I am a firm believer in the people. If given the truth, they can be depended upon to meet any national crisis. The great point is to bring them the real facts.

— Abraham Lincoln
The Center for Public Integrity has rescued investigative journalism from the margins and showed us how important this kind of reporting is to the health of democracy.

— Bill Moyers, Journalist

ABOUT THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY

The Center for Public Integrity opened its doors in downtown Washington, D.C. in 1990. Founded by former investigative reporter and 60 Minutes producer Charles Lewis, the Center is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, tax-exempt educational organization supported by voluntary contributions.

The Center’s mission is to provide the American people with the findings of our investigations and analyses of public service, government accountability, and ethics-related issues. The Center’s books, studies, and newsletters uniquely combine political science and investigative reporting, unfettered by the usual time and space constraints.

This unique freedom and independence — we are beholden to no one and report without fear or favor — enables the Center to serve as an honest broker of information. The result of our efforts will be, we hope, a better informed citizenry. A citizenry that is in a position to demand a higher level of accountability from its government and elected leaders.
I’VE BEEN PRIVILEGED

to help Chuck Lewis build this organization from a dream. I can say that initially, out of necessity and design, we proceeded by the seat of our pants. But our organizational core values remained constant and are those to which most good reporters aspire: journalism of tenacity and vision practiced with honesty, fairness, and integrity. And to hit hard.

The Center has grown and matured this past decade, gathering notable successes. And we’ve gladly taken plenty of heat from those rightfully shamed by revelations in our reports. The Center has also made mistakes. Board members have shared many doubts and disagreed among ourselves; we’ve killed projects that didn’t measure up and resurrected others whose relevance and importance some of us initially failed to recognize. But I’m proud to say that the Center has never wavered from our aspirations or the larger goal to be creative and original enough to have beneficial effects on the problems of government and society.

Perhaps the truest measure of what has been created at the Center is that despite the challenges and difficulty of the work, the rivalries and anxieties that ambitious people inevitably encounter, the stress of rapid growth, and the relentless pressure to raise money, the Center has somehow retained a human face. Consider this measure of the organization’s health: Among the 100-plus interns, former staff members, and freelancers who have passed through over the years, nearly all left exhilarated and as friends. Many Center alumni were launched on exciting new careers sparked by their training and experiences.

Many times in the last ten years I’ve found my mind wandering back to the time when Chuck, Alex Benes, and I, the Center’s original Board of three, sat in our Boardroom — the cheap seats at the Baltimore Orioles game, one of the last they played at old Memorial Stadium — and speculated about the future. We were all thinking big, but Alex and I nearly poured a cold beer over Chuck’s head for what seemed like ludicrously overblown plans for where we’d be a decade later. Little did we know.

For the Board of Directors, I offer my heartfelt thanks to the many whose wise counsel, generosity, or simple vote of confidence gave the Center its first decade. And I offer this prediction: The best is yet to come.

Charles Piller
Co-founding member of the Board of Directors
11 March 2000

Dear Chuck:

We live today in a world bemused and confused by the incessant bombardment of promotion, publicity, propaganda and hype, all now given tremendous new power and reach in cyberspace. In such a world, the need is greater than ever for a nonpartisan institution dedicated to the investigation and exposure of the hard realities lurking behind the endless ballyhoo. In a short ten years the Center for Public Integrity under your leadership has done just this -- and thereby has made itself an indispensable truth-teller in a treacherous time.

Not only has the Center given new force to investigative reporting in the United States, but it has trained and sustained investigators in parts of the world where investigation is really a dangerous trade. Fearless inquiry is essential to give people the knowledge that makes democracy possible and that keeps it sane.

"A popular Government, without popular information, or the means of acquiring it," Madison said, "is but a Prologue to a Farce or a Tragedy; or, perhaps both. Knowledge will forever govern ignorance: And a people who mean to be their own Governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives."

In ten years the Center for Public Integrity has made itself a vital element in the arsenal of democracy. May your benign influence spread around the world in the years to come.

Best regards,

Mr Charles Lewis, the Center for Public Integrity
Josie Goytisolo is a co-founder and CEO of ViaMujer, an online women’s network for the United States, Latin America, and Spain. The four-time Emmy winner was an executive producer at WPLG-TV, Channel 10 in Miami. Prior to that, she was news director of the Miami-based Telemundo Television Network.

Charles Lewis is the founder, chairman, and executive director of the Center for Public Integrity. He did investigative reporting for 11 years at ABC News and CBS News, most recently as a producer for 60 Minutes. In 1998, Lewis was named a recipient of a John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Fellowship.

Susan Loewenberg is producing director of L.A. Theater Works, a program of performance and outreach for at risk youth. She has produced over 200 hours of radio drama programming, broadcast on National Public Radio, BBC, and other stations.

Paula Madison is vice president and news director of WNBC-TV in New York. She has worked extensively in print and television. She is active in the New York Press Club and the National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ).

Charles Piller is an investigative journalist specializing in high technology. An author of two books, he is currently a syndicated columnist and staff writer for the Los Angeles Times, based in San Francisco.

Allen Pusey is the assistant projects editor of The Dallas Morning News and was one of the first reporters to uncover the S&L scandal in the early 1980s.

Ben Sherwood is an author and broadcast producer of NBC Nightly News in New York, responsible for “In-depth” reports. A Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University, he worked as an award-winning investigative producer for PrimeTime Live from 1989 to 1993.

Marianne Szegedy-Maszak was a Patterson Fellow in 1992. As a Pulitzer Traveling Fellow in 1986, she lived in Hungary and covered Central Europe for Newsweek and ABC Radio. Formerly an editor of Congressional Quarterly, she now teaches journalism at the American University in Washington.

Isabel Wilkerson won the Pulitzer Prize for feature writing in 1994 when she was the Chicago bureau chief of The New York Times. She also won the 1993 George Polk Award for regional reporting and was the NABJ “Journalist of the Year” in 1994.
In 1990, Charles Lewis authored the Center’s premiere study, America’s Frontline Trade Officials. In addition to prompting a General Accounting Office investigation and a Justice Department ruling, the study was used by four presidential candidates in 1992. The Center has published over 60 investigative reports, and Lewis has been the author of several of them, including The Buying of the President, The Buying of the Congress, and The Buying of the President 2000. Since 1992, Lewis has spoken at international conferences on corruption or on journalism in Russia, Hungary, Belarus, France, England, Ireland, South Africa, Sweden, and in March 1997 he was part of a fact-finding conflict prevention delegation to Central Asia sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations. From 1977 to 1988, he did investigative reporting at ABC News and CBS News, most recently as a producer for 60 Minutes assigned to correspondent Mike Wallace. In 1998, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation awarded Lewis a MacArthur Fellowship. He is a native of Newark, Delaware, and holds a master’s degree from Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and a B.A. in political science with honors and distinction from the University of Delaware.
I’ve never liked either clichés or self-promotion but somehow anniversaries make both seem, if not inevitable, awfully tempting. It would be so easy to focus on the earliest days of the P.O. Box and the audacious name when I began the Center for Public Integrity ten years ago and then line up our 60-plus studies, books, and newsletters and say, “Wow!” It would be so easy to pretend that there was a clear and uncomplicated trajectory from being just a name and a letterhead — with a very impressive Advisory Board — to being a unique combination of journalism and political science with projects ranging from those intimately concerned with national and state political processes in the United States to groundbreaking, collaborative, international, investigative reporting efforts drawing on the talents of 75 journalists in 39 countries.

And the tricky part is that there certainly is some truth to this easily romanticized picture of our work and our progress. As Bill Kovach, the distinguished curator of the Neiman Foundation once said, we “created an institution out of thin air.” With paid interns from America’s universities, to some of the country’s premier investigative journalists writing Center studies on a contract basis, to a core staff composed of some outstanding former journalists and other remarkable professionals, the Center has been a repository of intelligence, perseverance, adrenaline, drive, and dedication. Led by a Board of, with one exception, working journalists and an Advisory Board featuring the likes of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., James MacGregor Burns, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Pearl Stewart, Hodding Carter, and others, the organization has been taken seriously over these last ten years, in large part because it is comprised of respected individuals. We did not create this institution out of thin air, actually, but out of incredibly hard work from incredibly talented people.

For ten years.

But this is a time to reflect and not simply record a facile history of this strange, wonderful, paradoxical organization that I have had the honor to found and lead. It is time to linger a bit, to look at where we came from and how we got to where we are. It is time, yes, to celebrate our achievements and even indulge in a small bit of public astonishment at what we have managed to do during our brief existence. It is time to publicly thank those who have made such a difference in the life of this organization and to point out a few of the realities of this place to set the record straight. And to do that, I have to start at the beginning.

When we were just a P.O. Box and I was working out of my house, I had been a television journalist for 11 years at two networks. As Mike Wallace’s producer for *60 Minutes*, my professional life was ostensibly one of prestige and accomplishment. Yet I was frustrated; I had a feeling that investigative reporting was not particularly valued at the national level. Of course, one only had to look around and see that this was the case. In America, in 1989, it appeared as if public service had gone to hell. From the Iran-Contra scandal to the S&L scandal, from the HUD scandal, to the resignation of the Speaker of the House, from the Keating Five scandal to the Congressional check-bouncing scandal — the arrogance, the systemic corruption in Washington seemed to me to be worse than Watergate. Here were amazing, appalling, stunning disorders of democracy to cover. But they weren’t being well covered. They weren’t being investigated and explained. The media may not have been asleep, but it was certainly turning a blind eye to some serious problems.
So I left 60 Minutes and I knew that I was not leaving to continue to work in conventional journalism. But leaving a secure job was only the first phase of this process. The second was much more important and it resonated from a single question that partly involved having a mortgage and a family to support, and partly from a basic human need. “What do I do now?” There was a very strong motivation to find a world or create a world in which it was possible to take several months, even a year, to really look at an issue that needed to be investigated. I was not out to change the world. I don’t and didn’t have an agenda. The idea behind the Center was quite simple: What needs to be investigated? What hasn’t been reported? What is significant to our society?

Gradually, I realized that I could not do this within another organization, and I couldn’t do this within a profit-making entity. I needed to start a nonprofit and try to raise money. The group would do major investigations and announce their findings to the world and do it the way it should be done: pure investigation. If it had to take a year, it would take a year. Six months, then we would give it six months. I asked two trusted friends, journalists Charlie Piller and Alex Benes, to serve on the Board of this organization and they agreed. But we needed a name.

Initially the idea of having “investigative reporting” in the name appealed to me. But the landscape was crowded with groups having those words in their names: the Center for Investigative Reporting in San Francisco, Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE) in Missouri, the Fund for Investigative Journalism in Washington. It was not just that figuring out a way to include investigative and reporting in a memorable name without repeating all the other memorable names was going to be a problem. The whole reputation of investigative reporters was not exactly at its highest point at the time. Was this really how I wanted this group to be identified?

So I asked a friend who was not a journalist, “What should this be called?” We tried to come up with the central theme to our discussions and we realized that the theme was integrity. And then we refined that theme to public integrity. I went to my new Board members and suggested the name. We knew that it sounded a little pompous. A little pretentious. A little strange. But it ended up being a very useful name because when anything arose remotely involving ethics, or impropriety anywhere, any time, in any field of endeavor, we would get the call.

By adopting that name we immediately entered a non-linear existence. The process by which we would function would essentially be journalism, but by being a nonprofit group, right off the bat, we entered the public interest realm. We were a hybrid that helped us to become what we are today.

First I worked out of my house, then, with my house as collateral, I rented our first, 1800 square foot office in May 1990. The furniture came later. I hired a good-natured college intern who had to sit on a window sill for one full week until I eventually rented tables and chairs that one usually finds in church basements, not on K St. in Washington. I had my old typewriter from CBS; I later splurged and bought a computer. While I was still working out of my house, I knew that I needed a legal incorporation mechanism that was the Board of Directors, and then I needed an Advisory Board that had no legal standing but would give us greater credibility. I used to have lunch with friends and we would come up with 20 names, 30 names, analyzing the good and the bad, the pros and cons, the ideology, the geography, the demographics, every possible thing you could imagine.

Our first big name from a prestige standpoint was Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Pulitzer Prize-winning historian and Kennedy White House aide. I wrote to him in New York about this idea to establish a new organization to study public service and ethics-related issues, and to my surprise, I heard back from him. He said he had gotten my letter and had called Mike Wallace. This was understandable of course, but since I had just quit at the beginning of a TV season with him, I was not sure that my stock there was very high. But Mike had apparently said nice things about me and Arthur said, if this is what you want to do and my name would help, go right ahead and use it. And from that, other people followed. James MacGregor Burns, Father Hesburgh, and Hodding Carter, among others, joined our excellent adventure.

It was a brick-by-brick undertaking, but we were making progress. We had a name. We were incorporated and seeking tax-exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service. We had a Board of Directors. We had an Advisory Board. We had an office. We had a small consulting contract with ABC News. We had some funds from a foundation, some companies, and some labor organizations. And in the beginning we had three simultaneous projects, two of which actually came to fruition: an investigation of the “revolving door” of White House trade officials leaving government and becoming foreign lobbyists, and an analysis of the post-employment practices of EPA Superfund officials. By mid-1990, we existed.

And gradually the momentum increased. I wrote a piece for the IRE Journal in the spring of 1990 which described what we were setting out to do. Little did I know we were actually going to succeed.

Slowly, painstakingly, relentlessly we churned out our reports. Our first Center study, “America’s Frontline Trade Officials,” was presented to the national news media at a well-attended National Press Club news conference, and was covered by C-SPAN, CNN, and the ABC News program 20/20. The Center’s approach of investigation
and announced findings thus was affirmed. Other reports followed — “Saving for a Rainy Day: How Congress Turns Leftover Campaign Cash Into ‘Golden Parachutes’”; “Short-Changed: How Congress and Special Interests Benefit at the Expense of the American People”; “Buying the American Mind: Japan’s Quest for U.S. Ideas in Science, Economic Policy, and the Schools”; and “Under Fire: U.S. Military Restrictions on the Media from Grenada to the Persian Gulf.” By the time of the presidential election of 1992, we were being called daily for quotes about the candidates and ethics-related situations. Two election-year reports, identifying the unpaid policy advisers to the presidential candidates and investigating the conflicts of interest of the major political party chairmen, made major headlines around the nation. The first three years, we prepared and released 13 Center studies with only three full-time employees, including myself.

The prototypical Center study made its debut in July 1994, “Well-Healed: Inside Lobbying for Health Care Reform,” during the heat of the battle

In a political culture without apparent guiding principles, in a time when those who own our great media conglomerates stress markets above journalism, the Center for Public Integrity has offered an increasingly potent antidote for 10 years. It digs deep to uncover facts, figures and patterns of behavior that directly affect the nation’s political health. Charles Lewis and the Center are exemplars of public interest journalism, reflecting and promoting the bedrock values that spring from the First Amendment.

— Hodding Carter, President, The John S. and James L. Knight Foundation
Avon published other news organizations presented the findings. ABC’s seven cameras covered our news conference. Other massive data. More than 50 reporters plus seven cameras covered our news conference. ABC’s Nightline and World News Tonight, NBC’s Today Show, CNN’s Inside Politics and Newsweek, The New York Times, and many other news organizations presented the findings.

The breakthrough year was 1996. In January, Avon published The Buying of the President, the first book ever written tracking the relationships between the major presidential candidates and their “career patrons.” Released weeks before the Iowa caucuses, it received substantial news coverage in hundreds of broadcast and print news stories and also was the basis of a PBS Frontline documentary entitled, “So You Want to Buy a President?” A month later, our Under the Influence report about the unpaid advisers to the major 1996 presidential candidates revealed that the co-chairman of the Pat Buchanan campaign had taught hate groups how to develop militia capabilities. The Associated Press issued an “Urgent” bulletin about the Center’s report, the news conference was packed, and within two hours Buchanan was forced to remove the official from his campaign.

Weeks later, National Press Club president Sonia Hillgren observed at a nationally televised “Newsmaker” luncheon that the Center for Public Integrity had become “a significant force in the nation’s capital, a new government watchdog . . . [that has] developed a reputation for being tough but fair . . . a conscience for the news media and politicians alike.” The New Yorker referred to us as “the center for campaign scoops.” And months later, in August 1996, the Center’s newsletter, The Public i, profiled 75 donors to the Clinton campaign and the Democratic Party who had stayed overnight at the Lincoln Bedroom and elsewhere at the White House. The highly-publicized report by Margaret Ebrahim, entitled “Fat Cat Hotel,” later won a Society of Professional Journalists Public Service award.

Since then, the Center has continued to release highly acclaimed, commercially-published books. Indeed, for each of the past four years, Center exposés have been recognized among the best investigative books in the United States by Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE); no author or organization has been so consistently honored (The Buying of the President, 1996; Toxic Deception, 1997; The Buying of the Congress, 1998; Animal Underworld, 1999). But for the first time, in March 2000, a Center book actually took the top prize. Animal Underworld: Inside America’s Black Market for Rare and Exotic Species, by Alan Green and the Center for Public Integrity, has in fact won the IRE best book award. This year, we have produced The Buying of the President 2000 (Avon), Citizen Muckraking: How to Investigate and Right Wrongs in Your Community (Common Courage), and The Outlaw Class (Avon, due out in early 2001). That is eight books commercially published in seven years, four of them edited by Bill Hogan, three of them edited and co-written by Bill Allison.

Since 1995, the Center has been investigating political corruption in state legislatures in unprecedented fashion. Between 1995 and 1997, Center researchers developed databases of state legislative campaign contribution records in Indiana and Illinois, working with more than two dozen news organizations. The resultant saturation news coverage in those two states prompted lawmakers to enact new reform laws. Now, Center researchers led by Diane Renzulli have just concluded a two-year investigation of conflicts of interest by lawmakers; with 50 state reports and all the available personal financial disclosure records for America’s state legislators displayed on the Center’s Web site (www.publicintegrity.org). The massive data was given weeks earlier to a consortium of over 50 leading newspapers in all 50 states, in addition to some of America’s largest local TV stations. All of this remarkable information – which we will continue to develop – creates a new architecture redefining how Americans and journalists look at their state legislatures.

For years, we have recognized that no circumstance or investigative situation exists in a vacuum defined by nation-state boundaries. From corruption to violations of basic human rights, from environmental degradation to arms proliferation, we are reminded daily of our global interconnectedness and interdependence. Fortunately, the capacity for gathering information has increased exponentially because of new technologies. For nearly three years we have been assembling the world’s first working network of premier investigative reporters. The International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) now consists of 75 world-class investigative reporters in 39 countries. We have had two successful member conferences at Harvard and Stanford Universities, at which we have given out a $20,000 prize for outstanding international investigative reporting, the only award of its kind in the world. In early 2000, led by ICIJ director Maud Beelman, four reporters in four countries on four continents published the results of their six-month investigation into cigarette smuggling in the Center’s online publication, The Public i. The report revealed that executives for the world’s second largest cigarette company, British American Tobacco, have been involved for years in smuggling billions of cigarettes into countries around...
the world without paying customs duties. The findings prompted more than 40 news stories in 10 countries, and three government inquiries on two continents. Once again, the Center approach of investigation and announced findings was affirmed, but this time globally. Future ICIJ projects abound.

As we all find ourselves transformed by the Internet age, the Center for Public Integrity has adapted to the new exigencies and opportunities. Since October 1999, the Center’s award-winning periodical newsletter, The Public i, has become a weekly, online publication and broken a number of national and international stories, under the overall leadership of managing director Peter Eisner and its editor, Richard Prince. The Public i and our various Web sites have increasingly become our calling cards to the wired world. People become members or purchase Center publications every day via the Web. Since 1996, with the assistance of development director Barbara Schecter, the size of the Center budget and staff has roughly quintupled, to about $3 million and 35 full-time employees.

People sometimes ask me what I am most proud of and I have to say that overall, I am most gratified that we have defied all the odds and are here today at all. In consistently presenting correct, inaccessible, inconvenient information about the most powerful corporations and governments of our time, mere survival is no small accomplishment for a watchdog group. To paraphrase Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, we are all “a fragile bark on a stormy sea.”

From an investigative reporting standpoint, I must point to two specific achievements of the Center. The first has to do with logistics, the second with content. We have created a congenial atmosphere in which 36 researchers, writers, and editors can write a monumental book on Congress. We have had 24 reporters, researchers, writers, and editors work on a first of its kind book on the presidential race. No news organization can afford to have a dozen researchers, or a dozen interns, or a dozen reporters on any single subject. Even if they could afford it, they would never do it. One quality that is so unique about the Center, and one of its achievements that provides enormous personal satisfaction, is this collaborative, “Gone with the Wind” cast of thousands (almost) approach to our work. People become members or purchase Center publications every day via the Web. Since 1996, with the assistance of development director Barbara Schecter, the size of the Center budget and staff has roughly quintupled, to about $3 million and 35 full-time employees.

The sheer, eclectic range of our work is a great source of pride. We have undertaken broad subjects: trade officials, Congress, torturers’ lobbies, human rights abuses, state legislators, the health care debate, presidential elections, privacy, pesticide regulation, and international tobacco interests. We have always researched and written about ridiculously, audaciously broad subjects that will resonate with a larger audience. Millions of Americans relate to our findings and we know that they will understand what we are saying. We don’t go for isolated little vignettes. We don’t believe that we are talking to a limited group of insiders. We go for the big picture. And we can credibly paint it because we are perceived as an honest broker of information, standing astride a public policy issue and getting that information to the public with honesty and, yes, integrity.

We are far from perfect, certainly, and while some of our findings have provoked new laws, we
harbor no illusions that either the extent of political corruption or the quality of news media reportage have measurably improved since the Center for Public Integrity began operation. But as a necessary institution with national and international reach, so many more exciting and daunting challenges lie ahead. To those people who have provided the crucial funding to enable our work at the Center, to anyone who has ever worked at the Center during the past decade, in any capacity, at any level, and finally, to the hundreds of citizens who have quietly, sometimes quite courageously, provided us with important public information, I say a heartfelt, humble thank you.

To a growing number of people, the Center for Public Integrity has come to represent hope that government can and should serve the interests of the public, competently, objectively, accountably. And to many journalists, the Center is seen as an oasis of pure, substantive, investigative reporting in the current desert of tabloid sensationalism, celebrity pap, and superficial content. This is all very flattering and inspiring and, of course, quite an overwhelming responsibility each day.

Nothing is more emblematic of our approach and our ambitious aspirations at the Center for Public Integrity than the straightforward sentiment once expressed by Abraham Lincoln, “I am a firm believer in the people. If given the truth, they can be depended upon to meet any national crisis. The great point is to bring them the real facts.”

That is what we have tried to do these past ten years, no more, no less. And it is what we will try to continue to do.

In Washington, D.C., a city that is home to a surplus of committees and organizations with names that suggest they are pursuing worthy causes on behalf of all Americans — when in fact they are not — there is one group that lives up to its name: The Center for Public Integrity. With a dedicated and incredibly talented young staff, the Center and its principled and unwavering founder, Charles Lewis, have provided a desperately needed ethical compass in the nation’s capital.

The Center has no axe to grind, except to look out for the best interests of all citizens. In so doing, it has turned out one thought-provoking, fact-filled, nonpartisan study after another on the major issues of the day — all required reading for those who are committed to good and honest government.

— Donald L. Barlett and James B. Steele, Journalists
March
The Center for Public Integrity is incorporated in the District of Columbia, with Charles Lewis, Alejandro Benes, and Charles Piller comprising the Board of Directors, as chairman, treasurer, and secretary, respectively.

October
Charles Lewis begins working full-time as executive director, from his northern Virginia home. The Center’s first address is a P.O. Box in Washington, D.C.

May
A Center office is leased in downtown Washington, at 1910 K Street, N.W., roughly 1,800 square feet. A two-year, $60,000 lease is signed, with Lewis’ house as collateral; the Center has $2,000 in its checking account and no furniture. At the time, there is only one full-time employee. The group has an Advisory Board of distinguished Americans, including Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Hodding Carter, James MacGregor Burns, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, and Bill Kovach. $200,000 is raised in 1990 from a consulting contract with a TV network, a foundation, companies, labor unions, and individuals.

December
America’s Frontline Trade Officials, the Center’s first study, is released at a National Press Club news conference. The report prompts a Justice Department ruling, a General Accounting Office report, a Congressional hearing, is cited by four presidential candidates in 1992, and is partly responsible for an Executive Order in January 1993 by President Clinton, placing a lifetime ban on foreign lobbying by White House trade officials. It is heavily covered by the national news media, including CNN, C-SPAN, and the ABC News program 20/20.
For 10 years the Center for Public Integrity has been doing the hard work that too many journalists have been unwilling to do. In the process, Chuck Lewis and his colleagues have revealed to the rest of us what our political system really looks like. Deservedly, the Center is now recognized as a powerful and essential part of our political culture. Congratulations.

— Carl Bernstein, Author

1991

March
Saving For A Rainy Day: How Congress Turns Leftover Campaign Cash Into “Golden Parachutes.” This and its update report in 1994 describe how cumulatively, since 1979, 112 former members of Congress had converted over $10 million in leftover campaign funds to personal use.

July
Short-Changed: How Congress and Special Interests Benefit at the Expense of the American People. This campaign finance study by Jean Cobb dissects six broadly relevant areas — the price of sugar, fuel efficiency standards, utility customer rebates, insurance premiums, savings-and-loan regulation, and tobacco price supports.

November
Buying the American Mind: Japan’s Quest for US Ideas in Science, Economic Policy, and the Schools. This report, by Stephanie Epstein, finds that taxpayer-supported, high-tech university laboratory research is being sold for a song to Japanese and other non-U.S. corporations. It is the subject of an ABC News 20/20 segment.

1992

January
Under Fire: US Military Restrictions on the Media from Grenada to the Persian Gulf. This 110,000-word study by Jacqueline Sharkey and 10 researchers in three cities is issued on the one-year anniversary of Operation Desert Storm and to date, is the most comprehensive investigation into U.S. military restrictions on the media from Grenada to the Persian Gulf. The Pentagon, according to the Center, “has tried to hide the true face of war by controlling the images of the conflict, frequently with the cooperation of the media.”

February
Under the Influence is the first systematic look at unpaid policy advisers to the presidential candidates and is released less than two weeks before the critical Super Tuesday primaries. The Center finds that the vice chairman of the Bush-Quayle campaign, James Lake, is also a registered “foreign agent” on behalf of the owners of the Bank of Credit of Commerce International (BCCI), the subject of seven federal criminal grand jury investigations.
June
Silence of the Laws: How America’s Leading Defense Companies Employ Women and Minority Executives. Written by Encarnacion Pyle, this report begins with a 1965 Lyndon Johnson Executive Order requiring federal government contractors to abide by certain “equal opportunity” standards. The Center finds that a quarter century later, an extraordinarily low number of women and minorities — two percent or less — are employed in the upper management ranks of the twenty largest defense contractors.

July
For Their Eyes Only: How Presidential Appointees Treat Public Documents as Personal Property. Steve Weinberg investigates the practice in which former U.S. officials take classified documents with them after leaving public service, use the materials to write lucrative memoirs, and then seal off these documents for decades from historians, journalists, and other researchers. The Center finds that former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger kept 1,700 pages of personal notes at the Library of Congress, sealed away from the public, the General Accounting Office, and, at least initially, federal prosecutors.

September
Private Parties: Political Party Leadership in Washington’s Mercenary Culture. The Center finds that between 1977 and 1992, half of the national political party chairman had conflicts of interest, simultaneously receiving fees from corporations, law firms, and other sources. In January 1993, Bob Woodward of The Washington Post reports that Democratic National Committee chairman and Secretary of Commerce-designate Ron Brown was questioned for five hours by FBI agents, who asked “detailed questions based on a highly critical report on political party chairman by the Center for Public Integrity.”

December
The Torturers’ Lobby: How Human Rights-Abusing Nations Are Represented in Washington is written by Pamela Brogan. It finds that U.S. taxpayers were indirectly subsidizing the activities of lobbyists, lawyers, and public relations firms that were paid more than $30 million in 1991–92 to represent foreign interests that have been persistent abusers of human rights. Collectively, they help their clients procure billions of dollars in U.S. aid.

1993

April
Biohazard: How the Pentagon’s Biological Warfare Research Program Defeats Its Own Goals. Written by Seth Shulman and edited by Charles Piller, this study reveals that the Army’s biological defense research program is “misguided in its aims and poorly managed.” The Center finds serious problems of low productivity, poorly conceived research that concentrates on marginal or trivial problems, a lack of legitimate peer review of research, and a complete absence of coherent policy.

April
Toxic Temptation: The Revolving Door, Bureaucratic Inertia, and the Disappointment of the EPA Superfund Program is written by Eric Greenberg. It finds that of the top Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) officials who have worked with toxic waste cleanups and who have left government since 1980, at least 80 percent have gone to firms holding Superfund cleanup contracts or have consulted with or given legal advice to companies regarding Superfund.

May
The Trading Game: Inside Lobbying for the North American Free Trade Agreement is praised by the Columbia Journalism Review as the definitive investigation into lobbying for and against NAFTA. The Center finds that the Mexican government and business interests waged the largest foreign lobbying campaign in U.S. history, spending at least $30 million to promote the development and enactment of NAFTA. Besides hiring a phalanx of Washington law firms, lobbyists, public relations companies, and consultants, Mexican interests took 83 Congressional staff members on all-expense-paid trips to Mexico. The findings are simultaneously published as a cover story in The Nation, written by Margaret Ebrahim and Charles Lewis.
January
The Center for Public Integrity is the last tenant in its first D.C. office before it is demolished, and moves to a larger office on Farragut Square, at 1634 I Street, N.W., Suite 902, in Washington. A later expansion brings the total square footage to about 4,300. At the time of the move, the Center has four full-time employees.

April
Sleeping with the Industry: The U.S. Forest Service and Timber Interests examines the U.S. Forest Service under the Clinton Administration, and its relationship to Congress and the private sector. Written by Steven T. Taylor, the report is based on extensive field research in Alaska, Colorado, California, and Washington, D.C.

June
Saving For A Rainy Day II: How Congress Spends Leftover Campaign Cash by Kevin Chaffee updates a March 1991 study which found that since 1979, 112 former members of Congress used an estimated $10.5 million in unspent campaign donations for non-election-related purposes. It is based upon Federal Election Commission records of more than 200 members of Congress who left office between 1979 and 1993.

July
Well-Healed: Inside Lobbying for Health Care Reform is researched and written by 17 people who examined the Washington lobbying activities of 660 interest groups for over a year. It is regarded as the only authoritative guide to the lobbying around the 1993–94 Clinton health care reform legislation. The report is heavily covered by the national news media, including The New York Times, NBC’s The Today Show, and the ABC News program Nightline.

July
Lobbying — The Fastest Growing Health Care Industry is the first issue of the new Center newsletter, The Public i, and the founding editor is Marianne Szegedy-Maszak. This report is based on the Well-Healed study. (Subsequent “derivative” Public i reports are not listed in this compilation of original Center reports and major chronological events.)

October
Goldman Sachs and the White House Connection is written and reported by Rebecca Borders and new Center managing director Alejandro Benes in The Public i. This report examines the close ties of current and former Goldman Sachs executives and lobbyists to the Clinton Presidential Legal Expense Trust.

1995

January

March
Contract with an American is written by Charles Lewis and Margaret Ebrahim in The Public i. It investigates how Marianne Gingrich, the wife of Newt Gingrich, became vice president of the Israel Export Development Company. She had no previous international business experience, and her previous job had been selling cosmetics from her home. The job was arranged by former Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn), a registered lobbyist for the company.

June
Tripping with the Secretary is written by Rebecca Borders and Alejandro Benes in The Public i and is one of the first U.S. investigative reports about the trade missions of the late Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown. It examines the confluence of corporate executives on the trips with contributions to the Democratic Party and the Clinton campaign.

December
Steve Forbes and the Flat Tax is a Public i report by Margaret Ebrahim and Alejandro Benes which reveals that the flat tax so strongly advocated by presidential candidate Steve Forbes would in fact cut his own annual tax liability in half. The analysis is made with the assistance of an accounting firm retained by the Center which studied public financial disclosure records. The report receives major coverage, especially in New Hampshire before the nation’s first primary. Forbes is asked about our findings on NBC’s Meet the Press. The issue — and Forbes’ candidacy — fades within weeks.
January
The Buying of the President by Charles Lewis and the Center for Public Integrity, published by Avon, is the first investigative book ever written tracking the relationships between the major presidential candidates and their “career patrons.” Released weeks before the Iowa caucuses, the book is cited in hundreds of broadcast and print news stories, parts of it are syndicated by The New York Times, and it is the basis of a PBS Frontline documentary, “So You Want to Buy a President?” The Buying of the President is chosen as a finalist for the Investigative Reporters and Editors best investigative book in the United States.

February
Under the Influence: The 1996 Presidential Candidates and Their Advisors identifies the paid and unpaid advisors to all the major presidential candidates. The Center reveals that the co-chairman of the Pat Buchanan campaign, Larry Pratt, taught white supremacist groups how to develop militia capabilities. The Associated Press issues an “Urgent” bulletin about the Center’s report. Within two hours of the Center’s Washington news conference, Buchanan, reached in New Hampshire by CNN, removes Pratt from his campaign. This is the top story in the U.S. for one day. Within weeks, journalists discover other extremists in the Buchanan organization.

April
Power and Money in Indiana. Led by Diane Renzulli, Center researchers develop a database of Indiana state legislative campaign contribution records, coded by interest groups. This largely inaccessible data is given to a dozen news organizations and eight political science professors in the state, and the result is massive, investigative news coverage throughout the Hoosier state. The Indianapolis Star-News (“Statehouse Sellout: How Special Interests Have Hijacked the Legislature”); WTHR-TV Channel 13, the NBC affiliate in Indianapolis; the Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette; and the Evansville Courier all develop stories and series examining the state legislature. Within weeks, 2,500 angry citizens contact the Star-News, the state’s largest newspaper, and within weeks, reform legislation becomes law mandating that all contribution records be made available to citizens online.

April
Charles Lewis is invited to speak at a National Press Club “Newsmakers” lunch, broadcast nationwide by National Public Radio and C-SPAN. In the introduction, with Center Advisory Board members Hodding Carter and Pearl Stewart seated on the dais, National Press Club president Sonia Hillgren observes that the Center has become “a significant force in the nation’s capital, a new government watchdog . . . [that has] developed a reputation for being tough but fair . . . a conscience for the news media and politicians alike.”

June
Place Your Bets: The Gambling Industry and the 1996 Presidential Election, written by Meredith O’Brien, documents the gambling industry’s extensive ties to the two political parties and to Bill Clinton and Bob Dole, the two major party presidential nominees. This Center study finds that since 1991 gambling interests poured more than $4.5 million into campaigns for the White House and Congress and into the soft-money accounts of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

August
Fat Cat Hotel: How Democratic High-Rollers Are Rewarded with Overnight Stays at the White House is a Public i report written by Margaret Ebrahim that breaks the “Lincoln Bedroom” story by profiling 75 fund-raisers/donors who had stayed overnight in the Clinton White House. Half a year later, the White House finally honors the Center’s request for the names of all overnight guests — the first time a sitting President has ever released such information. This newsletter report later wins the Society of Professional Journalists’ (SPJ) Public Service award.

October
Limited Partners: An Examination of Elizabeth and Robert Dole’s Investment in the Altenn Associates Tax Shelter caps a three-month investigation by Ted Gup and Meredith O’Brien into a tax shelter investment by Elizabeth and Senator Robert Dole. The Public i report places this investment in the context of the GOP presidential candidate’s public statements and legislative actions opposing real estate tax shelters. It is based in part on financial documents that have never before been made public and on interviews with some of the Doles’ partners in the venture.
December
Presidential Frequent Fliers: The Hidden Subsidies of the 1996 Campaign is a comprehensive examination of the use of corporate and government aircraft in a presidential campaign by Robert Dole and Bill Clinton. This Public I report by Meredith O’Brien is based on a review of thousands of pages of federal campaign spending documents and dozens of interviews.

1997

January
Squeeze Play: The United States, Cuba, and the Helms-Burton Act is a study written by Patrick J. Kiger and investigated by John Kruger. It analyzes the forces behind the U.S. economic embargo against Cuba, particularly the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF). The Center finds, among other things, that Senator Robert Torricelli (D-NJ) completely reversed his position on Cuba after receiving $120,000 from directors and trustees of CANF and the Free Cuba PAC. The report is requested by the European Commission.

February
Toxic Deception: How the Chemical Industry Manipulates Science, Bends the Law, and Endangers Your Health is published by Birch Lane Books and written by Dan Fagin, Marianne Lavelle, and the Center for Public Integrity. This book is the product of a three-year investigation into the federal government’s regulation of toxic chemicals. Praised by reviewers, it draws on more than 200 interviews and thousands of once-secret government and industry documents, offering an exhaustive look at how manufacturers have influenced the federal government’s regulation of four toxic chemicals that are widely used in products in homes, on farms, and by businesses. Toxic Deception is later chosen as a finalist by Investigative Reporters and Editors for best investigative book in the United States.

September
The Center launches the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ), an attempt to enlist the world’s most respected reporters to do systematic investigative journalism across state borders. Maud Beeman is hired as ICIJ director. Within months, a special Web site (www.icij.org) is created, featuring password only access to ICIJ members and encryption technology.

October
Power And Money In Illinois. Led by Diane Renzulli, Center researchers, and with the assistance of University of Illinois political scientist Kent Redfield, develop and provide in-depth campaign finance computer research to the Chicago Tribune, Tribune Broadcasting (WGN News and WCL-TV), and eleven other newspapers across the state. This project involves five times more data than in Indiana. On October 5, all thirteen members of the consortium produce prominent stories and series on how money affects Illinois politics. Political reform legislation passes and is signed into law in the months following the saturation news coverage.

1998

February
Safety Last: The Politics of E. Coli and Other Food-Borne Killers is the first of four “Congress and the People” studies. It finds that Congress has consistently ignored the growing threat to the public health posed by the slaughter and meatpacking industry, meat producers, and distributors. Meanwhile, over the preceding decade, the food industry gave $41 million to the campaigns of members of Congress, who managed to kill every bill that promised meaningful improvement. Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman calls the Center to explain Clinton administration policies after receiving press inquiries.
April

(Almost) Anything Goes. The Center examines the financial disclosure forms filed by all 178 members of the Illinois Assembly, augmented by interviews with scores of lawmakers and a review of thousands of bills and amendments. This investigation finds that the current system of disclosure doesn’t adequately identify potential conflicts between a legislator’s official duties and his or her personal financial interests. And since no one enforces the Illinois Governmental Ethics Act, legislators can — and do — ignore it with impunity. The Chicago Sun-Times, The New York Times, and The Economist publish stories about the Center’s findings.

May

In The Unlikely Event... The Politics of Airline Safety is the second “Congress and the People” study. Although the United States has the safest commercial airline system in the world, each year there are preventable deaths and injuries from air travel. Congress has important oversight responsibilities over the Federal Aviation Administration and the National Transportation Safety Board. The Center finds that Congress is sometimes more responsive to the economic interests of the airline industry than to the public interest. After publication, FAA Administrator Jane Garvey contacts the Center about the report’s chapter regarding airline wiring insulation.

June

Center founder and executive director Charles Lewis is awarded a MacArthur Fellowship by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation in Chicago. In the highly publicized announcement, the Foundation cited the Center for Public Integrity for producing “high quality, high impact, public service journalism.”

June

Unreasonable Risk: The Politics of Pesticides is the third “Congress and the People” study. It explores the potential dangers associated with pesticide use and analyzes why lax regulation of these dangerous products continues to exist. Among other things, the study shows how the pesticide industry is seeking to weaken the Food Quality Protection Act.

July

Nothing Sacred: The Politics of Privacy is the fourth and final “Congress and the People” study. It explores how sensitive financial information and personal data are bought and sold by scores of companies, often without the subjects’ knowledge or permission. Health care records are similarly available to prying eyes. In the workplace, telephone conversations often are monitored. This study investigates how Congress has put big-money corporate interests ahead of the basic privacy interests of the American people.

September


October

The Center for Public Integrity moves its office to 910 17th Street, N.W., 7th Floor, Washington, D.C. Under the careful direction of director of finance and administration Ellen McPeake, the 8,400 square foot space is specially designed, wired, and renovated to accommodate the needs of 23 full-time employees.

November

The Center’s new International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) holds its first annual conference at Harvard University, co-hosted there by the Nieman Foundation, headed by Center Advisory Board member Bill Kovach. Forty-seven of the premier investigative reporters in the world attend this first-ever, three-day meeting. The first $20,000 ICIJ Award for Outstanding Investigative Reporting is given to ICIJ member Nate Thayer of the Far Eastern Economic Review. The award is made possible by a grant from The John and...
Florence Newman Foundation. Thayer survived 16 bouts of malaria and a land mine explosion over many years trying to find and interview former Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot, blamed for the deaths of more than one million Cambodians. It was the first interview with Pol Pot in 18 years and the only one before his death.

1999

February
Hidden Agendas: An Analysis of Conflicts of Interest in State Legislatures. In the first phase of a multi-year project, the Center methodically evaluates financial-disclosure components and access to public records, all on the Center’s Web site. The Center finds that nearly half of the states’ disclosure systems fail to provide the public with basic information on state lawmakers’ private interests. This first-ever electronic release of a Center report receives intense media coverage nationwide.

September
Animal Underworld: Inside America’s Black Market For Rare And Exotic Species, written by Alan Green and the Center for Public Integrity, is published by Public Affairs. This book culminates four years of unprecedented research into the exotic animal trade in the United States, and exposes the underground trade in rare and endangered animals. Animal Underworld documents how these creatures are moved from respected zoological parks and research institutions through a network of shady, but often federally licensed, dealers to private pet owners, roadside attractions, and even “canned hunts.” Publisher’s Weekly calls the book “a major feat of investigative reporting.” The NBC News program Dateline features a segment. And ultimately it is chosen as the best investigative book in the United States by Investigative Reporters and Editors, the fourth straight year a Center book has won or been a finalist for an IRE book award.

October
New Center managing director Peter Eisner develops an online version of the Center’s award-winning newsletter, The Public i. The concept is to give the Center a faster mechanism to present its investigative findings, using the Internet. Investigative reports will appear at least once a week, and the first months are to be a “prototype” period. The maiden voyage of the online Public i features a breaking, high profile, national and international story. In October and every month since, The Public i site averages more than 100,000 hits per month (www.public-i.org). Richard Prince is hired as the editor of The Public i.

October
Vice President Al Gore’s Campaign Chairman Tony Coelho is the subject of three Public i stories by Center director of investigative projects Bill Hogan in less than a week (Investigation, Audit Reveal Mismanagement by Gore’s Campaign Manager; Coelho Tapped Government Resources to Repay Personal Loan; and Coelho Failed to List $300,000 Loan on Financial Disclosure). The reports detail irregularities about Coelho’s management at the last world’s fair of the 20th century, the Lisbon ’98 Expo, as the U.S. commissioner general. Coelho leased a condominium for $18,000 a month, hired relatives, and raised more than $6 million in federal funds for an event that was not supposed to be taxpayer supported. The Center finds he is the subject of a very critical State Department Inspector General report. The first Public i online report is covered by The New York Times, The Washington Post, and other newspapers including Page 1 stories in Portugal. The Vice President is asked about it directly in a live CBS News Face the Nation interview.

October
How U.S. Policy On Marketing Tobacco Overseas Fell Through The Cracks In Malawi, written by ICIJ director Maud Beelman and Zoë Davidson, appears in The Public i. It reveals how the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has been helping the economically impoverished country of Malawi in southern Africa improve the way it grows and markets tobacco. It is a finalist for Investigative Reporters and Editors’ best investigative online story of 1999.

October
San Francisco Bank Linked to Laundering Probe at Bank of New York is a Public i report by senior fellow Knut Royce. It finds that the Commercial Bank of San Francisco has become intertwined in the massive federal money-laundering investigation of the much larger Bank of New York. This report explores the phenomenon of bad money coming out of the former KGB, sometimes from Russia’s hard-core Mafia, sometimes from the corrupt bureaucracy, and sometimes from all of them acting in concert.
**November**

The second annual International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) conference is held at Stanford University in Palo Alto, California, co-hosted by the John S. Knight Fellowship program and its director James Risser. The second annual ICIJ award is given for Outstanding International Investigative Reporting to Steve Bradshaw and Mike Robinson of the BBC for their TV documentary exposing deliberate international inaction to stop the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Bradshaw, who produced “When Good Men Do Nothing” while working for the program Panorama, accepted the check for $20,000 and an engraved crystal obelisk. The annual award is made possible by a grant from The John and Florence Newman Foundation.

**December**

Federal Elections Panel Too Swamped To Check Campaign Finance Abuses, written by Marianne Holt in The Public i, finds that the Federal Election Commission is mired in an investigation backlog and is swamped by thousands of cases, giving it little chance for enforcement or for regulating campaign spending abuses. The Center’s analysis of FEC records finds that many of the presidential candidates have been investigated for campaign finance abuses, but little to no action has been taken against them. In fact, only one-quarter of those cases was acted upon by the agency.

Belying His Rhetoric, McCain Worked for Megamerger Sought by Campaign Patron AT&T is written by Nathaniel Heller and Annyx Shin for The Public i. It examines the relationship between campaign finance reformer and GOP presidential candidate John McCain and AT&T. Senate Commerce Committee chairman McCain, the report reveals, introduced a bill that would clear hurdles for the company’s proposed acquisition of MediaOne Group, Inc. Meanwhile, AT&T is McCain’s No. 3 career patron, with its political action committees, employees, and their spouses giving him more than $75,000 since 1982.

Vice President’s Quarters Draw Fund-Raisers’ Bucks is written by Russ Tisinger in The Public i. It discloses that during Al Gore’s tenure as Vice President, the Residence Foundation — a non-profit, tax-exempt organization created in 1991 to fund improvements to the Vice President’s residence — has raised $1,067,610. The Center finds that many of the donors are Gore and Democratic Party donors. The report is covered by The New York Times and others.

Investigative reporting is the bone structure without which the journalistic body collapses.

— Alma Guillermoprieto

Journalist

**December**

FBI Tracked Alleged Russian Mob Ties Of Giuliani Campaign Supporter is written by Knut Royce in The Public i. This report reveals that a prominent commodities trader who acknowledges a business history with a reputed Soviet Bloc crime figure and notorious arms dealer has been one of New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani’s top campaign supporters. He also contributed to Democratic New York Senator Charles Schumer, the Clinton-Gore re-election campaign, and others. The report, based on law enforcement agency information and FBI internal documents, is covered by the Financial Times in England and the Moscow Times, among others.

**January**

Major Tobacco Multinational Implicated in Cigarette Smuggling, Tax Evasion, Documents Show is written by ICIJ director Maud Beelman, Duncan Campbell, Maria Teresa Ronderos, and Erik J. Schelzig for The Public i. A follow-up report, Global Reach of Tobacco Company’s Involvement In Cigarette Smuggling Exposed in Company Papers, appears days later. It is the first project of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, now up to 75 reporters in 39 countries. Reporters in four countries on four continents [Colombia; England; Australia; United States] worked together for half a year, obtaining and analyzing 11,000 pages of internal documents from British American Tobacco, the world’s second largest tobacco company. The documents confirm what tobacco companies have been denying publicly for years: direct involvement by corporate executives in smuggling billions of cigarettes into countries around the world to avoid paying customs duties. The report prompts 40 media stories in 10 countries, including the Los Angeles Times (Page 1), The Washington Post, and USA Today in the U.S.; and in the U.K., The Guardian (Page 1) and Channel Four Television. Three government investigations are launched on two continents. The pre-publication libel review process involves four lawyers on two continents. The BBC and The Guardian do stories about ICIJ itself because of the unprecedented nature of the collaboration.
January

The Buying Of The President 2000, by Charles Lewis and the Center for Public Integrity, is published by Avon and released at a well-attended news conference at the National Press Club. It is the definitive and only investigative book about the 2000 presidential candidates. Twenty-four researchers, writers, and editors worked for 18 months pulling tens of thousands of federal and state records, analyzing thousands of news articles and interviewing hundreds of people. It has 30,000 more words than the 1996 book, and the Center Web site has comprehensive presidential candidate profiles. It is the fourth Center book edited by Bill Hogan. The book is covered by C-SPAN (the news conference “live” and Washington Journal), CNN Inside Politics, National Public Radio, the CBS Evening News, The Washington Post, The Associated Press, and many others. Lewis goes on a 12-city book tour. Among others, it is favorably reviewed by The Washington Post, the online publication Salon, and The Economist, which calls the book “a gloriously detailed account of the candidates’ finances and friendships.”

January

Bradley Was Driving Force Behind Biggest Tax Giveaway is written by chief of research Bill Allison, Derrick Wetherell, and Annys Shin in The Public i. Two days after presidential candidate Bill Bradley attacks corporate tax shelters and special interest provisions, the Center points out that he helped give away billions of dollars in hundreds of special breaks for well-connected individuals and corporations. It was all buried in obscure passages of the Tax Reform Act of 1986, which are excerpted in this report.

February

McCain Tax Bill Would Save Corporate Contributors Millions by Derrick Wetherell in The Public i examines McCain’s Telecommunications Ownership Diversification Act, which would give large telecommunications firms a tax incentive worth millions of dollars for selling subsidiaries to minority-owned firms by deferring the taxes on capital gains earned in those sales for two years.

February

Candidates’ Positions on Rwanda Genocide: Should U.S. Intervene? analyzes in The Public i the past statements of the presidential candidates as to whether or not the U.S. should, in the future, intervene to prevent genocide such as the 1994 Rwanda tragedy. In that instance, the U.S. and the United Nations did nothing.

March

Under The Influence: Party Machines, Lobbyists, and Special Interests presents via The Public i detailed descriptions of the many policy advisers to the major presidential candidates. This extensive report — a reprise of the 1992 and 1996 studies — includes a searchable lobbying database identifying the interests behind the unpaid policy advisers.

March

Overnight Guests at Governor’s Mansion Added $2.2 million to Bush Campaign finds that 60 of George W. Bush’s overnight guests at the Texas Governor’s mansion have collectively given and raised more than $2.2 million to further Bush’s political career. This Public i report by Nathaniel Heller, based upon Texas records, reveals that at least 15 of Bush’s guests are members of his elite fund-raisers known as the “Pioneers,” who each bring in at least $100,000. The Bush campaign immediately issues a press release countering this report, characterizing the guests as “friends,” attempting to refute any suggestion that such extensive hospitality for financial supporters is similar to the Clinton Lincoln Bedroom scandal.

March

$5,000 Buys Companies Access to GOP Attorneys General, written by Marianne Holt and Kathryn Wallace in The Public i, investigates a new group called the Republican Attorneys General Association (RAGA), financed by unlimited and undisclosed soft money contributions from individuals, corporations, and political action committees who join the group. It was created by the nation’s 12 elected Republican attorneys general and operates out of the Republican National Committee. Corporations that join RAGA secure potential allies in the White House and advocates in the offices of attorneys general who could discourage state-prosecuted lawsuits against industry. A week later, The Washington Post does a story on Page 1 about RAGA.
2000

March
Loophole Allows Donors To Give Without Leaving A Trace looks at the growing phenomenon of murky organizations that take advantage of Section 527 of the Internal Revenue Code. The loophole allows "issue ads" by groups that are free to collect contributions from any source and invest unlimited resources into campaigns, skirting all donation limits and disclosures. This Public i report by Marianne Holt and Kathryn Wallace describes a new 527 group in California with ties to former California Governor Pete Wilson.

March
Pentagon Trained Troops Led By Officer Implicated In Colombian Massacre is written by Frank Smyth and Maud Beelman of the Center’s International Consortium of Investigative Journalists. Pentagon officials, under pressure to investigate alleged links between elite U.S. military trainers and Colombian forces implicated in a 1997 civilian massacre, admit that they trained soldiers commanded by Colombian Army Colonel Lino Sánchez. The leader of Colombia’s right-wing paramilitary forces currently is in prison, awaiting trial for allegedly masterminding a massacre of 49 residents of Mapiripán. The U.S. training story was first broken by Colombian El Espectador, based on a review of 4,500 pages of Colombian government documents. But until this Public i report, no U.S. official had confirmed the U.S. training involvement. Once again, the collaboration across language, cultural, and geographic borders, as in the tobacco smuggling report, produces important new information about a vital public issue.

April
Citizen Muckraking. The idea that one person or one community can make a difference was the basis for Citizen Muckraking. Published by Common Courage Press and released in April 2000, the book shows how to be an effective muckraker. Along with it’s practical step-by-step information, it reveals the incredible stories of ordinary American citizens like Linda King and Ron Hayes who turned the spotlight on the ethical lapses of corporate and government groups and righted wrongs in their communities. The act of gathering information and asking officialdom inconvenient questions — the bedrock of investigative reporting — done by everyday people who are not journalists or lawyers, is, of course, the first seed of citizen involvement, empowerment, and activism.

April
Bush’s Insider Connections Preceded Huge Profit on Stock Deal by Knut Royce in The Public i reveals new details about how Texas Governor George W. Bush served on an energy corporation’s board (Harken Energy Corp.) and was able to realize a huge profit by selling his stock in the corporation. An accounting sleight-of-hand concealed that the company was losing large sums of money: shortly after he sold, the stock price plummeted. That profit helped make him a multimillionaire.

April
Army General Had Business Deal with Clinton-Gore Money Man, written by Nathaniel Heller for The Public i, reveals that Lt. General Claudia Kennedy, nominated by President Clinton to be the first female three-star general in the history of the U.S. Army, had been a business partner for two years with controversial Democratic Party fundraiser Terence McAuliffe. Within four hours of its release, the story prompts an official response from the Pentagon, and is picked up by The Washington Post and Newsweek.

May
Our Private Legislatures — Public Service, Personal Gain. The Center releases an unprecedented, state-by-state report chronicling the conflicts of interest in America’s state legislatures. According to an analysis of financial disclosure reports filed in 1999 by 5,716 state legislators, Center researchers found that more than one in five sat on a legislative committee that regulated their professional or business interest; at least 18 percent had financial ties to businesses or organizations that lobby state government; and nearly one in four received income from a government agency other than the state legislature, in many cases working for agencies the legislature funds. The Center’s Web site now houses financial disclosure forms filed by every state lawmaker in the country. And for the first time ever, the Center created a nationwide media consortium of more than 50 of the country’s most important newspapers and television stations to use the Center’s research as a springboard to investigate their state legislatures.
So Where is the Center for Public Integrity today as an organization?

Today, the Center Board of Directors has nine members, five women, four men.
They are, in alphabetical order:

The Center Advisory Board has twelve members, nine men, three women:

Brief biographies of each staff, Board, and Advisory Board member are on the Center’s Web site, www.publicintegrity.org. Other information, from IRS Forms 990 to a list of financial supporters, is also there.

On the occasion of the Center for Public Integrity’s 10-year anniversary, below are the unvarnished facts about the organization today:

Number of full-time employees: 35
Percent of women and minorities: 54%
Percent of women and/or minorities at senior staff level: 71%
Number of paid intern researchers since 1990: 100+
Center investigations to result in public findings since 1990: 60+
Commercially published books since 1995: 7
Number of consecutive years Center books honored by IRE: 4
Number of National Press Club news conferences since 1990: 28
Lexis-Nexis citations of the Center since 1990: 4,575
Countries in which Center founder Charles Lewis has spoken: 10
White House dinners to which Center employees have been invited: 0
Total income in 1999: $2,821,768.00
Total anticipated revenue in 2000: $3,035,000.00
Total income 1989 through 1999: $10,943,836.00
Total income from government grants and contracts: 0
Total income from Internet or other advertising: 0
Total contributions from corporations: $277,100*
Total contributions from labor unions: $224,500*
Percent of total income (1989–99) from business and labor donations: 4.6%
Total of dues-paying members of the Center: 9,390
Average individual contribution: $33.16
Number of billionaires pledging to build the Center endowment: 0 (so far)
Number of downtown Washington offices since 1990: 3
Number of career journalists on the Center Board: 8 out of 9
Number of career journalists on the Center Advisory Board: 3 out of 12
“Hits” on The Public i Web site in its first six months: 1,000,000+

*In 1996 the Center stopped accepting money from corporations and labor unions.
INTERNATIONAL CONSORTIUM
OF INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISTS

The International Consortium of Investigative Journalists was created in 1997 to extend globally the Center’s style of “watchdog journalism” in the public interest.

ICIJ marshals the talents of the world’s leading investigative journalists to produce collaborative, multinational reports on issues that transcend borders, such as organized crime, political corruption, international security, and environmental degradation.

ICIJ’s hand-picked, invitation-only membership currently includes 75 journalists in 39 countries. In addition to regular meetings, ICIJ members communicate and collaborate through secure e-mail and a members’ listserv.

ICIJ also recognizes annually the best international investigative journalism with the ICIJ Award for Outstanding International Investigative Reporting. The award — a $20,000 first-place prize and up to five $1,000 finalist honors — is the only one of its kind in the world and is made possible through the generosity of The John and Florence Newman Foundation.

They are the kind of tenacious, often-obsessive reporters who, when they hear that eight million documents have to be combed through, do not rush for the exits, but reach for their highlighter pens. What their work shows is that, in an era of celebrity profiles and PR puffery, there is still room for journalism of the classic sort: inserting uncomfortable facts into the public realm.

— The Guardian

[ICIJ] affords me the opportunity to join a noble global effort to produce international investigative reports whose work can enrich the lives of peoples of the world.

— Kabral Blay-Amihere, Ghana, ICIJ member

For me, the Center has always been a model of independent journalism and I’m glad you are taking your efforts international.

— Ying Chan, Hong Kong, ICIJ member
A motivating factor for our internship program is to make a significant and positive impact on the decline in the quality of investigative journalism around the country. A major portion of the Center’s energy is devoted to working with the next generation of investigative reporters.

Ten years ago the Center had one intern — Colin McLaren, a University of Southern California student — whose desk was a windowsill. During the last 12 months, aspiring journalists and political science majors came to the Center from such institutions as the University of Delaware, the University of Notre Dame, Marquette University, the University of Pennsylvania’s Annenberg School, Princeton University, and Shaw University. Besides working on specific investigative research projects, they were introduced to the “nuts and bolts” of investigative journalism: everything from on- and off-the-record interviews with government officials, academics, economists, activists, whistleblowers, and ordinary Americans, to poring through government reports, records, and statistics. Their assignments took them to the Library of Congress, the Federal Election Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Federal Trade Commission, and Senate and House hearings, among others.

A regular and highly regarded aspect of the program is exposing the interns to a variety of “inside and outside the beltway” speakers. Among them are:

- Jill Abramson, The New York Times
- Jodie Allen, Slate (at the time)
- Carl Bernstein, author
- Ben Bradlee, The Washington Post
- David Burnham, author
- James Carville, campaign consultant
- Pat Choate, author and economist
- Sam Donaldson, ABC News
- Elizabeth Drew, author
- Margaret Engel, Executive Director of the Alicia Patterson Foundation
- Ed Fouhy, Pew Center for Civic Journalism (at the time)
- Jeff Gertz, The New York Times
- Pamela Gilbert, U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission
- Florence Graves, journalist
- William Greider, journalist
- Ted Gup, journalist
- Seymour Hersh, journalist
- Christopher Hitchens, journalist
- Issac Hunt, SEC Commissioner
- Sonia Jarvis, George Washington University professor
- Maria Jimena Duzán Sáenz, Colombian journalist
- Sheila Kaplan, US News & World Report
- Ted Koppel, ABC News
- Marty Koughan, documentary producer
- Jim Leach, Chairman, House Banking Committee
- Paula Madison, Vice President, WNBC
- Jane Mayer, The New Yorker
- Colman McCarthy, The Washington Post
- Russell Mokhiber, Corporate Crime Reporter
- Ralph Nader, consumer advocate
- Ross Perot, presidential candidate
- Charles Piller, Los Angeles Times
- Maria Teresa Ronderos, La Nota (Colombia)
- Tim Russert, NBC News
- Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., historian
- Jim Schweitzer, Washington lawyer
- Ben Sherwood, NBC News
- George Stephanopoulos, Clinton White House (at the time)
- Ray Suarez, NPR (at the time)
- Marianne Szegedy-Maszak, journalist
- Isabel Wilkerson, The New York Times (on leave)
- Judy Woodruff, CNN
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— Ben Bradlee
Vice President, *The Washington Post*
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A Project of The Center for Public Integrity
The International Consortium of Investigative Journalists was created in 1997 by the Center for Public Integrity to extend globally its style of “watchdog journalism” in the public interest.

ICIJ marshals the talents of the world’s leading investigative journalists to produce collaborative, multinational reports on issues that transcend borders, such as organized crime, political corruption, international security, and environmental degradation.

ICIJ’s hand-picked, invitation-only membership currently includes 75 journalists in 39 countries. In addition to regular meetings, ICIJ members communicate and collaborate through secure e-mail and a members’ listserv.

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The ICIJ will be of tremendous value... There’s still so much to learn and so much to write about! And, in this era of globalization, many issues are no longer just domestic.

— Marites Dañguilan Vitug, Philippines, ICIJ member
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— William Marsden, Canada, ICIJ member