

## THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY

The Center for Public Integrity does investigative reporting and research on public policy issues in the United States and around the world. The Center, which is a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization, was founded in 1989 by investigative reporter and former *60 Minutes* producer Charles Lewis. Lewis' idea behind establishing the Center was quite simple: What needs to be investigated? What hasn't been reported? What is significant to our society?

The Center's work is based on the conviction that the public has a right to know what its government, public officials and corporate leaders are doing. Its mission includes providing the American people with information—often not available elsewhere—about how these entities are performing their duties. By providing thorough, thoughtful and objective analyses, the Center serves as an honest broker of information, which in turn helps citizens demand a higher level of accountability from their government and elected leaders.

Virtually all of our findings are posted online at [www.publicintegrity.org](http://www.publicintegrity.org); many of our investigations are later published as books or reports.

During 2004 the Center published two books (one was a *New York Times* best seller) and over 100 reports, doubled its Web site visits, won five major awards and was cited in thousands of newspaper and broadcast stories around the world.

The Center also built a number of unique databases, including the Media Tracker, the only non-commercial database anywhere that allows users to see who owns which media outlets. Another database listed all Defense Department contracts from fiscal year 1997 through 2003 with profiles of the top 737 contractors who won contracts worth \$100 million or more. The Center also created the only database in existence that details activity by political committees known as 527s.

But it was also a bittersweet year: in July our executive director and founder Charles Lewis announced his intention to resign at the end of the year. After an intensive nationwide search, in December the Center's Board of Directors chose investigative journalist Roberta Baskin to succeed Lewis. We expect that she will lead the Center to a new and exciting future.





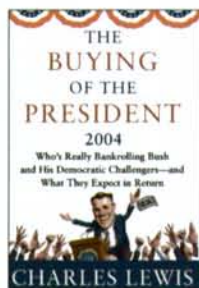
“SOME OF THE BEST INVESTIGATIVE REPORTING TODAY IS BEING DONE BY...THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY.”

— Columbia Journalism Review

## CENTER PROJECTS IN 2004

Below are highlights of the Center for Public Integrity's activities this year:

### ■ THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN PROJECT



Providing the only investigative profiles of the major presidential candidates prior to the first caucuses and political primaries in the country, the Center's book, *The Buying of the President 2004*, is the centerpiece of our quadrennial Presidential Campaign Project. The book was the Center's first *New York Times* best seller.

### ■ STATE PROJECTS

In 2004, State Projects continued its pioneering work on so-called 527 committees, which can engage in election-related activities while remaining almost totally free from fundraising restrictions. In addition to adding new features to the project's Web site and updating our tally of 527 contributions and expenditures every week, the Center held a post-election news conference, in collaboration with David Magleby of Brigham Young University's Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy, summarizing 527s' role following the passage of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act.

### ■ POLITICS OF NATIONAL SECURITY



**Outsourcing the Pentagon** is perhaps the most ambitious and wide-ranging investigative report into Department of Defense contracting ever attempted. Researchers created a 2.2 million-record, searchable data-

base of 737 companies that received \$100 million or more in government contracts since 1998 and found that the Pentagon has awarded some \$362 billion to companies without competitive bidding. Profiles of each company reveal the specifics of their Pentagon business, including breakdowns of the competition they faced (or did not face).



#### Abu Ghraib and Prison Documents

In October the Center posted thousands of pages of classified documents related to the abuse of military prisoners in Iraq. The documents detail interrogation procedures and eyewitness depositions and reveal that the military's mission at

the prison was inadequately planned almost from conception. As a result of posting these documents, along with coverage of campaign finance in the 2004 election, October 2004 had the highest number of monthly visitors in the history of the Center's Web site.

### ■ THE POLITICS OF OIL



This project identified and examined the world's 1,500 most powerful oil and gas companies and compiled an extensive database on these giant—and usually secretive—firms. The report looked at how much money the industry has lavished on politicians to advance its interests, identified the

800-plus subsidiaries that operate in tax havens, reported on the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission's cozy relationship with the industry it regulates, and much more. Subsequent stories, including perspectives from members of the Center's International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, were released from September through December.

### ■ THE POLITICS AND INFLUENCE OF THE TELECOMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY

In 2004 the Center's three-year investigation of the telecommunications industry, "Well Connected," launched a comprehensive redesign of its Web site and revised its Media Tracker, a more than 50,000-record, searchable database containing ownership information on virtually every radio station, television station, cable television system and telephone company in America. The project's Influence Tracker—a search engine that scours five separate databases with information on lobbying, campaign contributions and junkets and identifies which former FCC and congressional staff are now industry lobbyists—debuted this year.

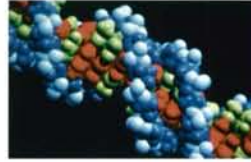
### ■ GLOBAL INTEGRITY

In April the Center's Global Access team released *Global Integrity*, a 750,000-word report on government corruption in 25 countries from seven regions of the world. Over a three-year period, Center researchers compiled an exhaustive database of anti-corruption experts, social scientists and investigative journalists in countries around the world. This project also yielded the groundbreaking *Public Integrity Index*, which assesses by country the existence, effectiveness and accessibility to citizens of anti-corruption mechanisms (both laws and institutions).



## ■ LIFE FOR SALE: CLONING

Beginning in March, the Center released a total of nine reports throughout the year on human cloning. Among them: a story on federally funded cloning research in primates, which is advancing the scientific frontiers that could be used in human cloning, despite a ban on federal funding of human cloning research. The project also examined international efforts to regulate human cloning, stalled because of



differences among countries over religious views and economic interests, and also in part due to heavy-handedness. Nongovernmental organizations and activists around the world have circulated

the reports, which stimulated other key media organizations to further pursue the subject.

## CHANGES AT THE TOP

Charles Lewis, founder and executive director of the Center for Public Integrity for 15 years, stepped down in late December. Lewis will continue to serve the Center as a consultant on strategic, institutional and development issues.

Roberta Baskin, a nationally-recognized investigative television journalist, will take over on January 31, 2005. She was selected following a six-month, nationwide search.

Under Lewis' leadership at the Center, the organization received 28 journalistic awards and published 14



Charles Lewis

books, nearly all of them written or co-written by Lewis. In 1998 Lewis was awarded a MacArthur Fellowship by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

*The Village Voice* called Lewis "the Paul Revere of our time" in early 2003 after he obtained a copy of the Justice Department's draft legislation "sequel" to the U.S.A. Patriot Act, and posted it

on the Center's Web site.

Lewis has written extensively about corruption in government and about freedom of the press. He has lectured on these issues in this country as well as many countries abroad, including Belarus, Belgium, China, Denmark, England, France, Hungary, Ireland, Russia, Sweden and South Africa. In early 1997, he traveled to the troubled Ferghana Valley region of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan in Central Asia as part of a Council on Foreign Relations conflict-prevention fact-finding mission.



Roberta Baskin

For eleven years, from 1977 through 1988, Lewis did investigative reporting at ABC News and at CBS News as a producer for senior correspondent Mike Wallace at *60 Minutes*. His stories twice received Emmy nominations in the "Outstanding Investigative Reporting" category by the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences.

Roberta Baskin has won more than 75 journalism awards, including two duPont-Columbia University Awards and two George Foster Peabody Awards for her investigative reporting.

Most recently she was senior Washington correspondent for *Now with Bill Moyers*, where she reported primarily on money and influence peddling in the federal government. Previously, as senior producer for the ABC news magazine *20/20* Baskin directed all of the program's consumer investigative reports. She also managed the Washington Bureau staff of *20/20* and *Primetime*, supervising producers, correspondents, editors and photographers.

Baskin joined ABC from CBS News where she was chief investigative correspondent for the news magazine *48 Hours* and contributed special reports to the *CBS Evening News*. She began her journalism career as an investigative reporter on local news in Chicago and Washington, D.C. where her investigations led to changes in state and federal laws, business practices and public policy. She was awarded a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard University in 2001.



## 2004 REPORTS

Date	Headline	Date	Headline
1/8/2004	<b>Who Bankrolls Bush and his Democratic Rivals?</b> <i>A look at the presidential race</i>	4/29/2004	<b>Public Integrity Index Measures Anti-corruption Environment</b>
1/8/2004	<b>"Full and Open Debate"</b> <i>Was Halliburton chief Dick Cheney being ironic when he wrote to Vice President Al Gore?</i>	4/29/2004	<b>Flawed Democracies:</b> <i>Center unveils new tool to track political accountability around the world</i>
2/13/2004	<b>Who Gives the Most Money:</b> <i>Financial corporations and law firms dominate Career Patrons list</i>	5/5/2004	<b>Early Warning:</b> <i>The U.S. Army can hardly be surprised by its problems with contractors in Iraq</i>
2/23/2004	<b>Junkets End for Top FCC Officials:</b> <i>How one federal agency changed a controversial policy</i>	5/6/2004	<b>Lobbyists Bankrolling Politics:</b> <i>Bush gets nearly four times as much as Kerry</i>
2/24/2004	<b>Kerry's Fundraising Shows Large Corporate Donations:</b> <i>Excerpt of The Buying of The President 2004 details Kerry's contribution record</i>	5/19/2004	<b>Under Pressure:</b> <i>Hot-button issues spur lobby spending as some states weaken disclosure</i>
3/2/2004	<b>Regulating Cloning:</b> <i>The biotech industry pushes its agenda in the states</i>	6/2/2004	<b>Globalizing Research:</b> <i>Across Asia, biotechnology sector thrives</i>
3/4/2004	<b>Political Mugging in America:</b> <i>Anatomy of an "independent" smear campaign</i>	6/2/2004	<b>Dim Chance for Global Cloning Ban:</b> <i>Diplomats cite U.S. overreach for stalemate on banning reproductive cloning</i>
3/11/2004	<b>Bush Has a New Top Career Patron:</b> <i>MBNA surpasses Enron as the president's top lifetime contributor</i>	6/2/2004	<b>In Congress, a Cloning Stalemate:</b> <i>Efforts to ban cloning falter over scope of proposed prohibition</i>
3/25/2004	<b>The State Money Race:</b> <i>Dems outraised GOP in the states, but have little to show for it</i>	6/2/2004	<b>Where Scientists Call the Shots:</b> <i>Advanced capabilities and lax regulation put Israel on the leading edge of cloning</i>
3/25/2004	<b>Party of One:</b> <i>Special committees allow prominent lawmakers to parcel out campaign cash</i>	6/2/2004	<b>Favorable Logistics:</b> <i>In Brazil, infrastructure and human resources for cloning are available</i>
3/25/2004	<b>Professional Advice:</b> <i>State parties spend hundreds of millions on consulting</i>	6/2/2004	<b>A Human Rights Issue:</b> <i>In Europe, nations ban reproductive cloning, but allow research to continue</i>
4/6/2004	<b>FCC Managers Still Flying Free</b>	6/13/2004	<b>Private Contractors:</b> <i>As early as December 2000 the Army was aware of the risks of calling on the private sector for intelligence work</i>
4/9/2004	<b>Indecency on the Air:</b> <i>Shock-radio jock Howard Stern remains 'King of All Fines'</i>	6/23/2004	<b>Baby Bells Paying to Play:</b> <i>Bells paid two-thirds of fines and settlements since Jan. 2000</i>
4/13/2004	<b>Group Wants Truth in Cell Phone Billing:</b> <i>Wireless firms bill clients \$937 million for 'federal recovery fees'</i>	6/23/2004	<b>Tracking Enforcement:</b> <i>Getting enforcement information from agency a maddening process</i>
4/19/2004	<b>Closing in on Human Cloning:</b> <i>The federal government is funding research in primate cloning technology. Why?</i>	6/28/2004	<b>Foreign Lobbyist Database Could Vanish:</b> <i>Justice Department claims merely copying its foreign agents database could destroy it</i>
4/20/2004	<b>The Money Pours In:</b> <i>Political non-profits rake in millions of dollars from rich donors</i>	6/30/2004	<b>Contractors Write the Rules:</b> <i>Army policy governing use of contractors omits intelligence</i>
		7/1/2004	<b>Voter Turnout Group Focuses on Ohio:</b> <i>America Coming Together puts hundreds of employees into Buckeye State</i>



Date	Headline	Date	Headline
7/7/2004	<b>Winning Contractors – An Update:</b> <i>As the number of contracts rises, problems continue to plague the contracting process</i>	8/20/2004	<b>The Republican Convention:</b> <i>The party begins in New York City, paid for by special interests</i>
7/8/2004	<b>The Party's Parties:</b> <i>Lavish parties lead to access at nominating convention</i>	8/20/2004	<b>Grand Old Parties:</b> <i>Special interests shower Republicans with perks and parties in the Big Apple</i>
7/12/2004	<b>It's Their Party:</b> <i>DNC demands boost cost of convention, paid for by special interests</i>	8/20/2004	<b>Counting the Costs:</b> <i>Convention boosters promise a windfall that rarely materializes</i>
7/12/2004	<b>Spending Spree:</b> <i>Where Does the Convention Money Go?</i>	8/26/2004	<b>State Parties Adjust to McCain-Feingold:</b> <i>Fundraising ahead of 2001 pace as new law provides opportunities and challenges</i>
7/12/2004	<b>Wining and Dining the DNC:</b> <i>When cities vie to host a convention, it's the Party insiders who win</i>	9/2/2004	<b>Media Tracker Gets Facelift:</b> <i>Ownership search expanded, improved</i>
7/12/2004	<b>A Study in Excess:</b> <i>Los Angeles rolled out red carpet for winning bid in 2000</i>	9/7/2004	<b>Millionaires Raising Millions:</b> <i>Bush and Kerry have new major donors in common</i>
7/15/2004	<b>Big Oil Protects its Interests:</b> <i>Industry spends hundreds of millions on lobbying, elections</i>	9/14/2004	<b>States with Senate Races Fuel Money Pipeline:</b> <i>National parties ship millions to Alaska, Florida and California</i>
7/15/2004	<b>Gimme Shelter (From Taxes):</b> <i>U.S. oil and gas companies have 882 subsidiaries in tax haven count</i>	9/17/2004	<b>GOP 527s Gaining Ground:</b> <i>Political groups on the right raise at least \$26 million since June</i>
7/15/2004	<b>Koch's Low Profile Belies Political Power:</b> <i>Private oil company does both business and politics with the shades drawn</i>	9/22/2004	<b>Venezuela Head Polishes Image With Oil Dollars:</b> <i>President Hugo Chavez takes his case to America's streets</i>
7/15/2004	<b>Big Oil Spends \$400,000 on Government Junkets:</b> <i>Legislators taken to NASCAR races, "Wildcatters Ball"</i>	9/22/2004	<b>Saudis Drop Big Bucks for Washington Influence:</b> <i>Saudi Arabia the most active OPEC member on K Street</i>
7/15/2004	<b>A Pipeline of Influence:</b> <i>Even before he became VP, Dick Cheney and Bush fundraisers were crafting national energy policy</i>	9/22/2004	<b>Bob Dole: Indonesia's Man in Washington:</b> <i>Former Republican presidential candidate is paid to lobby for the country's oil interests</i>
7/27/2004	<b>Incomplete Disclosure:</b> <i>IRS filings show few penalties for political committees that fail to meet requirements</i>	9/22/2004	<b>K Street Lobbyists Carry Water for OPEC:</b> <i>Disclosure filings indicate massive spending on lobbying by oil-rich countries</i>
7/28/2004	<b>Contracting Intelligence:</b> <i>Department of Interior releases Abu Ghraib contract</i>	9/23/2004	<b>527 Ad Spending Heavy in Midwestern States:</b> <i>Wisconsin and Iowa see millions in advertising since June</i>
7/29/2004	<b>Outsourcing the Defense Budget:</b> <i>Defense contractors are writing the president's defense budget</i>	9/24/2004	<b>Personal Politics:</b> <i>All too often, legislators' private interests are hidden from public view</i>
8/12/2004	<b>527s Attract New Donors as Others Abandon System in Wake of BCRA</b>	9/24/2004	<b>Balancing Act:</b> <i>Without financial disclosure, Idaho legislators tackle conflicts on their own</i>
8/18/2004	<b>Halliburton Contracts Balloon:</b> <i>Despite being under an investigative cloud, company gets \$4.3 billion in 2003</i>	9/24/2004	<b>Who's the Boss?</b> <i>Legislators with other government jobs</i>



Date	Headline	Date	Headline
9/29/2004	<b>Outsourcing the Pentagon:</b> <i>Who benefits from the politics and economics of national security?</i>	10/28/2004	<b>Broadcast Lobbying Tops \$222 Million:</b> <i>One story you won't hear on the news</i>
9/29/2004	<b>The Pentagon's Stealth Rainmaker:</b> <i>How revolving doors and large donations allow a defense lobbying firm to dominate</i>	10/28/2004	<b>Industry Battles Re-regulation:</b> <i>Cable lobbying climbs by 50 percent</i>
9/29/2004	<b>The Pentagon's \$200 Million Shingle:</b> <i>Defense data show billions in mistakes and mis-labeled contracts</i>	10/28/2004	<b>Sinclair Flap Proves Exception to the Rule:</b> <i>Broadcasters split the ticket when it comes to contributions</i>
9/29/2004	<b>The Shadow Pentagon:</b> <i>Private contractors play a huge role in basic government work—mostly out of public view</i>	10/29/2004	<b>Electioneering Communications:</b> <i>Outside groups spend millions on ad buys</i>
9/29/2004	<b>The Big Business of Small Business:</b> <i>Top defense contracting companies reap the benefits meant for small businesses</i>	10/29/2004	<b>2004 Election Tip Sheet</b>
10/8/2004	<b>The Abu Ghraib Supplementary Documents:</b> <i>The Center for Public Integrity posts classified documents that form the basis of the Taguba report</i>	10/31/2004	<b>The Abu Ghraib Supplementary Documents:</b> <i>New installment of classified documents shows abuses at other prison camps</i>
10/8/2004	<b>Anatomy of a Lobbying Blitz:</b> <i>Cable industry enlists diverse crowd in high-level influence campaign</i>	11/1/2004	<b>Kerry Almost Doubles Bush's Recount Funds:</b> <i>Primary campaign funds give Kerry the edge</i>
10/14/2004	<b>A Little-Used Campaign Finance Rule:</b> <i>State and local parties not warming up to Levin funds</i>	11/3/2004	<b>Documents Reveal Concern Regarding Halliburton Contracts:</b> <i>A top Army contracting officer asks for an independent investigation</i>
10/18/2004	<b>527 Fundraising Nets a Record Haul:</b> <i>Independent political groups have raised \$391 million for the 2004 election</i>	11/3/2004	<b>GOP 527s Outspend Dems in Late Ad Blitz:</b> <i>Progress for America and Swift Boats dominated airwaves in Swing States</i>
10/25/2004	<b>The Limits of Charity:</b> <i>Gov. Bill Richardson is taking advantage of a regulatory gray area to get out the vote</i>	11/15/2004	<b>527 Reports Win Two Journalism Awards:</b> <i>Center is a Finalist for General Excellence</i>
10/27/2004	<b>K Street's Investment in the Status Quo:</b> <i>Incumbent senators bank on lobbyists with agendas before them</i>	11/18/2004	<b>Investing in War:</b> <i>The Carlyle Group profits from government and conflict</i>
10/27/2004	<b>Three Quarters of Incumbent Legislators Are Running Again</b>	11/22/2004	<b>Clamping Down on Freedom of the Press:</b> <i>What lessons does Watergate offer for today's beleaguered media?</i>
10/27/2004	<b>Cautious About Hard Money:</b> <i>County party organizations shying away from federal activities</i>	11/29/2004	<b>Ukraine in the News</b>
10/28/2004	<b>From Government Service to Private Practice:</b> <i>Writers of telecom law move to K Street</i>	12/7/2004	<b>Appealing to a Higher Authority:</b> <i>Federal energy regulators smooth the way for liquefied natural gas terminals</i>
10/28/2004	<b>Bells vs. AT&amp;T:</b> <i>Telephone lobbying surpasses half-billion</i>	12/7/2004	<b>Can a Free Market Help Clear the Air?</b> <i>World Bank buys pollution rights from tiny Indian village for \$645</i>
10/28/2004	<b>Networks of Influence:</b> <i>The political power of the communications industry</i>	12/16/2004	<b>527s in 2004 Shatter Previous Records for Political Fundraising</b>
		12/20/2004	<b>Big Oil Wields Ultra Deep Influence:</b> <i>Legislators push for energy industry tax breaks, regulatory changes to hunt for oil at the bottom of the sea</i>
		12/20/2004	<b>U.S. Pushed to Ratify Deep Sea Treaty:</b> <i>U.N. Law of the Sea will divvy up deep ocean bottom for oil and gas drilling</i>



## AWARDS 2004

In 2004 the Center was honored by the journalistic community nine times for its investigative reporting, including winning the first George Polk Award ever given to a Web-based organization.

### PEN USA

#### Winner

First Amendment Award: Charles Lewis and The Center for Public Integrity

### ONLINE JOURNALISM AWARDS, USC ANNEBERG SCHOOL FOR COMMUNICATION

#### Winner

Enterprise Journalism (small sites): "Silent Partners: How political non-profits work the system," Derek Willis & Aron Pilhofer

#### Finalist

General Excellence (small sites)

### INFORMATION TODAY

#### Winner

2004 Buddie Award for Best Unknown Database: The Center for Public Integrity

## 2004 INTERN REPORT

For 10 weeks during the summer of 2004 the Center hired 13 interns from around the country and introduced them to the nuts and bolts of investigative reporting. Although they failed to improve the Center's softball record despite enthusiastic participation, they made invaluable contributions to our most important investigations.

While working closely with Center staff, they assisted in the research, writing, and database development that embody the Center's style of reporting. Their efforts helped make the Center the premier online investigative reporting organization in the country.

As part of the summer program, interns have the opportunity to meet and question outstanding members of the media, the federal government and corporations. In 2004, they met with Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), Sen. Hillary Clinton (D-N.Y.), *Nightline* anchor Ted Koppel, *NewsHour* senior correspondent Gwen Ifill, Pulitzer Prize

### LONG ISLAND UNIVERSITY

#### Winner

The George Polk Award in Journalism (Internet Reporting): "Windfalls of War: U.S. Contractors in Iraq and Afghanistan," Maud S. Beelman, Andre Verloy, Bill Allison, Teo Furtado, Kevin Baron, Neil Gordon, Laura Peterson, Daniel Politi, André Verlöy, Bob Williams, Brooke Williams, Aron Pilhofer and Han Nguyen

### SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTS

#### Winner

Public Service in Online Journalism (Independent): "Silent Partners: How political nonprofits work the system," Derek Willis and Aron Pilhofer

### INVESTIGATIVE REPORTERS AND EDITORS

#### Winner

Investigative Reporting (Online): "The Water Barons," William Marsden, Maud S. Beelman, Bill Allison, Samiya Edwards, Erika Hobbs, Aron Pilhofer, Daniel Politi and Andre Verloy

#### Finalist

Other Media (Online): "Well Connected," John Dunbar, Bob Williams, Morgan Jindrich and Scott Singleton

### ASSOCIATION OF CAPITAL REPORTERS AND EDITORS

#### Winner

In-Depth Reporting (Online): "Silent Partners: How political nonprofits work the system," Derek Willis and Aron Pilhofer

winners Seymour Hersh, Bob Woodward and Anthony Shadid, and Doug Bennett, executive vice president of Timmons & Company. In one meeting with three foreign journalists, interns listened to first-hand stories of reporting in countries

where censorship, intimidation, and even murder are the usual obstacles faced by investigative reporters.

The Center's summer internship programs have become a point of pride for the entire organization. The infusion of excitement they bring to our newsroom adds an extra layer of satisfaction among the staff; knowing they have a hand in helping the next generation of investigative reporters begin their careers.



## FUNDERS

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