

**Delay, Dilute and Discard:
How the Airline Industry and the FAA Have
Stymied Aviation Security
Recommendations**



**Congress Watch
October 2001**

Acknowledgments

“Delay, Dilute and Discard: How the Airline Industry and the FAA Have Stymied Aviation Security Recommendations” was primarily researched and written by Research Director Bob Young, Director Frank Clemente, Legislative Counsel Melissa Luttrell, Senior Researcher Michael Surrusco, Investigative Researcher Emilie Karrick, Legislative Assistant Andrew Benore and Civil Justice Fellow Bobby Zafarnia. Assistance also was provided by Deborah Quint, Natalie Brandon, Erica Buckley, Steve Weissman and Jackson Williams.

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ISBN# B9020 Price \$20.00

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Member Services
Public Citizen
1600 20th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

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Executive Summary

Congress will soon enact legislation to improve aviation security. This legislation may allow the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) to manage new and existing authority for assuring aviation security. This new Public Citizen report reveals why that would be a bad idea. In recent years, the airline industry and the FAA have combined to stall, scale back and ignore specific security recommendations made by a 1996 presidential commission.

In addition, the airline industry may have forestalled more action on the part of Congress and the White House through its aggressive lobbying and campaign contributions – most of which have come in the form of unlimited “soft money” contributions to political party leaders.

Through an extensive investigation of the FAA rulemaking process – and a careful examination of the docket for proposed rules – Public Citizen’s report exposes the following about the industry’s and FAA’s roles in delaying, diluting and discarding security improvements:

- The 1996 presidential commission (created after the TWA 800 crash and known as the Gore Commission after its chairman, then Vice President Al Gore) recommended reasonable, affordable improvements. Yet the FAA has spent the last five years converting some of these recommendations into watered-down rules more favorable to the industry.
- The FAA failed to meet deadlines mandated by Congress on two of the three rules Public Citizen examined.
- The Gore Commission recommended several measures to improve screening company performance, including a national job grade structure for screeners, meaningful measures to reduce high turnover rates and reward screeners for good performance, and for the airlines to hire screening companies on the basis of performance, not the lowest bid. But the proposed FAA rule did not require any of these measures and would allow airlines to still hire the lowest bidder, regardless of how abysmal their track record.
- The Gore Commission called for criminal background and FBI fingerprint checks for all airport screeners and all airport and airline employees with access to secure areas. The FAA’s final rule largely ignored the commission’s recommendations by not requiring such checks; it only instituted job history checks for screeners. These job history checks, the FAA estimated, would lead to criminal background investigations on only 63 of the 16,996 new screeners in 1999.

- The Gore Commission called for greater scrutiny of checked baggage, including a system to make sure checked bags “matched” passengers onboard. The industry objected to bag matching and the FAA discarded the Gore proposal as too costly – even though the Gore Commission said cost should not be the determining factor in rulemaking. Furthermore, an FAA-funded study by a Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) professor showed that bag matching would only cause an average delay of seven minutes on 14 percent of flights and cost 25 cents to 52 cents per passenger.
- The airlines often objected to the security recommendations on the basis of cost. One airline even complained about increased photocopying costs.
- In 2000, the top nine airlines and their trade association, the Air Transport Association (ATA), spent \$16.6 million lobbying the federal government in the year 2000. The same group spent \$62.9 million lobbying the federal government from 1997 through 2000, the period when the federal government was trying to convert Gore Commission recommendations to regulations.
- These airlines and the ATA employed 210 lobbyists, including 108 lobbyists with “revolving door” connections. (They worked in Congress or another branch of the federal government prior to being hired by the airlines.)
- Of these lobbyists, 10 were former members of Congress. Two held cabinet posts as secretary of the U.S. Department of Transportation (DOT), which oversees the FAA. Another three held senior positions at the FAA. Fifteen lobbyists employed by the top airlines in 2000 have worked in the White House.
- Critics complain that the FAA is too cozy with the airline industry. The top job at the FAA – the FAA administrator – has been filled in recent years by three people who previously worked for the airline industry. (But not the current administrator, Jane Garvey, who was director of Boston’s Logan International Airport.)
- Because of the industry’s campaigns against stricter security regulations and the FAA’s resulting regulatory failure, it is clear that the responsibility for overseeing any improved aviation security program enacted by Congress must be given to an agency outside the FAA. Public Citizen believes a new aviation law enforcement agency is clearly needed that is either independent of the DOT/FAA or housed at the Department of Justice. This would ensure that aviation security matters would be more insulated from airline industry pressure tactics. Unlike the FAA, this new agency would be exclusively devoted to assessing and addressing aviation security threats and to coordinating with other law enforcement agencies.

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Introduction

As this report is published, the final details of new aviation security legislation are still up in the air. But Congress should make its decisions on improving security recognizing two overarching facts. First, the airline industry has a long history of opposing security recommendations handed down by two presidential commissions. Second, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) has played a big part in delaying, diluting and discarding these recommendations.

This combination of industry opposition and FAA timidity was most recently evident in the fate of three new security rules recommended by a 1996 presidential commission. Five years after the commission's recommendations, the FAA is still mired in the rulemaking process – thanks, in part, to industry opposition.

While keeping these security improvements in a holding pattern, the airlines and the FAA employed arguments that were sometimes callous and contrary to the facts. Public Citizen found this industry opposition – and the FAA's culpability in diluting security improvements – by going to the public docket for each new rule, either in electronic FAA archives, or in paper files at the agency's Washington, D.C. office. Public Citizen then unearthed the industry's stated opposition to the rules and highlighted key objections.

For example, airlines objected to one new security rule (federal certification of screening companies) on the grounds that it would impose photocopying costs on the industry. In another case (ensuring that checked bags belong to passengers onboard), several airlines complained that such checks would create unacceptable delays and costs. In fact, a study by a Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor showed the bag match rule would create short delays (seven minutes for a small percentage of affected flights) and cost between 25 and 52 cents per passenger.

In part, the industry has been able to obstruct safety recommendations because of its cozy relationship with the FAA. Critics have long contended that the FAA has sought more to promote the airline industry than to police it. Part of this charge stems from the fact that the top official in the FAA – the FAA administrator – has often come from the industry. Part of it stems from the fact that historically the FAA's stated mission has been to promote the industry.

Finally, this report suggests that the airline industry has been able to stymie security recommendations – despite a terrible record of security as stated in government audits and investigations – because of the industry's aggressive lobbying on Capitol Hill and in the executive branch and through its huge campaign contributions to candidates running for Congress and the White House.

Public Citizen found that the top nine airlines and their trade association, the Air Transport Association (ATA), spent \$16.6 million lobbying the federal government in the year 2000. The same group spent \$62.9 million lobbying the federal government from 1997 through 2000, when the federal government was working to convert several Gore Commission recommendations to regulations.

Last year alone, these airlines and the ATA employed 210 lobbyists, including 108 lobbyists with “revolving door” connections. (They previously worked in Congress or another branch of the federal government.)

Of these, 10 lobbyists were former members of Congress. Two held cabinet posts as secretary of the U.S. Department of Transportation (DOT), which oversees the FAA. Three held senior positions in the FAA. Fifteen lobbyists employed by the top airlines in 2000 had worked in the White House. These connections have given the industry a powerful voice in federal government – particularly when the lobbyists were backed by \$10.9 million in campaign contributions from 1997 to 2000.

Most of these contributions – \$6.6 million or 61 percent – came in the form of “soft money,” which are unlimited contributions given to party committees run by party leaders, who determine the congressional and White House legislative agenda.

Because of the industry’s campaigns against stricter security regulations and the FAA’s resulting regulatory failure, it is clear that the responsibility for establishing and overseeing any improved aviation security program enacted by Congress must be given to an agency outside the FAA.

Public Citizen believes a new aviation law enforcement agency is clearly needed that is either independent of the DOT/FAA or housed at the Department of Justice. This would ensure that aviation security matters would be more insulated from airline industry pressure tactics. Unlike the FAA, this new agency would be exclusively devoted to assessing and addressing aviation security threats and to coordinating with other law enforcement agencies. While the FAA would continue to specialize in establishing and enforcing standards to ensure that planes are flightworthy and air travel is safe from human and mechanical error, this new agency would have a singular focus on the numerous issues related to law enforcement and aviation security.

I. FAA – Captured by the Industry It Regulates

When Congress makes a new law, that legislation must be translated into enforceable rules or regulations. This rulemaking is handled by regulatory agencies such as the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) or the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA).

Through their constant contact with industry representatives and the movement of agency staff to industry and its lobbying firms in the private sector, these regulatory agencies sometimes become too friendly with the industry or industries they oversee.

Among those who study the development of federal regulations like Tom McGarity, a University of Texas law professor and author on the subject,¹ it is said that these watchdog agencies “can over time be ‘captured by the industry.’”² The most common result of this “capture” is that regulators seek industry consensus before imposing new rules and see themselves as partners with the industry rather than overseers.

Industry “capture” results in weaker rules, pro-industry cost-benefit analyses, and delays in rulemaking – sometimes allowed for purely frivolous extensions of time sought by industry.

That’s the problem at the FAA, according to some critics – and it’s been a problem for many years. “When you work shoulder to shoulder, you can’t be at arm’s length,” said James Burnett, a critic of the FAA when he was chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB).³

Below are three security rules recently proposed by the FAA. All three rules stem from recommendations made by the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security, which was appointed in 1996 by President Bill Clinton. (Also known as the “Gore Commission,” after its chairman, then Vice President Al Gore, the commission released initial proposals on Sept. 5, 1996 and followed up with final recommendations on Feb. 12, 1997. Ironically, several key Gore Commission recommendations were also made by a 1990 presidential commission that was created after the Pan Am 103 disaster, but were never implemented.)

In each case, the rule proposed by the FAA was weaker than the original Gore Commission recommendation – a reflection, critics say – of the industry’s “capture” of the FAA. And in each case, the industry continued to object to the weaker rule, and sought to dilute it even further. (Two of the three final rules still have not been issued, so it’s difficult to know whether the industry succeeded in further diluting the already-softened rule. See Appendix A for a side-by-side analysis of the three Gore Commission recommendations, the FAA proposed or final rules, and the differences between the two. See Appendix B for a list of Gore Commission members.)

Jim Hall, who was chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board from 1994 to 2001 and a member of the Gore Commission, agrees with Public Citizen that “the rules got all diluted.”⁴ How did it happen – particularly after President Clinton ordered in 1996 new security measures applied to “every plane, every cabin, every cargo hold, every time”?⁵

“The airports, the airlines and the government didn’t want to pay for it,” Hall told Public Citizen. “I think the three of them had a common interest and unfortunately there wasn’t much of a follow up from the White House or consumer groups.”⁶

A. Certification of Screening Companies

Gore Commission Recommendation:

The Gore Commission sought to increase the professionalism of airport security employees, particularly passenger screeners. The need was painfully obvious. Test after test by the FAA and the General Accounting Office (GAO) – the investigative arm of Congress – showed that a dangerous percentage of investigators carrying weapons were not detected by screeners. In 1987

FAA tests, screeners failed to detect weapons in up to 20 percent of the tests. Tests in subsequent years showed the failure rate climbing, according to a recent GAO report.⁷ “Furthermore,” the GAO reported, “the recent tests show that as tests become more realistic and more closely approximate how a terrorist might attempt to penetrate a checkpoint, screeners’ ability to detect dangerous objects declines even further.”⁸ Now, information on security tests is designated as “sensitive” and cannot be publicly released.⁹

The GAO pinpointed two main reasons for the screeners’ poor performance: high turnover (often above 100 percent a year at large airports) and low pay (often the minimum wage).¹⁰

The Gore Commission, among other things, suggested: a) a national grade structure, presumably aimed at standardizing pay, retaining workers and enhancing professionalism; b) national and regional competitions to identify high-quality security teams; and c) an agreement by airlines to hire screening companies on the basis of performance, not just lowest cost.

Unfortunately, almost five years later the rule on screener certification still was not completed. “Everybody agreed that it was a good idea. But it takes five years to implement what seems like a no-brainer,” said Bob Monetti, a member of the consumer advocacy group, National Air Disaster Alliance, and a member of the FAA Aviation Security Advisory Committee since 1989.¹¹

The weaker FAA rule:

The final rule still has not been released. (It was withheld by the Bush administration after the September 11 attacks.) But it’s clear from the FAA’s proposed rule that it was going to be significantly more lax than the Gore Commission recommendation.

Specifically, the proposed rule does not include measures that might help retain workers, such as a national rank and grade structure. Nor does the rule require competitions to identify high-quality security teams. The FAA also failed to propose meaningful measures to reduce turnover rates and reward employees for good performance. Perhaps most importantly, under the FAA proposed rule, screening contracts still could be awarded on the basis of the low bidder, rather than the performance.

Instead, the FAA proposed rule would merely require that those who trained screeners have 40 hours of experience as a screener. It also would require that screeners pass an annual FAA test and have 40 hours of on-the-job training before they exercise independent judgment. The proposed rule also called for screening companies to store their certification paperwork on-hand at airports.

It’s also unfortunate, but perhaps not surprising that the FAA didn’t propose minimum salaries and benefits for screeners. The FAA knew the impact that improved wages and benefits might have because the FAA did a joint test with an unnamed European country which found that screeners in that country – who received significantly more training, pay and benefits than their American counterparts – scored twice as well in performance tests.¹²

It should be noted that the FAA missed the May 31, 2001 deadline mandated by Congress for release of this final rule.

Industry Opposition:

Airlines still objected to the much-weakened proposed rule in written comments to the FAA. The most common objection – and consistently offered without any estimated costs or figures – was that such regulations would be a significant administrative and financial burden.

Another common complaint was that the standard 60-day compliance deadline for implementing the final rules was unreasonable. The Air Transport Association (ATA, a collective lobbying arm for the leading passenger and cargo airlines) cited the 60-day deadline as a chief concern. Complaints also were made about the proposals requiring that trainers have 40 hours of screening experience, that screeners pass an annual FAA test and have 40 hours of on-the-job training before they exercise independent judgment, and that screening companies store their certification paperwork at the airports.

Specific examples of airline industry objections to the remaining requirements in the rule include:

- **United Express, May 1, 2000**

United Express objected to the requirements that trainers have 40 hours of actual experience and screeners pass a test. The airline claimed it would “put an unnecessary time and record keeping constraint on an already extremely busy [customer service training] department.”¹³

- **Midway Airlines, April 26, 2000**

Midway Airlines objected to the certification paperwork requirement as a financial and administrative burden; stated that the 60-day deadline was not enough time to comply; balked at the 40 hours of experience rule for instructors; and disagreed with the requirement that each carrier oversee the companies screening on its behalf.¹⁴

- **Air Transport Association, April 4, 2000**

The ATA said airlines could not comply within 60 days (although they had known for years the rule was in the works) and protested the 40-hour training requirement.¹⁵ ATA also asked for an extension of the comment period, which was granted by the FAA, and a public hearing – that the ATA then failed to attend. (Requesting hearings and extensions of comment periods is sometimes used by industries in the rulemaking process to further delay new regulations. “In situations in which procedural delay works to the economic advantage of a regulated industry, it is not uncommon for companies and their trade associations to demand all of the procedures that the law allows, whether or not the procedures are likely to yield useful information,” explains McGarity.¹⁶)

- **Alaska Airlines, April 25, 2000**

Alaska Airlines stated that the “requirement of having copies of screening company operations specifications at each airport is an added cost and appears to be unnecessary.”¹⁷

B. Employment History, Verification and Criminal History Records Check

Gore Commission Recommendation:

The Gore Commission recommended criminal background checks and FBI fingerprint checks for all screeners and all airport and airline personnel with access to secure areas. The Gore Commission wanted these criminal checks for existing employees as well as new hires.

The rationale for the recommendation seemed obvious. Employees with criminal records might be more easily bribed, compromised and convinced to allow a package on a plane, and that package could be a bomb. The importance of this security measure was emphasized in the final report of the Gore Commission: “Given the risks associated with the potential introduction of explosives into these (airport) areas...screeners and employees with access to secure areas should be subject to criminal background checks and FBI fingerprint checks.”¹⁸

Moreover, the threat of a terrorist strike against airlines was increasingly seen as likely. Terrorism experts, such as Gore Commission member Brian Michael Jenkins, said the threat “is real and it is high.”¹⁹ The FAA acknowledged as much in 1996, when FAA policy director Tony Fainberg said, “We believe now that the threat is considerably greater than it used to be.”²⁰

The weaker FAA rule:

Issued on November 24, 1998, the FAA’s final rule did not require mandatory criminal checks for all screeners and all personnel with access to secure areas as suggested by the Gore Commission. Instead the rule merely extended to screeners the limited employment history verification/background check that already was applied to employees with access to secure areas. This two-part process begins with an examination of an applicant’s employment history. A FBI criminal/fingerprint check is initiated only if there are employment gaps or other discrepancies. The FAA estimated in 1998 that criminal background checks were occurring in 0.4 percent of cases (that’s less than one-half of one percent).

This meant, according to the FAA’s estimates, that only 63 of 16,996 new screeners in 1999 would require FBI background investigations.²¹ This is a far cry from the Gore Commission’s directive.

The director of security for the U.S. Department of Transportation listed a series of complaints about the weak FAA rule in a letter to the FAA before it finalized the rule. The DOT memo told the FAA that its proposed rule was vague (as to what kind of “inconsistencies” in job history would trigger an FBI check), that it contained no check for applicants who might lie about their backgrounds, that it did not attempt to identify individuals who were affiliated with potentially dangerous groups (but had not been convicted of a crime), and that it did not include a credit check (i.e. for individuals in financial problems who might be susceptible to a bribe).²²

In addition, the FAA rule did not cover existing employees, only new hires.

Industry Opposition:

There is a long history of industry opposition to background checks – a history that predates the 1998 FAA rule. Indeed, one of the industry’s great lobbying victories was its ability to delay and dilute the original background check law passed by Congress in 1990 as part of the Aviation

Security Improvement Act. That rule, which finally took effect five years after Congress passed the law, applied to personnel with access to secure areas, but not screeners. It was weakened by an intense industry campaign to have it apply only to new hires, not existing employees. The industry's lobbying effort to soften the law was led by former FBI director William Webster, a paid airline lobbyist who dismissed background checks as a "feckless gesture" in his testimony to Congress and visits to key lawmakers such as Rep. James Oberstar (D-Minn.), former chairman of a House aviation subcommittee.²³

Specific industry objections to the 1998 rule found in the public docket include:

- TWA argued in a May 19, 1997 letter that background checks for those existing employees would only create administrative and financial burdens. "These employees have had a 5-year verification of their employment history," TWA said. "Their continued employment indicates that they have been good employees and do not pose a threat to aviation security. This proposed requirement would not do anything to increase aviation security. It would only add unnecessary costs and paperwork to the industry."²⁴

The FAA capitulated and removed the language contained in the proposed rule that would have required new background checks for some existing employees, as well as new employees. Instead, existing employees were exempted from the rule's new background check requirement.

- In its proposed rule the FAA sought comment on expanding the scope of this background check to apply to those who also screened cargo and baggage. The ATA objected in a May 19, 1997 letter: "It is not necessary to expand this rule beyond the scope of the existing requirement..."²⁵ The National Air Transportation Association (NATA) also objected in a May 19, 1997 letter: "The people who are candidates for jobs as screeners, caterers, baggage handlers, fuel truck operators, and other aviation services positions do not typically have a long job history at a single domestic employer...Most of the previous employers had minimal record-keeping and a supervisory workforce that was only nominally less mobile...Unfortunately, the FAA's employment background rules do not recognize this reality."²⁶

The FAA dropped the idea.

C. Security of Checked Baggage

Gore Commission Recommendation:

"Bag matching" requires that every bag that goes on a plane has a corresponding passenger onboard. This can be accomplished by bar-coding baggage and boarding passes; if a boarding pass is not collected for a checked bag, then there's an instant delay and the baggage in question is removed. Such a system might have saved Pan Am 103, the 747 jumbo jet that exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland in 1988, killing all 270 passengers and crew onboard. The bomb that destroyed Pan Am 103 was put onboard in a radio that was not owned by, or checked to any passenger.

Bag matching is now performed on virtually all international flights,²⁷ but it's still not done on domestic flights in the U.S. because airlines argue it would cause too many delays in connecting flights.

The facts say otherwise, according to Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor Arnold Barnett, who conducted a study for the FAA. Barnett's study in May 1997 involved 11 airlines, 8,000 flights and 732,000 passengers (including 196,000 who were making connecting flights). The study showed that bag matching would delay one of every seven domestic flights for an average of seven minutes each; the cost would be 25 cents to 52 cents per passenger (depending on the extent to which gate staffing would grow in response to bag matching).²⁸ As the study noted, "this cost is small relative to the \$3 tax per enplanement collected by many U.S. airports for local improvements, and to the surcharge of \$1.20 per enplanement (in 1998 dollars) imposed in the early 1970s when metal detectors were installed at airports to prevent hijackings."²⁹

The Gore Commission discovered just how persuasive the airline industry could be when the commission took on the issue of bag matching. In its initial recommendations of September 5, 1996, the Gore Commission called for full passenger bag matching at selected airports within 60 days to determine the best means of implementing the process system-wide. After a rash of industry objections, the final Gore Commission recommendation was weakened; the 60-day plan was withdrawn and the final recommendation called for the FAA to establish security enhancements that should include explosion detection devices, bag matching, passenger profiling, and bomb-sniffing canine teams.

The weaker FAA rule:

The FAA was poised to release the final rule when the September 11, 2001 attacks caused the Bush administration to pull it back; thus, it's not clear what the final rule will require. What is known is that: a) the FAA missed by a year the October 10, 2000 deadline for release of this final rule that was mandated by Congress; b) the proposed rule is constructed in a way that gives discretion to the airlines to choose the least protective option – a database that profiles passengers who might be dangerous, known as a computer assisted profiling system or CAPS; and c) the FAA appeared to go against one of the fundamental tenets of the Gore Commission while proposing the rule.

The FAA used the cost to industry of bag matching as justification to shoot down a top-notch safety standard. Specifically, the FAA acknowledged that one proposal – 100 percent bag matching (until explosion detection devices were phased-in) – was most effective at deterring threats. But the FAA rejected the proposal (known as "Alternative 3") on the basis of cost:

"Alternative 3 would be more effective in countering the threat, but the FAA does not believe that the incremental increase in security provided by Alternative 3 is worth the additional cost of this Alternative – about \$4 billion more than the proposed rule [over 10 years]."³⁰

The Gore Commission was clear in recognizing that such cost-benefit analysis should not be the deciding factor regarding important security standards: "Cost considerations and mathematical

formulas, however, should never be dispositive in making policy determinations regarding aviation safety; they are one input for decision-making.”³¹

Industry Opposition:

The industry has long been opposed to bag-matching on domestic flights, going so far as to tell the FAA that it would cripple airlines and put them out of business.³² One airline executive even argued that bag-matching would mean “the terrorists just won, because their goal is to disrupt our society.” Brian Jenkins, the terrorism expert on the Gore Commission, didn’t believe the industry’s claims: “What is extraordinary is the airlines now can get a kosher meal to a man sitting in seat 23C...and the same airline is saying that matching a bag with a passenger would destroy the system.”³³

The industry reacted swiftly and strongly to the Gore Commission’s initial September 5, 1996 recommendation that called for implementing bag matching on domestic flights within 60 days – or right around the time that Clinton and Gore would be asking voters to re-elect them.

The industry promptly launched a lobbying campaign aimed at the White House. Two weeks later, Gore backpedaled from the 60-day deadline in a letter to the ATA. “I want to make it very clear that it is not the intent of this administration or of the commission to create a hardship for the air transportation industry,” Gore wrote.³⁴

“I think there was a lot of pressure from the airline industry that played into that,” former NTSB Chairman Jim Hall told Public Citizen.³⁵

The day after Gore wrote his letter, the airlines started to contribute heavily to Democratic Party committees, such as the Democratic National Committee, which acts as an arm of the presidential campaign during election years. In the election’s closing weeks, the airlines gave the Democratic Party \$585,000 – which was more than twice what the airlines gave Democrats in a preceding 10-week period.³⁶

The airline industry continued to object to the weaker bag matching proposal advanced by the final Gore Commission recommendation during the FAA rulemaking process. Specific objections included.

- **Alaska Airlines, August 10, 1999**

“The proposed options are either not possible with existing technology, or will definitely result in substantial flight delays. The operational and economic impact of applying [bag match] for connecting passengers is enormous.”³⁷

- **Air Transport Association of America, August 17, 1999**

“[W]e do not believe a regulatory approach is appropriate...The significant operational and economic impact of applying PPBM [positive passenger bag matching] is undisputed and cannot be overemphasized, and is not a viable option at hub airports.”³⁸

- **Era Aviation, August 17, 1999**

“[W]e must say that the ‘Status Quo’ is the best option. The current system is working.”³⁹

▪ **Southwest Airlines, August 17, 1999**

“Southwest believes that the benefits and costs of all such new measures must be clearly reviewed, and consideration must be given to allowing alternative, less onerous means of providing the desired security that are appropriate to a particular air carrier’s nature and scope of operations.”⁴⁰

▪ **Trans World Airlines, August 9, 1999**

“We believe that the options proposed by the FAA do not give industry the latitude to operate a reliable schedule...If we were also required to support bag match at our hubs, we would be required to expend a great deal more in equipment and manpower. We do not believe that this is justified, nor do we believe that this option provides that American public with the highest level of security.”⁴¹

II. The FAA – Conflicting Mission, Revolving Door, Low Morale

Steve Elson worked on the front lines of airport security. More accurately, Elson worked behind the lines. For three years, he was part of the FAA’s “Red Team,” a group of government agents paid to covertly test airport security, often by posing as passengers carrying weapons.

Elson, a former Navy Seal, says he was 100 percent successful in his 50 to 60 attempts at sneaking a replica of a bomb through airport security.⁴² In addition, the FAA hired an outside contractor in 1998 to test security and that firm was successful in getting through security in 99 percent of its 450 tests.⁴³ The Department of Transportation inspector general reported to Congress in April 2000 that its employees successfully penetrated security at airports in 117 of 173 attempts (68 percent). Yet FAA management – specifically Cathal Flynn, then the associate administrator for civil aviation security – told a Senate subcommittee in April 2000 that airport security stopped 96 percent of the FAA’s attempts to penetrate aircraft.⁴⁴

Why the huge discrepancy? According to the DOT, it’s because the FAA used a different criteria than the DOT inspector general (boarding aircraft for more than three minutes without being challenged, while not all DOT tests involved boarding aircraft or staying on the aircraft for any period of time).⁴⁵ The real point, Elson maintains, is that the FAA misled Congress about the strength of airport security.

“It’s a simple fact that almost anybody can go through security at will. The FAA knows, the IG knows, Congress knows. The rest is a façade. The FAA is more concerned with self-aggrandizement than security,” Elson told Public Citizen. “The airlines are a business and if the FAA keeps telling them they’re doing fine, where’s the incentive for airlines to spend money?”⁴⁶

Elson was so frustrated by the FAA’s poor management and inability to fix problems that he quit in 1999. He’s not the only one with such a view. Brian Sullivan was a former special agent for the FAA in New England. After he retired in January 2001, Sullivan helped a TV investigative reporter penetrate the lax security at Boston’s Logan International Airport. “Everyone has

documented this for years. The FAA knew the system didn't work and they've known it for years," Sullivan told Public Citizen.⁴⁷

Many employees who remain at the FAA are frustrated by what they consider favoritism, poor decision-making, and a failure to reconcile conflicts within the agency. The FAA conducted a major job satisfaction survey of employees that was published March 2, 2001. While no specific questions were asked about the FAA's coziness with the industry, the survey still suggests that FAA management has serious problems in the eyes of its personnel, particularly those who work in security. (See Appendix C for more details about the FAA employee surveys.)

- Of the 733 FAA security personnel who responded to the survey, only 14 percent agreed with the statement: "Corrective actions are taken to deal with supervisors or managers who perform poorly."
- Only 28 percent of FAA security personnel agreed with the statement, "Decisions in my organization are made at those levels where the most adequate and accurate information is available."
- The survey of all FAA employees showed that only 17 percent agreed with the statement, "Promotions in my organization are given to those who are well qualified." The results were even worse at the Houston FAA office where Elson worked – not one single employee agreed with that statement.
- Only 23 percent of FAA employees agreed with the statement: "I trust FAA management." No one in the Houston office agreed.

Some of the FAA's internal dissent may stem from the agency's seemingly conflicted mission. The FAA was charged with two official tasks: protecting passengers and promoting the industry. Obviously, the dueling missions clash in areas of security and cost, as the previous section of this report shows. The problem appeared so bad to Rep. Peter DeFazio (D-Ore.) that he sponsored a bill in 1996 to eliminate the agency's stated mission of promoting the industry. (The bill was incorporated into larger legislation.⁴⁸) DeFazio said his bill was needed to correct an attitude at the FAA that allowed rulemaking to be dragged out as the agency considers airlines' complaints about the cost of safety rules.⁴⁹

Mary Schiavo, the former DOT inspector general, said DeFazio's legislation had little impact on the FAA. She characterized the agency response to it as, "We are not changing the way we do business."⁵⁰

Bill Vincent, a former FAA security chief, resigned in protest over the agency's coziness with the industry. Vincent recently explained: "Although the agency is skilled in the rhetoric of safety, it routinely balances safety and security against their effect on the cost and efficiency of air travel. Moreover, the FAA is heavily influenced by the airlines and others who have strong interests in moving people through the system as quickly as possible. Consequently, safety and security rules tend to get watered down and are often implemented only after a tragedy has occurred."⁵¹

Sullivan, the former FAA agent in Boston, put it more succinctly: “You can’t promote the industry and kick it in the butt at the same time.”⁵²

The coziness between the industry and the FAA is manifest in the fact that three recent FAA administrators – the top post in the agency – have come from the industry.

David Hinson (FAA administrator 1993-1996) was founder and chief executive officer of Midway Airlines before coming to the FAA. Linda Hall Daschle – wife of Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle (D-S.D.) – worked for the ATA, the airline lobbying group, before she served as the FAA’s deputy administrator from 1993 to 1996 and the acting administrator for a brief period in 1996 and 1997. And T. Allan McArtor was a top executive for Federal Express before and after he served as FAA administrator from 1987 to 1989. (Current administrator Jane Garvey was director of Logan International Airport in Boston, which has been criticized for its lax security.)

The revolving door keeps spinning. Daschle, for instance, went from the ATA to the FAA and now is back lobbying for Northwest and American airlines.

III. One of Washington’s Most Powerful Lobbies

The airline industry has paid handsomely and employed lobbyists strategically to cultivate its influence in Washington, D.C.

The top nine U.S. airlines and their trade association, the ATA, alone spent \$62.9 million in the last four years lobbying Congress, the DOT, the FAA, and the White House, including \$16.6 million in 2000. (See Appendix D)

Last year alone, the industry employed 210 different lobbyists, including 108 who had worked in Congress or another branch of the federal government. The list of major lobbying firms working for the airlines reads like a who’s who of K Street, from Verner, Liipfert to Barbour Griffith & Rogers to Patton Boggs. (See Appendix E)

The roster of well-connected airline lobbyists who are former members of Congress includes former U.S. senators Dale Bumpers (D-Ark./United), Wendell Ford (D-Ky./Delta), and Bob Packwood (R-Ore./Northwest). (See Appendix F)

Airline lobbyists also include two former secretaries of the U.S. Department of Transportation: James Burnley IV (1987-1988), who lobbied for American Airlines last year, and William Coleman, Jr. (1975-1977), who lobbied for US Airways last year. Donald Bliss, the top lawyer at the DOT in 1976-1977, also lobbied for U.S. Airways in 2000. (See Appendix G)

The airlines can also count on at least three lobbyists with strong connections to the FAA: Linda Daschle (American and Northwest) who was Deputy and Acting Administrator at the FAA from 1993 to 1997; E. Tazwell Ellett (ATA) who was chief counsel at the FAA from 1985 to 1988;

and Albert Randall (American and Northwest), who was also a top lawyer at the FAA from 1977 to 1997.

The roster of White House alumni who lobbied for the airline industry in 2000 includes: Haley Barbour (ATA), director of political affairs during the Reagan administration; Ken Duberstein (United), chief of staff for Ronald Reagan; Harold Ickes (United), deputy chief of staff for Bill Clinton; Nick Calio (American), now President Bush's top liaison to Congress; Lanny Griffith (ATA) who was a special assistant in the Bush I administration; and Kim McKernan, who was an aide in the Bush I administration and a special assistant to Dick Cheney when he was secretary of defense.

The industry's ties to key staff from Congress are just as deep. In 2000, the industry employed three lobbyists who were former aides to Rep. Bud Shuster (R-Penn.), the former chairman of the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee. The industry also employed ex-aides to former House Speakers Thomas "Tip" O'Neill and Newt Gingrich and former aides to current Secretary of Transportation Norman Mineta, who is also the former chairman and ranking Democrat of the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee. (See Appendix H)

The industry's influence shouldn't wane in the future. Newly registered lobbyists in 2001 include:

- Paul Brown (Northwest), a former floor assistant to Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle.
- Jim Johnson (Delta), a former aide to Senate Minority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.).
- Steven O. Palmer (Northwest), former assistant secretary for government affairs at the U.S. Department of Transportation in the Clinton administration (as well as a former senior staff member of the influential Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee, which oversees the airlines).
- Jack Schenendorf (United), who was chief of staff for the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee from 1995 to 2001 (and spent a total of 20 years working for the committee); Schenendorf also served as Department of Transportation coordinator for the Bush-Cheney Transition Team.

The influence of airline industry lobbyists is enhanced by the industry's aggressive campaign contributions of \$6.8 million in 1999-2000 and \$4.1 million in 1997-1998.⁵³ Most of that \$10.9 million was doled out in unlimited "soft money" contributions (\$6.6 million), which tend to carry added weight because they go to the party committees that are controlled by party congressional and White House leaders, who set the legislative agenda of Congress and the executive branch. (See Appendix I)

The industry's soft money contributions in 1997-2000 were pretty evenly distributed, with 59 percent of the huge contributions going to Republicans (who controlled the House and Senate) and 41 percent to Democrats (who controlled the executive branch).

The industry preferred George W. Bush (\$183,801) to Al Gore (\$57,425) in the 2000 presidential contest⁵⁴ – although the airlines made sure to hedge their bets to the national party committees, which act as extensions of the presidential campaigns. The industry funneled \$901,000 in soft money to the Republican National Committee (RNC) during the last election season, compared to \$620,000 to the Democratic National Committee (DNC). The industry followed a similar pattern in its contributions to the parties’ respective Senate and House fundraising committees. (See Appendix J)

The bottom line, according to Mary Schiavo, the former DOT inspector general, is that the airline industry is non-partisan when it comes to contributing – and the two parties don’t discriminate when it comes to their treatment of the industry. “It’s a bipartisan trail of money,” Schiavo told Public Citizen. “I worked for both the elder Bush and Clinton administrations. I didn’t see any difference. It never cut along party lines. It cut along financial interest lines.”⁵⁵

The inability of the federal government to impose security improvements recommended by the Gore Commission has left Bob Monetti, whose son Rick was killed by a bomb on Pan Am 103, exasperated. “How the hell,” Monetti said, “do you fight a war with rulemaking? If we’d fought World War II with rulemaking we’d probably still be waiting for D-Day.”⁵⁶

Endnotes

¹ Thomas O. McGarity, “Reinventing Rationality: The Role of Regulatory Analysis in the Federal Bureaucracy,” Cambridge University Press, 1991.

² Public Citizen interview with Tom McGarity, September 26, 2001.

³ Carol Eisenberg, “FAA, Industry It Regulates Stand Shoulder to Shoulder,” *Newsday*, December 16, 1996.

⁴ Public Citizen interview with Jim Hall, September 27, 2001.

⁵ Gaylord Shaw, “Tighter Air Security May Not Fly, FAA Bid to Change Rules After Flight 103 Blast Met Strong Head Winds,” *Newsday*, August 14, 1996.

⁶ Public Citizen interview with Jim Hall, September 27, 2001.

⁷ General Accounting Office, GAO-01-1165T, “Aviation Security: Weaknesses in Airport Security and Options for Assigning Screening Responsibilities,” September 21, 2001.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ General Accounting Office, “Aviation Security: Long-Standing Problems Impair Airport Screeners’ Performance,” June 28, 2000.

¹¹ Public Citizen interview with Bob Monetti, September 20, 2001.

¹² Federal Aviation Administration, Notice of Proposed Rule Making, Certification of Screening Companies, January 3, 2000, page 19.

¹³ Written Comments of United Express, before the U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Aviation Administration, Matter of Notice of Proposed Rulemaking on the Certification of Screening Companies contained in Docket No. FAA-1999-6673, May 1, 2000.

¹⁴ Written Comments of Midway Airlines, before the U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Aviation Administration, Matter of Notice of Proposed Rulemaking on the Certification of Screening Companies contained in Docket No. FAA-1999-6673, April 26, 2000.

¹⁵ Written Comments of the Air Transport Association, before the U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Aviation Administration, Matter of Notice of Proposed Rulemaking on the Certification of Screening Companies contained in Docket No. FAA-1-999-6673, April 4, 2000.

¹⁶ Public Citizen interview with Tom McGarity, September 26, 2001.

¹⁷ Written Comments of Alaska Airlines, before the U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Aviation Administration, Matter of Notice of Proposed Rulemaking on the Certification of Screening Companies contained in Docket No. FAA-1999-6673, April 25, 2000.

¹⁸ White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security, “Final Report to President Clinton,” February 12, 1997, page 22.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Carol Eisenberg and Jessica Kowal, “Airport Security: A Decade of Debate, But Still Many Gaps in the Safety Net,” *Newsday*, December 15, 1996.

²¹ Federal Aviation Administration, Office of Aviation Policy and Plans Operations, Regulatory Analysis Branch, “Final Regulatory Evaluation, Regulatory Flexibility Determination, Trade Impact Assessment, and Unfunded Mandates Determination,” July 1998, page 1 of the Appendix.

²² Lee Privett, Acting Director, Office of Security and Administrative Management, U.S. Department of Transportation, Memorandum to Office of the Chief Counsel, FAA, Rules Docket (AGC-200), Docket No. 28859.

²³ Walter V. Robinson and Glen Johnson, “Airlines fought security changes,” *The Boston Globe*, September 20, 2001.

²⁴ Written comments from Trans World Airlines before the U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Aviation Administration, Matter of Notice of Proposed Rulemaking on Employment History – Verification and Criminal Records Check contained in the Docket No. FAA 1997-28859, May 19, 1997.

²⁵ Written Comments of Air Transport Association Before the Department of Transportation, Federal Aviation Administration, Washington, D.C., Notice of Proposed Rulemaking Regarding Employment History Verification and Criminal Records Check, Docket No. 28859, May 19, 1997.

²⁶ Written Comments of National Air Transportation Association Before the Department of Transportation, Federal Aviation Administration, Washington, D.C., Notice of Proposed Rulemaking Regarding Employment History Verification and Criminal Records Check, Docket No. 28859, May 19, 1997.

²⁷ Arnold Barnett et al., “Safe At Home? An Experiment in Domestic Airline Security,” published in *Operations Research*, March-April 2001.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Federal Aviation Administration, 99-5536-2, Draft Regulatory Impact Analysis, “Security of Checked Baggage on Flights Within the United States,” Notice of Proposed Rulemaking, Office of Aviation Policy and Plans, April 1999, page 39.

³¹ White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security, “Final Report to President Clinton,” February 12, 1997, page 11.

³² Carol Eisenberg, “Unmatched Performance, Unaccompanied Bags and the Lesson of Pan Am 103,” *Newsday*, December 16, 1996. (Former FAA security chief Billie Vincent recalls that airline officials told him, “We can’t do that. That will shut us down.”)

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Walter V. Robinson and Glen Johnson, “Airlines fought security changes,” *The Boston Globe*, September 20, 2001.

³⁵ Public Citizen interview with Jim Hall, September 28, 2001.

³⁶ Center for Responsive Politics and Walter V. Robinson and Glen Johnson, “Airlines fought security changes,” *The Boston Globe*, September 20, 2001.

³⁷ Written Comments for Alaska Airlines, before the U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Aviation Administration, Matter of Notice of Proposed Rulemaking on the Certification of Screening Companies contained in Docket No. FAA 1999-5536, August 10, 1999.

³⁸ Written Comments for Air Transport Association, before the U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Aviation Administration, Matter of Notice of Proposed Rulemaking on the Certification of Screening Companies contained in Docket No. FAA 1999-5536, August 17, 1999.

³⁹ Written Comments for Era Aviation, Inc., before the U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Aviation Administration, Matter of Notice of Proposed Rulemaking on the Certification of Screening Companies contained in Docket No. FAA 1999-5536, August 17, 1999.

⁴⁰ Written Comments for Southwest Airlines, before the U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Aviation Administration, Matter of Notice of Proposed Rulemaking on the Certification of Screening Companies contained in Docket No. FAA 1999-5536, August 17, 1999.

⁴¹ Written Comments for Trans World Airlines, Inc., before the U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Aviation Administration, Matter of Notice of Proposed Rulemaking on the Certification of Screening Companies contained in Docket No. FAA 1999-5536, August 9, 1999.

⁴² Public Citizen interview with Steve Elson, September 20, 2001.

⁴³ CBS News, 60 Minutes, “How Secure Are Our Airports?” September 16, 2001.

⁴⁴ Statement of Cathal Flynn, Associate Administrator for Civil Aviation Security, Before the Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation, Subcommittee on Aviation, April 6, 2000.

⁴⁵ Statement of Alexis Stefani, Assistant Inspector General for Auditing, U.S. Department of Transportation, Before the Subcommittee on Aviation, Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation, U.S. Senate, April 6, 2000.

⁴⁶ Public Citizen interview with Steve Elson, September 20, 2001.

⁴⁷ Public Citizen interview with Brian Sullivan, September 26, 2001.

⁴⁸ The intent of Rep. DeFazio's bill was folded into the FAA Reauthorization Act of 1996. This bill designated that aviation safety and security become the FAA administrator's "highest priorities" and "repeals the duty of the administrator to promote" air commerce. The law as it was written in Title 49, Section 401, substituted "encouraging and developing civil aeronautics, including new aviation technology" for "promoting, encouraging, and developing civil aeronautics."

⁴⁹ *Air Safety Week*, "House Bill Would Make Safety FAA's Top Job," July 22, 1996.

⁵⁰ Public Citizen interview with Mary Schiavo, September 18, 2001.

⁵¹ Bill Vincent, opinion column, *The Washington Post*, September 25, 2001.

⁵² Public Citizen interview with Brian Sullivan, September 26, 2001.

⁵³ Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Public Citizen interview with Mary Schiavo, September 18, 2001.

⁵⁶ Public Citizen interview with Bob Monetti, September 20, 2001.

Appendix A:
Side-by-Side Analysis of Gore Commission
Recommendations and Weaker FAA Rules

A. Certification of Screening Companies

Gore Commission Proposals	FAA Proposed Rule	Differences/ Problems
<p>1997 Gore Commission Recommendations:</p> <p>“The Commission recommends development of uniform performance standards for the selection, training, certification, and re-certification of screening companies and their employees.”</p> <p>“The Commission recommends that the FAA work with the private sector and other federal agencies to promote the professionalism of security personnel through a program that could include: licensing and performance standards that reflect best practices; adequate, common and recurrent training that considers human factors; emphasis on reducing turnover rates; rewards for performance; opportunities for advancement; a national rank and grade structure to permit employees to find opportunities in other areas; regional and national competitions to identify highly skilled teams; and, an agreement among users to hire based on performance, not just cost.”</p>	<p>The FAA proposed rule “Certification of Screening Companies” would require screening companies to be certified by the FAA. The rule would establish minimum experience and training requirements for screeners and their trainers and supervisors.</p> <p>The rule would require that employees who train screeners have 40 hours of experience, and require that screeners pass an FAA test every year. In addition, screeners could not exercise independent judgment until they had completed 40 hours of on-the-job training.</p> <p>The FAA released the proposed rule on January 3, 2000. The final rule was sent to OMB on June 14, 2001, which completed its review on September 17, 2001. The FAA has not released the final rule and its details have not been made public.</p> <p>The FAA missed the congressionally-mandated May 31, 2001 deadline for release of a final rule.</p>	<p>The Gore Commission failed to recommend and the FAA failed to suggest minimum requirements for screener salaries and benefits. The importance of these measures can be gleaned from FAA’s discussion of its proposed rule. After a joint test with an unnamed European country, the FAA reported that screeners in that country – who received significantly more training, higher salaries and better benefits than their American counterparts – performed twice as well in performance tests.</p> <p>The Gore Commission’s national rank and grade structure, which would allow employees to find opportunities in other areas, was not proposed by the FAA. The FAA also failed to propose meaningful measures to reduce turnover rates and reward employees for good performance.</p> <p>A recommendation to host national and regional competitions to identify high-quality security teams also was not addressed in the FAA’s proposed rule.</p> <p>Under the FAA’s proposed rule, screening company contracts would still be awarded to the lowest bidder, although the Gore Commission recommended the FAA encourage airline companies to select screening contractors based on performance instead of relying solely on costs.</p>

B. Employment History, Verification and Criminal History Records Check

Gore Commission Proposals	FAA Proposed Rule	Differences/ Problems
<p>1997 Gore Commission Recommendation:</p> <p>“Require criminal background checks and FBI fingerprint checks for all screeners, and all airport and airline employees with access to secure areas.”</p> <p>“Currently, employees, including those with unescorted access to secure areas of airports, are not subject to such review. Given the risks associated with the potential introduction of explosives into these areas, the Commission recommends that screeners and employees with access to secure areas be subject to criminal background checks and FBI fingerprint checks.”</p> <p>“The Commission reiterates that the overall goal is FBI fingerprint checks of all airport and airline employees with access to secure areas no later than mid-1999.”</p>	<p>The FAA rule addressing criminal background checks, “Employment History, Verification and Criminal History Records Check,” called for FBI criminal background checks only in limited situations and only for a small percentage of workers.</p> <p>The rule merely extended to screeners the limited employment history verification/background check that already was applied to employees with access to secure areas.</p> <p>This two-part process begins with an examination of an applicant’s employment history. An FBI criminal background check is initiated only if there are employment gaps or other discrepancies. The FAA estimated in 1998 that criminal background checks were occurring in 0.4 percent of cases.</p> <p>The rule became effective November 24, 1998. Legislation requiring that criminal background checks for <i>all</i> screeners and employees with access to secure areas be phased in was signed into law November 11, 2000.</p>	<p>The FAA’s rule largely ignored the Gore Commission’s recommendations calling for background checks on <i>all</i> screeners and <i>all</i> employees with access to secure areas. Only screeners with employment gaps or discrepancies in their record are “triggered” for an FBI criminal background and fingerprint check. In fact, only a small percentage of screeners would be subject to an FBI background check. The FAA estimated in its final economic impact statement that only 63 of the 16,996 new screeners in 1999 would require FBI background investigations. This is a far cry from the Gore Commission’s directive.</p> <p>Further, employees with access to secure areas are not subject to an FBI background review. As required by the 1995 Unescorted Access Privileges rule promulgated by the FAA, aviation employees with access to secure areas are subject to an FBI background check only if discrepancies or gaps exist in their employment history. The FAA rule did nothing to strengthen or expand background checks for these personnel – against the recommendations of the Gore Commission.</p>

C. Security of Checked Baggage

Gore Commission Proposals	FAA Proposed Rule	Differences/ Problems
<p>1996 Gore Commission “Initial” Recommendations:</p> <p>“Begin implementation of full bag-passenger match.”</p> <p>“Matching bags to passengers ensures that the baggage of anyone who does not board the plane is removed. Full bag match ensures that no unaccompanied bag remains on board a flight. Manual and automated systems to conduct full bag match have been employed in international aviation for several years, but need additional work to ensure they can be phased into domestic airline operations. The Commission recommends implementing full bag match at selected airports, including at least one hub, within sixty days to determine the best means of implementing the process system-wide.”</p> <p>1997 Gore Commission Recommendation:</p> <p>“The FAA should establish federally mandated standards for security enhancements.”</p> <p>“These enhancements should include standards for use of Explosive Detection System (EDS) machines, training programs for security personnel, use of automated bag match technology, development of profiling programs (manual and automated), and deployment of explosive detection canine teams.”</p>	<p>Several components of the 1997 Gore Commission recommendation were incorporated into the FAA proposed rule, “Security of Checked Baggage on Flights Within the United States.” Specifically, the proposed rule would require screening with explosion detection devices the checked baggage of every passenger <i>or</i> matching all baggage to passengers on the airplane <i>or</i> using the FAA-approved computer assisted profiling system (CAPS) database to select passengers for additional security measures (which could include bag match or EDS).</p> <p>The FAA released the proposed rule on April 19, 1999. The final rule was sent to OMB on June 14, 2001, which completed its review on September 17, 2001. The FAA has not released the final rule and its details have not been made public.</p> <p>The FAA missed the October 10, 2000 congressionally-mandated deadline for release of this final rule.</p>	<p>A proposal similar to the Gore Commission’s “Initial” recommendation of full positive passenger bag match was considered by the FAA, but rejected after failing a cost-benefit analysis. (The additional cost of this proposal was estimated at \$4 billion over 10 years.)</p> <p>The FAA’s proposed rule gives discretion to the airlines to choose the least protective option – the use of an FAA-approved profiling database, CAPS.</p> <p>Deployment of explosive detection canine teams was not addressed in the FAA proposed rule.</p>

Appendix B: **White House Commission on** **Aviation Safety and Security Membership**

Note: Edited biographies are from Appendix C of the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security, final report to President Clinton, February 12, 1997.

Lieutenant General James A. Abrahamson, USAF (Ret.), is the founder of International Air Safety, LLC., and Air Safety Consultants, Inc. He has a global reputation in the fields of technical program management, international business, and Air Traffic Management. He served as Chairman of the Board of Oracle Corporation and President of Hughes' Transportation Sector.

Jesse (Jack) Beauchamp. B.S., California Institute of Technology, 1964; Ph.D. Harvard University, 1967; Professor of Chemistry, California Institute of Technology, 1967 - Present; member, National Academy of Sciences. He has served on numerous scientific advisory committees and panels of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Department of Defense. He has expertise in the identification of chemical species using a wide range of instrumental methods. His current research activities include the development of new methods for the detection of explosives.

Dr. Franklin R. Chang-Diaz in 1973 became involved in the United States' controlled fusion program and in the design and operation of fusion reactors. As a visiting scientist with the M.I.T. Plasma Fusion Center from October 1983 to December 1993, he led the plasma propulsion program there to develop this technology for future human missions to Mars. In December 1993, he was appointed Director of the Advanced Space Propulsion Laboratory at the NASA Johnson Space Center. Dr. Chang-Diaz became an astronaut in August 1981 and is a veteran of five space flights. He has logged over 1,033 hours in space. Dr. Chang-Diaz received a bachelor of science degree in mechanical engineering from the University of Connecticut in 1973 and a doctorate in applied plasma physics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1977.

Antonia Handler Chayes is a Senior Advisor and Board Member of Conflict Management Group (CMG), a non-profit conflict resolution consulting firm, and a Senior Consultant to JAMS/Endispute, a firm that provides cost-effective alternatives to traditional litigation. Ms. Chayes is also an Adjunct Lecturer at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Previously she served as Assistant Secretary and as Under Secretary of the United States Air Force. Ms. Chayes served as a Commissioner with the Commission on Roles and Missions of the United States Armed Forces and the DOD-CIA Joint Security Commission. She has been a director of United Technologies since 1981, and is a member of the American Law Institute and the Council on Foreign Relations.

William T. Coleman, Jr. is a Senior Partner at O'Melveny & Myers; former U.S. Secretary of Transportation in the Ford Administration; Chairman of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.; Officer of the French Legion of Honor; and recipient of the Presidential Medal of Freedom conferred by President Clinton in September, 1995.

M. Victoria Cummock is President of Families of Pan Am 103/Lockerbie and a member of the

FAA Security Baseline Work Group. Her husband, John Binning Cummock was killed aboard Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland on December 21, 1988. Her work in Disaster Crisis Management, Aviation Security and Counter-terrorism, has brought about many legislative changes including the “1990 Aviation Security Improvement Act,” the “1996 Iran-Libyan Sanctions Act,” the “1996 Anti-terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act” and the “Aviation Disaster Family Assistance Act of 1996.”

John M. Deutch is a professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). His government assignments include former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Deputy Secretary of Defense, Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Technology, Director of Energy Research and Acting Assistant Secretary for Energy Technology at the Department of Energy. Born in Brussels, Belgium, Mr. Deutch became a U.S. citizen in 1945. He received a B.A. in history and economics from Amherst College, a B.S. in chemical engineering and a Ph.D. in physical chemistry from MIT.

Kathleen Flynn graduated from Marymount College in Tarrytown, N.Y. with a B.A. in Political Science and has done graduate studies at the University of Rochester. An anti-terrorism/airport security and safety advocate, Mrs. Flynn’s activism was triggered by the murder of her oldest child on Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland on December 21, 1988.

Louis J. Freeh served as FBI Director from 1993 – 2001. He began his career as an FBI Special Agent from 1975 to 1981 in the New York City Field Office and at FBI Headquarters in Washington, D.C. In 1981, he joined the U.S. Attorney’s Office for the Southern District of New York as an Assistant U.S. Attorney. Subsequently, he held positions there as Chief of the Organized Crime Unit, Deputy U.S. Attorney, and Associate U.S. Attorney. In July 1991, former President George Bush appointed Freeh a United States District Court Judge for the Southern District of New York.

James Evan Hall has been Chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board since 1994. In June 1996, he was presented an Aviation Laurel by Aviation Week and Space Technology magazine for his efforts to resolve what happened to USAir flight 427. Mr. Hall chaired the Board’s hearings into the flight 427 disaster, the 1994 runway collision in St. Louis, and air safety in Alaska.

Brian Jenkins is Deputy Chairman of Kroll Associates, an international investigative and consulting firm, and one of the world’s leading authorities on international terrorism. From 1972 to 1989 he directed RAND Corporation’s research on political violence and international crime and was also Chairman of RAND’s Political Science Department for four years.

Raymond W. Kelly is Under Secretary of the Treasury for Enforcement, supervising Treasury’s law enforcement bureaus, including the Customs Service, the Secret Service, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, FinCEN, and the IRS Criminal Investigation Division. Mr. Kelly has over 30 years of law enforcement experience, including serving as New York City Police Commissioner during the World Trade Center bombing investigation. Additionally, Mr. Kelly is the United States’ representative on the Executive Committee of Interpol.

General John Michael Loh, USAF (Ret.) concluded his 35-year Air Force career in 1995 as the first commander of Air Combat Command, the command responsible for providing all U.S.-based Air Force combat and support forces for action worldwide. He has extensive experience leading large organizations toward greater levels of quality and productivity improvement and his organization was cited by Vice-President Gore as the model for reinventing government and understanding the principles of quality improvement. General Loh is a consultant for defense companies and specializes in strategic requirements planning, business development, proposal preparation and evaluation, program management support, quality improvement, and congressional relations. General Loh is a graduate of the U.S. Air Force Academy and holds a Master's degree in aero engineering from M.I.T.

Bradford Parkinson of Stanford University, was the original Department of Defense Global Positioning System (GPS) Program Director. He has a broad background in management, modern control, astrodynamics, simulation, avionics, and navigation. He manages the NASA/Stanford Relativity Mission, Gravity Probe B (GPB) and also directs Stanford research on innovative uses of GPS. He is Chair of the NASA Advisory Council and a member of the Presidential Commission on Air Safety and Security. Dr. Parkinson is a member of the AIAA, AAS, IEEE, ION, and Royal Institute of Navigation (RION). He has received many distinguished awards and authored more than 80 papers on Guidance, Navigation and Control. He is a fellow of the AIAA and the RION, and a member of the National Academy of Engineering.

Federico Peña served as the 12th U.S. Secretary of Transportation under President Clinton. From 1983-91, Secretary Peña was Mayor of Denver. He also has served as a Colorado legislator and civil rights lawyer. Mr. Peña did his undergraduate work at the University of Texas where he also received his law degree.

Franklin D. Raines is Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Patrick A. Shea is President of Patrick A. Shea, PC. He currently practices law in Utah and Washington, D.C. and is an Adjunct Professor of Political Science at the University of Utah. He serves as President of the Franklin Quest Championship and is a member of the Board of Advisors, Huntsman Center for Global Competition and Innovation, Wharton School of Business, University of Pennsylvania. He served as Counsel to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee and as Assistant Staff Director to the U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee. He is past President of the Stanford Alumni Association.

Laura D'Andrea Tyson is the former Chair of the Council of Economic Advisors.

Carl W. Vogt is a senior partner at Fulbright & Jaworski, L.L.P. Previously, he was Chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board (1992-94); member, FAA Aviation System Capacity Advisory Committee (1990) and Ninety Day Safety Review Committee (1996); Governor, Flight Safety Foundation; Fellow, Royal Aeronautical Society; and former Marine, carrier based, jet fighter pilot.

George H. Williams is a retired real estate broker, and served in the Korean War from 1951-52 as a Scout-sniper in the U.S. Marine Corps. Mr. Williams' son and only child, George Watterson Williams was killed on Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland on Dec. 21, 1988. He has served on the Board and is now President of The Victims of Pan Am 103, Inc., a proactive group instrumental in the passage of the Airline Safety and Security Improvement Act of 1990 and several subsequent anti-terrorist legislative initiatives.

Appendix C: Results of Federal Aviation Administration 2000 Employee Attitude Survey

On March 2, 2001, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) published the results of its 2000 Employee Attitude Survey. The survey was developed in partnership with the Omni Corporation and included over 100 questions designed to assess how well the FAA is doing in a number of areas, including quality of management, workplace environment, training and skills development. The survey was distributed to all full-time, permanent employees around the country and the results compiled for individual offices as well as the FAA as a whole. Below are several items from the survey with the reported results for the entire FAA, the Civil Aviation Security section of FAA (ACS), and the Houston Civil Aviation Security Field Office.

Item #15: Promotions in my organization are given to those who are well qualified.

Office	Number of Respondents	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
FAA	24,358	31%	28%	24%	14%	3%
ACS	744	30%	28%	19%	17%	6%
Houston	12	50%	42%	8%	0%	0%

According to the FAA's published results, over 20,000 people or 83 percent of those that responded to the survey could not agree with the statement above. Even accounting for a potential bias on the part of employees who had not received promotions, it is evident that employees of the FAA at many levels feel that people are receiving promotions for reasons other than merit.

Item #78: Corrective actions are taken to deal with supervisors or managers who perform poorly.

Office	Number of Respondents	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
FAA	24,071	34%	27%	25%	12%	2%
ACS	733	39%	25%	22%	12%	2%
Houston	12	75%	8%	8%	8%	0%

Many of the items in the survey overlap. The response to this item indicates that staff feel that the management is not being held accountable. Considering question 15, which might indicate some favoritism in promotion, the responses to this question reinforce the notion that certain managers may not be qualified to hold supervisory positions but are not removed even if they are performing poorly.

Item #18: Decisions in my organization are made at those levels where the most adequate and accurate information is available.

Office	Number of Respondents	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
FAA	24,304	20%	30%	28%	19%	3%
ACS	741	16%	30%	27%	24%	4%
Houston	12	25%	67%	0%	8%	0%

Another conclusion that can be drawn from the survey results is that employees feel powerless to affect change in the FAA. This question, under the heading of “Employee Empowerment,” shows that half of the survey respondents in the FAA felt that the people making important decisions were doing so without the necessary information. Since the majority of the respondents were employees (as opposed to supervisors) it can be concluded that there is a breakdown in communication between the management and staff in the FAA.

Item #31: Conflicts and differences in my organization are brought out and managed, rather than avoided or worked around.

Office	Number of Respondents	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
FAA	24,372	28%	29%	23%	17%	3%
ACS	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Houston	12	58%	42%	0%	0%	0%

Reinforcing the impression that there exists a breakdown in communication between management and staff, item #31 indicates a problem addressing conflict within the FAA. At the Houston office 100 percent of respondents thought conflicts and policy differences were not addressed. Over time this problem has gotten worse. According to FAA-wide results, the percentage of favorable responses (“agree” or “strongly agree”) to this question averaged around 47 percent through the late 1980s, dropping to 30 percent in 1995 and 20 percent last year.

Item #74: I trust FAA management.

Office	Number of Respondents	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
FAA	2,393	25%	27%	24%	20%	3%
ACS	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Houston	12	75%	8%	17%	0%	0%

The number of respondents for the FAA is less for this item because it refers only to responses from supervisors. While two-thirds of “employees” at the FAA reported not trusting management, a more significant fact is that *over half* of the “supervisors” do not. In fact, one-third of “management and executives” reported not trusting FAA management either!

**Appendix D:
Federal Lobbying Expenditures
by Top Airline Companies, 1997-2000**

Company	1997	1998	1999	2000	Total
American Airlines	\$5,560,000	\$3,800,000	\$2,794,527	\$2,400,000	\$14,554,527
Air Transport Association of America	\$2,570,000	\$3,820,000	\$1,870,000	\$3,340,000	\$11,600,000
Northwest Airlines	\$2,250,597	\$2,880,000	\$2,770,000	\$2,620,000	\$10,520,597
United Airlines	\$1,200,000	\$1,660,000	\$2,365,000	\$3,240,000	\$8,465,000
Delta Airlines	\$1,340,000	\$2,240,000	\$1,920,000	\$2,340,000	\$7,840,000
US Airways	\$1,120,000	\$780,000	\$640,000	\$1,340,000	\$3,880,000
Continental Airlines	\$660,000	\$900,000	\$730,000	\$870,000	\$3,160,000
Southwest Airlines	\$1,240,000	\$160,000	\$380,000	\$260,000	\$2,040,000
Alaska Airlines	\$100,000	\$80,000	\$140,000	\$130,000	\$450,000
America West Airlines	\$100,000	\$50,000	\$90,000	\$100,000	\$340,000
Total	\$16,140,597	\$16,370,000	\$13,699,527	\$16,640,000	\$62,850,124
Industry Total	\$33,913,401	\$38,659,484	\$42,156,407	NA	

Source: Public Citizen analysis of lobby disclosure reports filed with the Clerk of the House and Secretary of the Senate pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995; Center for Responsive Politics.

Appendix E:

Lobbying Firms and Noteworthy Lobbyists Hired by Airline Industry, Year 2001

Firm	Amount	Lobbyist	Previous Government Positions
Carmen Group	\$440,000	Beau Boulter	Member, House of Representatives (R-TX) (1985-89)
Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	\$400,000	Berl Bernhard	Senior Advisor to the Secretary, Department of State (1980-81). Director (1960-63), Deputy Director (1959-60) and Supervisory General Attorney (1959), U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Law Clerk, Judge Luther Youngdaho U.S. District Court for District of Columbia
		John Merrigan	Aide, Senator Russell Long (D-La.) (1971)
		David Weiss	Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for North American Affairs, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative
The Washington Group, Inc.	\$400,000	William Burke	Legislative Director, Representative Patrick Kennedy (D-RI) (1994-2000)
		Rita Lewis	Aide to Senate Minority Leader Thomas Daschle (D-SD)
		G. John O'Hanlon	Aide to House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-MO)
		John D. Raffaelli	Tax and Trade Counsel, Senator Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX) (1980-84)
Barbour Griffith & Rogers, Inc.	\$380,000	Haley Barbour	Director, Office of Political Affairs, The White House (1985-87)
		Carl Biersack	Legislative Director, Senator Trent Lott (R-MS)
		G.O. Lanny Griffith, Jr.	Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs, The White House (1989-91). Assistant Secretary for Intergovernmental and Interagency Affairs, Department of Education, Bush I Administration
		Loren Monroe	Legislative Aide, Senator Pete Domenici (R-NM)
Gerchick-Murphy Associates, L.L.C.	\$380,000		
Sunrise Research Corporation	\$360,000	Michael E. Korens	Counsel, Subcommittee on Aviation, Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Technology
		Bob Packwood	Member, U.S. Senate (R-OR) (1969-95)
Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell, P.C.	\$320,000	Linda Daschle	Acting Administrator (1996-1997) and Deputy Administrator (1993-97), Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation. Director, Office of Congressional, Community and Consumer Affairs, Civil Aeronautics Board (1980-84)
		Albert Randall	Assistant Chief Counsel, Legislation, Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation (1977-97)

Firm	Amount	Lobbyist	Previous Government Positions
The Duberstein Group, Inc.	\$280,000	Kenneth Duberstein	Deputy Chief and Chief of Staff (1987-89), Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs (1981-83) and Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs (1981), The White House. Deputy Under Secretary, Department of Labor (1976-77). Director, Congressional and Intergovernmental Affairs, General Services Administration (1972-76)
The Wexler Group	\$250,000	Cynthia Berry	Former Legislative Assistant, Representative Jon Kyl (R-Ariz.)
		Michael Flanagan	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-IL) (1995-96)
		Robert Walker	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-PA) (1977-96). Chairman, House Committee on Science (1995-97)
		Anne Wexler	Assistant to the President for Public Liaison, The White House, Carter Administration
Jack Ferguson Associates	\$240,000	Jack Ferguson	Administrative Aide to Assistant Minority Leader, Senator Ted Stevens (R-AK) (1976-78). Administrative Aide, Representative Don Young (R-AK) (1973-76). Legislative Aide, Representative Floyd Hicks (D-WA) (1970-73)
Ben Barnes	\$200,000		
Patton Boggs L.L.P.	\$200,000	Thomas Boggs, Jr.	Coordinator, National Defense Executive Reserve, The White House (1965-66). Economist, Joint Economic Committee (1961-65)
		Gregory Laughlin	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-TX) (1995-96) and (D-TX) (1989-95)
		Karen Marangi	Counsel to Senator Patrick Leahy, Senate Judiciary Committee
		Edward J. Newberry	Appropriations Staff and Press Secretary, Representative Frank Wolf (R-VA) (1984-91)
		Darryl Nirenberg	Chief of Staff, Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) (1991-95). Deputy Staff Director (1990-91), Associate Minority Counsel (1989-90), and Professional Staff Member (1987-88), Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Senate. Professional Staff Member, Committee on Agriculture
		Stuart Pape	Executive Assistant to the Commissioner (1978-79) and Associate Chief Counsel (1974-78), Food and Drug Administration
		Joe Schmitz	Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice (1987). Clerk to Judge James Buckley, U.S. Court of Appeals, District of Columbia (1986-87)
		Jonathan Yarowsky	Special Associate Counsel to President Clinton, The White House

Firm	Amount	Lobbyist	Previous Government Positions
Williams & Jensen, PC	\$180,000	Bertram W. Carp	Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs and Policy, The White House (1977-81). Legislative Counsel, Senator Walter F. Mondale (D-MN) (1970-77). Attorney, Office of the General Counsel, Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1969-70)
		J. Steven Hart	Special Assistant to the Assistant Attorney General for Legal Policy, Department of Justice (1981-82). Assistant to the Chair, President's Task Force on ERISA Reorganization, Office of Management and Budget, The White House (1978-79)
		Anthony Roda	Director of Legislative Strategy to House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich (R-GA) (1989-92). Legislative Director, Representative Steve C. Gunderson (R-WI) (1987-88). Legislative Director (1985-86) and Legislative Assistant (1983-84), Representative Steve McKinney (R-CT)
		Frank Vlossak	Legislative Assistant, Representative Merrill Cook (R-UT) (1997-98)
Fleischman & Walsh	\$160,000	Luis Dupart	Majority Chief Counsel and Staff Director, Subcommittee on Antitrust, Business Rights and Competition, Senate Judiciary Committee (1997-98). Chief Counsel on Intelligence, House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (1988-97)
		John McAllister	Legislative Director, Representative Bud Shuster (R-PA)
Winston and Strawn	\$160,000	James Burnley, IV	Secretary (1987-98), Deputy Secretary (1983-87), and General Counsel (1983), Department of Transportation. Associate Deputy Attorney General, Department of Justice (1982-83)
		Charles Kinney	Chief Floor Counsel to Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-ME) (1989-93). Floor Counsel and Judiciary Counsel to Senate Democratic Leadership and Senator Robert C. Byrd (D-WV) (1974-88)
		Doug Richardson	Legislative Assistant, Representative Lynn Martin (R-IL). Staff Assistant, Representative Tom Tauke (R-IA)
Dewey Square Group	\$160,000		

Firm	Amount	Lobbyist	Previous Government Positions
Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	\$140,000	Jeffrey Bergner	Staff Director, Senate Foreign Relations Committee (1985-86). Administrative Assistant (1983-84), Legislative Director (1981-82), and Legislative Assistant (1978-80), Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN)
		David Bockorny	Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, The White House, Reagan Administration
		David Castagnetti	Chief of Staff, Senator Max Baucus (D-MT). Chief of Staff, Representative Norman Y. Mineta (D-CA)
		James Hawkins	Aide, Senator James M. Jeffords (I-VT). Professional Staff Member, Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee
		Brenda Reese	Conference Coordinator, House Republican Conference
		Melissa Schulman	Policy Director, Representative Steny Hoyer (D-MD) (1995-98). Floor Assistant and Executive Director, House Democratic Caucus (1990-94). Legislative Aide, Representative Thomas Manton (D-NY) (1985). Staff Assistant, Representative Geraldine Ferraro (D-NY) (1984)
O'Brien Calio	\$140,000	Nicholas Calio	Assistant to President George W. Bush and Director of Legislative Affairs, The White House (2001). Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, The White House (1992) and Deputy Assistant to the President for House Legislative Affairs, The White House (1989-91)
		Kirsten Chadwick	Executive Assistant, Office of Legislative Affairs, The White House, Bush I Administration
		Thomas Keating	Director of Policy Services and House Sergeant, Arms Control Bureau, Department of Defense
		Kim McKernan	Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, The White House, Bush I Administration. Special Assistant to Secretary Dick Cheney, Department of Defense
		Charles Mellody	Aide to the Chairman, House Ways and Means Committee (1984-94)
		Patricia Nelson	Staff Member, House Ways and Means Committee
		Lawrence O'Brien III	Deputy for Tax Legislation to the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of Treasury (1977-79)
		Linda Tarplin	Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs (Senate), The White House, Bush I Administration
James Clinton Easton	\$120,764		
Oldaker & Harris L.L.P.	\$120,000	John Blount	Legislative Assistant (1980-83), Representative Bill Emerson (R-MO). Legislative Assistant (1978-80), Representative George William Whitehurst (R-VA)

Appendix F:
“Revolving Door” I: Former Members of Congress
Who Were Airline Lobbyists, Year 2000

Name	Office	Firm	Client(s)
Beau Boulter	Member, House of Representatives (R-TX) (1985-89)	Carmen Group	Air Transport Association of America; Northwest Airlines
Dale Bumpers	Member, U.S. Senate (D-AR) (1975-99)	Arent Fox Kintner Plotkin & Kahn, P.L.L.C.	American Airlines
Michael Flanagan	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-IL) (1995-96)	The Wexler Group	American Airlines
Wendell Ford	Member, U.S. Senate (D-KY) (1974-98)	Dickstein, Shapiro, Morin & Oshinsky LLP	Delta Air Lines
Gregory Laughlin	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-TX) (1995-96), and (D-TX) (1989-95)	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	United Airlines
Tom Loeffler	Advisor to the President for Central American Legislative Affairs, The White House (1987). Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-TX) (1978-86). Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, The White House (1975-77)	Arter & Hadden	Southwest Airlines
Robert Michel	Member (1957-95) and Minority Leader (1981-94), U.S. House of Representatives (R-IL)	Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	Air Transport Association of America
Bob Packwood	Member, U.S. Senate (R-OR) (1969-95). Chairman, Senate Finance Committee	Sunrise Research Corporation	Northwest Airlines
Martin Russo	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-IL) (1975-93)	Cassidy & Associates, Inc.	US Airways
Robert Walker	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-PA) (1977-96). Chairman, House Committee on Science (1995-97)	The Wexler Group	American Airlines

Source: Public Citizen analysis of lobby disclosure reports filed with the Clerk of the House and Secretary of the Senate pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995.

Appendix G:
"Revolving Door" II: Airline Lobbyists (Year 2000)
Who Worked for the FAA, DOT, White House or Key Committees

Lobbyist	Previous Positions	Firm	Client
Department of Transportation			
Donald T. Bliss	Acting General Counsel (1976-77) and Deputy General Counsel (1975-77), Department of Transportation. Chief Policy Coordinator, Agency for International Development (1974-75). Special Assistant to the Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency (1973-74)	O'Melveny & Meyers L.L.P.	US Airways
James Burnley, IV	Secretary (1987-98), Deputy Secretary (1983-87), and General Counsel (1983), Department of Transportation. Associate Deputy Attorney General, Department of Justice (1982-83)	Winston and Strawn	American Airlines
William Coleman, Jr.	Secretary, Department of Transportation (1975-77)	O'Melveny & Meyers L.L.P.	US Airways
Rebecca G. Cox	Formerly served in the Department of Transportation during the Reagan Administration	Continental Airlines	Self
Peter Goelz	Managing Director, National Transportation Safety Board	APCO Worldwide	Alaska Airlines
Federal Aviation Administration			
Linda Daschle	Acting Administrator (1996-1997) and Deputy Administrator (1993-97), Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation. Director, Office of Congressional, Community and Consumer Affairs, Civil Aeronautics Board (1980-84)	Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell, P.C.	Northwest Airlines; American Airlines
E. Tazwell Ellett	Chief Counsel (1985-88) and Special Counsel to the Administrator (1984), Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation. Special Assistant to Donald D. Engen, Member of National Transportation Safety Board (1982-84)	Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	Air Transport Association of America
Albert Randall	Assistant Chief Counsel, Legislation, Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation (1977-97)	Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell, P.C.	American Airlines; Northwest Airlines

Lobbyist	Previous Positions	Firm	Client
House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee			
Paul Schoellhamer	Chief of Staff, House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee (1993-95). Professional Staff, Subcommittee on Aviation, House Committee on Public Works and Transportation (1981-85)	Zuckert, Scoutt & Rasenberger	Air Transport Association of America
Susan Lent	Counsel, Subcommittee on Surface Transportation, Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure (1996-98)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	American Airlines
Senate Commerce Committee			
Michael E. Korens	Counsel, Subcommittee on Aviation, Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Technology	Sunrise Research Corporation	Northwest Airlines; United Airlines
Ivan A. Schlager	Democratic Counsel & Staff Director, Senate Committee on Commerce, Science & Transportation	Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom L.L.P.	US Airways
The White House			
Stanton D. Anderson	Deputy Assistant Secretary, Department of State (1973-75). Staff Assistant to the President, The White House (1971-73)	McDermott, Will & Emery	Northwest Airlines
Haley Barbour	Director, Office of Political Affairs, The White House (1985-87)	Barbour Griffith & Rogers, Inc.	Air Transport Association of America
David Bockorny	Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, The White House, Reagan Administration	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Northwest Airlines
Thomas Boggs, Jr.	Coordinator, National Defense Executive Reserve, The White House (1965-66). Economist, Joint Economic Committee (1961-65)	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	United Airlines
Nicholas Calio	Assistant to President George W. Bush and Director of Legislative Affairs, The White House (2001). Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, The White House (1992) and Deputy Assistant to the President for House Legislative Affairs, The White House (1989-91)	O'Brien Calio	American Airlines
Bertram W. Carp	Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs and Policy, The White House (1977-81). Legislative Counsel, Senator Walter F. Mondale (D-MN) (1970-77). Attorney, Office of the General Counsel, Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1969-70)	Williams & Jensen, PC	Continental Airlines Holdings
Kirsten Chadwick	Executive Assistant, Office of Legislative Affairs, The White House, Bush I Administration	O'Brien Calio	American Airlines

Lobbyist	Previous Positions	Firm	Client
Kenneth Duberstein	Deputy Chief and Chief of Staff (1987-89), Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs (1981-83) and Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs (1981), The White House. Deputy Under Secretary, Department of Labor (1976-77)	The Duberstein Group, Inc.	United Airlines
Janice Ann Enright	Executive Assistant to the Deputy Chief of Staff, The White House, Clinton Administration	The Ickes & Enright Group	United Airlines
Henry Gandy	White House Liaison Officer, The White House, Reagan Administration. Aide, Representative Tom Loeffler (R-TX). Aide to House Minority Whip Trent Lott (R-MS)	The Duberstein Group, Inc.	United Airlines
G.O. Lanny Griffith, Jr.	Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs, The White House (1989-91). Assistant Secretary for Intergovernmental and Interagency Affairs, Department of Education, Bush I Administration	Barbour Griffith & Rogers, Inc.	Air Transport Association of America
Harold Ickes	Deputy Chief of Staff, The White House, Clinton Administration (1994-97)	The Ickes & Enright Group	United Airlines
Kim McKernan	Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, The White House, Bush I Administration. Special Assistant to Secretary Dick Cheney, Department of Defense	O'Brien Calio	American Airlines
Linda Tarplin	Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs (Senate), The White House, Bush I Administration	O'Brien Calio	American Airlines
Anne Wexler	Assistant to the President for Public Liaison, The White House, Carter Administration	The Wexler Group	American Airlines

Appendix H:
All Airline Industry "Revolving Door" Lobbyists, Year 2001

Name	Previous Positions	Firm	Client(s)
Stanton D. Anderson	Deputy Assistant Secretary, Department of State (1973-75). Staff Assistant to the President, The White House (1971-73)	McDermott, Will & Emery	Northwest Airlines
Haley Barbour	Director, Office of Political Affairs, The White House (1985-87)	Barbour Griffith & Rogers, Inc.	Air Transport Association of America
Jeffrey Bergner	Staff Director, Senate Foreign Relations Committee (1985-86). Administrative Assistant (1983-84), Legislative Director (1981-82), and Legislative Assistant (1978-80), Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN)	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Northwest Airlines
Michael S. Berman	Aide, Vice President Walter Mondale	The Duberstein Group, Inc.	United Airlines
Berl Bernhard	Senior Advisor to the Secretary, Department of State (1980-81). Director (1960-63), Deputy Director (1959-60) and Supervisory General Attorney (1959), U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Law Clerk, Judge Luther Youngdaho U.S. District Court for District of Columbia	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Northwest Airlines
Cynthia Berry	Former Legislative Assistant, Representative Jon Kyl (R-Ariz.)	The Wexler Group	American Airlines
Carl Biersack	Legislative Director, Senator Trent Lott (R-MS)	Barbour Griffith & Rogers, Inc.	Air Transport Association of America
Diane Blagman	Chief of Staff (1988-93), and Legislative Assistant (1983-85), Representative Bob Carr (D-MI). Legislative Assistant and Federal Grants Coordinator, Representative Peter Peyser (D-NY)	Greenberg Traurig	American Airlines
Roger Blauwet	Tax Counsel, Senator Max Baucus (D-MT)	Canfield & Associates, Inc.	Air Transport Association of America
Donald T. Bliss	Acting General Counsel (1976-77) and Deputy General Counsel (1975-77), Department of Transportation. Chief Policy Coordinator, Agency for International Development (1974-75). Special Assistant to the Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency (1973-74)	O'Melveny & Meyers L.L.P.	US Airways
John Blount	Legislative Assistant (1980-83), Representative Bill Emerson (R-MO). Legislative Assistant (1978-80), Representative George William Whitehurst (R-VA)	Oldaker & Harris L.L.P.	Delta Airlines

Name	Previous Positions	Firm	Client(s)
David Bockorny	Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, The White House, Reagan Administration	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Northwest Airlines
Thomas Boggs, Jr.	Coordinator, National Defense Executive Reserve, The White House (1965-66). Economist, Joint Economic Committee (1961-65)	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	United Airlines
Kevin Borland	Legislative Director (1995), Representative John Shadegg (R-Ariz.). Press Secretary and Legislative Assistant (1993-94), Representative Dan Miller (R-FL). Legislative Assistant (1991-92), Representative John J. Rhodes (R-Ariz.)	McDermott, Will & Emery	Northwest Airlines
Beau Boulter	Member, House of Representatives (R-TX) (1985-89)	Carmen Group	Air Transport Association of America; Northwest Airlines
Stanley Brand	General Counsel, Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives (1976-83). Attorney/Advisor, Investment Management Division, Securities and Exchange Commission (1974-76). Legislative Assistant, House Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill (D-MA) (1971-1974)	Brand & Frulla	United Airlines
Dale Bumpers	Member, U.S. Senate (D-AR) (1975-99)	Arent Fox Kintner Plotkin & Kahn, L.L.C.	American Airlines
William Burke	Legislative Director, Representative Patrick Kennedy (D-RI) (1994-2000)	The Washington Group, Inc.	Delta Airlines
James Burnley, IV	Secretary (1987-98), Deputy Secretary (1983-87), and General Counsel (1983), Department of Transportation. Associate Deputy Attorney General, Department of Justice (1982-83)	Winston and Strawn	American Airlines
Nicholas Calio	Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, The White House (1992) and Deputy Assistant to the President for House Legislative Affairs (1989-91), The White House	O'Brien Calio	American Airlines
Bertram W. Carp	Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs and Policy, The White House (1977-81). Legislative Counsel, Senator Walter F. Mondale (D-MN) (1970-77). Attorney, Office of the General Counsel, Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1969-70)	Williams & Jensen, PC	Continental Airlines Holdings
David Castagnetti	Chief of Staff, Senator Max Baucus (D-MT). Chief of Staff, Representative Norman Y. Mineta (D-CA)	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Northwest Airlines
Kirsten Chadwick	Executive Assistant, Office of Legislative Affairs, The White House, Bush I Administration	O'Brien Calio	American Airlines

Name	Previous Positions	Firm	Client(s)
Steven Champlin	Executive Director, House Democratic Caucus (1991-93). Executive Floor Assistant, House Majority Whip (1987-91)	The Duberstein Group, Inc.	United Airlines
William Coleman, Jr.	Secretary, Department of Transportation (1975-77)	O'Melveny & Meyers L.L.P.	US Airways
Rebecca G. Cox	Formerly served in the Department of Transportation during the Reagan Administration	Continental Airlines	Self
Linda Daschle	Acting Administrator (1996-1997) and Deputy Administrator (1993-97), Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation. Director, Office of Congressional, Community and Consumer Affairs, Civil Aeronautics Board (1980-84)	Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell, P.C.	American Airlines; Northwest Airlines
Kenneth Duberstein	Deputy Chief and Chief of Staff (1987-89), Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs (1981-83) and Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs (1981), The White House. Deputy Under Secretary, Department of Labor (1976-77)	The Duberstein Group, Inc.	United Airlines
Luis Dupart	Majority Chief Counsel and Staff Director, Subcommittee on Antitrust, Business Rights and Competition, Senate Judiciary Committee (1997-98). Chief Counsel on Intelligence, House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (1988-97)	Fleischman & Walsh	American Airlines; Continental Airlines
E. Tazwell Ellett	Chief Counsel (1985-88) and Special Counsel to the Administrator (1984), Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation. Special Assistant to Donald D. Engen, Member of National Transportation Safety Board (1982-84)	Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	Air Transport Association of America
Janice Ann Enright	Executive Assistant to the Deputy Chief of Staff, The White House, Clinton Administration	The Ickes & Enright Group	United Airlines
Ann Eppard	Chief of Staff, Representative Bud Shuster (R-PA)	Ann Eppard Associates, LTD	United Airlines
Jack Ferguson	Administrative Aide to Assistant Minority Leader Ted Stevens (R-AK) (1976-78). Administrative Aide, Representative Don Young (R-AK) (1973-76). Legislative Aide, Representative Floyd Hicks (D-WA) (1970-73)	Jack Ferguson Associates	Alaska Airlines; United Airlines
Michael Flanagan	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-IL) (1995-96)	The Wexler Group	American Airlines
Wendell Ford	Member, U.S. Senate (D-KY) (1974-98)	Dickstein, Shapiro, Morin & Oshinsky LLP	Delta Airlines
Henry Gandy	White House Liaison Officer, The White House, Reagan Administration. Aide, Representative Tom Loeffler (R-TX). Aide to House Minority Whip Trent Lott (R-MS)	The Duberstein Group, Inc.	United Airlines

Name	Previous Positions	Firm	Client(s)
Gregory M. Gill	Associate Staff Member and Legislative Director, House Appropriations Committee. Legislative Director, Representative Steny Hoyer (D-MD). Legislative Assistant, Senator Donald Riegle (D-MI)	Cassidy & Associates, Inc.	US Airways
C. Franklin Godfrey, Jr.	Executive Assistant, Senior Legislative Assistant and Legislative Assistant, Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (D-MA). Staff Member, Subcommittee on Consumer Protection and Finance, House Committee on Energy and Commerce	Cassidy & Associates, Inc.	US Airways
Peter Goelz	Managing Director, National Transportation Safety Board	APCO Worldwide	Alaska Airlines
G.O. Lanny Griffith, Jr.	Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs, The White House (1989-91). Assistant Secretary for Intergovernmental and Interagency Affairs, Department of Education, Bush I Administration	Barbour Griffith & Rogers, Inc.	Air Transport Association of America
J. Steven Hart	Special Assistant to the Assistant Attorney General for Legal Policy, Department of Justice (1981-82). Assistant to the Chair, President's Task Force on ERISA Reorganization, Office of Management and Budget, The White House (1978-79)	Williams & Jensen, PC	Continental Airlines Holdings
James Hawkins	Aide, Senator James M. Jeffords (I-VT). Professional Staff Member, Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Northwest Airlines
Nikki Heidepriem	Special Assistant to the Secretary, Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1978-79)	Heidepriem & Mager Inc	United Airlines
Rodney Hoppe	Deputy Press Secretary, House Commerce Committee	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Air Transport Association of America
W. Mike House	Chief of Staff, Senator Howell Heflin (D-AL) (1979-86). Legislative Assistant, Representative James M. Collins (R-TX) (1971-72)	Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	Air Transport Association of America
Harold Ickes	Deputy Chief of Staff, The White House, Clinton Administration (1994-97)	The Ickes & Enright Group	United Airlines
David E. Johnson	Executive Director, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (1985-86). Administrative Assistant, Senator George Mitchell (D-ME). Deputy Assistant Secretary, Department of Health and Human Services. Counsel, U.S. Governmental Affairs Committee, U.S. Senate	Griffin, Johnson, Dover & Stewart, Inc.	Air Transport Association of America
Thomas Keating	Director of Policy Services and House Sergeant, Arms Control Bureau, Department of Defense	O'Brien Calio	American Airlines
Charles Kinney	Chief Floor Counsel to Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-ME) (1989-93). Floor Counsel and Judiciary Counsel to Senate Democratic Leadership and Senator Robert C. Byrd (D-WV) (1974-88)	Winston and Strawn	American Airlines

Name	Previous Positions	Firm	Client(s)
Michael E. Korens	Counsel, Subcommittee on Aviation, Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Technology	Sunrise Research Corporation	Northwest Airlines; United Airlines
Christina Krasow	Senior Cloakroom Assistant, Senate Democratic Cloakroom (1994-98)	Griffin, Johnson, Dover & Stewart, Inc.	Air Transport Association of America
Gregory Laughlin	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-TX) (1995-96) and (D-TX) (1989-95)	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	United Airlines
Jeffrey Lawrence	Associate Administrator for Legislative Affairs, National Aeronautics and Space Administration (1993-97). Legislative Director, Representative Bill Green (R-NY) (1983-93). Legislative Staff Member, Representatives Norman D'Amours (D-NH) and Daniel Akaka (D-HI)	Cassidy & Associates, Inc.	US Airways
Susan Lent	Counsel, Subcommittee on Surface Transportation, Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure (1996-98)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	American Airlines
Rita Lewis	Aide to Senate Minority Leader Thomas Daschle (D-SD)	The Washington Group, Inc.	Delta Airlines
Tom Loeffler	Advisor to the President for Central American Legislative Affairs, The White House (1987). Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-TX) (1978-86). Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, The White House (1975-77)	Arter & Hadden	Southwest Airlines
Tim Lovain	Legislative Assistant, Senator Slade Gorton (R-WA). Legislative Director, Representative Helen Neyner (D-NJ)	Denny Miller McBee Associates, Inc.	Alaska Air Group
Jeffrey MacKinnon	Legislative Director, Representative Joe Barton (R-TX) (1985-93)	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Air Transport Association of America
Karen Marangi	Counsel to Senator Patrick Leahy, Senate Judiciary Committee	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	United Airlines
Arthur Mason	Legal Staff, Office of the Chief Counsel, Division of Trading and Markets, Securities and Exchange Commission. Advisor, President's Committee on Review of National Policy Toward Gambling. U.S. Delegate, World Health Organization	Cassidy & Associates, Inc.	US Airways
John McAllister	Legislative Director, Representative Bud Shuster (R-PA)	Fleischman & Walsh	American Airlines; Continental Airlines
Steve McBee	National Security Assistant, Representative Norm Dicks (D-WA). Legislative Assistant, Representative Al Swift (D-WA). Senior Policy Aide, Representative Maria Cantwell (D-WA)	Denny Miller McBee Associates, Inc.	Alaska Air Group
Kim McKernan	Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, The White House, Bush I Administration. Special Assistant to Secretary Dick Cheney, Department of Defense	O'Brien Calio	American Airlines

Name	Previous Positions	Firm	Client(s)
Daniel J. McNamara	Assistant Legislative Director, Senator David Durenberger (R-MN) (1985-89). Professional Staff Member, Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Affairs, Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs. Staff Assistant, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D-MN)	Cassidy & Associates, Inc.	US Airways
Mike McNamara	Worked for Department of Commerce	Arent Fox Kintner Plotkin & Kahn, P.L.L.C.	American Airlines
Charles Mellody	Aide to the Chairman, House Ways and Means Committee (1984-94)	O'Brien Calio	American Airlines
John Merrigan	Aide, Senator Russell Long (D-LA) (1971)	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Northwest Airlines
Daniel Meyer	Chief of Staff, House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA) (1989-96). Administrative Assistant, Representative Vin Weber (R-MN) (1986-89). Legislative Director (1982-86), Legislative Assistant (1980-82) and Projects Director (1979), Senator Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN)	The Duberstein Group, Inc.	United Airlines
Robert Michel	Member (1957-95) and Minority Leader (1981-94), U.S. House of Representatives (R-IL)	Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	Air Transport Association of America
Denny Miller	Administrative Assistant, Senator Henry Jackson (D-WA) (1968-83). Professional Staff Member, Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources	Denny Miller McBee Associates, Inc.	Alaska Air Group
Loren Monroe	Legislative Aide, Senator Pete Domenici (R-NM)	Barbour Griffith & Rogers, Inc.	Air Transport Association of America
Jeffrey W. Munk	Legislative Counsel, Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX) (1993-96)	Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	Air Transport Association of America
Patricia Nelson	Staff Member, House Ways and Means Committee	O'Brien Calio	American Airlines
Edward J. Newberry	Appropriations Staff and Press Secretary, Representative Frank Wolf (R-VA) (1984-91)	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	United Airlines
Darryl Nirenberg	Chief of Staff, Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) (1991-95). Deputy Staff Director (1990-91), Associate Minority Counsel (1989-90), and Professional Staff Member (1987-88), Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Senate. Professional Staff Member, Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, U.S. Senate (1983-87)	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	United Airlines
Lawrence O'Brien III	Deputy for Tax Legislation to the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of Treasury (1977-79)	O'Brien Calio	American Airlines

Name	Previous Positions	Firm	Client(s)
G. John O'Hanlon	Aide to House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-MO)	The Washington Group, Inc.	Delta Airlines
Joe O'Neill	Administrative Assistant, Senator Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX) (1978-84)	Public Strategies Washington, Inc.	Southwest Airlines
Carolyn P. Osolinik	Chief Counsel, Senator Edward Kennedy, Senate Judiciary Committee (1984-92). Counsel, Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) (1981-84). Land and Natural Resources Division, Department of Justice (1979-81). Solicitor's Office, Department of Interior (1977-79)	Mayer, Brown and Platt	United Airlines
Bob Packwood	Member, U.S. Senate (R-OR) (1969-95)	Sunrise Research Corporation	Northwest Airlines
Stuart Pape	Executive Assistant to the Commissioner (1978-79) and Associate Chief Counsel (1974-78), Food and Drug Administration	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	United Airlines
Terry Paul	Director of Legislative Affairs for Marine Corps (1998-2000). Marine Corps liaison officer in the Senate (1988-98)	Cassidy & Associates, Inc.	US Airways
William Phillips	Chief of Staff (1983-86) and Legislative Director and Legislative Assistant (1981-83), Senator Ted Stevens (R-AK)	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Air Transport Association of America
Mark Planning	Staff Member, House Committee on Appropriations (1988-89). Senior Legislative Assistant, Representative Stan Parris (R-VA) (1983-86)	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Air Transport Association of America
Jon Plebani	Chief of Staff to Majority Whip William H. Gray III (D-PA). Deputy Special Advisor to the President on Haiti, Clinton Administration	Arter & Hadden	Southwest Airlines
John D. Raffaelli	Tax and Trade Counsel, Senator Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX) (1980-84)	The Washington Group, Inc.	Delta Airlines
Albert Randall	Assistant Chief Counsel, Legislation, Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation (1977-97)	Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell, P.C.	American Airlines; Northwest Airlines
Brenda Reese	Conference Coordinator, House Republican Conference	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Northwest Airlines
Doug Richardson	Legislative Assistant, Representative Lynn Martin (R-IL). Staff Assistant, Representative Tom Tauke (R-IA)	Winston and Strawn	American Airlines
Anthony Roda	Director of Legislative Strategy to House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich (R-GA) (1989-92). Legislative Director, Representative Steve C. Gunderson (R-WI) (1987-88). Legislative Director (1985-86) and Legislative Assistant (1983-84), Representative Stuart McKinney (R-CT)	Williams & Jensen, PC	Continental Airlines Holdings
Martin Russo	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-IL) (1975-93)	Cassidy & Associates, Inc.	US Airways

Name	Previous Positions	Firm	Client(s)
Thomas Ryan	Chief Counsel (1985-87) and Counsel (1977-84), House Committee on Energy and Commerce	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Air Transport Association of America
Karen Schecter	Assistant, Representative Bud Shuster (R-PA)	Ann Eppard Associates, LTD	United Airlines
Peter L. Scher	Special Trade Negotiator for Agriculture and Food Policy, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (1998-2000). Chief of Staff, Department of Commerce (1995-97). Chief of Staff to the U.S. Trade Representative (1993-95)	Mayer, Brown and Platt	United Airlines
Ivan A. Schlager	Democratic Counsel and Staff Director, Senate Committee on Commerce, Science & Transportation	Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom L.L.P.	US Airways
Joe Schmitz	Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice (1987). Clerk to Judge James Buckley, U.S. Court of Appeals, District of Columbia (1986-87)	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	United Airlines
Paul Schoellhamer	Chief of Staff, House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee (1993-95). Professional Staff, Subcommittee on Aviation, House Committee on Public Works and Transportation (1981-85)	Zuckert, Scoutt & Rasenberger	Air Transport Association of America
Melissa Schulman	Policy Director, Representative Steny Hoyer (D-MD) (1995-98). Floor Assistant and Executive Director, House Democratic Caucus (1990-94). Legislative Aide, Representative Thomas Manton (D-NY) (1985). Staff Assistant, Representative Geraldine Ferraro (D-NY)	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Northwest Airlines
Paul Snyder	Tax Counsel, Representative Ed Jenkins (D-GA) (1989-92). Legislative Assistant to Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, Jr. (D-MA) (1979-85)	Public Strategies Washington, Inc.	Southwest Airlines
Linda Tarplin	Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs (Senate), The White House, Bush I Administration	O'Brien Calio	American Airlines
James Tucker	Legislative Counsel, Representative Bob Inglis (R-SC) (1997-99)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	American Airlines
Nancy H. Van Duyne	Aide, Senator Bill Bradley (D-NJ)	Continental Airlines	Self
Joseph Vasapoli	Trial Attorney, Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, Department of Energy (1992). Republican Counsel, House Commerce Committee (1985-89). Special Assistant to the Commissioner, Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (1984-85)	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Air Transport Association of America
Frank Vlossak	Legislative Assistant, Representative Merrill Cook (R-UT) (1997-98)	Williams & Jensen, PC	Continental Airlines Holdings
Robert Walker	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-PA) (1977-96). Chairman, House Committee on Science (1995-97)	The Wexler Group	American Airlines

Name	Previous Positions	Firm	Client(s)
David Weiss	Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for North American Affairs, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Northwest Airlines
Anne Wexler	Assistant to the President for Public Liaison, The White House, Carter Administration	The Wexler Group	American Airlines
Jonathan Yarowsky	Special Associate Counsel to President Clinton, The White House	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	United Airlines

Appendix I:
Soft Money Contributions of Top Airlines, 1997-2000

Donor	Republican	%	Democrat	%	Total
Northwest Airlines Inc	\$749,515	51%	\$730,651	49%	\$1,480,166
American Airlines	\$833,442	63%	\$496,879	37%	\$1,330,321
United Airlines	\$405,332	54%	\$349,220	46%	\$754,552
Air Transport Association of America	\$441,430	67%	\$215,300	33%	\$656,730
Delta Air Lines Inc	\$295,870	49%	\$305,550	51%	\$601,420
US Airways	\$342,659	64%	\$196,115	36%	\$538,774
Continental Airlines Inc	\$322,090	61%	\$204,436	39%	\$526,526
Southwest Airlines Co	\$199,365	68%	\$95,000	32%	\$294,365
Alaska Airlines	\$121,500	92%	\$10,000	8%	\$131,500
America West Airlines	\$78,350	82%	\$17,000	18%	\$95,350
Total of Top Ten	\$3,789,553	59%	\$2,620,151	41%	\$6,409,704
Total for Entire Airline Industry					\$6,558,593

Source: Public Citizen analysis of Common Cause data; Center for Responsive Politics.

Appendix J:
Soft Money Receipts by Party Committee, 1997-2000

Recipient	Amount	Percent of Total
Republican National Committee	\$1,233,020	19.2%
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee	\$1,045,820	16.3%
National Republican Senatorial Committee	\$982,295	15.3%
Democratic National Committee	\$970,295	15.1%
National Republican Congressional Cmte	\$804,285	12.5%
Republican Senate-House Dinner Cmte	\$744,978	11.6%
Democratic Congressional Campaign Cmte	\$600,536	9.4%
Republican Governors Association	\$17,475	0.3%
Ashcroft Victory Committee	\$6,000	0.1%
California Victory 2000	\$5,000	0.1%
Unknown	\$1,500	0.0%
Total	\$6,411,204	100.0%

Source: Public Citizen analysis of Common Cause data.