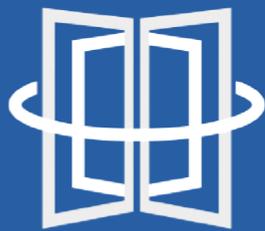


BIGLAW REVOLVING DOOR REPORT



**REVOLVING DOOR
PROJECT**

**PEOPLE'S
PARITY
PROJECT**

The Revolving Door Project and People's Parity Project jointly publish the BigLaw Revolving Door report series. This series investigates the US's largest law firms, those firms' corporate clients, and how they seek to influence executive branch policies and actions and the larger field of regulatory law.

BigLaw Revolving Door Report: Latham & Watkins

By Vishal Shankar

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Introduction

During the 2020 campaign, Joe Biden [promised to take on corporate monopolies](#) and the wave of mega-mergers sweeping across the economy, most notably in the rapidly-expanding technology sector. Among his most prominent targets was [Facebook](#), whose CEO Mark Zuckerberg he slammed as [“a real problem”](#) for permitting the platform to [“spread disinformation that undermines our elections.”](#)

Biden’s criticism of Facebook represented a major break from the treatment the company received under the last Democratic administration. During the Obama era, regulators were [notoriously lax with Big Tech](#), allowing Facebook to rapidly acquire competitors like [Instagram](#) and [WhatsApp](#) with little pushback from the federal government. Today, the company wields [unprecedented monopoly power](#) over online advertising and social networking, enabling it to [stifle competition](#), [exploit user data](#), and pose a [rising threat to democracy](#) itself.

That power, as well as Facebook’s continuing acquisition spree, could not have happened at the speed and scale that it did without the help of corporate law firm [Latham & Watkins LLP](#). Ranked the [second highest-grossing law firm](#) in the world, Latham has played a pivotal role in Facebook’s most critical antitrust and regulatory battles over the past decade. It [advised WhatsApp](#) in obtaining EU and US regulatory approval for its 2014 purchase by Facebook, defended Facebook in a [2018 class action data breach lawsuit](#), and [stopped a 2019 Department of Justice bribery probe](#) into Facebook contractor Cognizant. This year alone, Latham helped Facebook make two [high-profile acquisitions](#) of gaming companies as the tech giant sets its sights on [cornering the virtual-reality market](#).

Facebook is just one of the many monopolistic companies represented by Latham, which has quickly become a [go-to firm for mergers and acquisitions](#). Latham’s partners regularly represent corporations in the fossil fuel, healthcare, pharmaceutical, telecommunications, and entertainment sectors in major antitrust and criminal defense matters. From [Pharma giant Amneal](#) to telecomm monopolist [Time Warner Cable](#), Latham has helped its clients rapidly expand their market power at the expense of the broad public interest, in large part due to the deep ties that the firm has built with both Republican and Democratic administrations. These ties have continued to be leveraged under the Biden administration, which despite its vocal

opposition to Latham clients like Facebook, has appointed several former Latham partners to high-ranking positions across the executive branch.

This report will provide an overview of Latham's corporate legal work and its well-cultivated revolving door to influential government jobs, which has enabled the firm to secure favorable outcomes for its powerful clients.

Latham & Watkins' Corporate Clients

As a leading BigLaw firm, Latham regularly represents some of the most powerful corporate monopolists in the technology, healthcare, pharmaceutical, fossil fuel, and telecommunication sectors. Among the firm's top clients are Big Tech corporations facing regulatory scrutiny for antitrust and fraud violations, including Silicon Valley giants like Facebook and Apple. Latham's white collar defense practice has similarly gained attention for assisting giant Pharma companies like Allergan and Pacira in major fraud and merger cases, while other Latham divisions have helped clients ranging from telecom monopolist Charter Communications to "Full House" star Lori Loughlin avoid accountability.

Big Tech

Big Tech companies are actively impeding aggressive antitrust reform to maintain their monopolies, and Latham's [reputation](#) as the go-to firm for Big Tech monopolies shows their deep financial and reputational ties to the status quo. From Facebook to Apple to Microsoft to Lyft, it is remarkably difficult to find a technology giant that hasn't enlisted the firm's legal services for antitrust, fraud, and white-collar defense cases.

Among Latham's top tech clients is embattled social media giant Facebook. The company is currently fighting an FTC [lawsuit](#) alleging that they maintained their monopoly through anti-competitive behavior. While Latham is not involved in the FTC lawsuit, the firm's work helped cement Facebook's tech monopoly status, as its partners previously advised WhatsApp in the company's 2014 merger with Facebook, guiding the company to both [FTC and EU regulatory approval](#). In 2020, the House [subcommittee on antitrust](#) uncovered evidence that executives, including CEO Mark Zuckerberg, viewed WhatsApp as a direct competitor to Facebook's products before acquiring the company. The Facebook-WhatsApp merger was a key step in Facebook's journey to dominance and is one of two acquisitions the FTC is now seeking to unwind in the lawsuit.

In the last three years alone, Latham partners have represented Facebook in several high-profile legal cases concerning data breaches, bribery, and corporate racism charges. Latham partner Michael Rubin, global vice chair of its technology industry group, defended Facebook in a [2018 consumer data breach class action lawsuit](#), successfully paring down the plaintiffs' \$6 billion

damages claim to a single individual damages claim of just \$36. In 2019, Latham’s attorneys successfully quashed a [Department of Justice bribery probe](#) into Facebook contractor Cognizant, a content-moderation firm which has been the subject of [damaging investigative reports](#) documenting its brutal working conditions.

Latham white collar defense chair Kathryn Ruemmler claimed that she convinced the DOJ’s Fraud Section to forgo charges against Cognizant executives (who were allegedly involved in [bribing Indian regulators](#)) and instead [accept a \\$25 million settlement](#) (a paltry sum for a company with annual revenue of [\\$16.7 billion](#)), arguing that prosecuting company executives “send a bad message” after the firm initially self-reported its wrongdoing. This year, Latham [notched a key win](#) for the social media giant in the [Duguid v. Facebook](#) Supreme Court case.

Latham has defended Facebook from internal discontent as well: Following the 2020 George Floyd protests, Latham lawyers stepped in to defend Facebook in a [shareholder lawsuit](#) alleging that CEO Mark Zuckerberg “want[ed] Blacks to be seen but not heard” at the company.

Beyond Facebook, Latham has been a key ally to other leading Big Tech monopolies. In [2016](#), the firm represented Microsoft before EU antitrust regulators for the firm’s \$26.2 billion acquisition of LinkedIn. Although [competitors like Salesforce](#) alleged the deal would harm competition and pressed the US antitrust regulators to block the merger, it was ultimately allowed to go through unchallenged. Latham also represented Microsoft [in 2019](#) over a DOJ probe into a bribery scheme involving the Hungarian government.

Latham’s partners have also helped tech giant Apple dismiss a [2018 consumer class action](#) lawsuit over its slowing-down of older iPhones and defended Apple in a 2019 Supreme Court case concerning whether iPhone users could [pursue antitrust claims in federal court](#).

Software juggernaut Oracle has likewise enlisted Latham for a variety of matters, including defeating a [breach of contract and fraud lawsuit](#) over its [\\$9.3 billion acquisition of NetSuite Inc.](#) and [dismissing](#) an antitrust class action lawsuit from Oracle employees over its [“no-poach” agreements](#).

Other prominent tech giants Latham has represented in antitrust cases include [Postmates in its 2020 acquisition](#) by competitor Uber Technologies (which antitrust experts [have warned](#) violates the Clayton Antitrust Act), [Siemens in its acquisition](#) of Mentor Graphics, [Slack in its 2020](#)

[acquisition](#) by Salesforce, and multinational conglomerate Toshiba in a 2015 antitrust suit accusing it of conspiring with Samsung and Phillips to fix prices of optical disk drives. Latham has even helped Amazon amass even greater market power, advising streaming platform [Twitch in its \\$970 million acquisition](#) by the company in 2014 (a purchase that observers have warned created an [“unbreakable monopoly in video game streaming”](#)).

Latham has also advised tech giants on IPO filings, including [Airbnb for its 2020 IPO and Lyft in a 2020 class action](#) regarding misstatements and omissions made in filings for its 2019 IPO.

Big Pharma and Healthcare

Latham’s destructive work in the healthcare industry helped accelerate a [trend](#) towards consolidation and outright fraud that has harmed consumers. In one high-profile acquisition case, Latham represented Amneal Pharmaceuticals in its [\\$1.45 billion merger](#) with Impax Laboratories. The 2017 merger, which created the fifth-largest generic drugmaker in America, received immediate FTC scrutiny for its potentially anti-competitive effects. In 2018, the FTC [issued a formal complaint](#) alleging the Amneal-Impax merger would harm competition in U.S. markets for at least ten generic pharmaceutical products – including seasonal allergy nasal sprays, antidepressants, and stimulants used to treat ADHD – and required Amneal’s [immediate divestment](#) of ownership rights by a 5-0 vote. Despite the FTC complaint, Latham continued to represent Impax, with Latham partner Peter Wald leading a [successful defense](#) for Impax in a 2019 shareholder class action alleging that Impax had conspired to fix the price of a key treatment for heart disorders. Amneal-Impax remains in the crosshairs of antitrust regulators today, with the FTC again filing suit against the companies in 2021 for allegedly creating a [monopoly for painkiller oxycodone](#). Latham likewise continues to represent the Pharma giants, [defending Impax](#) in a 2021 shareholder suit alleging that the company participated in a price-fixing scheme for drugs used to treat heart and muscle disease.

The Amneal and Impax merger was just one example of Latham’s blatant profiteering off the consolidation of the pharmaceutical industry, a trend that [has led to](#) Americans paying [over 200% more](#) for prescription drugs than residents of other developed nations. It also advised Watson Pharmaceuticals on its [2012 purchase](#) of Swiss-based generics company Actavis, Botox-maker Allergan on its [2014 purchase](#) by Actavis, and Allergan on its [2015 sale](#) of its global generics business to Teva Pharmaceuticals (sparking an FTC order requiring Teva to [sell over](#)

[75 generic drugs](#) acquired from Allergan to settle antitrust concerns). Latham has also worked to consolidate the health technology, hospital, and insurance industries, advising Siemens Healthineers on its [2020 acquisition](#) of oncology software maker Varian, [private equity-owned HCA](#) in its [\\$1.125 billion acquisition](#) of HealthMidwest, and [lead financing agents](#) in insurance giant Anthem’s 2016 [attempted acquisition](#) of Cigna.

Beyond mergers and acquisitions, top partners at Latham have proudly helped giant corporations evade accountability in government investigations and fight regulatory action. Latham partner and former Healthcare practice co-chair Katherine Lauer – whose landing page [touts her work](#) defending “some of the country’s largest [companies]” in “high-profile civil and criminal government health care fraud investigations” – defended hospital giant Sutter Health in a major federal case alleging the company had [defrauded Medicare](#) by submitting inappropriate diagnosis codes. Lauer also defended Tenet Healthcare in “multiple civil and criminal kickback investigations”, including a [long-running criminal case](#) alleging the company had “illegally recruited new physicians [...] and helped to set up their practices in exchange for patient referrals” to a [Tenet-owned hospital in San Diego](#).

In 2020, Alice Fisher, a former Assistant Attorney General in the Bush Administration and top partner in Latham’s white collar defense practice, proclaimed her [“biggest accomplishment of the year”](#) was helping Pacira Pharmaceuticals settle a [five-year DOJ investigation](#) into whether the company paid kickbacks to doctors to induce them to prescribe its analgesic EXPAREL to patients (as part of the paltry \$3.5 million settlement, Pacira acknowledged no wrongdoing). That same year, Latham [boasted](#) of its partners’ work helping Pharma giants Merck, Eli Lilly, and Amgen strike down a Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services rule that would have required drug companies to include their wholesale list prices in television advertisements. Latham has represented Eli Lilly in a variety of cases, including advising on the company’s acquisition of [Novartis’s animal health business](#) in 2015 and [suing](#) Dr Reddy’s Laboratories for patent infringement of a cancer drug.

Latham’s work on behalf of Big Pharma continues to this day. In April 2021, Latham helped Imerys Talc America [overturn a New Jersey court ruling](#) awarding \$117 million in compensatory damages to Stephen Lanzo, who alleged that talc supplied by the company for use in J&J’s talcum powder had caused his mesothelioma.

Telecommunications Monopolies

In addition to Big Tech and Big Pharma, Latham has been a key ally of giant telecommunications monopolies. In 2016, several [Latham partners](#) served as [top legal advisors](#) to Time Warner Cable in its \$55 billion merger with Charter Communications, a deal that made Charter the third-largest pay television company in the country. Top FCC officials at the time [warned](#) that Charter’s purchase of Time Warner would “increase incentives to impose data caps and usage-based prices in order to make watching online video more expensive.” In 2019, New York state officials [fined Charter \\$12 million](#) for violating terms of the merger by failing to meet deadlines for state broadband expansion and allegedly falsifying progress reports.

In 2020, Latham [advised T-Mobile](#) in its \$26.5 billion merger with Sprint Corporation, a mega-merger that [ten state attorneys general warned](#) would result in higher prices and worse cell service for consumers.

Latham partners have also helped Charter and other big telecom companies in their ongoing fight against net neutrality regulations. In a 2017 case filed by New York’s Attorney General accusing Charter of data throttling, Latham partner Christopher Clark [defended the company](#) by citing the FCC’s imminent rollback of Title II ISP regulations as justification for why federal law should supersede state net neutrality lawsuits against telecom companies. Matthew Brill, another Latham attorney representing a telecoms association whose members include data-throttlers AT&T and Verizon, [similarly argued](#) earlier this year that California’s net neutrality rules were preempted by federal rollbacks of net neutrality protections.

Fossil Fuel

Latham’s [landing page](#) for its oil & gas industry team proudly boasts that the firm is “committed to the global oil and gas industry and building long-term relationships rather than one-off deal opportunities” and is “regularly called upon by clients to support them in [...] strategic transactions and major regulatory and litigation matters of the highest importance.” Its fossil fuel clients have included [Weatherford](#) (one of the world’s largest oil and natural gas service companies), [Australia Pacific LNG](#) (Australia’s [largest producer](#) of coal seam gas), [AES Corporation](#) (in a \$2.3 billion project financing gas-fired power plants), [CONSOL](#) (in a lawsuit over purchase rights of shale extraction sites), and [Fermaca Pipeline](#) (in a \$814.8 million refinancing of Mexican pipelines).

Latham guides many of these fossil fuel clients through regulatory approval of mergers and acquisitions. We found Latham advised at least nine prominent fossil fuel companies in such transactions:

<i>Client</i>	<i>Year of Acquisition</i>	<i>Merger Description</i>	<i>Acquisition Value</i>
Breitburn Energy Partners	2014	BEP acquired oil producer QR Energy LP	<u>\$3 billion</u>
Athlon Energy Inc	2014	Athlon merged with with oil and gas firm Encana Corp	<u>\$7.1 billion</u>
Siemens	2015	Siemens purchased natural gas extraction equipment manufacturer Dresser-Rand	<u>\$7.8 billion</u>
Energy Transfer Partners	2017	ETP merged with with Sunoco Logistics	<u>\$21.3 billion</u>
Energy Capital Partners	2017	Acquired <u>Calpine Corporation</u> , one of the largest oil and gas firms in the U.S.	<u>\$5.6 billion</u>
Global Infrastructure Partners	2018	GIP acquired hydrocarbon energy company Devon Energy's interests in EnLink Midstream	<u>\$3.12 billion</u>
The Carlyle Group	2020	Acquired Occidental's onshore portfolio in Colombia	<u>\$825 million</u>
Access Midstream Partners	2021	AMP merged with The Williams Cos, creating one of the largest midstream fossil fuel companies in the U.S.	<u>\$50 billion</u>
Chevron	2021	<u>Acquired Noble Midstream Partners</u>	<u>\$1.32 billion</u>

Latham has also provided legal defense for oil and gas giants in major antitrust cases, securing dismissal of a [2018 class action antitrust suit](#) against energy giant Avangrid for price-gouging by withholding gas transportation capacity.

Of particular concern are Latham's close ties to the oil-rich nation of Saudi Arabia, which it has continued to represent as a client despite the Saudi government's [brutal military intervention in Yemen](#) and [murder of journalist Jamal Khashoggi](#). In 2019 – several months after Khashoggi's murder and four years after the Saudi intervention in Yemen began – Latham counseled state-owned oil company Saudi Aramco in its enormous [\\$25.6 billion IPO](#). In contrast to the [many companies who cut ties](#) with the Saudi government following Khashoggi's murder, Latham [publicly touted their involvement](#) in the 2019 Aramco IPO and [continues to advise](#) global investors like EIG on stakes in Aramco as of April 2021. The firm also remains closely involved in other controversial Saudi government-led projects. Latham partner Tommy Beaudreau's [financial disclosure filings](#) note that he provided legal services to [NEOM](#), an outlandish attempt by Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed Bin Salman (MBS) to build a futuristic theme-park city featuring glow-in-the-dark beaches, animatronic lizards, and an artificial moon. The Saudi government's [violent eviction campaign](#) against the Hawaitat tribe, who reside on the land MBS has earmarked for NEOM, garnered widespread [condemnation](#) from international human rights groups.

Entertainment and Media

Latham's work building and maintaining corporate monopolies extends to the entertainment and media industry, where the firm's partners have been closely involved in film studio mergers and acquisitions. Most recently, the firm is helping steer [MGM](#) past [antitrust scrutiny](#) as the company plans to merge with retail and web services giant Amazon. Latham also represented [Lucasfilm](#) in its 2012 purchase by Disney (a key acquisition that contributed to Disney's [modern-day dominance](#)) and [Sony Pictures](#) in its 2020 purchase of anime streaming service Crunchyroll (which is facing [strict DOJ antitrust review](#)). Latham has likewise lent its expertise in anticompetitive mergers to the television industry, [representing](#) financial advisors LionTree and Morgan Stanley in the 2019 Viacom-CBS merger (a deal that made Viacom one of the [largest content providers in the media landscape](#) and [resulted in hundreds of layoffs](#)).

The firm has also represented some of the most reviled companies in entertainment and media in their efforts to buy up competitors and avoid antitrust oversight. Latham partner [Tim O'Mara](#) represented video game publisher Electronic Arts – twice ranked the [“Worst Company in America”](#) by Consumerist for its predatory use of paid downloadable content and anti-

competitive acquisition of smaller developers – in a billion dollar class action suit challenging EA’s exclusive licenses with the NFL and NCAA as “illegal monopolization.” O’Mara and other Latham partners have also represented ticket distribution companies Live Nation and Ticketmaster – both of which have long been criticized by regulators and artists for [deceptively charging customers](#) order processing fees – in their [\\$2.5 billion merger](#) and a subsequent high-profile [antitrust lawsuit](#) challenging it. Likewise, they have represented 134-year-old media conglomerate [Hearst Corporation](#) in antitrust lawsuits over its billion-dollar newspaper acquisitions and the Hollywood Foreign Press Association (which has come under fire for its [lack of black membership](#)) in an [agreement with NBC](#) to broadcast the Golden Globe Awards through 2026 (which NBC has [since cancelled](#)).

Aside from assisting entertainment corporations avoid accountability for anti-competitive conduct, the firm also runs a robust business defending Hollywood elites from scrutiny. Firm partners Marvin Putnam and Laura Washington [helped dismiss lawsuits](#) against former Weinstein Company board member Tim Sarnoff, who several victims of Harvey Weinstein alleged had abetted the disgraced film producer’s crimes. Latham was also hired by “Full House” star Lori Laughlin [in her 2019 criminal trial](#) after she bribed USC admissions officials on behalf of her daughter, Olivia Jade. With Latham partners Sean Berkowitz and BJ Trach leading her defense, Laughlin received a [remarkably light sentence](#) of two months imprisonment and (along with husband Mossimo Giannulli) was fined \$400,000.

Latham & Watkins’ Revolving Door to the Executive Branch

Latham & Watkins maintains a strong bipartisan revolving door between the firm and the executive branch of the federal government, boosting their ability to stymie government investigations and lawsuits. An investigation by the Revolving Door Project and the People’s Parity Project found at least 40 current Latham partners with executive branch experience under either the Obama or Trump Administrations (see Tables 1 & 2). These partners held positions across the federal government, including the Department of Justice, the Federal Trade Commission, and the White House. The full analysis by RDP and PPP can be found [here](#). In the following section, we explore these connections, detailing how Latham utilizes this revolving door to benefit its clients during both Republican and Democratic Administrations.

Republican Administrations

Despite their reputation as a Democratic firm, Latham leverages their revolving door connections to impact policy on behalf of their corporate clients in both Democratic and Republican Administrations.

In March 2021, Latham made its first major revolving-door hire of a Trump administration alum by tapping former Director of the FTC’s Bureau of Competition [Ian Conner](#) as a partner in its Litigation & Trial Department. Conner has also been named a member of Latham’s Antitrust & Competition Practice, an alarming development considering his [recent involvement](#) in the FTC’s landmark 2020 antitrust lawsuit against Facebook. Given Latham’s well-documented history representing Facebook and other tech giants on antitrust and litigation matters, Conner would be well-poised to offer the firm a government insider’s perspective on ongoing federal antitrust cases. He was similarly involved in the FTC’s antitrust actions against [Vyera Pharmaceuticals](#) and conglomerate [Procter & Gamble](#) during his stint at the agency. Conner’s hiring announcement from Latham [brazenly touts his expertise](#) in the “pharmaceutical, technology, oil and gas, retail services, telecommunications, transportation, and healthcare industries” with regards to merger and antitrust issues. In an on-the-nose comment following his hiring, [Conner remarked](#) that “the synergies between Latham and my experience at the federal US enforcement agencies mean I will be able to create new opportunities and develop innovative legal approaches to address clients’ stickiest antitrust issues.” Three months later, Conner has followed through on this promise, [defending insurance broker Aon](#) in a Department of Justice antitrust lawsuit challenging its planned \$30 billion acquisition of Willis Towers Watson.

[Alice Fisher](#), a lead partner at Latham’s white collar defense practice, was a former head of the Department of Justice’s Criminal Division from 2005 to 2008, where she was involved in some of the worst excesses of the Bush Administration. In 2005, her nomination to serve as Assistant Attorney General for the Criminal Division was [nearly derailed](#) by her alleged involvement in overseeing torture policies at Guantanamo Bay. Subsequent reports by *The New Yorker*’s Jane Mayer [alleged that Fisher](#) — alongside infamous [“torture memo” author John Yoo](#) — reviewed and approved specific techniques that amounted to torture, lied publicly to Congress about her involvement, and destroyed evidence of internal dissent from the DOJ. As AAG, Fisher also [allegedly played a key role](#) in keeping infamous sex trafficker Jeffrey Epstein’s [2007 plea deal](#) secret from his victims. At Latham, Fisher [openly touts](#) her government experience in “federal

criminal investigations [and] corporate fraud matters” to prospective clients, and has represented corporations like Walgreens, Eli Lilly, and Monsanto fight federal antitrust, fraud, and felony pollution cases. She has likewise maximized her knowledge as a former DOJ official on behalf of her clients, helping hospital company Lakeway Regional Medical Center resolve a [protracted \\$122 million DOJ fraud lawsuit](#) with a [paltry \\$15.3 million settlement](#) last year.

Another powerful Bush Administration alum, former Solicitor General [Gregory Garre](#), has served as Global Chair of Latham’s Supreme Court & Appellate Practice since leaving government in 2009. While in the Bush Administration, Garre defended right-wing legal positions in Supreme Court cases concerning [ecologically-destructive military exercises](#), the use of [lethal injections in capital punishment](#), and [discrimination against Muslim-Americans](#). At Latham, he has continued to advance a conservative legal agenda on behalf of corporate clients like [Monsanto](#), who he successfully represented in a 2010 Supreme Court case concerning the company’s sale of contaminative pesticide-resistant alfalfa seeds. Garre has also used his time at Latham to advance a right-wing social agenda, representing Louisiana State student [Abigail Fisher](#) in her unsuccessful 2013 attempt to overturn UT-Austin’s affirmative action admissions policy.

Rounding out the top Republicans at Latham is [Philip J Perry](#), a former [policy advisor](#) to the Bush-Cheney 2000 transition team who [subsequently served](#) as general counsel for the Department of Homeland Security from 2005 to 2007. During Perry’s tenure at DHS, the agency and then-Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff faced strong criticism for their [rapid construction of border fencing](#) and [poor response to Hurricane Katrina](#). At Latham, Perry serves as a top partner for the firm’s Supreme Court and Appellate, Government Contracts, White Collar Defense, and Product Liability Practices. Among the [clients he lists](#) as “litigation successes” are Monsanto, Lockheed Martin, and pharma companies Wyeth, Athenex, and Eagle. Perry also boasts deep personal connections to prominent Republicans as the [husband of Republican Congresswoman Liz Cheney](#) and son-in-law of former Vice President Dick Cheney.

Table 1

Latham & Watkins Revolvers: Republican Administrations

Name	Firm Title	Federal Title	Federal Years
William R. Baker III	Partner	Associate Director, Division of Enforcement, Securities and Exchange Commission	1987–2002

Pablo Clarke	Partner	Attorney, Office of General Counsel, Department of Housing and Urban Development	2008–12
Alexander Cohen	Partner	Deputy General Counsel for Legal Policy and Administrative Practice and Deputy Chief of Staff, Securities and Exchange Commission	2006–08
Ian Conner	Partner	Director and Deputy Director, Bureau of Competition, Federal Trade Commission	2017–21
Nicholas DeNovio	Partner	Deputy Chief Counsel, Internal Revenue Service	2002–05
Alice Fisher	Partner	Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, Department of Justice	2005–08
Gregory Garre	Partner	Assistant, Principal Deputy, and Solicitor General of the United States	2000–09
Maximilian Grant	Partner	Member, Patent Public Advisory Committee, US Patent and Trademark Office; Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations	2001–08
Douglas Greenburg	Partner	Staff Member, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States	2003–04
Roman Martinez	Partner	“Various roles at the White House, at the US Embassy and Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq, and at the US Department of Defense.”	2002–05
Daniel Meron	Partner	General Counsel, Department of Health and Human Services; Principal Deputy Assistant Attorney General, Civil Division, Department of Justice	2003–07
Benjamin Naftalis	Partner	Assistant United States Attorney, Southern District of New York	2006–14
Philip Perry	Partner	General Counsel, Department of Homeland Security; General Counsel, White House Office of Management and Budget; Acting Associate Attorney General, Department of Justice	2001–07
Terra Reynolds	Partner	Assistant United States Attorney, Northern District of Illinois	2003–14
Jake Ryan	Partner	Assistant United States Attorney, Northern District of Illinois	2003–07
BJ Trach	Partner	Assistant United States Attorney, District of Massachusetts	2007–10
Serrin Turner	Partner	Assistant United States Attorney, Southern District of New York	2005–09
Joseph Hudzik	Counsel	Senior Counsel, Office of the Inspector General, Department of Health and Human Services; Special Assistant United States Attorney, Southern District of Florida	2004–10

Jason Ohta	Counsel	Assistant United States Attorney, San Diego	2003–06
Joshua Wu	Counsel	Deputy Assistant Attorney General for Appellate and Review (Tax Division), Department of Justice	2019–21
William R. Baker III	Partner	Associate Director, Division of Enforcement, Securities and Exchange Commission	1987–2002
Pablo Clarke	Partner	Attorney, Office of General Counsel, Department of Housing and Urban Development	2008–12
Alexander Cohen	Partner	Deputy General Counsel for Legal Policy and Administrative Practice and Deputy Chief of Staff, Securities and Exchange Commission	2006–08
Ian Conner	Partner	Director and Deputy Director, Bureau of Competition, Federal Trade Commission	2017–21
Nicholas DeNovio	Partner	Deputy Chief Counsel, Internal Revenue Service	2002–05
Alice Fisher	Partner	Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, Department of Justice	2005–08
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Benjamin Naftalis	Partner	Assistant United States Attorney, Southern District of New York	2006–14
Philip Perry	Partner	General Counsel, Department of Homeland Security; General Counsel, White House Office of Management and Budget; Acting Associate Attorney General, Department of Justice	2001–07
Terra Reynolds	Partner	Assistant United States Attorney, Northern District of Illinois	2003–14
Jake Ryan	Partner	Assistant United States Attorney, Northern District of Illinois	2003–07
BJ Trach	Partner	Assistant United States Attorney, District of Massachusetts	2007–10

Serrin Turner	Partner	Assistant United States Attorney, Southern District of New York	2005–09
Joseph Hudzik	Counsel	Senior Counsel, Office of the Inspector General, Department of Health and Human Services; Special Assistant United States Attorney, Southern District of Florida	2004–10
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Ian Conner	Partner	Director and Deputy Director, Bureau of Competition, Federal Trade Commission	2017–21

Source: [Author's analysis](#)

Democratic Administrations

Latham maintains a reputation as a feeder firm for Democratic Administrations, and there are concerning signs about their influence into the Biden Administration. Despite Latham's work defending corporate monopolies, former Latham partners are poised to take positions where they could impact Biden's antitrust policy and ability to hold corporations accountable..

Deputy Interior Secretary [Tommy Beaudreau](#), who worked at Latham's Environment, Land & Resources practices from 2017 to 2021, is among the firm's most visible revolvers into the Biden administration. Formerly Interior's Chief of Staff during the Obama administration, Beaudreau has earned [\\$2.4 million](#) in the last year representing many corporate clients at Latham. They [include](#) coal mining company Arch Resources, oil and mining firm BHP, oil firm Total, private equity giant Carlyle Group, Saudi state-owned company NEOM, upstream oil and gas firm Beacon Offshore, UNOCAL Pipeline, Dominion Energy, and Pharma giant Bayer. More than two dozen public interest organizations urged the Senate to [reject Beaudreau's nomination](#), noting his representation of fossil fuel industry clients conflicted with the Biden administration's stated goal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

Former Latham associate [Elizabeth Klein](#) was also considered for Deputy Interior Secretary, but her nomination was subsequently withdrawn over pushback from Republican Senator Lisa Murkowski (Klein now serves as a [senior counselor](#) to Interior Secretary Deb Haaland).

Several Latham partners and associates have also joined the Biden Administration as top White House aides. They include former associates [Reema Shah and Leah Wong](#), who serve in deputy associate roles in the White House Counsel's office, and former counsel [Andrew Strelka](#), who serves as the White House's senior tax counsel.

[Jonathan Su](#), a sixth Latham-to-Biden administration revolver, currently serves as Deputy White House Counsel. While at Latham, Su leveraged his prior government experience as special counsel to President Obama on behalf of several powerful corporations with a vested interest in lobbying against regulatory scrutiny. According to official financial disclosure filings, [Su's corporate client list](#) included pharma giant Mylan (which recently faced an [SEC investigation](#) into overcharging Medicaid for its EpiPen product), ticket vendor Live Nation (which has faced calls for [antitrust scrutiny from lawmakers](#) for its near-monopoly on the ticket sale and resale markets), and vaping company Fontem US (whose flavored vape cartridges were [banned by the FDA in 2020](#) for targeting children). Su also [represented](#) Republican Senator Richard Burr in the [FBI's investigation](#) of his suspicious stock trades prior to the March 2020 coronavirus market crash and [defended](#) former Trump advisor and serial child molester [George Nader](#) against sex trafficking charges in 2019.

Latham has also fed top personnel into Biden's Department of Justice, with former partner [Nicholas McQuaid](#) being tapped to serve as acting head of the DOJ's Criminal Division in January 2021. Prior to joining Latham, McQuaid served as Deputy Counsel to President Obama for four and a half years. Also at DOJ is former Latham partner [Kevin Chambers](#), a Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA) specialist who serves as associate deputy attorney general.

Other current Latham partners have quietly lobbied for administration jobs. Former DOJ Criminal Division head [Leslie Caldwell](#), a current partner at Latham's white collar defense practice, has [reportedly been pushing](#) the Biden Administration for a U.S. Attorney position in San Francisco. [During her time in the Obama administration](#), Caldwell presided over a [sharp decline in white-collar crime prosecution](#), [championed toothless deferred-prosecution agreements](#) with big banks, and [pushed for the expansion](#) of draconian anti-hacking laws. At Latham, Caldwell has continued to help corporate lawbreakers like Taiwanese semiconductor foundry United Microelectronics Corporation [evade accountability](#), whittling a massive DOJ corporate espionage case against the firm down to a minimal fine and single guilty plea of receiving a stolen trade secret.

Latham has even provided legal services to the Biden family, deepening the ties between the firm and the president. Firm partner [Chris Clark](#), who previously defended billionaires Mark Cuban and Elon Musk in high-profile SEC investigations, currently [represents President Biden’s son Hunter](#) in an ongoing federal tax investigation.

Latham is also home to several Obama administration alums who have leveraged their government experience and connections to benefit corporations and powerful elites. Associate Nikki Buffa, for example, served as [Deputy Chief of Staff](#) at the Department of the Interior before joining Latham, where she has helped Poseidon Water advance its desalination plant project in Huntington Beach amidst strong [environmental and consumer cost concerns](#) from regulators. Another Obama alum, former White House Counsel [Kathryn Ruemmler](#), co-chaired Latham’s white-collar defense practice from 2014 to 2020 before accepting an executive position at Goldman Sachs. While at Latham, Ruemmler similarly leveraged her public sector experience to help clients ranging from [Cognizant](#) to [George Nader](#) navigate federal prosecutions and evade accountability. Two other alums of the Obama White House Counsel’s office – [Daniel Dominguez](#) and [Michael Bosworth](#) – serve as regional co-chairs of Latham’s Litigation & Trial Department, which represents companies like [ZipRecruiter](#) and [openly touts](#) its revolving-door personnel as “an asset to clients navigating white-collar matters, internal investigations, cybercrime matters and other complex disputes.”

Table 2

Latham & Watkins Revolvers: Obama Administration

Name	Firm Title	Federal Title	Federal Years
Manny Abascal	Partner	Assistant U.S. Attorney, Los Angeles	1997–2000
Tommy Beaudreau	Partner	Deputy Secretary of the Interior; Chief of Staff of the Department of the Interior	2021–Present; 2014–2017
Michael Bosworth	Partner	Deputy Counsel to the President and Deputy Assistant to the President	2014–17
Lawrence Buterman	Partner	Trial Attorney, Antitrust Division, Department of Justice	2010–14
Leslie Caldwell	Partner	Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, Department of Justice	2014–17
Steven Croley	Partner	General Counsel, Department of Energy	2014–16

Sarang (Sy) Damle	Partner	General Counsel and Associate Register of Copyrights, U.S. Copyright Office	2014–18
Alan Devlin	Partner	Acting Deputy Director, Bureau of Competition, Federal Trade Commission	2015–17
Daniel Dominguez	Partner	Associate Counsel, Office of the White House Counsel	2013–15
Paul Dudek	Partner	Chief of the Office of International Corporate Finance, Division of Corporation Finance, Securities Exchange Commission	1993–2016
Douglas Greenburg	Partner	Attorney, Division of Enforcement, Securities and Exchange Commission	1995–96
Robert Hotz Jr.	Partner	Assistant U.S. Attorney, Southern District of New York	1998–2003
Karl Karg	Partner	Associate Regional Counsel, Environmental Protection Agency, Region V (Chicago)	1998–2001
Niall Lynch	Partner	Assistant Chief, San Francisco Office, Department of Justice	1995–2010
Richard Owens	Partner	Assistant United States Attorney, Southern District of New York	1994–2006
Elizabeth Prewitt	Partner	Assistant Chief, Antitrust Division, Department of Justice	2012–14
Amanda Reeves	Partner	Attorney Advisor to Commissioner J. Thomas Rosch, Federal Trade Commission	2009–11
Terra Reynolds	Partner	Assistant United States Attorney, Northern District of Illinois	2003–14
Janice Schneider	Partner	Assistant Secretary, Land and Minerals Management, Department of the Interior	2014–17
Melissa Arbus Sherry	Partner	Assistant to the Solicitor General, Office of the Solicitor General	2009–13
Serrin Turner	Partner	Assistant United States Attorney, Southern District of New York	2010–16
Daniel Wall	Partner	Trial Lawyer, Antitrust Division, Department of Justice	1980–82
Douglas Yatter	Partner	Chief Trial Attorney, Division of Enforcement, Commodity Futures Trade Commission	2011–16
Dean Baxtresser	Counsel	Assistant Counsel, Office of the General Counsel, Department of the Navy, Marine Corps Systems Command	2010–12
Nikki Buffa	Counsel	Deputy Chief of Staff, Department of the Interior	2013–17
Jason Burt	Counsel	Assistant United States Attorney, Department of Justice	2012–17

Joseph Hudzik

Counsel

Special Trial Attorney, Criminal Division Fraud Section, 2009
Medicare Fraud Strike Force

Source: [Author's analysis](#)

Conclusion

As a leading law firm for corporate monopolies in the technology, healthcare, fossil fuel, and telecommunication sectors, Latham & Watkins is directly at odds with much of President Biden’s promised policy agenda. Latham’s work has overwhelmingly privileged the wealthy and well-connected over ordinary Americans, and worked to protect anti-consumer and anti-worker industry titans from government accountability. The firm has achieved this level of success in no small part thanks to its revolving-door hires of high-ranking former government officials and quiet campaigns to staff the executive branch with former partners and associates. We strongly urge the Biden Administration to shut Latham’s revolving door into the executive branch to help ensure that government officials do not sacrifice the public good to private profits.