The Honorable Nancy Pelosi Speaker of the House H-232, U.S. Capitol Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Kevin McCarthy House Minority Leader H-204, U.S. Capitol Washington, D.C. 20515

July 20, 2020

Dear Speaker Pelosi and Leader McCarthy,

We write as former military officers, administration officials, law enforcement agents, and foreign policy experts to affirm our conviction that illicit finance poses a serious threat to U.S. national security. As you work to safeguard the U.S. financial system from abuse, we urge you to act against crime and corruption facilitated by anonymous ownership of U.S. shell companies.

The ability to control U.S. companies without disclosing beneficial ownership information has made them attractive vehicles for money laundering. Rogue regimes, terrorist groups, transnational criminal organizations, arms dealers, kleptocrats, drug cartels, and human traffickers have all used U.S.-registered shell companies to obscure their identities and facilitate illicit activities. Meanwhile, U.S. intelligence and law enforcement agencies often find it difficult to investigate these illicit financial networks without access to information about the beneficial ownership of corporate entities involved.

Adversarial authoritarian regimes have become adept at exploiting financial secrecy to spread malign economic influence globally and undermine American leadership. As General David Petraeus and Senator Sheldon Whitehouse noted recently, "the fight against corruption is more than a legal and moral issue; it has become a strategic one — and a battleground in a great power competition." It is alarming, therefore, that a World Bank study found that U.S. shell companies were used in more grand corruption cases than those of any other country.²

The global spread of crime and corruption, often facilitated by anonymous shell companies, has undermined democratization and economic development in many countries, with adverse implications for U.S. and global security. Societies impoverished by kleptocratic rulers breed resentment and instability, providing fertile recruiting ground for terrorist groups—many of

¹ David Petraeus and Sheldon Whitehouse, "Putin and Other Authoritarians' Corruption is a Weapon — and a Weakness," *Washington Post*. March 8 2019.

² Emily Halter, Robert Harrison, Ji Won Park, Jason Sharman, Emile Van Der Does De Willebois, *The Puppet Masters: How the Corrupt Use Legal Structures to Hide Stolen Assets and What to Do About It* (Stolen Asset Recovery Initiative / World Bank, 2011)

whom use anonymous shell companies in their own illicit funding networks. Corporate anonymity can also pose a direct threat to U.S. military operations and troop safety, for example when the Department of Defense spent \$3.3 million on a U.S.-Afghan contractor secretly owned by local powerbrokers who also purchased weapons for the Taliban.³ The Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Sustainment recently called the exploitation of shell companies by foreign adversaries the "biggest concern [and] weakest link" in U.S. defense procurement.⁴

Anonymous shell companies are routinely used to circumvent U.S. sanctions relating to China, Iran, North Korea, Russia, Venezuela, and elsewhere. Indeed, Iranian entities relied on U.S. shell companies to maintain ownership of a skyscraper on New York's Fifth Avenue, which they leased out to Americans for two decades before being detected.⁵

Despite these and numerous other alarming examples, research from the University of Texas and Brigham Young University shows that the U.S. remains one of the easiest places in the world to set up an anonymous shell company.⁶ A recent report by Global Financial Integrity demonstrates that, in all 50 U.S. states, more information is currently required to obtain a library card than to register a company.⁷

As the global economy becomes more interconnected and technologically advanced, America's adversaries will turn to innovative methods of laundering the proceeds of crime and spreading malign economic influence. We must ensure that U.S. intelligence and law enforcement agencies possess the resources they need to hunt bad actors through an increasingly complex global financial system, including corporate beneficial ownership information.

By ending anonymous ownership of companies and encouraging other countries to do the same, the United States could turn a vulnerability into an advantage, disrupting illicit financial networks and pushing back against adversaries who seek to undermine the rule of law globally. Many of our democratic allies, including the European Union, have recognized this and mandated the collection of corporate beneficial ownership information to strengthen their own anti-money laundering systems.

We thank you and your Congressional colleagues for your continued leadership and urge you to adopt legislation that would require the collection of information about the beneficial ownership of U.S. companies.

Sincerely,

³ "Secret Company Owners Defrauding U.S. Taxpayers, Putting Troops at Risk and Providing Support to Terrorists, Report Reveals," Global Witness, July 12 2016.

⁴ Richard Sisk, "Foreign Shell Companies Trying to Infiltrate U.S. Defense Industry, Top Weapons Buyer Says," Military.com, May 1 2020.

⁵ Vivian Wang, "Manhattan Skyscraper Linked to Iran Can Be Seized by U.S., Jury Finds," New York Times, June 29 2017.

⁶ Michael Findley, Daniel Nielson and Jason Sharman, *Global Shell Games: Experiments in Transnational Relations, Crime, and Terrorism* (Cambridge University Press, 2014).

⁷ "The Library Card Project: The Ease of Forming Anonymous Companies in the United States," Global Financial Integrity, March 21 2019.

JOHN AGOGLIA, Col. (Ret.), USA

Former Director of the Counterinsurgency Training Center in Afghanistan

NATALIA ARNO

President, Free Russia Foundation

MONICA ARRUDA DE ALMEIDA

Adjunct Professor, Center for Latin American Studies, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University

DAVID L. ASHER, PhD

Former Coordinator, North Korea Working Group, Office of the Secretary of State, U.S.

Department of State

Former Senior Advisor for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Office of the Secretary of State, U.S.

Department of State

Senior Fellow, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

ANDERS ÅSLUND, PhD

Resident Senior Fellow, Eurasia Center, Atlantic Council

THOMAS P. BALTAZAR, Col. (Ret.), USA

Former Director, Office of Military Affairs, U.S. Agency for International Development

DONNA BARBISCH, Major General (Ret.), USA

ANDREA BARTOLI

Dean of the School of Diplomacy and International Relations, Seton Hall University

RICK BARTON, Amb. (ret.)

Former Assistant Secretary of State, U.S. Department of State

Former Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations

Author of *Peace Works* and Lecturer at Princeton University

WILLIAM E. BERRY, JR., Col. (Ret.), USAF

ROB BERSCHINSKI

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, U.S.

Department of State

Former Director for Security and Human Rights, National Security Council, The White House

ALINA BLOOM

Former Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice

MICHAEL BOSSHART

Former Foreign Service Officer, U.S. Department of State

REBECCA BROCATO

Former Special Assistant to the President, The White House Former Senior Advisor for Legislative Affairs, U.S. Department of State Director of Strategy and Government Affairs, National Security Action

BRAD BROOKS-RUBIN

Former Special Advisor for Conflict Diamonds, U.S. Department of State Managing Director, The Sentry/Enough Project

JOHN J. BYRNE, CAMS, Esq.

Former Executive Vice President, Association of Certified Anti-Money Laundering Specialists Adjunct Professor, Schar School of Policy and Government, George Mason University

CHARLES T. CALL, PhD

Former Senior Adviser to the Assistant Secretary for Conflict and Stabilization Operations, U.S. Department of State

Associate Professor, American University

GREG E. CALLES

Former Supervisory Senior Resident Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation

SCOTT CARLSON

Former Senior Rule of Law Advisor, U.S. Department of State

MICHAEL CARPENTER, PhD

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia, U.S. Department of Defense

Senior Director, Biden Center for Diplomacy and Global Engagement, University of Pennsylvania

JOHN A. CASSARA

Former Special Agent, U.S. Department of the Treasury

SARAH CHAYES

Former Special Assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, U.S. Department of Defense

Former Special Advisor to Generals David McKiernan and Stanley McChrystal, International Security Assistance Force (Afghanistan)

Author, Thieves of State: Why Corruption Threatens Global Security

BETH COLE

Former Director, Office of Civil-Military Cooperation, U.S. Agency for International Development

CHRISTOPHER CORPORA, PhD

Former U.S. National Security Officer

Professor of Practice, Mercyhurst University

THOMAS CREAL, CPA

Former UN Panel Expert for Sanctions

Former Lead Expert for Task Force 2010 in Afghanistan

ARTHUR E. DEWEY

Former Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees, and Migration, U.S. Department of State

LARRY DIAMOND, PhD

Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution

MICHAEL DZIEDZIC, PhD, Col. (Ret.), USAF

Adjunct Professor, George Mason University

ERIC S. EDELMAN, Amb. (Ret.)

Former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

Former U.S. Ambassador to Turkey and Finland

Former Principal Deputy Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs

Visiting scholar, Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies

Roger Hertog Distinguished Practitioner in Residence. Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced

International Studies

Distinguished Fellow, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments

CAMILLE EISS

Former Senior Advisor for Anti-Corruption to the Assistant Secretary for Democracy, Rights and Labor, U.S. Department of State

Chief of Policy and Global Partnerships, Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project

ISRAEL D. ESCABI

Former Unit Chief, Federal Bureau of Investigation

KAREN J. FINKENBINDER, PhD

Rule of Law, Justice & Reconciliation Advisor, Peacekeeping & Stability Operations Institute, U.S. Army War College

JAMIE FLY

Former Counselor for Foreign and National Security Affairs to Senator Marco Rubio

Former Executive Director, Foreign Policy Initiative

Former Director for Counterproliferation Strategy, National Security Council, The White House

Former Assistant for Transnational Threats Policy, Office of the Secretary of Defense, U.S.

Department of Defense

Former Senior Fellow and Director, Future of Geopolitics Program; Director, Asia Program,

German Marshall Fund of the United States

CLAY R. FULLER Ph.D.

Adjunct Professor Western Carolina University

Former Jeane Kirkpatrick Fellow, American Enterprise Institute (AEI)

GAIL FULLER

Former Analyst, Office of Illicit Finance, U.S. Department of the Treasury.

JACK H. GAINES

Former Joint Strategic Advisor, U.S. Department of Defense

Chairman, Chronemics

MARY BETH GOODMAN

Former Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for Development, Democracy and Humanitarian Affairs, National Security Council, The White House

Former Director for International Economic Affairs, National Security Council, The White House

KAREN A. GREENAWAY, Esq.

Former Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice

MORTON H. HALPERIN

Former Director of Policy Planning, U.S. Department of State

LEONARD R. HAWLEY

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, U.S. Department of State

Former Director for Multilateral Affairs, National Security Council, The White House Former Policy Team Staff, National 9/11 Commission

CHRISTOPHER HOH

Former Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassy in Vienna and Sarajevo Former Director for South Central European Affairs, U.S. Department of State Former Director for Response Strategy and Resource Management, Office for Reconstruction and Stabilization, U.S. Department of State

CARYN HOLLIS

Former acting Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations/Low-intensity Conflict, U.S. Department of Defense

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Counternarcotics and Global Threats, U.S. Department of Defense

KRISTOFER HARRISON

Former Senior Advisor, U.S. Department of State and U.S. Department of Defense

CHRISTOPHER J. HOLSHEK, Col. (Ret.), USA

Senior Fellow, Alliance for Peacebuilding

Senior Civil-Military Advisor, Narrative Strategies

MELISSA HOOPER

Director, Human Rights and Civil Society program, Human Rights First

BENJAMIN JUDAH

Research Fellow, Kleptocracy Initiative, Hudson Institute

EDWARD P. JOSEPH

Adjunct Professor & Senior Fellow, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies

BARBARA KELLER

Former Deputy Associate Director of Compliance and Enforcement, Financial Crimes Enforcement Network, U.S. Department of the Treasury

JOSHUA KIRSCHENBAUM

Former Acting Director, Office of Special Measures, Financial Crimes Enforcement Network, U.S. Department of the Treasury

Senior Fellow, Alliance for Securing Democracy, German Marshall Fund

JACQUES PAUL KLEIN, Major General (Ret.), USAF

Former Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations

DAVID J. KRAMER

Former Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, U.S. Department of State

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Europe and Eurasia, U.S. Department of State

MARK A KROEKER

Former Assistant Secretary General ad interim, United Nations

Former United Nations Police Commissioner

Former Portland Oregon Police Chief

Former Los Angeles Police Deputy Chief

DEBRA LAPREVOTTE

Former Supervisory Special Agent, International Corruption Unit, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice Senior Investigator, The Sentry

EDWARD LEMON, PhD

DMGS-Kennan Institute Fellow, Daniel Morgan Graduate School, Wilson Center

ALFONSO E. LENHARDT, Amb. (Ret.), Major General (Ret.), USA

Former Deputy Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development

Former U.S. Ambassador to Tanzania

Former Sergeant at Arms, U.S. Senate

Former Commanding General, U.S. Army Recruiting Command

DENNIS LORMEL

Former Chief, Terrorist Financing Operations Section, Counterterrorism Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice

DAVID M. LUNA

Former Senior Director for National Security & Diplomacy, U.S. Department of State Former Director for Transnational Threats and Illicit Networks (Anti-Crime Programs), U.S. Department of State

Former Director for Anti-Corruption and Governance Initiatives, Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, U.S. Department of State

JEFFREY W. MADISON

Former Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation

MAX G. MANWARING, Col. (Ret.), USA

Professor of Military Strategy, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College

J.R. MCBRIEN

Former Associate Director for Global Targeting, Office of Foreign Assets Control, Department of the Treasury

MICHAEL MCFAUL, Amb. (Ret.), PhD

Former U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation

Former Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director of Russian and Eurasian Affairs, National Security Council, The White House

Professor of Political Science, Director and Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University

Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution

THOMAS O. MELIA

Former Assistant Administrator for Europe & Eurasia, U.S. Agency for International Development

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S.

Department of State

Washington Director, PEN America

CHRISTOPHER MOELLER

Former Investigator, Asset Forfeiture and Money Laundering Section, Criminal Division, U.S. Department of Justice

DAVID MURRAY

Former Director, Office of Illicit Finance, U.S. Department of the Treasury Former Senior Advisor to the Under Secretary, U.S. Department of the Treasury

MATTHEW H. MURRAY

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Europe, the Middle East and Africa, U.S. Department of Commerce

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Europe and Eurasia, U.S. Department of Commerce

ANDREW NATSIOS

Former Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development Executive Professor at the Bush School, Texas A&M University Director of the Scowcroft Institute of International Affairs

BRIAN O'TOOLE

Former Senior Adviser to the Director, Office of Foreign Assets Control, U.S. Department of the Treasury

Nonresident Senior Fellow, Global Business and Economics Program, Atlantic Council

OLGA OLIKER

Europe Program Director, International Crisis Group

JAMES W. PARDEW Amb. (Ret.)

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary General of NATO for Operation and Crisis Management Former U.S. Ambassador to Bulgaria

Former Deputy Special Adviser to the President and Secretary of State for Democracy in the Balkans

STEWART PATRICK

Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

GRETCHEN PETERS

Executive Director, The Center on Illicit Networks and Transnational Organized Crime Author, Seeds of Terror: How Drugs, Thugs and Crime are Reshaping the Afghan War

CHIP PONCY

Former Director, Office of Strategic Policy for Terrorist Financing and Financial Crimes, U.S. Department of the Treasury

Senior Advisor, Center on Sanctions and Illicit Finance, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

ERIC G. POSTEL

Former Associate Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development Former Assistant to the Administrator for Africa, U.S. Agency for International Development Former Assistant Administrator, E3 Bureau, U.S. Agency for International Development

JOHN PRENDERGAST

Former Director for African Affairs, National Security Council, The White House Co-founder, The Sentry

NED PRICE

Former Special Assistant to the President, The White House Former Spokesperson, National Security Council, The White House Former Senior Analyst, Central Intelligence Agency Director of Policy and Communications, National Security Action

SERGIO RODRIGUERA, Jr.

Former Special Advisor to the Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, U.S. Department of the Treasury

Former Defense Fellow, U.S. Department of Defense

Former Executive Officer, Afghanistan Threat Finance Cell

ELIZABETH ROSENBERG

Former Senior Advisor to the Assistant Secretary for Terrorist Financing and Financial Crimes, and then to the Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, U.S. Department of the Treasury

Senior Fellow and Director of the Energy, Economics, and Security Program, Center for a New American Security

LAURA ROSENBERGER

Former Chief of Staff to Deputy Secretary of State, U.S. Department of State

Former Senior Advisor to Deputy National Security Advisor, National Security Council, The White House

Former Director for China and Korea, National Security Council, The White House Director of the Alliance for Securing Democracy and Senior Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States

TOMMY ROSS

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Security Cooperation, U.S. Department of Defense

Senior Associate, Center for Strategic and International Studies

JOSH RUDOLPH

Former Director for International Economics, National Security Council, The White House Former Deputy Director, Markets Room, U.S. Department of the Treasury Former Advisor to the U.S. Executive Director, International Monetary Fund Senior Fellow, Alliance for Securing Democracy, German Marshall Fund

ROBERT SAALE

Former Director, Hostage Recovery Fusion Cell, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice

DONALD L. "LARRY" SAMPLER, JR.

Former Assistant Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development Vice President for Administration & Finance/COO, Metropolitan State University, Denver

MARC SCHNEIDER

Former Assistant Administrator for Latin America, U.S. Agency for International Development Former Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, U.S. Department of State

Former Senior Vice-president, International Crisis Group

DONALD SEMESKY

Former Chief of Financial Operations, Drug Enforcement Administration, U.S. Department of Justice

Former Anti-Money-Laundering Policy Adviser and IRS-Criminal Investigation (IRS-CI) Liaison Officer, Office of National Drug Control Policy, The White House

DANIEL SERWER

Professor, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies

LOUISE SHELLEY, PhD

Omer L. and Nancy Hirst Endowed Chair, George Mason University Director, Terrorism, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center, George Mason University University Professor, Schar School of Policy and Government, George Mason University

NATE SIBLEY

Research Fellow, Kleptocracy Initiative, Hudson Institute

BARBARA SMITH

Former Deputy Assistant Administrator for Policy, Planning and Learning, U.S. Agency for International Development

Former Director for Afghanistan and Pakistan, National Security Council, The White House Senior Associate (Non-resident), Center for Strategic and International Studies Adjunct Professor, Korbel School of International Studies

GAYLE E. SMITH

Former Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development

Former Senior Director for Development and Democracy, National Security Council, The White House

President and CEO, The ONE Campaign

TYLER STAPLETON

Former Senior Legislative Assistant for National Security, U.S. House of Representatives Deputy Director of Congressional Relations, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

STEPHEN JOHN STEDMAN

Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University

THOMAS STRENTZ, PhD

Former Supervisory Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice

ADAM SZUBIN

Former Acting Secretary of the Treasury, U.S. Department of the Treasury Former acting Under Secretary, Office of Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, Department of the Treasury

CHARLES E. TUCKER, Major General (Ret.), USAF

Former Director of Doctrine, Training, and Force Development (J-7) for the U.S. National Guard, Washington D.C.

Executive Director of the World Engagement Institute, Chicago, IL

ROBERT ULMER

Former Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice

ROBERT W. VERICKER

Former Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Associate Professor, Administration of Justice Department, University of Hawaii

JODI VITTORI, Lt Col. (Ret.), USAF

Former ISAF Task Force Shafafiyat Contracting, Economic Development, and Rule of Law Team Chief

WILLIAM F. WECHSLER

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Combating Terrorism, U.S. Department of Defense

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Counternarcotics and Global Threats, U.S. Department of Defense

LAURA WILLIAMS

Former Supervisory Special Agent, Financial Crimes Section, Federal Bureau of Investigation

CLINT WILLIAMSON

Former Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues, Department of State

Former Special Assistant to the President, The White House

Former Senior Director for Relief, Stabilization and Development, National Security Council, The White House

Senior Director for Rule of Law, Governance and Security, McCain Institute

JONATHAN WINER

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Law Enforcement, U.S. Department of State

BEVERLY S. WRIGHT

Former Supervisory Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice

JAMES M. WRIGHT

Former Senior Advisor, Office of Technical Assistance, U.S. Department of the Treasury Board Member, U.S. Capital Chapter, Association of Certified Anti-money Laundering Specialists

CC:

Members of the U.S. House of Representatives

The Honorable Mike Pompeo, Secretary of State

The Honorable Steve Mnuchin, Secretary of the Treasury

The Honorable Mark Esper, Secretary of Defense

The Honorable William Barr, Attorney General

The Honorable Wilbur Ross, Secretary of Commerce

The Honorable Chad Wolf, Acting Secretary of Homeland Security

The Honorable Robert O'Brien, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
The Honorable John Barsa, Acting Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development
This letter is signed in an individual capacity with institutional affiliations listed for reference only.