



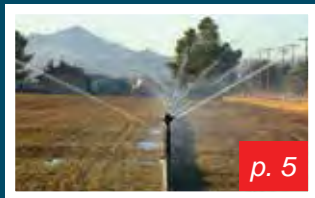
The Center for Public Integrity

WORLDWIDE WATCHDOG ANNUAL REPORT 2012



OUR MISSION

To enhance democracy by revealing abuses of power, corruption and betrayal of public trust by powerful public and private institutions, using the tools of investigative journalism.



CONTENTS

From the Board Chair and Executive Director **p.2** / Washington, D.C. **p.4** / National **p.6** / International **p.10** / Financials **p.12** / Institutional Support **p.13** / Individual Support **p.14** / Awards **p.16** / Media and Publishing Partners **p.18** / Democracy Ink by Rob Tornoe **p.20**



From the Board Chair and Executive Director



BRUCE FINZEN
BOARD CHAIR



BILL BUZENBERG
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Innovation is nothing new for the Center for Public Integrity. Indeed, this has been one of the hallmarks of the Center for nearly 25 years.

In 2012, the Center continued to be the leader in nonprofit investigative journalism. The Center's talented staff of award-winning investigative reporters and editors continued to produce the in-depth and meaningful investigative journalism that the Center is known for. These included:

- ***Consider the Source:*** an exhaustive examination of money in politics during the presidential election following the *Citizens United* U.S. Supreme Court decision;
- ***Cracking the Codes:*** a data-driven report on the costs of massive Medicare fraud;
- ***Juvenile Justice:*** an ongoing analysis of controversial policies affecting at-risk young people;
- ***The Gift Economy:*** a continuing project that shines a light on how the flow of money from defense contractors to key lawmakers has tainted—and in some cases corrupted—

decision making on key national security and defense budgeting issues;

- ***State Integrity Investigation:*** an online collaboration to identify corruption risk in all 50 state governments;
- ***Hard Labor:*** a poignant look at the workplace threats facing American workers;
- ***Skin & Bone:*** an International Consortium of Investigative Journalists' investigation into the global trade in human tissue;
- ***Secrecy for Sale:*** an ICIJ exposé of the international offshore money system based on a trove of leaked documents reported by 86 journalists from 46 countries; and
- ***Toxic Clout:*** a developing series that zeroes in on the chemical industry's influence on public policy and public health.

The Center also continued to win prestigious journalism awards in 2012. These included being a finalist for the Harvard Goldsmith Award; winner of the Heywood Broun Award of Distinction; winner of the Upton Sinclair Award; winner of three Sigma Delta Chi Awards; winner



Steve Kroft

Correspondent, *60 Minutes*

I've worked with the Center on several stories over the years and have always held it in the highest regard. In today's changing media world, with fewer resources available for investigative reporting, the Center's role will only become more important.

NEW CENTER BOARD MEMBER IN 2012

of the Sidney Hillman Award for socially conscious journalism; winner of the Philip Meyer Award for precision journalism from Investigative Reporters and Editors; winner of the National Press Foundation Excellence in Online Journalism Award; and its first-ever Emmy. See pages 16-17 for a complete awards listing.

What *is* new at the Center are fresh approaches to investigative journalism through social media and cutting-edge technology, the hiring of several new journalists that keep us at the top of our game and the welcoming of five new and dynamic members to our Board of Directors. They are:

- **Matthew Granade:** an advisor to venture capitalists and investor in early stage companies in the finance/financial technology, data analytics and media sectors;
- **James Kiernan III:** a former partner in, and now of counsel to, Debevoise and Plimpton, LLP, the New York-based international law firm, where he played a lead role in, and managed, the firm's European practice;
- **Steve Kroft:** the long-time award-winning CBS correspondent for *60 Minutes*;

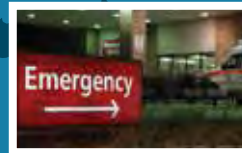
- **Hendrik-Jan Laseur:** an independent advisor based in Amsterdam who provides strategy advice, workshops and coaching to international private and public sector clients including NGOs, foundations, financial institutions and the United Nations;
- **Scott Siegler:** a veteran television production executive with Sony, Columbia Pictures, Warner Bros. and CBS, and also an Internet content and technology company executive with Knowledge Broadcasting, who now runs his own firm, Mediasiegler, Inc.

The wide-ranging experience that these five new board members bring adds immeasurably to the board's ability to oversee and help guide the Center to what we all expect will be an even more successful 2013.

When institutions and governments jeopardize the public trust, the Center for Public Integrity will continue to be there for you, bringing new vigor to investigative journalism. Count on us again in 2013 and beyond.

Bruce A. Finger *W.E. Breyer*

Washington, D.C.



Politics

Consider the Source and Primary Source

The 2012 presidential election had a record-breaking price tag of \$6 billion. *Consider the Source* provided in-depth reporting on the ramifications of the 2010 *FEC v. Citizens United* U.S. Supreme Court decision that gave corporations and unions the green light to spend unlimited sums on ads and other political tools calling for the election or defeat of individual candidates.

The Center investigated the campaign donors and super PACs that influenced the race—producing more than 300 stories and profiles, a “Daily Disclosure” system detailing groups’ campaign spending and an active Tumblr blog.

Our reporting was cited by nearly every major U.S. media outlet, drew hundreds of thousands of page views to our website and those of our media partners and attracted thousands of reader comments. The stories resulted in direct action, influenced and informed journalists, policymakers and activists and early on helped set the tone of coverage.

The investigation continues into 2013 with our new blog, *Primary Source*, which features daily stories about the world of money in politics.

 publicintegrity.org/politics/consider-source
publicintegrity.org/politics/primary-source

National Security

The Gift Economy

One *Gift Economy* investigation illustrated how national security decision making is corrupted by the flow of political money in Washington, D.C. The lead story, “The Army tank that could not be stopped,” looked closely at deliberations involving a weapon system that the Pentagon wants to cut from its budget, and Congress wants to keep building—the M-1 Abrams tank—with billions of dollars at stake in the outcome.

The piece tracked how the tank’s contractor worked closely with lobbyists who had passed through a “revolving door” on Capitol Hill to influence the votes of key lawmakers, who themselves had received millions of dollars from the company in campaign donations.

We showed that the contractor, General Dynamics, contributed on average \$7,000 a week to the members of the four committees that authorize Pentagon funding, but on critical weeks its spending rose to more than \$15,000.

Boosted by strategic co-publication with select national news outlets—including the McClatchy newspaper chain, NBC News, Huffington Post and *Mother Jones*—the report attracted thousands of Facebook likes, hundreds of tweets and close to a million readers.

 publicintegrity.org/national-security/gift-economy





Megan Garcia

Program Officer, Nuclear Security Initiative, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation

The Hewlett Foundation is proud to support the Center for Public Integrity's national security desk and the relevant, in-depth stories on nuclear weapons, Pentagon spending and national security that they generate. The Center's investigative reporting is unique in the national security field.

NEW INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORTER IN 2012

Environment

Toxic Clout

More than 80,000 chemicals are on the market in the United States, with hundreds added each year. *Toxic Clout* explores how the industry's sway over science and policy creates uncertainty and delay, threatening public health.

An example: Hexavalent chromium gained infamy in the Oscar-winning film *Erin Brockovich*, based on the David-vs.-Goliath legal duel between residents in Hinkley, California, and the giant power company Pacific Gas & Electric. In 2011, the Environmental Protection Agency was poised to cite evidence of cancer risks of chromium, which is found in traces in the drinking water of 70 million Americans. However, their expert panel recommended a delay in release of the findings. We identified three scientists on this panel who had—unknownst to the EPA—been hired by industry to defend against chromium cases.

Even before our reports were published, the agency began strengthening its processes for selecting future panelists to prevent this type of conflict of interest from occurring again.

 publicintegrity.org/environment/pollution/toxic-clout

Health

Cracking the Codes

Literally years in the making—including a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit in U.S. District Court—*Cracking the Codes* documented how thousands of medical professionals steadily billed Medicare for more complex and costly health care over the past decade—adding \$11 billion or more to their fees—despite little evidence that patients required more treatment.

Our findings have been widely cited in the press and have helped spur reaction from senior government officials. Less than a week after the final installment was published, Department of Health and Human Services Secretary Kathleen Sebelius and Attorney General Eric Holder issued a letter sternly warning five hospital and medical groups of their intent to ramp up investigative oversight, including possible criminal prosecutions, of doctors and hospitals that use electronic health records to improperly bill for more complex and costly services than they actually deliver. In addition, the Obama Administration's top health information official has launched an internal review to determine if electronic health records are prompting some doctors and hospitals to overbill Medicare.

 publicintegrity.org/health/medicare/cracking-codes



Juvenile Justice *Punishing Numbers*

As more police patrol our schools, our *Punishing Numbers* series revealed an entrenched but little-understood law-enforcement and school practice that has been criminalizing students in Los Angeles for years. Los Angeles Unified School District Police, we found, were issuing around 10,000 court citations a year to students who were overwhelmingly low-income, Latino and black—and who were concentrated in schools with high dropout rates. More than 40 percent of citations were to children 14 and younger. Middle-school students were most often accused of nebulous charges of “disturbing the peace.” Ten-year-olds were cited for trespassing, and six-year-olds for having a pushing match. This data had never been fully disclosed or analyzed, even though the district’s police department is the largest school police force in the nation.

Interviews brought to life the challenges students and their families face. For example, a 15-year-old Latino student told us of officers stopping him just steps from school as he and a cousin arrived tardy. Police handcuffed the boys, intimidated them by driving them around in a patrol car and then marched them, still cuffed, into school to receive citations for truancy. Ironically, the boys had to miss school, as thousands of other students have, to answer to charges in court.

The reports have been cited at meetings, referenced in local reports and highlighted in national reports. Juvenile court judges and civil-rights activists credit our stories with prompting commitments from the district to develop standards for police intervention in schools. We have continued to analyze more recent data to provide context as discussions shape reforms.



publicintegrity.org/juvenile-justice

Separated by Law

When a U.S. citizen marries an undocumented immigrant, many Americans mistakenly assume that the foreign spouse eventually will get a legal residency visa known as a green card. But it’s hardly that simple.

Separated by Law: Families Torn Apart by 1996 Immigration Measure detailed how legalizing a spouse has become a nightmare. It can separate families for years at a time because of mandatory immigration penalties adopted in a misguided attempt to deter illegal immigration. The penalties require that undocumented spouses face a shocking 10-year, or even 20-year, “bar” from the United States before they can return and obtain residency. The Obama administration has made some changes to this process, but thousands will not





Candace Hollingsworth
Center for Public Integrity, Chief Financial Officer

I love working alongside journalists with such an insatiable thirst for impact. It is highly rewarding and refreshing to be part of an organization where using your talents to do good is a shared value at all levels.

NEW TO THE CENTER IN 2012

qualify for help. Our reporting series combined a deep examination of this complex policy dilemma with three heart-wrenching tales of families struggling to deal with the consequences.



Accountability **State Integrity Investigation**

The *State Integrity Investigation* was an unprecedented, data-driven analysis of transparency and accountability in all 50 states. The effort was a collaboration among the Center for Public Integrity, Global Integrity and PRI, in cooperation with the Investigative News Network. Each state received a ranking, based on 330 “Integrity Indicators” in 14 categories, such as access to information, campaign finance and executive accountability, along with others. We also published for every state an analytical overview piece telling the story behind the numbers, with a dash of history, culture, color and even humor.

In effect, we created a state-by-state corruption risk index report for the nation. And, it resonated.

Since the project’s launch, there has been movement for reform in 17 states. Five states have passed new

laws. New laws have been proposed in an additional seven states. Meanwhile, organized campaigns for reform are ongoing in five others.

To build buzz and encourage a two-way dialogue with voters, policy experts and good government groups, with our partners we launched the project online via a website and social media presence months before the findings were published.

In the months after publication, print outlet mentions of the *State Integrity Investigation* had the potential to reach more than 16 million readers and online media mentions exceeded 380,000. There were more than 211,000 unique visitors to the project’s website and accompanying report cards. Sixteen local public radio stations produced 89 stories in California, Washington, New York, Texas, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Florida, Colorado, Oregon, North Carolina, Ohio, Missouri, New Hampshire and Washington, D.C.

We provided tools for individuals to take the information further—to inboxes and Facebook and Twitter feeds of public officials who could take action on the findings. With our “Email this score to your state official” website feature, more than 1,300 individuals sent more than 4,100 report cards to public officials.





Health

Dollars and Dentists

One in four children has untreated tooth decay, now the most common chronic illness among school-aged children. Dental pain causes them to miss school, and untreated abscesses can lead to serious systemic infection—sometimes landing them in emergency surgery under general anesthesia. Even though half of American children depend on public insurance for care, many dentists don't accept Medicaid and CHIP. Adults are suffering, too. Medicare has no dental benefit and a quarter of seniors in the U.S. are missing all of their teeth.

Lack of access to dental care is a serious and under-reported public health crisis. Forty percent of Americans say they cannot afford to go to the dentist. *Dollars and Dentists*, a joint project of PBS Frontline and the Center for Public Integrity, found that the dental establishment, primarily serving paying individuals in private offices, is not prepared to deal with this crisis. People who can't afford to pay out of pocket are often left with two options: no care or huge debt.

For this special report, we investigated a new breed of corporate dental chains that see big profits in people who neglect their teeth. We discovered that some of these chains, for which there is little publicly available

information, have turned dentistry into an assembly line. Dentists are rewarded for doing as much work as possible as quickly as possible. The television documentary and web stories sparked state investigations of these dental chains and brought nationwide attention to potential solutions to repair our broken dental care system.



publicintegrity.org/health/dollars-and-dentists

Columnist Wendell Potter

Politicians, with support from the health insurance industry and other special interests, on several occasions have sought to repeal or weaken consumer protections in the Affordable Care Act. As a former health insurance company executive who once helped develop such initiatives, Wendell Potter has insights into the motives of those special interests and knowledge of how they influence public opinion and the behavior of elected and appointed officials. His columns seek to support the efforts of consumer advocates by shedding light on industry tactics and by providing a unique perspective from a former insider, and now whistle blower.

One column, "Maine's health care fantasy," was based on a little-noticed but important assessment of the effects of 2011 legislation that repealed many





David Fukuzawa
Program Director for Health, Kresge Foundation

Low-income communities often have higher exposure to hazards ranging from air pollution and chemical contaminants to the toxins associated with substandard housing and the additives in unhealthy foods. The Center for Public Integrity's health, environmental and accountability reporting addresses issues that matter to the health and well-being of vulnerable populations.

NEW INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORTER IN 2012

consumer protections. Proponents of the legislation, including the governor, said it would reduce the cost of health insurance in the state. Maine's Consumers for Affordable Health Care (CAHC) found the opposite happened: Most Mainers instead saw steep rate increases.

CAHC and other groups disseminated Potter's column widely via social media and to the state's newspapers during last fall's political campaigns. Several lawmakers who voted for the 2011 legislation were defeated in 2012. This year, CAHC expects the legislature will vote to repeal all or part of the 2011 law and to restore consumer protections.

 publicintegrity.org/health/wendell-potter

Environment

Hard Labor

They are America's backbone—steelworkers, coal miners, fishermen, farmworkers and factory technicians—whose sweat equity helps buildings rise from the ground, crops travel from the fields to dinner plates, and the economy hum. Yet across the U.S., workers are being injured and killed by the thousands with little protection from Congress and the federal agencies that are supposed to safeguard them.

They are laborers like Ray Marcum, a retired 83-year-old Kentucky coal miner whose lungs are filled with a dust that is killing him—and his three sons, all miners suffering similar fates. Across Appalachia, black lung is back, due, in part, to corporate cheating, weak rules and tepid enforcement.

Hard Labor is a unique exploration into the often-hidden hazards on U.S. jobsites. Our reporters traveled to eight states and Canada, telling human narratives behind the tragedies and scrutinizing the role of regulators. We documented systemic flaws in government oversight, using data in many stories to underscore widespread problems that come to a head with wrenching consequences for real people. And, we put worker peril in context, describing how America's combined annual fatalities from workplace injury and illness are comparable to the loss of a fully loaded Boeing 737 every day.

Our stories spurred immediate change. After our exclusive report spotlighting the resurgence of black lung disease, federal regulators escalated inspections into dangerous mines. After our piece exploring the death of a worker at a U.S. Steel plant in Pennsylvania and how it related to alleged quotas imposed on Occupational Safety and Health Administration safety inspectors, OSHA lowered its goal for the number of inspection to allow more time for complex inspections.

 publicintegrity.org/environment/hard-labor



Accountability ***Skin & Bone***

On Feb. 24, 2012, Ukrainian authorities made an alarming discovery: bones and other human tissues crammed into coolers in a grimy white minibus.

So began the 11-country investigative series by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists that revealed body snatching, public health dangers and U.S. regulatory neglect within a growing global industry that makes big profits by harvesting the dead to make medical devices for the living. It documented how tissues taken from corpses in poor countries are used to make bladder slings, penile implants and other medical products for rich countries, fueling a Wall Street-bankrolled industry that's transformed what was once a non-profit system into a for-profit business.

Unlike the well-regulated transplant organs system, *Skin & Bone: The Shadowy Trade in Human Body Parts* showed how the dead in effect are traded like pork bellies across the globe as part of a billion-dollar human tissue industry.

ICIJ editors in Washington, D.C., collaborated with reporters in Ukraine, South Korea and other nations. The series led to Congressional and Pentagon investigations, promised action by Interpol and the suspension

of tissue imports from Ukraine into the U.S. Meanwhile, Congress launched a probe into contracts between the Department of Veterans Affairs and Florida-based RTI Biologics, the world's biggest manufacturer of implants made from human tissue.

The initial stories made front-page news around the world, from the *Huffington Post*, to Australia's *Sydney Morning Herald*, to Japan's *Asahi Shimbun*. *Columbia Journalism Review* called the revelations "unnerving." The Sidney Hillman Foundation praised the project for tackling a "multifaceted issue with great rigor and great compassion." *The Lancet*, the world's leading medical journal, echoed our series' findings and warned "profiteering threatens the altruism of tissue donation."



Secrecy for Sale

Secrecy for Sale: Inside The Global Offshore Money Maze is one of the most ambitious and complex pieces of journalism the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists has ever undertaken. Our multi-year project aims to strip away the biggest mystery associated with tax havens: the owners of anonymous companies. Perhaps most surprising is that much of what we reveal in this investigation is perfectly legal.



Kimberley Porteous

Chief Digital Officer, Center for Public Integrity

The Center for Public Integrity's outstanding national and global reach distinguishes it amongst nonprofit investigative organizations. I'm looking forward to translating its stellar work into groundbreaking digital journalism.

NEW TO THE CENTER IN 2012

Drawing from a trove of 2.5 million secret files, ICIJ led what may be the largest cross border journalism collaboration in history. We worked with 86 investigative journalists from 46 countries and used data mining software and old fashioned shoe leather reporting to unveil the previously hidden but thriving world of fraud, tax dodging and political corruption.

The investigation opens the secrets of more than 120,000 offshore companies and trusts and nearly 130,000 individuals and agents, exposing hidden dealings of politicians, con artists and the mega-rich in more than 170 countries. The collection of information, totaling more than 260 gigabytes of data, includes corporate files, emails, account ledgers and other records that show cash transfers, incorporation dates and links between individuals and companies. It is believed to be one of the largest collections of leaked data gathered and analyzed by journalists.

The files identify the individuals behind the covert companies and private trusts based in the British Virgin Islands, the Cook Islands, Singapore and other

offshore havens. They include American doctors and dentists and middle-class Greek villagers as well as Russian corporate executives, Eastern European and Indonesian billionaires, Wall Street fraudsters, international arms dealers and families and associates of long-time dictators.

While our reporting shows that many users of offshore banking are engaged in legitimate transactions, it also illustrates how offshore financial secrecy has spread aggressively around the globe, allowing the wealthy to avoid taxes, fueling corruption and economic woes in rich and poor nations. The series drew some 9,000 media citations worldwide in just the first month after publication.

Reaction has been swift: public officials have issued statements, governments have launched investigations, and politicians and journalists have been debating the implications of the records and the reporting.



icij.org/offshore

The International Consortium of Investigative Journalists *is a global network of 160 reporters in more than 60 countries who collaborate on in-depth investigative stories. ICIJ was launched in 1997 to extend the Center's style of watchdog journalism, focusing on issues such as cross-border crime, corruption and the accountability of power. ICIJ reporters and editors provide real-time resources and state-of-the-art tools to journalists around the world.*

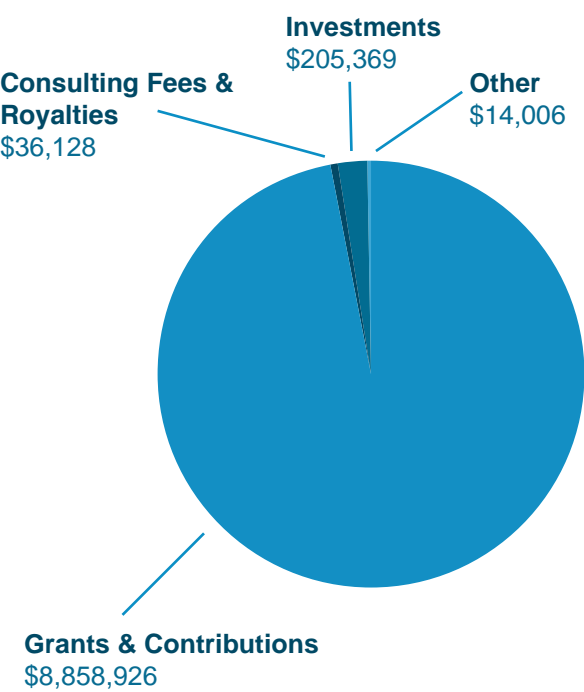
Financials

Year ending December 31, 2012. Figures are taken from 2012 audited financial statements. A copy of the full audited statements is available upon request.

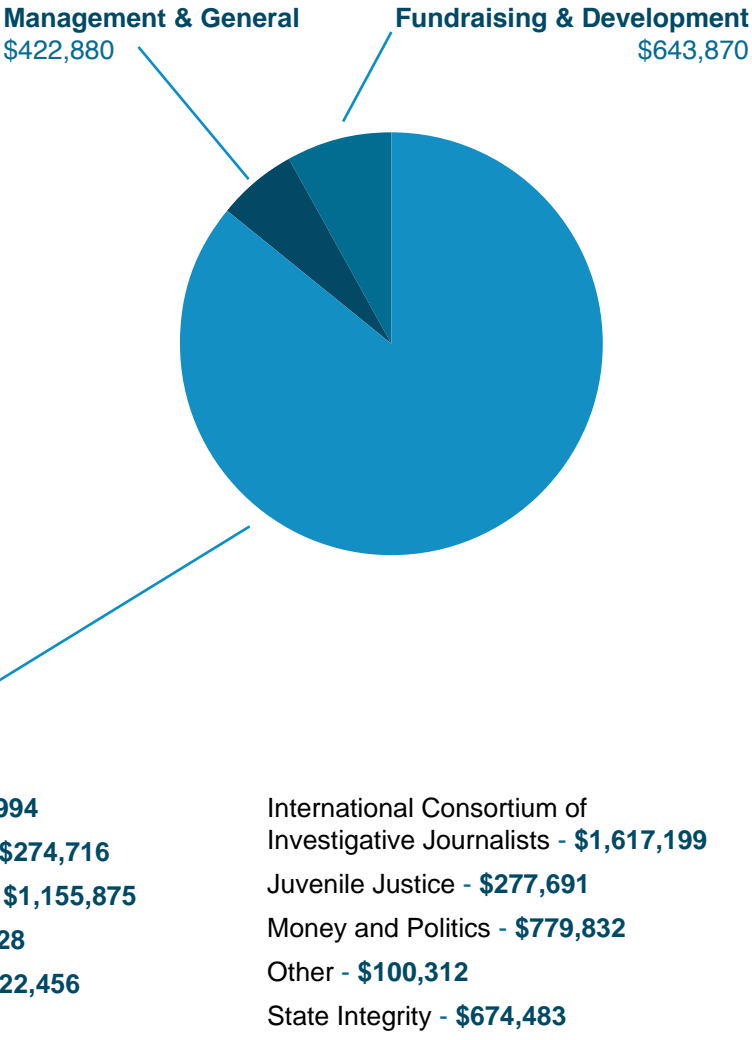
Assets 2012

Change in Net Assets - **\$1,480,479**
Net Assets Beginning of Year - **\$4,236,575**
Net Assets End of Year - **\$5,717,054**

Revenue 2012 - \$9,114,429



Expense 2012 - \$7,633,950



Institutional Support



Joanne Krell

Vice President for Communication, W.K. Kellogg Foundation

The importance of good, strong reporting is critical for an engaged and informed citizenry. The Center for Public Integrity's work to enhance democracy is a significant contributor toward our focus of changing conditions for vulnerable children, families and communities.

NEW INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORTER IN 2012

We profoundly thank our 2012 supporters, without whom our work would not be possible.

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Wichita Falls Area Community Foundation
Zemurray Foundation



Individual Support

Tom Sedoric

Our family has experienced a collective loss of trust in our institutions and particularly in our government. For our society to work well, informed citizens need to be involved. I support the Center because its aggressive, politically agnostic approach in exposing abuses of power in public and private spheres encourages well-informed participants in our democracy.

NEW CONTRIBUTOR IN 2012



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The Center has made every effort to provide an accurate listing of our funders. If your listing requires correction, please contact us at (202) 481-1267.

Awards

Dave Levinthal

Senior Reporter, Center for Public Integrity

Producing unique and aggressive political reporting—the kind that shows no favor to power—is our goal. I’m here because I believe our team is well positioned to achieve it day in and day out.

NEW TO THE CENTER IN 2013



Cracking the Codes

Association of Health Care Journalists, **Second Place**

Data Journalism Awards, **Finalist**

National Institute for Health Care Management Foundation, **Winner**

Philip Meyer Journalism Award, **First Place**

Dollars and Dentists

Aronson Award for Social Justice Journalism, **Winner**

Association of Health Care Journalists, **First Place**

National Institute for Health Care Management Foundation, **Finalist**

Fraud and Folly: The Untold Story of General Electric’s Subprime Debacle

Society of American Business Editors and Writers, **Winner**

Fueling Fears & Worker Safety Coverage

National Press Foundation - Thomas Stokes Award for Energy Reporting, **Winner**

Great Mortgage Cover-Up

Columbia University Press’ Best Business Writing 2012, **Selection**

Green Energy: Contracts, Connections and the Collapse of Solyndra

Emmy Award, **Winner**

Gerald Loeb Awards, **Finalist**



Hard Labor

Gerald Loeb Awards for Distinguished Business and Financial Journalism, **Finalist**

Investigative Reporters & Editors, **Finalist**

Society of Professional Journalists, **Winner**

White House Correspondents Association Edgar A. Poe Memorial Award, **Winner**

Mystery in the Fields

The Sidney Hillman Foundation, **October Sidney Award Winner**

Society of Professional Journalists, **Winner**

Plunder in the Pacific

Investigative Reporters & Editors, **Finalist**

Overseas Press Club, **Finalist**

Poisoned Places: Toxic Air, Neglected Communities

Heywood Broun Awards, **Award of Distinction**

National Association of Science Writers, **First Place**

Punishing Numbers

Education Writers Association, **First Prize**

Skin & Bone: The Shadowy Trade In Human Body Parts

Data Journalism Awards, **Finalist**

Investigative Reporters & Editors, **Finalist**

National Institute for Health Care Management Foundation, **Finalist**

The Sidney Hillman Foundation, **August Sidney Award Winner**

Society of American Business Editors and Writers, **Winner**

Society of Professional Journalists, **Winner**

State Integrity Investigation

Goldsmith Investigative Reporting Prize, **Finalist**

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Origo (Hungary)
Romanian Centre for Investigative Journalism (Romania)
The Daily Slovakia (Slovakia)
Kyiv Post (Ukraine)

SOUTHERN EUROPE:

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Vedemosti

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The Week

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Premium Times

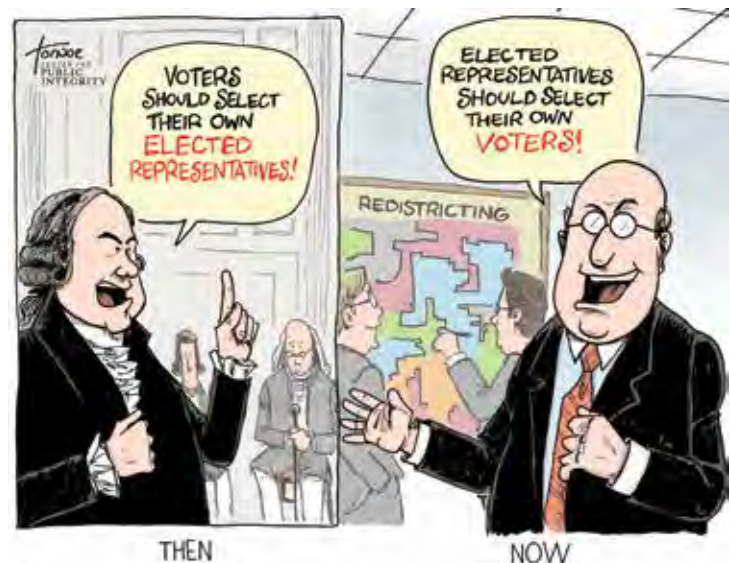
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Democracy Ink Opinion Cartoons by Rob Tornoe



Rob Tornoe, a political cartoonist based in Delaware, draws original cartoons for the Center, based on our stories. You'll see his work pop up on publicintegrity.org, our Facebook page and on Twitter. Tornoe also draws cartoons for The Philadelphia Inquirer, The Press of Atlantic City, Media Matters and Philadelphia NPR affiliate WHYY, among others.





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