THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY

910 17th Street, NW
7th Floor
Washington, DC 20006

The numbers are jaw-dropping: 2002 was the Center's most productive, highest profile year to date. Last year, we produced 40 investigative reports on The Public i, our site had 1.1 million unique visits and 20.4 million "hits," and approximately 1,300 news stories were written referencing our findings or perspective. But apparently we were just getting warmed up.

Through just the first half of 2003, we have already produced 27 investigative reports, our site has had 1.6 million unique visits and 46 million hits, and the Center has been cited in 804 news stories by print and broadcast media around the world.

Two of the recent projects that helped generate such enormous coverage were "Well Connected," a 10-month investigation by our telecom team, which is featured in this issue of the newsletter and "Harmful Error," which tracked prosecutorial misconduct across the country.

The Well Connected package, released in May, included a database on media owners, the most complete, up-to-date, Web accessible examination of the state of media ownership in the United States. The report got substantial news coverage and Senator John McCain, chair of the Commerce Committee, within days introduced legislation addressing the matter of privately funded trips, not to mention two earlier Center telecom-related subjects we broke. (See *Bill Would Eliminate Industry-Sponsored Travel for FCC,* page 6.)

Harmful Error is the result of a three-year investigation by a team of researchers, led by Steve Weinberg, Neil Gordon and Brooke Williams, that studied state appellate court opinions throughout the 50 states going back to 1970; the team read more than 11,000 opinions. This single investigative report was actually 62 stories, one for each state plus 12 stories and databases. More than 500 newspapers nationwide picked up the Associated Press story from our report, and the *Los Angeles Times*, *USA Today* and ABC News World News Tonight, among many others, all did stories.

Our epic "State Projects" have become the only comparative, state-by-state corruption reporting/data across the nation. Our International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, now 92 premier reporters in 48 countries, is the only network of investigative journalists generating content across borders in the world today.

In recent months, the Center won three national awards, and was a finalist for a fourth, which means that since 1996, our reports have been honored 15 times by the Society of Professional Journalists or Investigative Reporters and Editors.

We're currently working on *The Buying of the President 2004*—the only book to offer investigative profiles of all the major candidates for president, which will be published by HarperCollins and available in January 2004, just in time for the primaries. Stay tuned. ■

THE PUBLIC i

AN INVESTIGATIVE REPORT OF THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY

Vol. 9 • No. 3
July 2003

On the Road Again—and Again

FCC Officials Rack Up $2.8 Million Travel Tab With Industries They Regulate

By Bob Williams and Morgan Jindrich

Federal Communications Commission officials have been showered with nearly $2.8 million in travel and entertainment over the past eight years, most of it from the telecommunications and broadcast industries the agency regulates, a study by the Center for Public Integrity has found.

The FCC recently relaxed several longstanding ownership rules for broadcasters and other media outlets. Those rules are widely credited with preventing the complete takeover of local and national media outlets by huge conglomerates such as Viacom, Tribune Co. and Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. Critics were particularly incensed that the commission held only one official public hearing on the controversial proposals.

The $2.8 million paid for FCC commissioners and agency staffers to

continued on page 4

IN THIS ISSUE

Captive Audience

A Few Big Media Firms Dominate 4 of 5 FCC Commissioners' Hometowns

By John Dunbar

A survey of the hometowns of each of the five FCC commissioners by the Center for Public Integrity reveals a heavy concentration of ownership by large, out-of-town media companies in four of them.

The Center study was released in advance of a June 2 meeting where the FCC dramatically loosened rules governing media ownership.

Among the findings of the survey:

- Of the 203 commercial radio stations identified in the Center analysis, 50 are owned by four publicly traded, out-of-state radio conglomerates. Twenty-seven of those are owned by radio giant Clear Channel Communications.
- The cable systems in the five communities are controlled by four companies. AOL Time Warner owns systems in Charlotte, N.C., and Milwaukee; Birmingham's system is owned by Advance/Newhouse, which is also programmed by AOL Time Warner; Louisville's system is owned by Insight Communications Co., the nation's ninth-largest cable company.
- Of the 20 network affiliates in the five cities, 14 are owned by out-of-state companies, including two each by News Corp. (Fox Entertainment Group) and Hearst-Argyle Television Inc. (a division of Hearst Corp.).

Photo: FCC

Michael Powell

In Birmingham, Ala., for example, hometown of FCC Chairman Michael Powell, 15 of 40 commercial radio stations within a 40-mile radius of the city are owned by three giant out-of-state companies. (Another eight are gospel or Christian stations.) The Birmingham News and the local cable television system are both owned by Advance Communications, one of the largest private media companies in the nation.

Of the four major commercial network affiliates in Birmingham, one is owned by Media General Inc., the second by General Electric, the third by Australian billionaire Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. and the fourth by Allbritton Communica-

continued on page 2

Captive Audience

continued from page 1

tions. All are huge media companies. None is from Birmingham.

Of the five hometowns surveyed by the Center, only Commissioner Jonathan Adelstein's birthplace, Rapid City, S. D., is still mostly in local hands.

The experience of those who live in the home cities of the commissioners is not unique. Similar situations can be found in virtually every mid-sized and larger market in the nation, the Center discovered.

In an effort to help people learn more about media ownership in their communities, the Center has created a searchable database containing information on virtually every television station, radio station, cable system and telephone company in the United States. It also identifies the top 100 newspapers and who owns them. The database can be accessed by going to www.openairwaves.org and clicking on the "searchable databases" link to the left.

On June 2, the FCC voted to loosen many of the rules that limit how much media can be controlled by a single company. There are a number of bills in the House and Senate aimed at undoing the FCC's action.

Abernathy and Louisville

Almost due north of Birmingham, about 360 miles along I-65 is Louisville, home of the Kentucky Derby and birthplace of Republican FCC Commissioner Kathleen Abernathy.

The *Louisville Courier-Journal* is a Pulitzer-prize-winning newspaper which has for years enjoyed the reputation as one of the best dailies in America. In the mid-1980s, the family-owned Courier-Journal was bought by Gannett Company Inc., publisher of *USA Today*. Gannett is the nation's largest newspaper publisher, with 100 dailies, and the eighth-largest television station owner by audience reach.

McLean, Va.,-based Gannett does not own any television stations in Louisville. In 1975, the FCC decided to ban ownership of a television station and a newspaper in the same market. Gannett lobbied successfully against the restriction, and the FCC eliminated it June 2.

Gannett was recently criticized by the Media Access Project for failing to cover a forum on the ownership issue in Phoenix, where the company owns the dominant newspaper and an NBC affiliate.

Gannett issued a statement which was quoted in the trade paper *Broadcasting & Cable*: "KPNX and *The Arizona Republic* have filed extensive comments throughout the commission's ongoing review of its ownership rules. Our consistent position is that given the tremendous increase over the past 28 years in the number of information/entertainment sources available to consumers, the newspaper-broadcast cross-ownership rule is outmoded and should be repealed."

When Gannett bought the *Republic* in 2000, it did so betting the FCC would kill the cross-ownership rule, according to published reports at the time.

Louisville plays host to another media giant. Clear Channel Communications owns 10 radio stations in the Louisville area, the Center database shows.

The San Antonio, Texas-based radio giant owns 1,184 stations and reported $8.4 billion in revenues last year. The company controls more of the AM/FM dial than any other broadcaster.

Clear Channel built its radio empire thanks to the act, which removed the national cap on radio station ownership and dramatically loosened it in individual markets. Clear Channel and other large publicly traded corporations have taken advantage of the looser caps by centralizing operations.

According to FCC Commissioner Michael Copps, there are 34 percent fewer radio station owners than before 1996. "If you like what you hear on radio today, you're going to love what's going to happen to newspapers, television and cable," he said.

Clear Channel has been blasted for cutting news departments and broadcasting radio shows far from where they are aired. The company also received some harsh criticism for an incident in Minot, N.D, where it owns six of the city's eight radio stations. Emergency workers responding to an ammonia spill say they were unable to reach anyone at the radio stations so they could warn the public.

Charlotte and Commissioner Martin

About 490 miles southeast of Louisville is Charlotte, N.C. A southern town at heart, Charlotte has enjoyed remarkable growth in the past decade and has become a regional financial center.

Republican Commissioner Kevin J. Martin relates that he "grew up on a gravel road in Waxhaw," a small town just outside of the city.

The radio business in Charlotte is dominated by two major players, Clear Channel, with seven stations, and Infinity, the radio division of media giant Viacom Inc., also with seven stations.

While Viacom's radio holdings are considerable—Infinity is No. 2 behind Clear Channel in revenue—it is the company's television holdings that have drawn scrutiny. Viacom is the No. 1 television broadcaster in the U.S. based on audience reach. On June 2, the FCC voted to allow the company to get bigger.

In 1941, the FCC limited the total audience reach of a single television broadcast owner to no more than 35 percent of the nation. The FCC raised the limit to 45 percent on June 2.

Viacom's television stations reach 38.8 percent of the nation, according to Broadcasting & Cable, meaning the company is currently over the limit. In reality, Viacom reaches a great deal more of America than that. When the FCC measures market reach, it discounts UHF stations by half, a method instated when the UHF band was new and barely used. If the full reach is calculated, Viacom actually reaches 44.8 percent of the American audience. News Corp.'s Fox network is also currently over the limit and has lobbied hard to have it raised.

Milwaukee and the historian

Photo: FCC

Michael Copps

North and west of Charlotte is Milwaukee, hometown of Democratic Commissioner Michael Copps, who served for more than 12 years as chief of staff of U.S. Sen. Ernest "Fritz" Hollings (D-S.C.) after a brief stint as a history professor at Loyola University in New Orleans. Copps has been the most vocal opponent of loosening ownership rules and has been adamant that Powell is not giving the issue enough public input. A single FCC-sponsored public hearing was held on the rules earlier this year, but Copps and fellow Democratic Commissioner Adelstein have been holding their own hearings all over the country.

Milwaukee is home to Journal Communications Inc. The employee-owned company owns the dominant newspaper in town, the Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, as well as two television stations in the city—WTMJ-TV, the NBC affiliate, and WPXE-TV, a PAX affiliate. It also owns two powerful radio stations, the 50,000 watt WTMJ-AM and adult contemporary station WKTI-FM.

Deciding whether this type of media dominance is healthy is something the commission has been looking at for decades.

In 1964, the FCC banned a single company from owning more than one television station in a defined market. Dual ownership is legal if there are at least eight separately owned competitors and only one of the dually owned stations is in the top four in the market, as is the case in Milwaukee. In the FCC's decision, those limits were raised.

While Journal Communications owns a newspaper, two television stations and a pair of radio stations in Milwaukee, it is not breaking any rules, not even the ban established in 1975 on owning a newspaper and network in the same town. Journal Communications, like a number of other old media companies across the nation, owned the station and the newspaper before the rule was issued and therefore received a compliance waiver.

Last stop, Rapid City

Of the five cities we surveyed, Rapid City, South Dakota is the only one virtually devoid of major national media players. Even the cable company is local—Black Hills FiberCom. The sole big media chain is Knight-Ridder, which owns the local Aberdeen News.

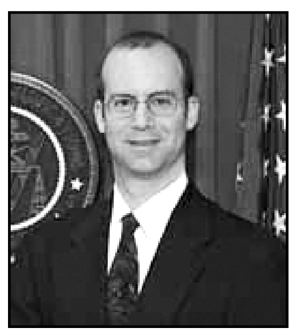


Photo: FCC

Jonathan Adelstein

Very small cities don't offer the same profit potential for large media companies, so markets are often left to small-town, local providers.

Rapid City native Jonathan Adelstein was a senior aide to fellow South Dakotan, Sen. Tom Daschle, and advised him on telecommunications policies before being named to the FCC. Adelstein is a Democrat, but he is the son of a Republican state representative. Adelstein has been as vocal as Copps on the ownership issue, perhaps even more so.

"I'm afraid we're about to create a new Citizen Kane for the 21st century," Adelstein told an audience at an ownership forum. "Or a handful of them."

Kane of course was the fictional newspaper tycoon portrayed in the classic film by Orson Welles. The character was loosely based on William Randolph Hearst, whose media fortune lives on through a trust set up by his will. Hearst Corp., incidentally, would also like to see the media rules loosened.

Adelstein believes the FCC review moved too fast and that the media did a poor job of covering the ownership issue. "I'm beginning to wonder if the media is capable of covering itself," he said.

Powell and Abernathy would not talk to the Center, but their arguments in favor of deregulation are well known, and fall into two basic areas: the courts are going to throw the restrictions out anyway, and the propagation of new media outlets make the old rules irrelevant.

While the courts have been giving the FCC fits, the rulings are not always without sympathy. For example, on the reversal of the national television ownership rule, the court stated: "Although we agree with the Commission that protecting diversity is a permissible policy, the Commission did not provide an adequate basis for believing the rule would in fact further that cause," the opinion, *Fox Television Stations, Inc. v. FCC, reads.*

The other argument is more pragmatic. The rules themselves are so old as to be irrelevant. Three were written in the 1940s, one in 1964, one in 1970 and another in 1975. When written, cable television either did not exist or was not a significant presence. Neither was the Internet nor direct broadcast satellite television and radio. Ownership

continued on page 6

On the Road Again

continued from page 1

attend hundreds of conventions, conferences and other events in locations all over the world, including Paris, Hong Kong and Rio de Janeiro.

The officials often serve as speakers or panelists at the events, but many times go only as attendees. They often stay for the entire event at glitzy hotels such as the Bellagio in Las Vegas, even though they are only scheduled to give a single speech or serve on a single panel, FCC travel records show.

All told, agency officials have taken more than 2,500 such industry-sponsored trips since 1995. The Center's report analyzed trips costing more than $250 that were paid for by sources other than the FCC. The trips occurred between May 1995 and February 2003.

FCC officials took 330 such trips to Las Vegas during the period, 173 to New Orleans, 102 to New York and 98 to London. Other popular destinations included Orlando, San Francisco, Miami, Anchorage, Palm Springs, Buenos Aires and Beijing.

While the vast majority of the trips were sponsored by the telecommunications and broadcast industries, some were paid for by universities and international organizations. Still others were sponsored by companies that put together trade shows and conferences for a variety of industries.

Two top FCC policy advisors have taken more than 100 trips each during the period. FCC commissioners have taken dozens of trips each, often staying at posh hotels or resorts on the industry tab. Some of the sponsors have special dinners or other events to honor the FCC officials in attendance. They are sometimes provided with cars and drivers.

The biggest industry sponsor of the trips was the National Association of Broadcasters, which paid $191,472 to bring 206 FCC officials to its events. NAB, which represents radio and television stations nationwide, lobbied aggressively to keep some of the then-current FCC rules limiting media ownership in place.

Viacom, which owns CBS, sponsored seven trips on its own, costing $9,581. Viacom spent $6,901 to bring FCC Media Bureau Chief W. Kenneth Ferree and Susan Eid, a top legal advisor to Chairman Michael K. Powell, to a company management conference in March 2002. Ferree, the chief architect of the proposal to relax the media ownership rules, did not respond to an interview request from the Center.

FCC Chairman Powell has chalked up the most industry sponsored travel and entertainment among active commissioners during the period covered by the study—44 trips costing $84,921. Powell, the son of Secretary of State Colin Powell, almost always flies first class due to a pelvis injury he suffered in a vehicle accident while serving in the U.S. Army.

Powell has been an unabashed proponent of deregulation throughout his tenure with the commission.

Kathleen Abernathy, a commissioner since June 2001, took 14 trips costing $16,185. Michael Copps, a commissioner since June 2001, took 14 trips costing $15,410. Kevin Martin, a commissioner since July 2001 has taken 12 trips valued at $14,857. He took another seven trips valued at $8,966 while working in a previous job as a legal advisor at the agency. Jonathan Adelstein, who joined the commission in December 2002, took three trips costing $2,998.

Abernathy declined to be interviewed about her travel, but issued a statement saying she at times accepts reimbursement from outside groups for travel expenses to conserve FCC resources.

"The Commissioner believes that meeting with a diverse range of groups, including industry, consumer groups, and other interested parties, serves a crucial information-gathering purpose that is necessary to effective decision making," said the statement. "The Commissioner occasionally travels to meet with interested parties for this purpose, particularly where parties seek to provide a tour or demonstration that cannot be provided in Washington, D.C."

None of the trips examined were sponsored by consumer groups or individuals.

All of the trips appear to have been legal under government guidelines. Other agencies routinely accept similar travel and entertainment gifts.

An FCC ethics official, who spoke only on the condition his name not be revealed, says each trip is scrutinized by the agency's Office of General Counsel to make sure it is both legal and

Las Vegas and New Orleans are FCC's top destinations

Number of privately funded trips by FCC, May 1995 - Feb. 2003

Source: FCC travel documents Graphic: Jonathan Werve seemly. The ethics official said almost all trips to major trade shows and industry conventions are approved.

Telecommunication industry representatives and some FCC officials defend the trips, saying they help educate regulators on important issues and provide a voice to small companies and individuals who can't afford to travel to Washington or hire a lobbyist.

"We need to understand what the industry is doing and the industry needs to understand what we are doing," said Robert Pepper, chief of the FCC's Office of Plans and Policy, who took 104 trips costing $149,595 during the period studied, second highest among agency officials. "We need to get outside the Beltway in order to do that."

Some consumer advocates say the trips are unseemly and represent an improper coziness between FCC officials and the businesses they regulate.

One government and business ethics expert says he is particularly troubled by situations where the FCC has sent many people to the same event, all on the industry tab.

"Large numbers of people going to a single event almost always causes an appearance problem, even if everything is on the up-and-up," said Stuart Gilman, president of the Ethics Resource Center, a Washington group that advises businesses and non-profits on ethics issues. Gilman was a top official at the federal government's Office of Government Ethics from 1988 to 2001.

Some critics of the current system say having the agency pay for all trips would help maintain a clear and proper separation between FCC officials and the industries they regulate.

But some FCC officials and industry representatives say having the FCC pay for all travel would effectively isolate the agency and rob smaller players of input in the decision making process.

"If you are a regulator proposing rules that can affect thousands of employees, it is only sensible to learn as much as you can about that business," said Dennis Wharton, a spokesman for the National Association of Broadcasters. "To the critics, I would say the alternative is to have the taxpayers pay the freight for this type of trip."

Taxpayers do pick up some of the tab on many of the industry-sponsored trips.

For example, Commissioner Kathleen Abernathy traveled to France last November to attend a conference sponsored by IDATE, a foundation supported by about 20 international technology firms including Motorola, Nortel and IBM.

IDATE paid $2,646 for Abernathy's flight, hotel and transportation to and from the airport for the two-day conference in Montpellier, France, located in the south of France on the Mediterranean Sea. Abernathy was also reimbursed $175 by the FCC for three days of per diem meal expenses she incurred on the trip.

Roy Stewart, chief of the Office of Broadcast License Policy in the FCC's Media Bureau, took 107 trips, more than any other FCC employee. Until last year, Stewart had been head of the agency's Mass Media Bureau since 1989. He lost that job in a restructuring ordered by Powell in March 2002. That restructuring put Stewart under new Media Bureau Chief Ferree, a former communications lawyer who first met Powell in college at Georgetown.

Stewart says he considers travel to industry events a major part of his job.

"It is important for a government official like me to sit in a room with the industry and hear their concerns," said Stewart. "Then it is my job to come back and relate those concerns to the chairman and the commissioners."

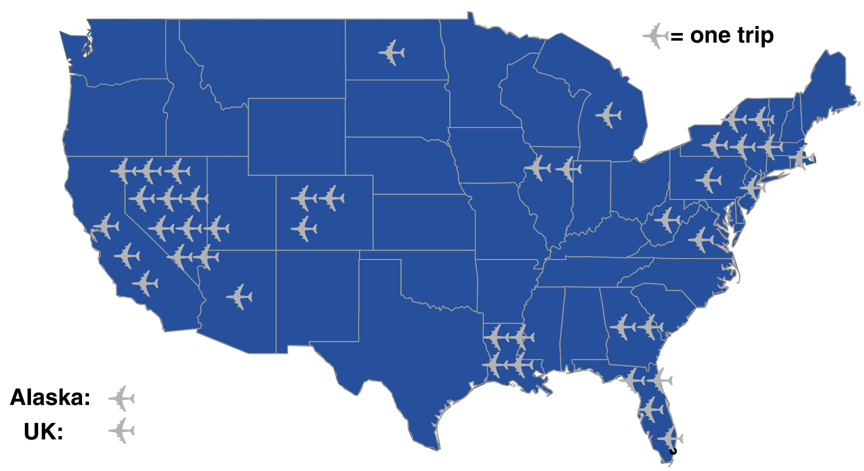
Pepper, the Office of Plans and Policy chief, said he turned down far more events than he actually attended, even though he took 104 trips on the industry tab.

"Frankly, I could have traveled five days a week, 52 weeks a year if I had chosen to," he said. "I have always been very selective. I have to be.

But there is one group FCC officials rarely or ever hear from on the convention and conference circuit, according to Andrew Schwartzman, director of the watchdog group Media Access Project.

"The only ones getting left out of this whole process are the public," he said. "That is the real problem here." ■

Chairman Powell traveled most to Las Vegas



Source: FCC travel documents

Graphic: Jonathan Werve

Captive Audience

continued from page 3

limits should reflect the significant increase in outlets available to Americans, the argument goes.

"We need to recognize that there are new voices in the marketplace," Commissioner Martin told the *Financial Times*.

Cable and the Internet

When the FCC wrote the rules, it was before the Internet age and the prevalence of cable television. But these outlets may not be as wide open as many people think.

For one thing, the most popular Internet sites are owned by most of the same large media companies active in other areas. By far the largest and most dominant Internet service provider is AOL Time Warner, with 35 million customers. The huge, diversified media company also has 10.9 million cable subscribers in addition to entertainment, cable channel and publishing holdings.

As for cable television, the consolidation of that industry has been dizzying. While there are 9,168 cable systems, 87 percent of subscribers are signed up to one owned by one of 10 companies.

What's more, the top cable networks, like ESPN, CNN and Nickelodeon, are largely controlled by media giants AOL Time Warner Inc., Viacom Inc. (CBS), Walt Disney Co. (ABC) and Hearst Corp. These four companies own 12 of the top 20 cable networks.

Finally, hope that the newest consumer electronic technology—direct broadcast satellite television—would create a real competitor, has raised new concerns. DirecTV, with more than 11 million subscribers, has emerged as a real competitor to the cable television industry. But a recent $6.6 billion deal that would give controlling interest to News Corp. and Fox has consumer advocates and competitors worrying that News Corp. head Rupert Murdoch may use the direct broadcast pipeline to push his own programming. The deal is currently awaiting federal approval.

One issue that has got little attention during the review was the idea that the airwaves are the property of the public, and the companies that use them have a responsibility to the public at large. Media titan Barry Diller, former programming chief at ABC, chairman of Paramount Pictures and creator of the Fox Network, said as much to an audience at the NAB convention in April.

Diller dismissed the idea that the unprecedented proliferation of media outlets has created any more competition than the days when three networks ruled television and radio.

While the network oligopoly of the past "might have controlled 90 percent of what people saw," he said, "they operated with a sense of public responsibility that simply doesn't exist with these vertically integrated giant media conglomerates driven only to fit the next piece of their puzzle for world media dominance." ■

Bill Would Eliminate Industry-Sponsored Travel for FCC

The Senate Commerce, Science and Technology Committee passed a measure that would ban industry-sponsored travel by FCC commissioners and staff.

The legislation was introduced by committee chairman Sen. John McCain. It was attached to the FCC Reauthorization Act of 2003. The legislation passed by a voice vote and still has to be debated by the full Senate.

The Arizona Republican also wants to allocate funds to audit the FCC's troubled "E-Rate" program, used to fund Internet access for schools, and would also impose a one-year lobbying ban on FCC employees.

On May 22, the Center released a report which revealed FCC Commissioners and staff received nearly $2.8 million in travel and entertainment expenses over the past eight years, most of it from the telecommunications and broadcast industries that the agency regulates. McCain referenced the information in the report in a statement to President George Bush accompanying the legislation.

The bill was co-authored by South Carolina Democrat, Sen. Ernest Hollings.

"Although this is perfectly legal and it is often appropriate for FCC officials and staff to attend such conventions, conferences, or meetings, it should be without the appearance of impropriety," McCain wrote. "Therefore, the bill authorizes the Commission sufficient funds to pay for their own travel costs in the future."

In addition, the bill also sets aside funding for an audit of the E-Rate program. On Jan. 9, the Center reported the $2.25 billion federal program that helps schools and libraries connect to the Internet was "honeycombed with fraud and financial shenanigans, but the government officials in charge say they don't have the resources to fix it."

In one other reform provision, McCain wants to impose a one-year lobbying ban on high-level FCC staffers who leave the agency's employment. The Center explored the FCC's close relationship with the industry it regulates in its Feb. 19 report, "The FCC's Rapidly Revolving Door." ■

Center Honored

International Consortium of Investigative Journalists Director Maud Beelman receives the Sigma Delta Chi award from Society of Professional Journalists President Robert Leger at the National Press Club in Washington on July 11. ICIJ's "Making a Killing: The Business of War" won the award in investigative reporting (independent) category. Also seen are Associate Director André Verlöy (left), writers Laura Peterson and Sunday Dare (right). ICIJ, a Center project since 1997, is a worldwide network of investigative reporters that extends globally the Center's style of "watchdog journalism."

Members of the "State Secrets" project team receive the Sigma Delta Chi award. From left to right are State Projects Director Leah Rush, SPJ President Robert Leger, former staffer MaryJo Sylwester (who was the project manager) and writer Robert Moore. "State Secrets: An Investigation of Political Party Money in the States" won the award in the "public service in online journalism (independent)" category.

THE PUBLIC i

Since opening its doors in downtown Washington in 1990, the Center has served as a mechanism through which important issues are investigated and analyzed by talented, responsible journalists, without the traditional time and space limitations.

The Center for Public Integrity
The Public i
910 17th Street, N.W.
Seventh Floor
Washington, DC 20006
Telephone: (202) 466-1300
Facsimile: (202) 466-1101

FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Charles Lewis

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Josie Goytisolo
Charles Lewis
Susan Loewenberg
Paula Madison
Charles Piller
Allen Pusey
Ben Sherwood
Marianne Szegedy-Maszak
Isabel Wilkerson

MANAGING EDITOR
Bill Allison

DEPUTY MANAGING EDITOR
Teo Furta

PRODUCTION EDITOR, THE PUBLIC i
M. Asif Ismail

FOUNDING EDITOR, THE PUBLIC i
Marianne Szegedy-Maszak

E-MAIL
Contact@publicintegrity.org

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
letters@publicintegrity.org

WEB SITE
www.public-i.org

OTHER CENTER WEB SITES
www.publicintegrity.org
www.icij.org
www.bop2004.org
www.openairwaves.org
www.stateprojects.org