Department of Justice, Black's firm lobbied for the government of Somalia in the years leading up to his ouster in 1991. [Department of Justice, FARA database, accessed 2/26/08]

- **Black's Firm was Only One Hired During Siad Barre's 22 Year Rule.** According to the Department of Justice's FARA database, Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healey was the only lobbying firm hired by the Somali government during his 22 years as dictator. [Department of Justice, FARA, accessed 2/26/08]

## **History Of Said Barre**

**Siad Barre's Tenure Marked by Human Rights Abuses.** According to the New York Times, "General Said Barre's rule was marked by a war with Ethiopia, a flip-flop in political alliances from the Soviet Union to the United States, and growing allegations of human rights abuses." [New York Times, 1/3/95]

**Siad Barre Used Army to Destroy Civilian Institutions.** The Christian Science Monitor reported, "Through his 21-year misrule of the East African nation, President Siad Barre has used the army and security agencies to destroy independent civilian institutions, to stifle dissent, and to maintain his hold on power. The complete absence on limits of presidential authority has benefited Siad Barre and the members of his clan, the Marehan, but it has been ruinous for the rest of the country." [Christian Science Monitor, 12/4/90]

**While Black Lobbied for Somalia, Siad Barre's Army Killed 40,000 – 50,000 Civilians.** The Associated Press reported, "The Somali army killed 40,000 to 50,000 unarmed civilians between June 1988 and January 1990, according to human rights group Africa Watch." [Associated Press, 1/2/95]

**Siad Barre's Army Executed Opposition.** The Independent reported, "Somali armed forces summarily executed 46 men after clashes between security forces and Muslim worshippers in the capital in which hundreds died, human rights campaigners and independent sources said yesterday. Those executed were among an estimated 2,000 people arrested in house-to-house searches after last Friday's disturbances, according to the Africa Watch human rights group." [The Independent, 7/22/89]

## **Dictator Mobuto Sese Seko of Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo)**

**Black Lobbied for Zaire's Dictator.** Black, Manafort, Stone lobbied for "Mobuto Sese Seko of Zaire." The "military dictator, Mobuto, was a \$1 million-per-year Black, Manafort client until December 1990." [Common Cause Magazine, Winter 1993; Department of Justice, FARA database, accessed 2/26/08]

### **History Of Sese Seko**

**Mobutu Led "One Of The Most Dictatorial And Corrupt" African Regimes.** According to CNN, "Over the next three decades, Mobutu led one of the most enduring regimes in Africa – and, said his critics, one of the most dictatorial and corrupt. Despite the country's obvious natural resources, including copper, gold and diamonds, much of Zaire's population continued to sink further into poverty. But Mobutu, known for his trademark leopard-skin hat, amassed a personal fortune estimated to be as much as \$5 billion, with homes in Switzerland and France." [CNN, 9/7/97]

**Mobutu Was one of World's Richest Men, Let Tens-of-Thousands of Children Starve.** The Washington Post reported, "Ten thousand malnourished children under 4 years of age are brought yearly to Kinshasa's Mama Yemo Hospital, named after President Mobuto Sese Seko's mother. For the last two years, well over half of them have died there. Officials said the annual child mortality rate in some rural areas of this mineral-rich country of 27 million people may be much higher than 50 percent," despite the fact that Mobutu, "Zaire's military head of state and authoritarian president for the past 14 years" was "reportedly one of the world's richest men." [Washington Post, 12/30/79]

**Mobutu Promised Abundance, Amassed Personal Fortune.** According to the Washington Post, "Mobutu basked in strong domestic support, and enthusiastically prophesized 'a rendezvous with abundance by 1980' for all Zairians. Instead, Mobutu, his relatives and political cronies have amassed enormous private fortunes, while large numbers of Zairians are left wanting for basic necessities. 'His government has created a small, calloused economic elite, a 'state bourgeoisie,' if you will,' said one Western source." [Washington Post, 12/30/79]

**Mobutu Stifled Voices of Opposition.** After seizing power in a 1965 military coup, Mobutu "established a one-party state, banning all other political organizations but his own." [CNN, 9/7/97]

## Angolan Rebel Leader Jonas Savimbi of UNITA

**Black Represented Angolan Rebel Leader.** “So Black, Manafort knows the value of a steadfast tyrant. In the case of Jonas Savimbi, the controversial Angolan rebel leader, it’s \$600,000 a year – plus expenses. Trouble is, between 1985 and 1992, Black, Manafort’s cash cow may have indirectly been the U.S. Treasury. Up until 1992, Savimbi, whose UNITA guerilla forces long battled the Soviet-allied Angolan government, received up to \$60 million a year in U.S. aid. Much of it took the form of guns, ammunition and other military supplies shipped by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) via Zaire.” “With most of his war supplies provided by the U.S., Savimbi was able to pay Black, Manafort some \$5 million to lobby for U.S. aid, generate favorable U.S. media coverage and gin up political support in Washington. [Common Cause Magazine, Winter 1993]

- **Clinton Criticized Savimbi for Civil War; Black Not Troubled by Burtality, Defended Brutal Tactics.** Common Cause Magazine reported, “In late January, the Clinton administration publicly criticized Savimbi, who resumed civil war after he lost the national election last fall – an election he demanded. Since October, thousands of Angolans have been killed in the latest round of fighting. But Black, Manafort doesn’t seem troubled by allegations that Savimbi tortured and murdered his rivals within UNITA or his resumption of the civil war.” Black defended himself in a 1990 interview, saying: “Now when you’re in a war, trying to manage a war, when the enemy is no more than a couple of hours away from you at any given time, you might not run your territory according to New Hampshire town meeting rules.” [Common Cause Magazine, Winter 1993]

**Black’s Firm Achieved “Spectacular Success” Re-Making Savimbi’s Image.** According to Harper’s, “Occasionally, firms will achieve spectacular successes for a client: one particularly remarkable piece of lobbyist image management, for example, occurred in the mid-1980s, when the firm of Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly helped refashion Jonas Savimbi, a murderous, demented Angolan rebel leader backed by the Apartheid regime in South Africa, as a valiant, anti-communist ‘freedom fighter.’ Savimbi visited Washington on numerous occasions, where the lobby shop had him ferried about by limousine to meetings with top political leaders, conservative groups, and TV networks. Black, Manafort checked repeated threats by members of Congress to cut off aid to Savimbi’s rebel group, which was burning and raping its way through Angola with the help of American taxpayers.” [Harper’s Magazine, 7/1/07]

- **Black’s Firm Got Americans To Overlook Savimbi’s Flaws.** The Financial Times reported, “Since it took Unita as a client in 1985, Black Manafort has turned Mr. Savimbi into an icon for Washington’s conservatives. With his black beard, his gleaming smile and his unabashed anti-Soviet credentials, he is the magnetic hero-figure which the Nicaraguan Contras and the Afghan mujihadeen [sic] never quite managed to produce for middle America. The selling of Savimbi has been so slick that it has smoothed doubts about his record on human rights and his previous links to South Africa.” [Financial Times, 3/16/90]

**Black Got Savimbi To See Reagan.** According to the Christian Science Monitor “Take Jonas Savimbi, the Angolan rebel leader who is paying a US lobbying firm \$600,000 to set up appointments and ferry him around the city. During his 10-day visit here, Mr. Savimbi has met with President Reagan, Secretary of State George P. Shultz, and Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger. He’s also appearing on CBS’s ‘60 Minutes,’ ABC News ‘Nightline,’ the ‘MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour,’ Cable News Network, ‘Good Morning America,’ and the ‘Today’ show. Savimbi has repeatedly said that his guerrilla war against Angola’s Marxist government is threatened by lack of funds. But if he gets \$15 million in covert aid from the Reagan administration, \$600,000 will seem to him like money well spent. Savimbi’s lobbying firm, Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly, is one of some 800 companies or individuals representing foreign interests.” [Christian Science Monitor, 2/5/86]

**Black Used Influence With Dole On Behalf Of Savimbi.** Time reported, “When Savimbi came to Washington last month to seek support for his guerilla organization, UNITA, in its struggle against the Marxist regime in Angola, he hired Black, Manafort. What the firm achieved was quickly dubbed ‘Savimbi chic.’ Doors swung open all over town for the guerrilla leader, who was dapperly attired in a Nehru suit and ferried around in a stretch limousine. Dole had shown only general interest in Savimbi’s cause until Black, the Senate majority leader’s former aide, approached him on his client’s behalf. Dole promptly introduced a congressional resolution backing

UNITA's insurgency and sent a letter to the State Department urging that the U.S. supply it with heavy arms. The firm's fee for such services was reportedly \$600,000." [Time Magazine, 3/3/86]

**Black Helped Savimbi Get \$15 Million Authorization.** According to the Baltimore Sun, "Arranged through a public relations agency filled with movement conservatives, Savimbi's Washington tour was a triumph. It came after Congress had repealed a 1976 law that forbade any assistance to rebel groups in Angola and led directly to an authorization for \$15 million in military assistance, including Stinger missiles." [Baltimore Sun, 3/3/02]

**Black Used Position in Bush's 1988 Campaign to Win Support for Savimbi.** In 1988, Black was simultaneously lobbying on behalf of Savimbi and serving as senior strategist to George H.W. Bush's presidential campaign. The Washington Post reported, "On Jan. 6, before he was inaugurated, Bush sent a letter to Savimbi pledging continued U.S. military and diplomatic support of UNITA, which now gets an estimated \$50 million in covert U.S. aid." [Washington Post, 8/12/89]

**Black's Firm Engaged in Scare Campaign to Advance Savimbi's Interests.** According to the Financial Times, "A more questionable practice concerns the tactics used against Unita opponents. Black Manafort secretly pushed the idea of a Justice Department investigation of Mr. Randall Robinson, a prominent anti-apartheid activist. It was also involved in the successful campaign to persuade Gray and Co, a rival public relations firm, to drop the Angola as a client. Ms. Calhoun recalls conservative activists handing out pink cards stamped with Gray's telephone number and the eye-catching question: 'Want to call an Angolan prostitute?' Two of Gray's main clients – Morocco and Turkey – were also warned that the Angola connection could compromise their own national security. 'We did not discourage the campaign,' said a spokesman for Black Manafort, 'but we did not instigate it.'" [Financial Times, 3/16/90]

## **Background on Jonas Savimbi**

**Kristof: Savimbi "Murdered and Tortured Countless Civilians."** New York Times columnist Nicholas Kristof wrote, "Jonas Savimbi, the Angolan rebel who was killed 10 days ago, murdered and tortured countless civilians over the years; the Angolan civil war that he sustained may be responsible for more than 500,000 deaths since 1975. ... Mr. Savimbi personally beat to death a rival's wife and children. He also shelled civilians, sowed land mines and then bombed a Red Cross-run factory making artificial legs for victims of mines. 'We have to call him Africa's classical terrorist,' said Makau Mutua, a professor of law and Africa specialist. 'In the history of the continent, I think he's unique because of the degree of suffering he caused without showing any remorse.'" [New York Times, 3/5/02]

- **Savimbi was Self-Interested Chameleon.** "Mr. Savimbi was a chameleon who started off as a pro-Soviet Marxist, became a Maoist to get Chinese support, then proclaimed himself an anti-Communist to get American support in the cold war, and after the collapse of Communism declared himself a supporter of free markets. He was expert at saying what we wanted to hear, but in retrospect it's clear that he never believed in anything but power." [New York Times, 3/5/08]

**Savimbi Manipulated the U.S. to Gain Power – Black Helped him Con Money from American Treasury.** Savimbi posed as an anti-Marxist revolutionary during the Cold War to gain American support, but, according to the Baltimore Sun, "Eventually, all learned that Savimbi was not anti-communist or pro-capitalism. He was pro-Savimbi. That became clear in 1992 when the end of the Cold War dried up the funds that had fueled the fighting and both sides agreed to an election. The charismatic Savimbi was heavily favored, but his bellicose campaign went over poorly in the war-weary country. Despite 17 years of inept corruption, dos Santos won. Savimbi cried foul and went back to war." [Baltimore Sun, 3/3/02]

**Savimbi was Ally of Apartheid-Era South Africa.** In the New York Times, Howard French wrote, "For most of his career, though Mr. Savimbi was dependent on the army of white supremacist South Africa to carry his fight." [New York Times, 3/3/02]

- **Savimbi Even Brutalized Allies.** According to Professor Gerald J. Bender of the University of Southern California, “When the first Unita rep in Washington, George Sangumba, went back home, Savimbi killed him,” and “The second guy was put under house arrest, and was later killed in a suspicious shootout. Savimbi personally beat another representative, Tito Chingunji, and his wife and children to death with rifle butts.” [[New York Times](#), 3/3/02]

## Brig. Gen. Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo of Equatorial Guinea

**BKSH Led Back-Channel Lobbying Equatorial Guinea, An “Embarrassingly Corrupt Government With A Notorious Human Rights Record.”** “For most of its 34 years of independence, Equatorial Guinea was best known for the outlandish brutality of its rulers, which left the tiny West African country isolated on the international stage.” That was until the mid-1990s when a vast supply of oil was found there. In 2002, the [Los Angeles Times](#) reported that “the U.S. is Equatorial Guinea’s major trading partner” sending a significant amount of oil to the U.S. “There’s just one problem: Equatorial Guinea is headed by an embarrassingly corrupt government with a notorious human rights record. That’s made it difficult for the Bush administration to openly embrace its president Brig. Gen. Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, so he and his oil industry supporters have lined up Beltway lobbyists and assorted hangers-on to press Washington for improved ties.” Amerada Hess, which produces 39,000 barrels of oil per day in the country, “continues to be at the forefront of the corporate lobbying for Obiang,” who came to power in a coup in 1979. “To handle that task, the company retains Washington lobbyist” BKSH & Associates. [[Los Angeles Times](#), 12/6/02]

## Background On Equatorial Guinea

**Obiang Headed One-Party, Ethnocentric State.** The [Chicago Tribune](#) reported, “This small, former Spanish colony, independent since 1968, remains a one-party state governed by a constitution known as the Basic Law and run by a Supreme Military Council headed by Big. Gen. Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo. The ruling Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea is trying to implement a World Bank restricting program, and recently asked every citizen to donate \$1,500 in gratitude for the long peace the government has delivered. Equatorial Guinea has remained thus far insulated from the tide of reform sweeping Africa. Obiang has ruled since 1979” and “maintains control by packing the government with members of his own ethnic group.” [[Chicago Tribune](#), 1/5/92]

**Obiang had Opposition Leader Jailed.** According to the [BBC](#), “In Equatorial Guinea, the Malabo Special Court has pronounced a high-handed verdict on opposition leader Severo Moto, who was accused of trying to corrupt a police commissioner. He was sentenced to 18 months in prison for a minor offence, fined 50 m CFA francs and banned from taking part in elections during his sentence.” [[BBC](#), 3/8/95]

**In First “So-Called” Multi-Party Elections, Obiang Rigged Results, Won 99 Percent.** “In the Central African backwater of Equatorial Guinea, in the country’s first so-called multi-party elections, the long-time ruler Brigadier-General [sic] Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo seems to prefer to see his followers rigging voting lists and beating up opponents. In the country’s first multiparty election in 28 years, held in February, Mr. Nguema retained his job with 99 percent of the votes and an apt campaign slogan: ‘Our president, today, tomorrow and forever.’” [[The Globe and Mail](#), 4/6/96]

- **Obiang Held “Sham Election” to Extend “Reign of Terror”** The [Los Angeles Times](#) reported, “Another sham election was held in Equatorial Guinea in March. Brig. Gen. Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo extended his 16-year reign of terror by winning 99% of the vote.” [[Los Angeles Times](#), 7/6/96]

**Obiang Put Hundreds of Millions in Oil Money in U.S. Bank.** According to the [Los Angeles Times](#), As Equatorial Guinea profited from oil finds made during the 1990s, “there are few signs of the petroleum boom in the impoverished West African nation. Most of the population lives on about a dollar a day, and a U.S. State Department report found ‘little evidence that the country’s oil wealth is being devoted to the public good.’ So where has the money gone? That has been declared a ‘state secret’ by Equatorial Guinea’s ruler, Brig. Gen.

Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo. But the Guinean ambassador to the U.S. and other sources close to Obiang say the country's oil funds are held in an account at Riggs Bank in Washington. According to several of those sources and others familiar with the account, more than \$300 million of the country's energy earnings has been deposited in the account by international oil companies active in Equatorial Guinea, including ExxonMobil Corp. and Amerada Hess Corp. The money is under the direct control of Obiang, the sources say." [[Los Angeles Times](#), 1/20/03]

- **IMF Concerned, Cut off Aid.** Obiang's arrangement with hundreds of millions in oil money hidden away in an American bank "has raised concerns at the International Monetary Fund, where officials have refused to provide assistance to Equatorial Guinea until Obiang accounts for his country's oil money and have urged him to transfer it to its home treasury." [[Los Angeles Times](#), 1/20/03]

## **Nigerian Dictator Ibrahim Babangida**

**Black's Firm Took \$1 Million from Nigerian Military Ruler in 1985.** The [Washington Post](#) reported, "Justice Department filings, required under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, show that a firm run by key operatives in the Reagan reelection campaign – Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly – signed contracts last year worth more than \$3.4 million with nine foreign clients," including "\$1 million from the new military ruler of Nigeria." [[Washington Post](#), 2/16/86]

- **Nigeria Reportedly Didn't Pay.** According to [National Journal](#), "Neither Peru nor Nigeria has paid a penny to Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly Public Affairs Co. under contracts – for \$600,000 and \$1 million – that the firm signed with those governments and filed with the Justice Department last fall. The sticking point: Neither country has cash to spare, what with the price plunge in Nigerian oil and Peru's foreign debt woes." [[National Journal](#), 5/3/86]

**Black's Firm Signed Nigeria Up Against in 1989.** According to Jack O'Dwyer's Newsletter, "Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly PA, Alexandria, Va., signed a one-year contract as of Dec. 1, 1989 with Nigeria for \$1 million to provide assistance in achieving mutual understanding between the U.S. and Nigeria. 'Political activities' are planned." [Jack O'Dwyer's Newsletter, 2/28/90]

**Nigerian Dictator Tapped Black's Firm to Convince America 1993 Elections were Fair.** [National Journal](#) reported, "Nigerians will go to the polls on June 12 to vote for a president, and the government of military strongman Ibrahim Babangida wants to be sure Washington takes note of what it describes as the 'transition to democracy,'" and tapped Black's firm to help in the effort. "Black Manafort is helping with arrangements for international election observers, a spokesman for the firm said." [[National Journal](#), 6/5/93]

## **Background On Nigeria and Babangida**

**Babangida Came to Power in Coup, Ran Repressive Military Regime.** According to [The Guardian](#), "General Babangida came to power in 1985 after playing a key role in overthrowing President Shehu Shagari, Nigeria's last civilian leader. After a two-year period of leniency and an economic programme that was praised by the International Monetary Fund, he presided over one of the most repressive military regimes Nigeria has known." [[The Guardian](#), 7/17/98]

**After Putting Off Elections, Babangida Nullified Results, Arrested Winner.** "In 1985, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida came to power, promising only to preside over a transition to civilian rule." That transition "turned out to be endless," until elections were finally announced in 1993. "No one gave [businessman] Moshood Abiola a chance," but Abiola won in "a stunning upset, the first powerful chord of nationhood the country had known. Abiola, the unofficial result showed, captured about 60 percent of the vote. Tribalism, at long last, looked defeated." "Babangida, however, delayed announcing the results for several days. Then, six weeks after the election, he annulled it, citing voting box irregularities, which were never substantiated. Thousands took to the streets In

Lagos; more than 200 died.” Fearing for his life, Aviola fled the country, returning the following year. When he surfaced, “Abiola was arrested. Charged with treason, the 58-year-old politicians” was still in jail in 1996. [[Boston Globe](#), 4/7/96]

**Commission Investigating Human Rights Pinned Murder Of Journalist On Babangida.** “A special commission investigating human rights abuses by Nigerian governments,” known as the Oputa Panel and “led by a retired Supreme Court judge,” found Babangida responsible for a murder. The Panel’s report concluded: “On General Ibrahim Babangida, we are of the view that there is evidence to suggest that he and the two security chiefs, Brigadier General Halilu Akilu and Col. A.K. Togun are accountable for the death of Dele Giwa by letter bomb. We recommend that this case be re-opened for further investigation in the public interest.” [[Los Angeles Times](#), 1/15/05; Oputa Panel Report, May 2002, <http://www.dawodu.com/oputa1.pdf>]

- **Giwa was Editor of Magazine.** According to the [Rocky Mountain News](#), “Dele Giwa, the fiercely talented editor of a weekly magazine, was killed by a letter bomb.” [[Rocky Mountain News](#), 5/4/06]
- **Babangida Tried to Stop Investigation.** The [Financial Times](#) reported, “Ibrahim B. Babangida, Nigeria’s enigmatic former military ruler...has begun a lawsuit against Olusegun Obasanjo, the president, in an attempt to forestall investigation of a murder committed more than 15 years ago.” “The document, known as the Oputa panel report, is the product of almost three years work and is similar in the breadth of its scope to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission set up in South Africa after apartheid. Mr. Babangida is thought to be concerned that the panel has recommended further investigation into the death of Dele Giwa, a journalist murdered in 1986 by a parcel bomb. The killing, the year after Mr. Babangida took power in a coup, happened shortly after Mr. Giwa was questioned by the security services.” [[Financial Times](#), 7/2/02]

## **His Excellency, Ibrahim Sarninu Turaki, Governor, Nigeria’s Jigawa State**

**Black’s Firm Lobbied for Nigerian Governor.** According to the Department of Justice’s FARA database, Black’s firm lobbied for His Excellency, Ibrahim Sarninu Turaki, the governor of Nigeria’s Jigawa State. [Department of Justice, FARA database, accessed 2/26/08]

**BKSH Hired To Lobby For Nigerian State That Adopted Islamic Law.** “BKSH has a \$180,000 contract to promote investment in Nigeria’s Jigawa State, which adopted Sharia or Islamic Law in August 2000. Staffers are to arrange meetings with Congressional, U.S. Agency for International Development and U.S. Trade Representative officials. BKSH also is to pitch opportunities for private sector companies in the state’s Export Free Zone. ... More than 1,000 Nigerians in the north have been killed in clashes between Muslims and Christians over the introduction of Sharia.” [Jack O’Dwyer’s Newsletter, 2/20/02]

## **Background on Turaki**

**Turaki Arrested For Numerous Charges.** “Two former state governors have been arrested on corruption charges, Nigeria’s anti-corruption watchdog said Thursday. Orji Uzor Kalu and Saminu Turaki, the former governors of Abia and Jigawa states, were taken into custody late Wednesday, said Osita Nwajah, spokesman for the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission.” Turaki was “accused of conspiracy to steal, abuse of office, diversion of public funds and money laundering.” [[Associated Press](#), 7/12/07]

- **Sharia in Jigawa Led to Violence.** In Jigawa, people have been stoned to death under Sharia, including “the case of Abo Baranda, a man sentenced to death by stoning in May after a Sharia court in Jigawa found him guilty of raping a nine-year old girl.” [State Department, 8/29/02]

**Jigawa State has been Home to Anti-Christian Violence.** The [New York Times](#) reported, “In Jigawa State, religious violence exploded in September 2006, amid political tensions before elections in 2007. A muslim woman claimed that a Christian one had insulted the Prophet Muhammad, and mobs of Muslim youth descended on Christian churches in the state capital, Dutse, burning several to the ground.” [[New York Times](#), 12/1/07]

## China National Off-Shore Oil Corp. (CNOOC)

**CNOOC Enlisted Black to Lobby.** According to Roll Call, “The simmering fight between the China National Off-Shore Oil Corp. and Chevron Corp. over who gets to buy the California-based oil company Unocal looks increasingly like an arms race to find the most well-connected lobbying talent. The latest round goes to CNOOC, which broadened its reach by hiring the lobbying firm BKSH, headed by longtime Bush family confidante Charlie Black. The hire comes as Congressional opposition to CNOOC’s bid mounts, with several leading Republican lawmakers citing concerns over national security and strategic energy policy in seeking to block the deal.” Black commented about working for China: “It’s been the policy of the U.S. government, of Congress and the executive branch, really going back to the Reagan years, that we encourage trade and economic relations and investment with China,” Black said. “We have disconnected economic and trade issues from human rights and national security issues. In that context, I’m happy to work for this client.” [Roll Call, 7/18/05]

## Kashmir Independence Group

**Black Represented Pro-Kashmir Independence Group.** According to India Abroad, “Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly, which is headed by Charles Black, former chairman of the Republican National Committee...counts among its clients the Kashmiri American Council, which espouses independence for Kashmir from India.” [India Abroad, 4/19/96]

## Armenia

**BKSH Lobbied for Armenian Defense Minister.** “BKSH & Associates are now working on behalf of Armenia, in particular for defense minister Serge Sarkisian, who plans to run for president in the upcoming election there.” [PR Week, 3/19/07]

## Russia’s Yukos Oil

**Black Represented Russia’s Yukos Oil.** Jack O’Dwyer’s Newsletter reported, “Yukos Oil, the embattled Russian energy giant that locked horns with President Vladimir Putin, has hired Burson-Marseller’s BKSH & Assocs. lobbying unit, to keep Washington abreast of political, legal and business developments. CEO Mikhail Khodorkovsky, who financed political opposition parties to Putin and had plans to run for the presidency, was arrested at gunpoint in October, charged with embezzlement ... Charlie Black (advisor to both Presidents Bush) spearheads the team.” [Jack O’Dwyer’s Newsletter, 5/26/04]

## Rick Davis

**McCain Campaign Manager Founded Lobbying Firm of Davis, Manafort.** According to the Politico, Davis “founded a lobbying firm – Davis, Manafort Inc. – which has made at least \$2.8 million lobbying Congress since 1998.” [Politico, 7/11/07]

**Davis Helped McCain Take Cablevision Pay-Off.** According to the Washington Post, “In 2003 and 2004, for example, McCain took two actions favorable to Cablevision, the cable TV company, while Davis, his chief political strategist at the time, solicited the company for a total of \$200,000 for the Reform Institute, a tax-exempt group that advocated an end to outsize political donations. Davis solicited an initial donation from Cablevision chief Charles Dolan a week after Dolan testified before the Senate Commerce Committee in favor of a position backed by McCain. Davis said there was no connection between the testimony and the solicitation. Less than a year later, McCain wrote to the Federal Communications Commission recommending Cablevision’s position on cable pricing, citing Dolan by name. Cablevision followed soon thereafter with a second \$100,000 donation, the Associated Press reported.” [Public Campaign Action Fund; Washington Post, 12/31/07, emphasis added]

**Davis Used Relationship with McCain to try and Land Contract with Russian Tycoon.** In 2006, Davis arranged a meeting between McCain and Oleg Deripaska, a Russian billionaire, in Switzerland. Deripaska’s “suspected links to anti-democratic and organized-crime figures are so controversial that the U.S. government revoked his visa.” At the time McCain met with the Russian, Davis was “working for a lobbying firm and seeking to do business with the billionaire.” [Washington Post, 1/24/08]

**Davis Leveraged Relationship with McCain to Land Lucrative Verizon Contract.** Between 2002 and 2005, Verizon paid Davis \$640,000 to lobby on their behalf. Davis signed Verizon up as a client in 2001, just a year after he managed McCain’s first presidential campaign. McCain served as the influential chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee for most of that time. Verizon and Davis terminated their contract after 2005, when McCain gave up the chairmanship. [Senate Lobbying Database, accessed 3/12/08; Senate Commerce Committee, accessed 3/12/08]

**Davis Set Up Lobbying Contract With Argentine Political Figure.** In the late 1990s, Rick Davis set up a lobbying contract between his firm and Alberto Pierri, an Argentine politician. According to paperwork filed by Davis’s firm with the Department of Justice, “This agreement is the result of several phone calls between aides to Mr. Pierri and Richard Davis. ... We will assist Mr. Pierri in event management for his trip to Washington. This will include setting up meetings with policymakers.” [FARA Database, accessed 5/12/08]

- **Davis Client Used Anti-Semitic Remark.** According to the San Jose Mercury News, “Alberto Pierri, speaker of the lower house of Congress, called a newspaper reporter who had criticized him in a book a ‘lousy Jew.’” [San Jose Mercury News, 7/22/94]
- **Davis Client Called Reporter “Jewish Flea-Bag.”** According to the Philadelphia Inquirer, “The head of Argentina’s lower house, Alberto Pierri of the ruling Peronist party, caused an uproar late last year when he called a journalist who had incriminated him in a book ‘that Jewish flea-bag.’” [Philadelphia Inquirer, 1/27/94]

**Davis’s Firm Represented Nigeria.** According to the Department of Justice’s FARA Database, Rick Davis’s lobbying firm represented Nigeria. [FARA Database, accessed 5/12/08]

**Davis Partner, Manafort, Carried Out “A Yanukovich Makeover.”** According to the International Herald Tribune, “With a critical election Sunday, the Ukrainian prime minister, Viktor Yanukovich, is displaying a deft new touch that has helped transform him from arch-villain of the Orange Revolution (at least in the eyes of the West) to arguably the country’s most popular politician. Yanukovich has not, though, done it all on his own. From an anonymous office off Kiev’s main square, a seasoned American political strategist has for many months been carrying out a Yanukovich makeover. The strategist, Paul Manafort Jr., who was once a senior aide to prominent Republicans, has sought to remain behind the scenes. ... Yanukovich was introduced to Manafort by Rinat

Akhmetov, a Yanukovich supporter and billionaire industrialist who is the richest man in Ukraine. Manafort was advising Akhmetov at the time on improving the image of his companies. **Manafort's firm - Davis, Manafort - is among the most influential political consulting firms in the United States.** He worked for Bob Dole, once the Republican nominee for president. **His partner, Rick Davis, manages the Republican presidential campaign of Senator John McCain of Arizona.** [International Herald Tribune, 9/29/07, emphasis added]

**Other Rick Davis Lobbying Clients**

<b>Client</b>
Airborne Express
Bell South
Deutsche Post World Net USA
GTECH Corporation
ImageSat Intl.
Omni Computer Products
Preserve Luke AFB LLC
SBC Telecommunications
Verizon Corporate Services

## Peter Madigan

**Madigan is D.C. Lobbyist And McCain Fundraiser.** Peter Madigan is one of McCain's top fundraisers and bundlers. He is also a registered foreign agent with the Department of Justice, having represented a number of foreign governments and entities. He was previously president and chief operating officer of Boland & Madigan and currently lobbies at Johnson, Madigan, Peck, Boland & Stewart. His clients have included Philip Morris, Arthur Andersen, Charles Schwab, Goldman Sachs, Shell Oil and Verizon. [Public Citizen, accessed 3/28/08; Johnson, Madigan, Peck, Boland & Stewart, accessed 3/28/08; Senate Lobbying Disclosure Database, accessed 5/12/08]

**Madigan Lobbied For Saudi Arabia.** According to filings with the Department of Justice signed by Peter Madigan, Madigan and his firm lobbied for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. According to the service contract signed by Madigan in 1996, Madigan and his firm's responsibilities included assisting Saudi Arabia with "economic development" and help the Saudis "formulate a comprehensive plan and timetable" to achieve the nation's initiatives. In its work for the Saudis, Madigan and his firm arranged numerous meetings with Members of Congress. [FARA Filing containing Contract signed by Peter Madigan, accessed 5/13/08; FARA Filing signed by Peter Madigan, accessed 5/13/08]

**Madigan Hired To Fight Child Enslavement Claims Against The UAE.** Peter Madigan, a top McCain fundraiser, lobbies for Dubai in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). The UAE, "facing a class-action lawsuit over alleged enslavement of boys as jockeys in camel races, has hired several top Washington lobbyists and PR firms to present their case to Congress and the public." The lawsuit alleged "that senior ministers from Dubai conspired to force thousands of underage boys to race camels." According to The Hill, "The year-long contract with Johnson Madigan could cost the sheikhs' more than \$800,000." [ABC News, 2/1/08; The Hill, 4/4/07]

**El Salvador Hired Madigan To Lobby For CAFTA.** In the contract he signed to lobby for El Salvador, Madigan agreed to "Maintain an ongoing general support base to drive the FTA negotiations between the United States and Central America," to "Work with the manufacturing community in the United States, as well as economic partners in the United States, to obtain their backing of the FTA between Central America and the United States," and to "Promote public opinion in favor of a United States-Central America Free Trade Agreement." [FARA Database, accessed 3/17/08, Contract between Griffin, Johnson, Madigan, Peck, Boland, Dover & Stewart and El Salvador, signed by Peter Madigan on 1/7/03]

- **CAFTA Fails To Meet Labor Objectives Set By Congress.** According to the AFL-CIO, under CAFTA, "a country that violates workers' rights to gain a trade advantage can avoid sanctions altogether by simply paying a small fine to itself to fund domestic labor initiatives. There is no way to prevent a violating country from also transferring money out of its labor budget so the fine adds to no new resources for enforcement. And nothing prevents a country from wasting the fine money on unrelated or ineffective labor ministry initiatives. As long as the violating country continues to pay itself a fine, even if the fine does nothing to remedy workers' rights abuses, its trading partners are barred from withdrawing trade benefits under CAFTA." [AFL-CIO, via Public Citizen, emphasis added]

**Madigan Lobbies For Colombia And Pushes U.S.-Colombia FTA.** Peter Madigan, a lobbyist who "works for the government of Colombia," actively works "to promote a U.S.-Colombia free-trade agreement" and to seek appropriations for the Colombian government. Madigan's firm has even "distributed papers defending Colombian President Alvaro Uribe against allegations of ties to paramilitary groups, and promoting the controversial anti-drug program 'Plan Colombia' as achieving 'strengthening human rights.'" [ABC News, 2/1/08; FARA Database, accessed 3/28/08]

- **Colombia Has Atrocious Workers Rights Record.** According to the AFL-CIO: "Colombia remains the most dangerous country in the world in which to be a union member – 39 trade unionists were murdered in 2007, and

another five to date in 2008. Of the more than 2,500 murders of trade unionists since 1986, only about 80 cases – around 3 percent- have resulted in convictions.” [[AFL-CIO](#), 3/4/08]

**Madigan Hired To Lobby For U.S.-Panama FTA.** In the paperwork filed with Department of Justice, Madigan’s firm states that members of the firm will “participate in assisting the Government of Panama in developing and implementing a government relations and lobbying program to include establishing communications with policymakers and monitoring and reporting on legislation and executive branch activities which may effect [sic] the development and passage of a Free Trade Agreement.” [[FARA Database](#), accessed 3/17/08]

- **Madigan’s Contract Called For him To Lobby “Important Contacts” In U.S. Government On Panama FTA.** In the contract he signed with the government of Panama, Madigan agreed to “lobby, through strategic meetings with important contacts in the government of the United States of America, the United States Congress, the private sector in the United States, the government of Panama and the private sector in Panama, support in favor of the negotiations and subsequent approval of the Free Trade Agreement between the Republic of Panama and the United States of America.” [FARA Database, accessed 3/17/08, [Contract between Griffin, Johnson, Madigan, Peck, Boland, Dover & Stewart and Panama](#), signed by Peter Madigan on 5/6/2004]

**Madigan Hired To Eliminate Barriers Governing Trade With Canada.** In the contract he signed to lobby for Canada, Madigan agreed to work on “policy options that would lead to the goal of reduction and elimination of the U.S. rules and laws that pose barriers to Canadian suppliers in U.S. transportation and infrastructure contracts.” [FARA Database, accessed 3/17/2008, [Contract between Boland & Madigan and Canadian Government](#), signed by Peter Madigan on 3/17/1998, emphasis added]

**Madigan Lobbied For Taiwan Research Institute.** According to filings with the Department of Justice signed by Peter Madigan, Madigan and his firm lobbied for the Taiwan Research Institute, a privately funded economic and international policy research organization that “supports studies on international and domestic economic and political issues of concerns to Taiwan.” [[FARA Filing](#) signed by Peter Madigan, accessed 5/13/08]

## Tom Loeffler

### **Loeffler Lobbies for Saudi Arabia And Said He Would Continue While Working On The McCain Campaign.**

ABC News reported, McCain's "campaign co-chair and chief moneyman, Thomas Loeffler ... has lobbied for Saudi Arabia for five years. Loeffler, a former congressman and longtime Republican fundraiser, chairs the firm that helped the Saudi kingdom join the World Trade Organization, fight anti-Saudi legislation and improve its image in the war on terrorism. The Saudi royals paid Loeffler's firm more than \$11 million in two years for its efforts on their behalf." Loeffler said in 2007 that "he would handle 'all of the work' of his firm while working on the McCain campaign. He also said, 'I do not find a conflict of interest at this time.'" [ABC News, 2/1/08]

- **Loeffler Received Nearly a Million Dollars a Year to Set Up Meetings Between the White House and Saudi Arabia.** According to the National Journal, "Loeffler first raised big bucks for [G.W. Bush's] gubernatorial campaigns. Since Bush's election in 2000, Loeffler's firm has signed up several lucrative clients, including the Embassy of Saudi Arabia, which he advises on trade and terrorism issues. Loeffler, whom the Saudis pay about \$900,000 a year, has helped arrange meetings between Saudi officials and such senior Bush administration officials as Karl Rove." [National Journal, 1/15/05]

**Loeffler has Represented 5 Foreign Clients.** The Department of Justice's FARA Database shows that Loeffler has lobbied for foreign governments and entities.

Country	Client	Years	Firm
Saudi Arabia	Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia	12/6/2002 – Present	Loeffler Group
Mexico	State of Hidalgo, Mexico	1/16/2003 – 9/30/2004	Loeffler Group
Hong Kong	Hong Kong Trade Development Council	5/18/2001 – Present	Loeffler Group
Ivory Coast	Government of the Republic of Cote D'Ivoire (Ivory Coast)	11/27/1991 – 8/30/1993	McCamish, Martin & Loeffler
Hong Kong	Hong Kong Trade Development Council	1/25/1990 – 8/30/1993	McCamish, Martin & Loeffler

[Department of Justice, Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) Records, accessed 3/2008]

# John Green

## Tobacco & Alcohol Industries

*John Green and his firm have lobbied to advance the interests of big-tobacco and the alcohol industry. He has represented them on issues involving teen smoking, access to cigarettes and taxes on cigarettes.*

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
National Beer Wholesalers Association	2000	\$20,000
Pernod Ricard	2000-2007	\$1,280,000
Philip Morris	1999-2003	\$1,400,000
UST Public Affairs	1999-2005	\$920,000
		<b>Total: \$3,620,000</b>

## Oil and Energy Industry

*John Green and his firm have been paid millions of dollars by the oil industry and energy industry to lobby against issues including federal price gouging legislation, renewable energy legislation, and legislation that repealed billions of dollars in oil company tax breaks. Since 1999, Green has billed oil companies, energy companies and energy industry trade groups at least \$7,690,000 for his lobbying services.*

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
Amerada-Hess	2005-2007	\$540,000
American Chemistry Council	2006-2007	\$360,000
American Petroleum Institute	2002-2007	\$1,350,000
American Electric Power	2002	\$105,000
Black Beauty Coal	2003-2004	\$340,000
Chevron Texaco	2005-2007	\$840,000
Desert Rock Energy Co.	2006	\$160,000
El Paso Corp.	2002-2003	\$150,000
Electric Power Supply Association	2002-2007	\$820,000
Entergy	1999-2000	\$240,000
First Energy	2003-2004	\$180,000
Hydrostar	2005-2007	\$560,000
PJM Interconnection	2002-2006	\$800,000
Reliant Energy	2002-2007	\$925,000
Sempra Energy	2007	\$200,000
Star Atlantic	2006-2007	\$380,000
Texas Utilities (TXU)	2002	\$40,000
Walter Industries	2001, 2005	\$60,000
		<b>Total: \$8,050,000</b>

## Telecommunications Industry

*John Green and his lobbying firm have taken \$6.95 million from the telecommunications industry since 1999 to lobby on a variety of issues, including retroactive immunity for telecom companies that cooperated with Bush's program of spying on American citizens, efforts to prevent workers from joining unions, and issues surrounding competition in and taxes on telecom companies.*

*John McCain served as chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, which has jurisdiction over all telecom issues, from 1997 – 2001 and from 2003-2005. He was Ranking Republican on the committee for part of 2001 and from 2002-2003.*

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
AT&T Services, Inc.	2007	\$160,000
Bell South Communications	1999-2006	\$620,000
Bell South Corp.	1999-2006	\$800,000
Cellular Telecommunications and Internet Association	2001	\$40,000
Motorola	2005-2007	\$580,000
Time Warner	2004-2005	\$560,000
U.S. Telecom Association	1999-2002	\$210,000
Verizon	2004-2007	\$2,700,000
Verizon Wireless	2004-2007	\$900,000
Viacom	2006-2007	380,000
		<b>Total: \$6,950,000</b>

### **Insurance Industry**

*John Green and his firm have been paid \$2.08 million since 2004 to lobby for big insurance companies and the insurance industry. Green has lobbied for the insurance industry on a number of issues, including representing their interests in the debate over injuries from asbestos. He has also represented the insurance industry's interests on issues such as flood insurance and Medicaid.*

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
Aflac	2004-2005	\$180,000
American Council of Life Insurers	2004	\$40,000
AIG	2004-2007	\$700,000
America's Health Insurance Plans	2004-2005	\$120,000
AmeriChoice	2004-2007	\$660,000
Property Casualty Insurers Association of America	2006	\$140,000
United Health Group	2007	\$240,000
		<b>Total: \$2,080,000</b>

### **Defense, Homeland Security & Military**

*John Green and his firm have been paid nearly \$4.5 million since 1999 to lobby for at least 11 companies receiving or seeking defense, military or homeland security contracts or defense-related appropriations.*

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
AmeriQual Foods	2003-2007	\$560,000 - \$569,999
Brown International	2002-2006	\$180,000 - \$229,995
COLSA Corp.	1999-2004	\$960,000
Daimler Chrysler	2000-2001	\$220,000
EADS North America	2003-2007	\$1,080,000
iDefense	2003	\$80,000
Ionatron Inc. (Applied Energetics)	2007	\$240,000
JC Bamford	2005-2007	\$840,000

Rivada Networks LLC	2005	\$60,000
Second Chance Body Armor	2002-2003	\$60,000 - \$69,999
Thermofisher Scientific	2007	\$80,000
		<b>Total: \$4,360,000 - \$4,429,993</b>

### **Pharmaceutical Industry**

*John Green and his firm have been paid at least \$1.18 million to lobby for four big pharmaceutical companies – Cephalon, Hoffman La-Roche, Pfizer and Schering-Plough. He has represented their interests on issues including regulation of pharmaceutical medications, SCHIP and the re-importation of prescription drugs.*

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
Cephalon	2005	\$200,000
Hoffman La-Roche	2006-2007	\$540,000
Pfizer	2000, 2007	\$300,000
Schering-Plough	1999-2000	\$140,000
		<b>Total: \$1,180,000</b>

### **Medical Industry**

*Since 2001, John Green and his firm have been paid between \$820,000 and \$829,999 to lobby for four medical clients on issues such as Medicare, SCHIP, group purchasing of medical supplies and the controversial topic of concierge physicians.*

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
American Association of Nurse Anesthetists	2000-2001	\$120,000 - \$129,999
AMN Healthcare	2005	\$100,000
MDVIP	2004-2007	\$480,000
Medical Device Manufacturers Association	2006-2007	\$120,000
		<b>Total: \$820,000 - \$829,999</b>

### **Finance, Banking, Lenders and Mortgages**

*Since 2000, John Green and his firm have been paid between \$14,410,000 and \$14,419,999 to lobby for a wide variety of financial clients ranging from providers of sub-prime mortgages, to major hedge funds and private equity firms.*

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
Alternative Investment Management Association	2007	\$120,000
Ameriquist Mortgage	2005-2006	\$640,000
Blackstone Group	2005-2007	\$4,760,000
Broidy Capital Management	2007	\$380,000
Carlyle Group	2005-2007	\$1,400,000
CitiGroup	2003-2007	\$1,240,000
College Loan Corporation	2006-2007	\$90,000
Community Financial Services Association	2000-2001	\$600,000
Credit Suisse First Boston	2003-2007	\$880,000

Fannie Mae	2004-2007	\$1,080,000
Federal Home Loan Bank of Seattle	2003-2004	\$100,000
Fidelity	2003, 2007	\$220,000
Freddie Mac	2003	\$180,000 - \$189,999
Highstar Capital	2004-2007	\$940,000
ICAHN Associates Corp.	2006-2007	\$560,000
Investor Protection Coalition	2004	\$80,000
Laredo National Bank	2004-2006	\$540,000
Member Works	2000-2001	\$200,000
Visa	2006-2007	\$400,000
		<b>Total: \$14,410,000 - \$14,419,999</b>

### **Travel & Shipping Industries**

*John Green and his firm have been paid between \$3.32 million and \$3.339 million to lobby for transportation and shipping companies on issues including pension reform, appropriations, labor rights and security.*

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
Aloha Airlines	2004-2006	\$200,000
American Magline Group	2001, 2005	\$60,000 - \$69,999
American Trucking Association	2006-2007	\$440,000
Detroit International Bridge Company	2004-2005	\$120,000
Deutsche Post World Net	2003-2006	\$600,000
Enterprise Rent-A-Car	2006-2007	\$260,000
FDX Corporation (Fed-Ex)	1999-2003	\$540,000
Legend Airlines	1999-2000	\$180,000 - \$189,999
Ports America	2007	\$280,000
Unigroup	2006-2007	\$220,000
UPS	2007	\$20,000
Virgin America	2006-2007	\$400,000
		<b>Total: \$3,320,000 - \$3,339,998</b>

### **Guns & Hunting**

*John Green has long lobbied for the National Rifle Association and Safari Club International, collecting nearly \$3.5 million in fees for him and his firm. He has lobbied on issues including the DC gun ban and the liability of gun-makers for third party crimes.*

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
NRA	1999-2007	\$2,680,000
Safari Club International	2004-2007	\$800,000
		<b>Total: \$3,480,000</b>

### **Lobbying Firms and Political Consultants**

*John Green not only lobbies for hedge funds and pharmaceutical companies – he also counts as his clients some of Washington’s other powerful lobbying firms. He has lobbied for BKSH, the lobbying firm chaired by McCain’s top*

political advisor, Charlie Black. He has also lobbied for Boland & Madigan, the lobbying firm of Peter Madigan, another McCain confidante. He has collected over \$1 million for him and his firm to lobby for other lobbyists and government consulting firms.

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
BKSH	2006-2007	\$320,000
Boland & Madigan	1999-2000	\$80,000
Ghazal & Associates	2006-2007	\$80,000
Morgan Meguire	2003-2005	\$210,000
National Association of Business PACs	1999-2001	\$160,000
Parry Romani Deconcini & Symms	2005	\$60,000
Powell Goldstein Frazer & Murphy	1999-2000	\$40,000
Rhoads Group	2004	\$80,000
U.S. Strategies	2002	\$40,000
		<b>Total: \$1,070,000</b>

### **Higher Education**

John Green and his firm have been paid nearly \$3 million to lobby for institutions of higher learning, often to get them pork-barrel earmarks.

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
Alabama A&M University	2002-2006	\$0 - \$79,992
Calhoun Community College	2000	\$40,000
Kentucky Community & Technical College System	2004-2007	\$640,000
University of Alabama – Huntsville	2000	\$20,000
University of California	2005-2006	\$140,000
University of Chicago	2005-2007	\$1,200,000
University of South Alabama	1999-2007	\$740,000
		<b>Total: \$2,780,000 - \$2,859,992</b>

### **Municipal Governments, Authorities and Community Organizations**

John Green has lobbied for a number of local and municipal governments, government authorities and community organizations, almost exclusively to win appropriations and pork-barrel earmarks. He's billed at least \$3.285 million for his work on their behalf since 2000.

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
Alliance for Downtown New York	2005-2007	\$240,000 - \$269,997
Bay Area Rapid Transit District	2000-2005	\$440,000
Birmingham Airport Authority	2000-2007	\$900,000
City of North Las Vegas, Nevada	2001	\$40,000
City of Ontario, California	2005	\$40,000
Dallas-Fort Worth International Airport	2005-2007	\$660,000
Huntsville Madison Chamber of Commerce	2000-2002	\$200,000
Metropolitan Transit Authority of Harris County	2003	\$60,000
Orange County Transportation Authority	2005	\$20,000
Tampa Hillsborough Expressway Authority	2005	\$20,000
Texas Office of State-Federal Relations	2003-2006	\$600,000

Village of Key Biscayne, Florida	2001-2002	\$65,000
		<b>Total: \$3,285,000 - \$3,314,997</b>

### **Science, Technology & Research**

*John Green has lobbied for a number of science, technology and research-related clients, billing nearly \$1.8 million for him and his firm.*

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
Advanced Materials and Research Center	2005	\$220,000
Affiliated Computers Services	2006-2007	\$200,000
Business Software Alliance	2001	\$40,000
Digital Defense Inc.	2001-2002	\$20,000
Intuit	2007	\$100,000
Iridian Technologies	2006	\$80,000
Midwest Research Institute	2004	\$180,000
North Alabama Science Center	2006	\$60,000
SAP America	2006-2007	\$320,000
Southern Research Institute	2000-2003	\$260,000
Telecordia	2004	\$280,000
		<b>Total: \$1,760,000</b>

### **Non-Defense Manufacturing Industry**

*In addition to seeking appropriations and contracts for defense-related manufacturing companies, John Green has been paid \$2 million to lobby for other manufacturers and manufacturing coalitions.*

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
Association of International Automobile Manufacturers	2007	\$100,000
Federal-Mogul Corporation	2005	\$120,000
GAF Corp.	1999-2000	\$40,000
JC Bamford	2004	\$200,000
Nucor	2006-2007	\$240,000
Office Furniture Manufacturers Coalition	2002-2007	\$1,300,000
		<b>Total: \$2,000,000</b>

### **Gambling**

*John Green has been paid over \$1.4 million to lobby for gambling interests, including online gambling and Indian casinos.*

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
Poker Players Alliance	2005-2007	\$1,240,000
Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians	2004-2005	\$120,000
Station Casinos	2001, 2005	\$60,000 - \$69,999
		<b>Total: \$1,420,000 - \$1,429,999</b>

**Other**

*John Green has lobbied for a number of other clients not well-categorized in the above categories.*

<b>Client</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Amount Billed</b>
Alabama Wildlife Federation	2003-2007	\$380,000
International Packaged Ice Association	2007	\$60,000
Maguire Properties	2005	\$200,000
Monsanto Co.	2007	\$240,000
National Architectural Trust	2004-2006	\$380,000
National Association of Chain Drug Stores	2004-2006	\$600,000
National Federation of Independent Business	2005-2007	\$580,000
Power Plant Entertainment	2005-2006	\$440,000 - \$449,999
Recording Industry Association of America	2001	\$20,000
Southeastern Consulting	2002-2007	\$520,000
U.S. Space & Rocket Center	2000-2002	\$220,000
United Site Services Inc.	2007	\$140,000
		<b>Total: \$3,780,000 - \$3,789,999</b>