“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
“In this very uncertain time for the media, serious investigative reporting - the expensive, time-consuming stuff - is under enormous pressure at newspapers and other commercial news organizations. Non-profits such as the Center for Public Integrity are taking on this vital work and without them the prospects for investigative reporting would be even more dire. The Center has been properly celebrated for its careful, rigorous work, and to my mind it has now ascended to the status of national treasure.”
— Alex S. Jones, Director, Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, Harvard University

Our Mission

The mission of the Center for Public Integrity is to produce original investigative journalism about significant public issues to make institutional power more transparent and accountable.

To pursue its mission, the Center:

- Generates high-quality, accessible investigative reports, databases and contextual analysis on issues of public importance.
- Disseminates work to journalists, policymakers, scholars and citizens using a combination of digital, electronic and print media.
- Educates, engages and empowers citizens with tools and skills they need to hold governments and other institutions accountable.
- Organizes and supports investigative journalists around the world who apply the Center’s goals and standards to cross-border projects.
- Remains independent by building a strong and sustainable financial base of support, including a community of committed individuals and foundations.

The Center is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, non-advocacy, independent journalism organization based in Washington, D.C.
Message from the Board Chair

We live in a world where the public interest often seems an afterthought, one reason why I have always taken such pride – and drawn such energy – from my long association with the Center for Public Integrity. If anything, 2005 reinforced my appreciation of the Center’s work, as one-word scandals and disasters dominated the headlines for weeks at a time: Abramoff, DeLay, Katrina.

This past year afforded another opportunity as well, that of helping guide the Center through its transition to new leadership. We said a regretful and admiring goodbye to founder Charles Lewis and entered a period of transition in which the Center was headed by veteran journalist Roberta Baskin. During that time, we recruited a team of seasoned reporters and editors from the print, online and broadcast fields. Together, we have continued to produce the kind of groundbreaking investigative journalism for which the Center is known.

In the pages following, you will find a summary of our 2005 activities and how we made a difference, as well as insights into the work ahead. It’s a good story. We reported on the $10.8 billion spent by lobbyists in Washington since 1998. We covered the myriad of contributors to state political parties. We laid bare Big Pharma’s attempts to influence drug safety and the price American consumers pay for their drugs. And our award-winning Well Connected project explored the political patronage in play in state utility commissions. We produced more than 50 investigative stories, covered by hundreds of media outlets.

Behind this body of work is a talented staff motivated by a common belief: that the public interest is best served when people know the full story behind the laws, regulations, and contracts that affect their lives. This belief is at the core of our bedrock commitment to the idea that an informed citizenry is fundamental to a functioning democracy.

On behalf of the Board of Directors, I would like to thank the community of individual members and major foundations that makes possible the Center’s brand of in-depth, long-term and non-partisan research and reporting. And I invite everyone to visit our Web site (www.publicintegrity.org) to see the Center’s work. Transparency has never had such a powerful ally as the Internet, a tool that we are continually looking to exploit in new ways.

In the public interest,

Charles Piller
Translating Our Mission into Action:

Investigative Journalism at the Center

At the heart of the Center’s mission is its goal of making institutional power more transparent and accountable. Thus our investigations focus on the entities that influence the exercise of political authority and key aspects of social and economic policy – in other words, governance, and such core issues as health, human rights, and the free flow of information. Depending on the topic under investigation, we may look primarily at the state or federal level, or head across international borders. Each of the projects summarized in this report illustrates this approach to our work.

The reporting we do at the Center for Public Integrity is expensive: it takes time, technology, and lots of talent. We start by identifying the problem. We determine what kind of information we need and take steps to acquire it – frequently by filing Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests. We develop methods for cataloguing and indexing the information, whether it’s data or reams of documentation, so that it is searchable. We interview experts in the relevant fields, as well as those directly affected by the problem under investigation. And then we write the story.

But the reporting is just the beginning. If a tree falling unheard in the forest makes no sound, then a story unread might just as well not have been written. Key to the Center’s impact is our ability to take the story and make it available to everyone who might want it, the way they want it: on the radio, television, or online; in print, via e-mail, by phone or in person.

When founded in 1989, the Center’s principal publishing tool was print; today it is the Internet and its affiliated technologies: e-mail, podcasts, RSS feeds, blogs.

Sharing the information is also not enough: it is critical that those who want the information be able to use it effectively. This is why Center staff members spend hours each week meeting with other journalists and journalism students, with advocates and academics, and with a wide range of policymakers – from foreign ambassadors to state legislators. We take seriously our responsibility to engage, educate and empower others to hold accountable powerful public and private institutions.

And we make a difference. In the telecommunications arena, Center reports prompted at least three separate actions by the executive branch in 2005, including the extension of key federal “truth in billing” rules to the cell phone industry. Since 2003, our investigations into state-level lobbying and financial disclosure issues have helped bring about stronger laws or electronic disclosure systems in at least 24 states, of which 16 made substantive changes to lobbying laws. In the U.S. Congress, members cited Center reports and findings in introducing legislation to change lobbying disclosure laws at the federal level.

As has been said many times by Center reporters, we don’t lobby Congress. We do put out factual information, information to which Americans need access if they are to carry out their responsibility as citizens. Our job is simply to make the work of the engaged citizen just a little bit easier.
Tracking the Trail of Influence

The separate scandals surrounding Jack Abramoff and Randy “Duke” Cunningham in 2005 were the biggest and most dramatic in years. Millions of dollars were handed out in exchange for lucrative government contracts and policy decisions favorable to defense and gambling interests. While extreme, these scandals spotlighted the influence exerted by lobbyists in Washington, the subject of an exhaustive, ongoing investigation launched by the Center for Public Integrity earlier in the year.

LobbyWatch released its first reports in April 2005, together with a powerful interactive database of more than 2.2 million records, including every federal lobbying disclosure form filed since 1998. Reports published over the course of the year hammered home the weak and failing controls on lobbying activities: too few staff, late- or never-filed forms, and hundreds of unregistered lobbyists. Among our revelations: special interests report spending more on lobbying than on campaign contributions, for a total in excess of $10 billion over the seven years captured by the Center’s investigation. And Washington’s 16 largest lobbying firms have more staff in the halls of Congress than the Senate has Senators.

“Traveling on the Abramoff Plan” hit our Web site on June 22, telling how at least 123 lobbyists – including Jack Abramoff – sat on the boards of nonprofit organizations that paid for congressional travel. A key point of the story was that current disclosure forms require very little detail as to how travel money is spent, thereby opening up to question even the most honest of politicians.

The impact of LobbyWatch has been far-ranging, from editorials in The New York Times and Christian Science Monitor, to stories and interviews aired on radio and television. Roughly two-thirds of the Center’s Web traffic in 2005 was to pages linked to the LobbyWatch project. Among those making use of the Center’s findings was Sen. Russ Feingold (D-Wis), for an opinion piece published by the Minneapolis Star Tribune and in his introduction of legislation to tighten lobbying regulations.

“Where would we in Washington and we in America be without the Center? We would know much less about the workings of our Congress, and our tax dollars. We would know much less about the powers of the Executive, and its ability to hide wrongdoing behind secrecy and classification. The Center takes the notion of integrity very seriously, and its investigations are a model for today’s good journalism and, we all hope, an inspiration for the mainstream press to do more.”

— Seymour Hersh, Pulitzer Prize-winning investigative reporter and author

LobbyWatch was funded by the Charles Lewis Special Projects Fund, supported with a generous grant from The Annenberg Foundation. It was also funded by the Center’s Political Accountability Project, supported with a generous grant from The Morton K. and Jane Blaustein Foundation.

www.publicintegrity.org/lobbywatch

Technology, Free Speech and Telecommunications

Ownership within the telecommunications industry is increasingly concentrated, with more and more control in the hands of fewer and fewer corporations. The lines between content and channel of communication blur – and billions of dollars are at stake – as efforts to rewrite federal and state telecommunications laws and regulations inch forward.
Moving into its third year of operation, the Center’s investigation of those who run and regulate the electronic communications industry reached down into the states in 2005. September saw the first-ever examination of a single industry’s efforts to influence the policy process in all 50 states. The Well Connected project documented campaign contributions and lobbying expenditures – the latter totaling at least $83.4 million over just two years – financed by the telecommunications industry state by state. This was followed in November by reports on the state regulatory agencies charged with overseeing the industry, highlighting the lack of credentials and financial disclosure requirements for public utility commissioners.

At the federal level, the project focused its attention on the increasing fines imposed for indecent broadcasting, with a June report on the eight-fold jump in fines levied by the Federal Communications Commission between 2003 and 2004. The project showed how the FCC has broadened its interpretation of indecency laws to go after local broadcast affiliates and impose multiple fines on a single show. The FCC was also in the picture for a Center story on the nation’s second largest owner of low-power (community service) television licenses, which documented the owner’s failure to build a single operational station.

FCC announced the extension of key federal “truth in billing” rules to the cell phone industry, so as to combat billing practices outlined in a Center report from 2004. The FCC also responded to the Center’s report on the low-power television industry by launching its own, ongoing inquiry. And throughout the year, the Well Connected project ranked among the five most visited projects on the Center’s Web site.

The Well Connected project was funded by a generous grant from The Ford Foundation.

www.publicintegrity.org/telecom

Watchdog in the Corridors of Statehouse Power

Few state capitals can boast a major newspaper, yet the laws and regulations passed in statehouses often have the most direct impact on people’s lives. The Center for Public Integrity’s tracking of state-level campaign financing and influence peddling first began in the mid-1990s with research in two states. Ten years later, our knowledge base covers all 50 states and a comprehensive range of issues, including lawmaker assets, corporate lobbying, political party finances, and in-depth data specific to the pharmaceutical and communications industries.

And it’s all just a click away: Private citizens, journalists, and ethics watchdogs can now go to the “In Your State” section of the Center’s Web site to find links to all this information. To make sense of it all, the Center has developed a set of Ethics Report Cards that make it possible for anyone – including lawmakers themselves – to see how their state compares with its neighbors.
In addition to the multiple stories published by the Center on the communications industry in the states, the State Projects team released its fourth annual survey of state lobbying spending in 2005. The survey documented $953 million spent on lobbying in 2004, supporting the livelihoods of 38,000 lobbyists – an average of $130,000 and five lobbyists per state legislator. A set of five reports released in May focused on who contributes to state political parties and caucuses, including the role of nonprofit political groups (527s).

The impact of the Center’s state-oriented projects in 2005 is illustrated by the more than 400 media hits in outlets from 45 of the 50 states, and the fact that ethics laws were a focus of legislative activity in almost half the states. In support of these efforts, Center staff responded to requests for its expertise from lawmakers, watchdog groups and researchers in more than a dozen states. As a result, seven states upgraded their disclosure systems in 2005 and three – Georgia, Tennessee and West Virginia – altered their ethics laws. This brings to 24 the number of states making changes to laws governing lobbying, financial disclosure and other practices since the release of a major Center report on these issues in 2003.

The State Projects were funded by generous grants from The Ford Foundation, The Joyce Foundation and The Pew Charitable Trusts.

“North Carolina’s successful push for tougher lobbying laws in 2005 can be traced back to the Center’s state lobbying study. The ‘report card’ initiated the conversation for reform; it was clearly the catalyst toward getting things started.”
— Bob Phillips, Executive Director
Common Cause of North Carolina

ICIJ London Conference Reunites, Reinvigorates Members

Ensuring political accountability in an era of globalization requires increased attention to what happens outside U.S. borders. The Center put this belief into action in 1997, when it established the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ). The Consortium is now a network of 95 leading investigative journalists in 48 countries, 65 of whom met in London this past August to share their experiences in countries as different as Australia, China and Israel.

As the first such gathering in four years, conference sessions illustrated the changing face of investigative journalism and covered such topics as computer assisted reporting and database mining. It was also an opportunity to explore possible new areas of collaboration. Several new investigative projects emerged, including an examination of the interplay between U.S. military aid, prisoner treatment overseas and foreign lobbying in Washington.

Among the highlights of the four-day conference was a dinner address by famed international correspondent Phillip Knightley. He recalled the halcyon days of The Sunday Times of London, when it had 350 editorial staff and “spent money like water on investigative journalism.” While he lamented the enfeebled state of the field today, Knightley pointed out that it’s possible to “seek other sources of funding for our own investigations.”

Another highlight came with the presentation of the ICIJ Investigative Reporting Awards, thanks to the generosity of the John and Florence Newman Foundation. Mei-Ling Hopgood and Russell Carollo of the Dayton Daily News were on hand to receive the 2004 award, while Newsday’s Thomas Maier took home the 2002 award. The 2003 honoree, Jeffrey Goldberg, of The New Yorker, was not available for the presentation.
Overall, the conference provided an opportunity to revisit and reinvigorate the sense of mission within the ICIJ. For other Center staff attending, it opened a window onto a world of journalism that is often very different from that in the United States, a world in which reporters sometimes risk their lives to tell the story.

ICIJ activities were funded by generous grants from the JEHT Foundation, the Popplestone Foundation, and Jon and Lillian Lovelace.

www.publicintegrity.org/icij

**Big Pharma tops the list for lobbying expenditures**

America’s health care system is in crisis. More than 45 million Americans are uninsured, and millions more are forced to choose between paying for their prescription drugs or food or rent. And each year there are new stories about drugs being withdrawn from the market due to safety concerns. *Pushing Prescriptions* is our attempt to make sense of why the public interest is so poorly served by the current system.

In January of 2005, *Pushing Prescriptions* focused on the role of a former U.S. ambassador to Canada in lobbying that country’s government on drug importation issues. In early spring, the Center revealed the industry’s rank as the number one lobbying interest in the United States, with $675 million spent over seven years to influence federal and state governments. Then, in July, the Center published five stories on the range of Big Pharma’s influencing initiatives, including its spending on campaign contributions, “grassroots” front groups, and lobbying contacts with the Food and Drug Administration and U.S. Trade Representative, among others.

Together, Center reports show how the pharmaceutical industry works to influence drug policies and prices not only in the United States, but in the rest of the world – including developing countries where people are even poorer and less healthy.

Politicians and the press paid attention to the Center’s findings. Media coverage included print, broadcast and online outlets such as *The Washington Post*, ABC News, CNN.com and FoxNews.com, to reach consumers across the nation and even halfway around the world. In Congress, Center findings were cited by members on the floor of the House and on the Web, and in the introduction of new legislation seeking to close loopholes in disclosure requirements for lobbyists. State lawmakers also made good use of Center statistics, as have the Global AIDS Alliance and Public Citizen, among others.

The *Pushing Prescriptions* project was funded by a generous grant from The Nathan Cummings Foundation.

www.publicintegrity.org/rx

“The Center for Public Integrity is the real thing. A group of dedicated people who remember that great journalism is about grit and guts and stamina and razor-sharp instincts. They are, thank heaven, here to stay.”

— Diane Sawyer, ABC News
The Center’s ability to follow a story over time is critical to the impact of our work. It is through revealing patterns of government or corporate behavior that the need for systematic reform is made clear. In 2006, midterm elections will help set the pace for the Center’s work, with campaign finance, lobbying reform and rising health care costs at the forefront of political debate.

Our federal and state-level lobbying projects will update their databases and publish new reports as the election season heats up, including a review of “revolving door” politics in the states. The Center’s research into the telecommunications and pharmaceutical industries will also continue: Well Connected will begin an investigation of the communications industry overseas and the regulatory environment in which it operates. Pushing Prescriptions will extend its exploration of industry influence to the states and to other countries as well.

The Center also will take on a number of new projects to further nourish public debate over the state of governance in America and the impact of U.S. policies abroad. For example, political consultants and the services they purchase are among the biggest ticket items in election campaigns. The Center’s new Conflicted Consultants project will explore potential conflicts of interest with an in-depth examination of the top players in the field: their corporate clients, advertising buys, and whether the profits they reap influence their advice to the candidates they serve.

Another story rarely covered is that of Congressional staffers. They exercise tremendous influence over the legislative process, yet little attention has been focused on efforts to sway them. The Center’s Power Trips project will review some 26,000 travel disclosure documents for a series of stories and an online, searchable database of the companies, organizations, destinations and dollars involved.

The damage inflicted by toxic waste and Hurricane Katrina helps fill out the domestic docket of Center work for 2006. Both are examples of institutional failure, but why? The Center’s Profiting from Pollution project will identify the country’s 100 largest polluters and document how they continue to pull in massive contracts with the Environmental Protection Agency. Katrina Watch will build on its growing reputation as a clearinghouse for news coverage on the disaster and its aftermath by investigating the reasons it unfolded as it did. We will explore how government failures, inadequate emergency and health care services, and environmental factors contributed to the catastrophe.

The interaction of U.S. politics and U.S. policies abroad will be the subject of two projects undertaken in partnership with ICIJ members. Torturers’ Lobby will take on the intricate relationship between U.S. military aid, prisoner treatment overseas, and foreign lobbying in Washington. Policy by Providence will explore religious influence on U.S. population and reproductive health policies and its impact in countries receiving U.S. funds to fight HIV/AIDS and related health problems.

Finally, the Center will be working on its flagship book, The Buying of the President (2008 edition). As with all the Center’s current investigations, we will employ both traditional (print) and new technologies to enhance the interactivity of our work, so as to engage the public in the process of investigation and production as it unfolds.

Looking Ahead:
Ongoing Investigations, New Projects
Measuring Success, Assessing Impact: The bottom line at the Center for Public Integrity

Measuring success is a constant challenge in the nonprofit world, even for an organization dedicated to journalism. Is it the stories that matter or the awards? Is it the citation by a member of Congress, or the reference to our work in a community newsletter in Austin, Texas? This past year the Center has taken several steps to strengthen the procedures and processes used in our work in order to better measure and analyze Web traffic and media hits. These efforts will establish a baseline by which to review future efforts.

**Awards**

**Society of Professional Journalists Sigma Delta Chi Awards**
- Online Reporting: Investigative Reporting (independent)
  - “The Politics of Oil”
  - Bob Williams, Kevin Bogardus, Aron Pilhofer and Alex Cohen
- Online Reporting: Public Service in Online Journalism (independent)
  - “Personal Politics: All too often, legislators’ private interests are hidden from public view”
  - Center Staff

**Investigative Reporters and Editors**
- Online Certificate
  - “Outsourcing the Pentagon”
  - Elizabeth Brown, M. Asif Ismail, Alex Knott, Dan Guttman and Larry Makinson

**Online Finalist**
- “The Politics of Oil”
  - Bob Williams, Kevin Bogardus, Laura Peterson, Paul Radu, Daniel Lathrop, Teo Furtado and Aron Pilhofer

**CapitolBeat: Association of Capitol Reporters and Editors**
- Online Publications: In-depth reporting – First place award
  - “Personal Politics: Legislators’ private interests often hidden from public view”
  - Leah Rush, Susan Schaab, Daniel Lathrop, David Dagan

**By the Numbers in 2005**

- Number of investigative reports generated: 51
- Number of publicly accessible, comprehensive and searchable databases posted online: 3
- Average number of unique visitors to our Web site each month: 80,000
- Number of citations in print, broadcast and electronic media: More than 1,000
- Number of books published: 1
- Number of network interviews: 6
- Number of individuals contributing to the Center: approximately 1,800
- Number of billionaires pledging to build the Center’s endowment: 0 (for now)
- Number of paid interns in 2005: 16
- Number of full-time employees: 35
- Proportion of staff from ethnic minorities: 31%
Directors, Staff, and Interns

Board of Directors
2005*
Charles Piller, Chair
Allen Pusey, Treasurer
Marianne Szegedy-Maszak, Secretary
Roberta Baskin
Hodding Carter III
Susan Loewenberg
Bill Kovach
Paula Madison
John E. Newman, Jr.
Geneva Overholser
Ben Sherwood
Pearl Stewart

Executive Committee
2005*
Roberta Baskin, Executive Director
John Dunbar, Senior Fellow, Director Well Connected Project
Stephen N. Howard, Director of Development
Katie King, Director of Communications and Digital Publishing
Wendell Rawls, Managing Director, Director ICIJ
Leah Rush, Director of State Projects
Cathy Roberts Sweeney, Director of Finance and Administration

*Membership as of December 2005
For a full list of Center staff, go to www.publicintegrity.org/about/staff.aspx

Each year, the Center for Public Integrity brings a group of outstanding students to Washington for the summer, an investment in the next generation of investigative journalists. During their ten weeks at the Center, interns assist with research and author, co-author or otherwise contribute to reports. They also meet with journalists and other public figures in Washington.

In 2005, the Center was joined by 16 interns from such schools as George Washington University, Howard University, Ithaca College, Princeton University and the University of Notre Dame. Through our speaker series, students met with Washington Post columnist Colbert King, New York Times foreign correspondent Chris Hedges, and Supreme Court Associate Justice Stephen Breyer, among others. The Center thanks the Everett Philanthropic Fund at the New York Community Trust for its consistent support of the Intern Program.
Summary of Financial Information

For the year ending December 31, 2005

Revenue Total: $4,049,455

- Memberships and Unrestricted Gifts: $353,468
- Net Assets Released from Restriction, General Support: $1,380,152
- Net Assets Released from Restriction, Project Support: $51,524
- Other Revenue: $2,264,311

Expenses Total: $4,400,703

- Programs: $814,310
- General/Administration: $429,869
- Development: $3,156,524

Summary
Unrestricted Revenue and Expenses

- Total Revenue: $4,049,455
- Total Expenses: $4,400,703
- Change in Net Assets: ($351,248)
- Net Assets, beginning of year: $307,681
- Net Assets, end of year: ($43,567)

Figures are taken from the 2005 audited financial statements. A copy of the full audited statements is available upon request.
Gifts and Grants Received in 2005

The Center for Public Integrity extends its profound thanks to our funders and members, without whom our work would not be possible. The Center does not accept contributions from corporations, labor unions, governments or anonymous donors.

We would like to take special note of these major funders who provided general support grants: the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, The John D. & Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Park Foundation, and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

**Major Institutional Support**
The Annenberg Foundation
The Morton K. and Jane Blaustein Foundation
Carnegie Corporation of New York
Everett Philanthropic Fund at the New York Community Trust
The Ford Foundation
Richard and Rhoda Goldman Fund
JEHT Foundation
John S. and James L. Knight Foundation
The John D. & Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
Park Foundation, Inc.
Poppelstone Foundation
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
The Schuman Center for Media and Democracy

**Integrity Circle**
Haas Charitable Trusts
Arthur D. Lipson
The John & Florence Newman Foundation
The Pew Charitable Trusts
Price Family Charitable Fund
The Scherman Foundation, Inc.

Town Creek Foundation, Inc.

**Democracy Circle**
Around Foundation
Everett Public Service Internship Program
Herbert Hafif
Donna Mac Litowitz
John E. Newman
The Lynn R. & Karl E. Pricett Fund
Mark S. Thompson

**Transparency Circle**
The Dudley Foundation
The Elmaleh Fund at the New York Community Trust
The Leavens Foundation
Paula Madison
Thomas Rosbrow
Eugene Vasilew
The Whitehead Foundation

**Accountability Circle**
Jack Block
Bevis Longstreth

**Leadership Circle**
Ayudar Foundation
Roberta Baskin

Richard L. Beattie
Peter Bronner
Hodding Carter III
Russell Daniel
Jeffery D. Eisenberg
Victor Elmaleh Foundation
Bruce A. Finzen
Daniel J. Goldman Foundation
Jerry Knoll
Bill Kovach
Seymour Lewin
Litowitz Foundation, Inc.
Susan Loewenberg
Michael Marston
Janet Maughan
Robert W. McChesney
Geneva Overholser
Karen & Christopher Payne Foundation
Charles Piller
Allen Pusey
Donovan Rasmussen
Rotberg/Comens/Booth Foundation

Rotberg/Comens/Bray Foundation
Ben Sherwood
Pearl Stewart
Marianne Szegedy-Maszak

**Muckraker Circle**
Parks M. Adams
Wilton J. Aebersold
Murray Berrie
Ruth E. Brown
Jonathan Coopersmith
Ronald Cornwell
Robert Giles
Wilfred J. Gragert
G. Keith Hartge
John Hirschi
Peter E. Homelk
William S. Lee
Douglas J. Lowry
Gail Mattsmon
Frances C. Nyce
Steve Purcell
Daniel S. Rocker
Howard L. Shirley
Stellar Solutions Foundation

Barbara Stuart
Michael Tiemann
Alfred Tyler
Chic Wolk

**Watchdog Circle**
Joyce A. Baldwin
George W. Bauer
Barbara Burnim
Jerry D. Busch
David Cohen
Tom Dailey
John A. Davidson
James K. Donnell
Ann Fourn
Phillip J. Garrett
Phil Giles
Milton Glucksman
Francis Hagan
Aaron S. Hamburger
Edward S. Herman
Charles C. Holt
Jonathan Ingbar
Lecia R. Kaslofsky
Irwin Katz
Alan S. King
Marie Kirker

continued on Page 12
Harry Lonsdale
Jack Lyford
Pamela S. Mayer
Leslie F. Pomerantz
David Rush
Margaret E. Saunders
Chris R. Schoeneman
Norman M. Spieler
Anne Sprecher
Kenneth M. Stevenson
Donald O. Stover
Henry W. Weis
Harold M. Williams
M. Williams

**Reporter’s Circle**
Adam M. Corneille
W. J. Fellows
Cynthia Reich
Aris Anagnos
Jason Andre
Richard H. Barsanti
George E. Berg
R. Harwood Beville
Barbara P. Boucot
David Braybrooke
Virginia A. Carwell
Stanley E. Cohen
Giovanna Deveny
Robert D. Duke
Daniel J. Egan
Mark Eisner
Kenneth C. Feinour
Charles Gorman
John Harding
Willard Harzoff
E. S. Howlett
Marilyn Johnson
Theodore S. Kasler
Alan F. Kay
David W. Kistler
Richard P. Klingele
Susan M. LaFleur
David LaPoint
Carl A. Larson
Henry J. Leuchter
Tessa D. McDonald
Gregory McKinney
Martha P. Newell
Bruce K. Nichols
James E. Palmer
John Pasquin
Merle Peratis
Tom B. Petrich
Margaret Poole
Randolph E. Richardson
Robert E. Roantrue
Stanley L. Rodbell
Earl Schaefer
Robert A. Shanley
Patricia J. Simpson
Timothy E. Strinden
Elizabeth K. Tam
Peter D. Thompson
Ralph Tornberg
James M. Wellman
Mary B. Williams
David D. Dorin
Solomon Rosenstark
Clara R. Bleak
Brian P. O’Dwyer
Thomas R. Olin
Christopher Henley
John R. Hurley
Ruth Young
John W. Bacon
Robert DeMars
Martin L. Haines
Selma Arrow
Virginia P. Atkins
Evelyn A. Axelrod
Sandra Braman
Dennis Burns
Lee Burkiewicz
David L. Chittenden
Schuyler L. Clapp
H. Russell Cotter
Ann Donaldson
Morris Freidin
Fred Grob
Robert M. Hall
James R. Hanson
Robert McCue
Thomas R. Noland
Thomas Panka
Alvan E. Powers
Jacques M. Quen
Kenneth Reiner
Melvin Shapiro
Peter Sills
Luther Stevens
Linda Stork
Cathy G. Sultan
Robert Temple
John Thiemann
Patricia Hok
Bernard S. Levy
John R. Alden
Charmian C. Clark
Barbara A. Downey
Robert Fisher
Roger F. Gunn
Elizabeth Lemlich
Carolyn M. Murphy
Hollie B. Ramage
Harvey Allen
David A. Brown
Sue Lyon
Ralph A. Miller
Murray Sachs
David T. Bice
Stephen N. Howard
Richard W. Roether
Douglas M. Taylor
Harry C. Triandis
Mark Weiss
J. M. West
Leslie Wilbur
Emil Davidson
Edward Ferry
John Groves
Wesley T. Yard
William F. Bianco
John J. Givens
Alexander E. Barnes
Dean K. Johnson
Brian Kullberg
Robert McAbee
George C. Norrisworthy
Jack Otis
Damon Phillips
Fred R. Albright
Ira T. Anderson
Paulette Arana
Stan Autrey
Roger Barber
Herbert Bartling
Candace Beatty
Lucy W. Benson
Alfred Berger
Gary Berne
Ruth E. Bloom
David J. Bosshart
Laura G. Bramlette
Byron G. Bray
Monte Brown
William T. Burke
John Burton
L.L. Caplan
David Carliner
Bruce Carroll
Dan C. Carroll
Thomas Chamberlin
Peter Clout
Arthur E. Cohen
George C. Comden
Nathan Compton
Burton Cutler
Marcy Darnovsky
Jim E. Davis
Marilyn Deering
Barbara Deller
Joy C. Denman
Vito DiPalo
Dan Doernberg
Julia Dominian
Patricia M. Dorman
Charles T. Dorris
John Duffy
Stuart Durkheimer
Eric Egas
Robert Elder
Ernst Epstein
Carl H. Eshbach
Monica Evans
Marjorie Feldman
Eugene Foster
James M. Freeburg
Martha T. Freedman
Sue Fuhrmann
John P. Geyman
William F. Glaser
Suzanne Gnospelius
Robert E. Goodrich
Richard H. Goodwin
Terry L. Grant
Daniel Grogan
Gay Gwinner
James K. Hall
Christian J. Haller
William Halverstadt
Bruce Hann
Kevin T. Harmon
Richard Harmon
Louis Harris
Len Harris
Alfred C. Hexter
Robert W. Hill
Sidney Hollander
Kwame Holman
Mary B. Holt
Martin Honel
Richard A. Horvitz
Laura D. Hudson
Fred J. Hurley
Stella E. Jacobs
Nancy A. James
George J. Joseph
Robert Kahn
Lynne Kane
George R. Kaplan
Steve Katalinic
Paul King
Geoffrey Kloske
F. R. Kramer
Frank Kysela
Carl Larrick
Martin B. Laufe
Charles Layton
Mario Leo
Harry C. Leslie
Jim Lichtman
Martha C. Likins
David S. Lindau
James Lindsay
Tom Lis
Robert B. Loftfield
Thomas J. Lonsdale
John L. Marakas
Stephen E. Marston
Takuya Maruyama
Anne McAfee
Stephen McArthur
Edward F. McGinley
Robert G. McKelvey
Jacqueline M. McKissack
Dorothy M. Miller
Stanley W. Moore
Clifford D. Morford
Richard A. Mould
Jean Muirhead
Thomas S. Murphy
Paul Ness
Anthony Nie
William K. Nisbet
Daniel A. Okun
Jana Olney
Karen Orren
Edwin N. Partikian
Sarah Pender
John M. Phelan
Venkatasrinivas
Polavarapu
Alan B. Ranford
Kevin W. Raum
William J. Reardon
Dale F. Renner
Robert A. Resnik
David Rich
Yuko Robertson
Ella Rossitto
Klaus Ruedenberg
John Rumsey
John W. Russell
Annette Sabin
Sheila J. Saints
Jan I. Schwartz
Ruth E. Searles
Yosef M. Seltzer
Harris T. Semegram
Allen Shelton
Ira Shessner
Neila S. Shumaker
Pete Simmons
Philip Sine
John J. Slane
David Sobelson
James R. Soles
Alfred H. Speers
William D. Stanley
David J. Stylianou
Sheila Suarez
Tim Sulak
Kip Sullivan
Edwin I. Taoji
James E. Thompson
Donald F. Tierney
Joe Toyoshima
Robert Tracy
Tracy Turner
Alice Vernier
Florence Wagner
F. H. Weber
James D. Weill
Joseph Weir
David Welsh
Ivan S. White
Janine Whitley
Howard Wilshire
Gordon C. Winston
Stanton L. Wolkoff
Jane Worthen
Milford G. Wyman
Gerald Zahler
Ralph Ziegler
John R. Zimmerman
Larry Zinn

Center for Public Integrity Gift Circles

Major Institutional Support – Gifts of $50,000 or more
Integrity Circle – Gifts of $25,000 or more
Democracy Circle – Gifts from $10,000 to $24,999
Transparency Circle – Gifts from $5,000 to $9,999
Accountability Circle – Gifts from $2,500 to $4,999
Leadership Circle – Gifts from $1,000 to $2,499
Muckraker Circle – Gifts from $500 to $999
Watchdog Circle – Gifts from $250 to $499
Reporter’s Circle – Gifts from $100 to $249

Additionally, we would like to acknowledge the generous support of our Members (donors of $35 to $99) and Friends (donors of less than $35) who are too numerous to list here. For a full list of Center contributors, please go to:

www.publicintegrity.org/about/about.aspx?act=funders
"Sometimes I am convinced there is nothing wrong with this country that couldn't be cured by the magical implantation of ethical standards on us all - leaders and followers. Until that becomes doable, the Center for Public Integrity is just about the best thing we have going for us."

— Ben Bradlee, Vice President-at-Large, The Washington Post