The American Whistleblower Tour

*Essential Voices for Accountability*

**Information Guide**

**Introduction: GAP's Whistleblower Tour**

Over the past year, the American media have sharply increased their coverage of scandals that have been brought to light by whistleblowers. Shocking disclosures – and the whistleblowers themselves – have sparked national and international debates about the future of America policies. Multiple intelligence whistleblowers have been charged under the Espionage Act for disclosing the National Security Administration’s sweeping surveillance of electronic communications of American citizens. Gulf worker whistleblowers have exposed rampant and ongoing health problems from exposure to the dispersant Corexit. Bank whistleblowers have come out of the woodwork to report wide-scale fraud that catalyzed the Great Recession. Department of Agriculture whistleblowers made 'pink slime' a household term. The list goes on.

Despite scandal after scandal, organizations of all types – corporate, government, and nonprofit – continue to operate as if shielded by a wall of invulnerability, risking livelihoods, health, and our very liberties. But these institutions always need new employees to keep operating – recent college students with personal expectations and optimism about starting a professional life.

At that age, it doesn't occur to most of us that future institutional corruption or wrongdoing could undermine our personal impact on the world, let alone possibly harm others. With story after story emerging in the national press around whistleblowers, however, the concept of occupational free speech is becoming known to our country's incoming workforce. Students are raising and debating issues that are only possible because of whistleblowers:

- Does the government have the right to conduct blanket, secret surveillance on millions of U.S. citizens suspected of no wrongdoing?
- Is it acceptable that individuals recording the gruesome abuse of animals at slaughterhouses face criminal prosecution from 'Ag Gag' laws being instituted in states, while agribusiness seeks to minimize accountability?
- Why have former financial industry executives been pushed out of their careers for questioning practices that led to the 2008 financial meltdown, while those responsible at the top have only increased their profits?
- How can journalists fulfill their role in society if they rely on inside sources about government wrongdoing, but those sources are intimidated because of federal crackdown?

Whistleblowing and the issues surrounding it are not only highly relevant to nearly all disciplines at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, but they cut to the core values of an education dedicated to
creating responsible citizens committed to contributing to a better society. The Government Accountability Project’s (GAP’s) American Whistleblower Tour draws dramatic attention to the essential role that whistleblowing plays in our society, introduces the concept to students and members of the public, and outlines the challenges of making ethical decisions in the workplace.

GAP is the nation’s leading whistleblower protection and advocacy organization, representing whistleblowers as clients, working with the media to publicize their disclosures, achieving meaningful legislative reform and educating the public on the importance of whistleblowing, all with the mission of promoting government and corporate accountability. In its 36-year history, GAP has handled some of the highest-profile whistleblower cases that emerge every year, including:

- National Security Agency whistleblowers Edward Snowden, Thomas Drake, William Binney and J. Kirk Wiebe, who blew the whistle on the agency’s unconstitutional domestic spying program;
- Former senior associate in the U.S. Climate Change Science Program Rick Piltz, who exposed the George W. Bush administration’s improper editing and censorship of science program reports on global warming intended for the public and Congress;
- Peanut Corporation of America employee Kenneth Kendrick, who disclosed the company’s public health violations that resulted in a deadly salmonella outbreak in 2008, prompting one of the largest food recalls in U.S. history;
- Numerous bank employees who uncovered fraudulent mortgage-loan practices that contributed to the financial meltdown in 2008.

Accommodating the interests and resources of individual schools, our Tour leverages the emotional power of everyday heroes to engage students and engender dialogue, creating memorable learning opportunities. Each Tour stop features a discussion with prominent whistleblowers that is moderated by a GAP expert. As whistleblowers share their stories, the presentation details the common stages many whistleblowers go through, the nature and import of their disclosures, and the implications for both the whistleblower and society at large.

Classroom visits, lunchtime talks, media interviews, and film screenings have all been part of past Tour events, further enhancing the student experience. Each Tour stop plants the seeds for deeper interest in, dialogue about, and scholarship on the implications and consequences of whistleblowing.

2014-2015 Tour
Our fourth Tour builds on our hugely successful programs of the prior three years. Given the increasing importance of whistleblowing to institutional accountability, we are pleased to be organizing another Tour for the 2014-15 academic year.

We have limited spots available before our calendar is committed. The attached Frequently Asked Questions guide, Tour testimonials, and other documents offer additional information about what is involved with hosting a Tour stop. If you are interested in your school hosting a Tour stop for this next academic year, please contact GAP's Tour Director, Dana Gold, at danag@whistleblower.org.

Tour History
The American Whistleblower Tour was inspired by a 2010 event live-streamed on the Internet. GAP teamed up with film production company Participant Media and the Paley Center for the Media in Manhattan to produce the definitive presentation on whistleblowing – Anyone Can Whistle: The Essential

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Role of the Whistleblower in American Society. The event, watched live by thousands online, was the first-ever television-format presentation explaining and celebrating the role of whistleblowers in our culture. Hosted by Juan Williams (then of NPR), the event featured whistleblower heroes such as Daniel Ellsberg, Frank Serpico, Coleen Rowley, and many others. The program examined the stages of the typical whistleblowing experience, honored the courage of whistleblowers, and decried the lack of adequate legal protections. This powerful presentation inspired GAP to host similar events at college campuses.

Over the past three years we have visited over 30 college campuses in every geographic region of the country, and have spoken to over 7,500 students. Our stops have included large research universities, small liberal arts colleges, business schools and law schools.¹ See our listing of the 2011-12, 2012-13, and 2013-2014 tour stops for details about Tour hosts and featured speakers.

Response from audience members – a small selection of which you can see on the “Tour Feedback” page – has been overwhelmingly positive. Students, faculty, alumni and community members have been consistently moved and challenged by the powerful, difficult stories shared by the whistleblower speakers. Personal experiences bring the complex issue of whistleblowing to life and engage students with real world ethical dilemmas that some will encounter in the workplace. These events show brave truth-telling employees as what they are – everyday heroes who risk their own futures for the common good.

Interdisciplinary Curriculum Development
Through the Tour, GAP has made connections and forged new partnerships with faculty members in diverse disciplines nationwide, deepening and sustaining the discussion about whistleblowing through the prism of ethics, social responsibility and public policy. GAP is working with a core faculty committee made up of scholars in law, business, journalism, public administration and social sciences to develop a series of case studies, discussion questions and exercises, and other resources that can be used as short modules in existing or new courses to explore whistleblowing in more depth. Professors involved in the Tour have recognized the immense value of having whistleblowers tell their stories to relate classroom teachings with real life situations, and of connecting different disciplines within their institution.

In Sum
Across all disciplines, there is common agreement on the important role whistleblowers play as an antidote to institutional corruption, fraud, or threats to public health, safety and the environment. Hearing them tell their stories is an invaluable lesson to students – the next generation of workers – who are challenged to think critically about the importance, and difficulties, of speaking up about wrongdoing.

¹ Tour hosts have included American University Washington College of Law, American University, Auburn University (hosted thrice), Brandeis University, Florida International University (hosted thrice), Franklin & Marshall College, Indiana University (Indianapolis & Bloomington campuses), James Madison University, John Jay College, Mt. Holyoke College, New York University, Portland State University, Princeton University, Rutgers University, Seattle University, South Texas College of Law, Stanford University, Syracuse University, Temple University, Tulane University, University of the District of Columbia School of Law, University of Houston-Clear Lake, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USC-Annenberg School, University of Texas-Austin, West Chester University, West Virginia University and Whitman College.
FAQ: American Whistleblower Tour

What is the typical format of a Tour event?
The Tour stop generally opens with a welcome from a school representative. This could be the contact faculty person, department head, dean, or the college president. The GAP moderator then introduces the whistleblower(s) and the concept of whistleblowing, touching on issues of policy, law and ethics, along with the challenges related to reporting concerns in the workplace.

The format then follows that of an interview/moderated discussion between the GAP speaker and the panelists, creating a riveting exchange that is dynamic, personal, and educational. Time is allocated for audience questions following the program. We have consistently received positive feedback about the unique and thoughtful structure of the program.

Modifications to this format are always possible depending on the interests of the faculty hosts or unique circumstances of the Tour stop. A Tour stop may involve offering not just an introduction and framework to understanding the issue of whistleblowing, but also an introduction to the substantive concerns identified by whistleblowers and their relationship to the public interest, followed by a dialogue with one or two whistleblowers who raised such concerns. Likewise, some Tour stops have focused on the important role of the media in surfacing concerns identified by whistleblowers, and the risks and implications of whistleblowers working with the media to disclose information. These Tour events have featured interviews with both whistleblowers and prize-winning journalists, and allow exploration of complex issues related to how disclosures are made, the legal landscape of whistleblower protection, and mechanisms to address serious concerns identified by whistleblowers.

A brief video explaining the Tour, as well as videos from select past Tour stops, can be found here: http://www.whistleblower.org/american-whistleblower-tour-videos

Who are the GAP representatives that typically moderate the event?
Senior GAP staff members with extensive professional expertise on whistleblower issues serve as Tour moderators, including:

- GAP Senior Fellow & Director of the American Whistleblower Tour, Dana Gold
- GAP President, Louis Clark
- GAP Executive Director, Bea Edwards

Do you have a list of available speakers?
Yes. It is included in this information guide, and is also available here: http://www.whistleblower.org/american-whistleblower-tour-speakers

This list is not comprehensive. We have a number of former clients, friends and allies who may fit the interests of your school, or have a geographic connection to the area that may create regional interest in the event and are amenable to speaking. We have conducted Tours around specific issues in which GAP has specialized expertise because of its extensive work with whistleblowers, such as national security, financial and corporate accountability, food safety and nuclear safety. Notably, GAP is not a “speakers bureau;” rather, whistleblowers participate because they are enthusiastic about GAP's efforts
through the *American Whistleblower Tour* to promote education about the role whistleblowers play in protecting the public interest.

**Can my institution host a whistleblower who is not affiliated with GAP as part of the Tour event?**
Absolutely. In the past, schools have hosted local speakers alongside former or current GAP clients. We work closely with each school to identify the best speakers for the event.

**Who writes the questions for the panel discussion?**
GAP’s Communications Director in collaboration with the Tour Director draft questions tailor-made for each Tour stop, noting the interests of the host school and faculty, the unique stories of the whistleblowers, and the time limitations of the event. Suggestions for interview questions from faculty members or the speakers themselves are always welcome.

**What activities aside from the panel discussion are held as part of Tour?**
Classroom visits, lunchtime talks with faculty and students, media interviews, and film screenings have all been part of past Tour events. Sometimes Continuing Professional Education (CPE or CLE) courses or academic symposia that complement the Tour are planned using the GAP representatives or speakers on panels. GAP is able to help faculty member hosts plan these events, as well as to offer ideas for in-class reading materials about whistleblowing, films, or other activities that would supplement the educational experience of students.

**Where can I read about past Tour events?**
Information about all of the events from past Tour stops, including featured speakers, videos, blog entries and media coverage, can be found at [http://www.whistleblower.org/action-center/american-whistleblower-tour/tour-schedule](http://www.whistleblower.org/action-center/american-whistleblower-tour/tour-schedule).

**ELEMENTS OF A SUCCESSFUL TOUR**

**What is the best time of year to host an event?**
It is best to avoid midterms, finals, and the weeks immediately before or after breaks. GAP is currently planning for approximately five Tour stops each semester.

**What is the best day and time to schedule an event?**
Monday through Thursday, starting between 12 p.m. and 6 p.m.

**How long is the typical Tour event?**
Tour events are usually between 75 minutes and 2 hours. This includes an audience question-and-answer session of at least 15 minutes, but this section has gone on for over 45 minutes due to audience demand. The most common negative feedback we have received is that the events have been too short with not enough time for Q&A, especially for events with multiple speakers.
How many people generally attend? In which kind of venue is it best to hold the event?
We usually aim to draw an audience of 100 – 300 people. The smallest event had approximately 50 people in attendance, and the largest, part of an annual Ethics program, was over 2,000. Events, while best held in auditoriums with video recording capabilities and room for both students and the general public to attend, have been held in lecture halls, a performing arts center, and large classrooms.

Who is the target audience?
Our primary audience is students, but we encourage the event to be promoted to faculty, administrators, alumni, and the general public. We also notify GAP supporters in the local area of the event.

How can I drive attendance for the events?
- Tell your students and ask your colleagues to tell their students about the event.
- Require students to come if the event is relevant to the content of a course or offer incentives for student attendance, like extra credit.
- Use email distribution lists to publicize the event throughout the university, not just through the sponsoring department.
- Co-sponsor the event with one or more departments, schools or institutes to get the benefit of publicizing the event to a fuller range of students, alumni and friends.
- Post the event on the university events calendar.
- Write an article or place an announcement in the school newspaper in advance of the event.
- Post fliers around campus.
- Invite local non-profit organizations, bar associations, ethics groups, or other institutions whose members would be interested in the event.

How does GAP coordinate with my institution on publicity for the event?
GAP’s Communications Director will coordinate with you and the relevant public relations office at your institution to develop a publicity strategy. This will include writing a press release, and drafting promotional emails and fliers which can be used by the school for its outreach efforts. GAP can also assist in reaching out to local media contacts to set up interviews and secure event coverage.

Are Tour events filmed?
Most schools have the technological capacity to film the event, which we strongly encourage. The recording is often posted online so students who were unable to attend may view it, and for faculty to show later in their classes. GAP asks that participating schools share a copy for posting on our website and social media pages, along with rights to use clips from the events.

How do you assess the success of an event?
We distribute evaluations to attendees at every event. The feedback we receive helps us to improve future events, and to gauge students’ perceptions of how they understood whistleblowing before and after the event. In addition to the evaluations, we also distribute newsletters and event programs with information about additional resources to learn more about whistleblowing.

**Costs & Logistics**

**How much does a typical Tour stop cost?**

Every Tour stop is different, but generally the total cost hosting a Tour ranges from $2,000 to $6,000. The costs vary based on location, speakers, and scale of the program. Generally, local speakers have lower travel costs and may be willing to speak for a lower honorarium. Many universities sponsor a Tour stop with other schools, departments or institutes, sharing expenses while broadening the potential audience.

**Do all speakers require an honorarium? What is the typical honorarium amount?**

Some, typically local, speakers may be willing to speak without an honorarium. The typical honorarium for Tour speakers is $1,000, but GAP can negotiate with speakers on this rate. High profile speakers may require higher honorarium amounts, ranging from $2,000-$5,000.

**What costs does GAP cover and what costs will my institution have to cover?**

In most cases, GAP pays for most costs upfront and then invoices the school for the following expenses:

- Travel for all speakers + 1 GAP representative.
- Lodging for all speakers + 1 GAP representative.
- Meals, provided as a set per diem or reimbursed with receipts, per school policy.
- Incidental expenses (ground transportation, parking, food).

GAP will help coordinate with the host school and the speakers to facilitate direct payment of honoraria to participating speakers when possible.

Additional expenses may be incurred directly by the school, including venue costs; organized meals on campus with faculty, students and the visiting speakers; A/V expenses, such as photography or videotaping; and publicity fliers, signs, advertising. GAP is generally responsible for GAP staff time and the costs of additional GAP staff who attend the event.

**Sample Budget (2 speakers + 1 GAP moderator)***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expense</th>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaker &amp; GAP Rep Travel</td>
<td>$1,200</td>
<td>Flights for 2 speakers + 1 GAP Rep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ground transportation</td>
<td>$100-$500</td>
<td>Taxi to/from airport; rental car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaker &amp; GAP Rep Lodging</td>
<td>$750</td>
<td>3 people, 2 nights @ $125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaker Honoraria</td>
<td>$2,000</td>
<td>2 speakers @ $1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Incidental Expenses | $300 | 3 people @ $50 per diem (2 days)²
Printing costs (program) | $100 | GAP creates/school copies & distributes
Total | $4,450-$4,900

*Does not include possible additional expenses referenced above.

**What paperwork will I need to fill out?**
GAP requires that all schools have a representative sign a university agreement form that lays out the specific expenses the school has agreed to pay. This person is typically the faculty host or someone in the university’s finance office.

**Who coordinates the travel for the event? Who books the hotel?**
GAP’s Education Coordinator generally arranges all travel for the event to maximize efficiency of ground transportation and coordination for the speakers. Since most schools have either dedicated campus lodging for visiting speakers or get a discounted rate at a preferred hotel, the school usually arranges the lodging and directly covers that expense. We will communicate with you to determine ground transportation needs, the best airport to fly into, and the ideal speaker arrival/departure times.

**When will GAP bill my institution for the Tour expenses? How does the invoicing process work?**
Within 30 days after the event takes place, GAP’s Finance Director will send an invoice with copies of all receipts to the school representative who signed the university agreement form. Sometimes, depending on the policies of the school, GAP will have to register as a vendor in order for the invoice to be processed.

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² This amount is reduced if on-site meals are provided. We apply the host school’s established per diem rates.
GAP American Whistleblower Tour
Essential Voices for Accountability

Student & Faculty Testimonials

Your visit has given us the opportunity to have class discussions about what each of us is willing to stand up for. I wish I could express in words how transformative these discussions have been. I’ve been able to see some of my quietest classmates get angry and speak up about an issue they believe in. I don’t know that these discussions would have happened without your visit.

--Student, School of Social Work, UT-Austin

I am a seasoned and skeptical lawyer who has plenty of experience in dealing with tough situations. But we were not prepared for the powerful impact of those personal stories. I am sure I am not the only one who left the scene feeling exhausted, enlightened, elevated, and, in the end, inspired to have the courage to do more.

--Prof. Terry Foster, Albers School of Business and Economics, Seattle University

Initially I thought people were turning minute issues into finger pointing of who was wrong and right. Now I know the people who choose to blow the whistle are true public servants who made decisions to protect the public’s interest.

--Student, Rutgers University

These are serious issues and the public has little or no appreciation of how important whistleblowing protection is for the individual and society. Lots of people in business/government do not act, do not come forward to expose the truth.

--Professor, Indiana Unive-Bloomington

[The presentation] helped me come to terms with my own experiences of whistleblowing.

--MBA student, Stanford University

This is one of my favorite events that Auburn puts on. The speakers were excellent and informative last year and this year! Please come back. Even though I will have graduated, events like these are great for students.

--Student, Auburn University

It was a great privilege to be on the same stage with those heroes. One could hear a pin drop when Jesselyn and Tom were speaking. I think our students were shocked at the behavior of their government. As I said, it was the most extraordinary night the [Hergenhan Auditorium] has seen. Thanks for including me.

-David Rubin, Dean Emeritus, S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications, Syracuse University

I had a negative perception of whistleblowing, but now I understand the importance of speaking up. I have a newfound respect for whistleblowers.

--Student, Florida International University

The emails congratulating us on pulling off a great whistleblowing event at WVU are still coming in and I just wanted to take this opportunity to thank all of you for helping to make our event such a huge success! As one of my colleagues said, what Rick, Jack and Wilma had to say last night was very inspiring to students who often don’t realize what they, as individuals, can do to make a difference. And my colleagues tell me that Jack, Rick, Wilma and Louis’ visits to our classrooms were also extremely valuable. I could tell just from looking at my students’ faces how impressed they were with Wilma and her courage.

--Alison Bass, Assistant Professor of Journalism, West Virginia University

I met you last night after the panel at James Madison University. I wanted to just say thank you for coming to our campus and sharing these incredible stories. Your work and your organization is what continues to inspire my generation to fight for injustices in our country and around the world. Although there is a long way to go on the protection of Whistleblowers, the progress that has been set in motion thus far is something to be recognized and commended. Thank you again for your time.

--Student, James Madison University
**Dr. Eric Ben-Artzi** worked at major financial institutions, valued for his unique expertise with the models, assumptions and calculations necessary to properly value and assess risk associated with derivatives. With this experience and a Ph.D. from the Courant Institute at New York University, he was hired in 2010 by Deutsche Bank as a Qualitative Risk Analyst. He soon began questioning the valuation of the Bank’s credit derivative portfolios, never receiving an honest answer from his superiors about the model used for their valuation. He suspected that the Bank was fudging the value of these portfolios, allowing it to protect its image and stock price and to avoid a bailout. Deeply troubled by the bank’s unwillingness to acknowledge and appropriately address this significant valuation problem, Dr. Ben-Artzi sought legal representation and reported the possible securities violations to the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission through the SEC Whistleblower Program. In November 2011, three days after filing the SEC complaint, Dr. Ben-Artzi was fired. As a result he has also filed a wrongful dismissal suit against the Bank.

**William Binney** is a former NSA crypto-mathematician who worked for the NSA for almost 40 years. He led a team of technical analysts, including J. Kirk Wiebe (below), that created a revolutionary information processing system called ThinThread that could efficiently and cost-effectively analyze massive amounts of information while protecting Americans’ privacy. But NSA officials ignored ThinThread in favor of Trailblazer – a much more expensive program that not only ended in total failure, but cost taxpayers billions of dollars. Binney also revealed that the NSA had intercepted several trillion domestic communications after 9/11 without a warrant. Worried about the nation’s ability to protect itself, he blew the whistle on the clear mismanagement surrounding the Trailblazer fiasco, using appropriate channels to share their concerns with Congress and the Department of Defense Inspector General. In retaliation, his security clearance was revoked and his house raided by armed FBI agents, although no charges were ever filed against him.

**Kathryn Bolkovac** is a former Nebraska police investigator who served as an International Police Task Force human rights investigator in Bosnia. Working for a private contracting firm assigned to support the UN peacekeeping mission in that country, she headed the gender affairs unit. The lack of proper training provided contractors sounded the first alarm bell, but once she arrived in Sarajevo Bolkovac found that things were much worse. She discovered that officers were involved in gross misconduct, including human trafficking and forced prostitution, and had connections to private mercenary contractors, the UN, and the U.S. State Department. After bringing her findings to light, she was retaliated against and fired. Fearing for her safety, she was forced to flee the country. With evidence she collected, Bolkovac was able to expose the unfathomable, gross violations, eventually winning a lawsuit against her employers.

**Frank Casey** was an equity specialist manager at Ramparts Investments (after working more than 24 years in the investment industry) when he discovered a money manager, Bernie Madoff, was generating a suspect 12 percent return for his investors. He took his findings to Harry Markopolos, who brought them to the SEC in 1999. The SEC declined to investigate despite several attempts over nine years to prompt their involvement; when Madoff was finally publicly exposed, about $50 billion had been lost by hundreds of investors. Casey, Harry Markopolos and Neil Chelo formed the core “Fox Hounds” team whose whistle blowing to the SEC on Madoff’s Ponzi is detailed in his coauthored book *No One Would Listen* and the documentary *Chasing Madoff*. Casey currently serves as a Board Member at the International Center for Financial and Corporate Ethics and Responsibility.
**Thomas Drake** is a former senior official of the National Security Agency (NSA) whom the Justice Department prosecuted under the Espionage Act. In June 2011, the case against him collapsed, but he endured four years of investigation and faced 10 felony counts after he used internal mechanisms to disclose serious wrongdoing concerning a data collection program called "Trailblazer." That program was costly, wasteful and ineffective; it threatened Americans’ privacy rights, and was wholly undeveloped – despite the availability of a cost-effective, functional alternative that protected Americans’ privacy. Ultimately, the Department of Justice (DOJ) dropped all felony counts against Drake four days before the trial date after a blitz of national media coverage critical of the DOJ's prosecution, including a lead story by Jane Mayer in the *New Yorker* and a segment on *60 Minutes*. In addition, the judge excoriated DOJ lawyers for their "unconscionable" conduct during the prosecution. Drake is the recipient of the 2011 Ridenhour Prize for Truth-Telling, regarded in the U.S. as the highest honor that a whistleblower can receive.

**Daniel Ellsberg**, a former United States military analyst and government contractor, leaked a classified government study about the Vietnam War that came to be known as the Pentagon Papers to the media. Ellsberg’s whistleblowing led to protests, contributed to movement to force the resignation of Richard Nixon, and emboldened the news media when the Supreme Court decided against prior restraint in the case *New York Times Co. v. United States*. The Pentagon Papers demonstrated, among other things, that several presidential administrations had directly lied to Congress and the public about their intentions and actions in the Vietnam War.

**Cathy Harris**, a former senior inspector for the U.S. Customs Service (USCS) at Hartsfield-Jackson International Airport in Atlanta (the busiest in the world), disclosed to the media the USCS practice of discriminatory racial profiling. She verified her suspicions that women of African descent were wrongfully targeted for detention and strip searches as possible drug couriers. In fact, only three percent of those women were actually carrying drugs, whereas drugs were found on 30 percent of white travelers who were detained and searched. Harris’ revelations resulted in a damning GAO study of USCS profiling practices, and federal legislation to reform these unconstitutional practices.

**Robert MacLean**, a former Federal Air Marshal (FAM), successfully warned the media, the public and congressional officials of Transportation Security Administration (TSA) plans to cancel FAM coverage amid confirmed warnings of an imminent al Qaeda hijacking plot in 2003. In 2006, when it learned that MacLean was the anonymous whistleblower, the TSA fired him for disclosing "Sensitive Security Information" (SSI), a pseudo-secrecy category issued at congressional direction. Through administrative appeals at the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB), however, MacLean lost his contention that the WPA trumps agency gag rules for free speech rights – the law's basic principle for over 30 years. In April, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit restored the strength of the WPA by unanimously overturning the Board. The Supreme Court has accepted review of the case.

**Phyllis McKelvey** is a retired USDA chicken inspector who spent 44 years working in the poultry sector. McKelvey witnessed firsthand the dangers of an agency inspection model that, among other risks, allows only 1/3 second inspections for each bird. Her concern led her to start a petition asking the USDA to halt its plans, which gained more than 180,000 signatures.

**John Munsell**, a small-business owner and meat grinder, reported that a giant packing company (ConAgra) was the source of E. coli-tainted meat at his plant. The USDA refused to investigate his...
claims, shutting down his grinder for four months instead, forcing him into near-bankruptcy. Munsell continued to spread the word about the tainted beef. His disclosures, along with deaths from the E. coli-tainted beef, spurred the recall of 19 million pounds of beef by ConAgra, one of the largest recalls in history (up to 80 percent of the potentially tainted shipment had already been consumed).

**Jon Oberg**, while working at the Department of Education as a researcher in 2003, discovered illegal payments to student loan lenders of federal tax dollars that department officials instructed him not to investigate further. On his own time, he researched the payments and reported them to Congress, which in 2004 ended the payments prospectively, saving billions of dollars. In 2007, Oberg sued the recipients under the False Claims Act. Three years later, the Department of Justice announced it had settled four of the cases for over $57 million.

**Rick Piltz** is a former senior associate in the coordination office of the U.S. Climate Change Science Program. In 2005, he blew the whistle on the White House’s improper editing and censorship of science program reports on global warming intended for the public and Congress. GAP, which represented Piltz, released edited reports to *The New York Times* that documented the actual hand-editing – by White House Counsel on Environmental Quality Chief of Staff Philip Cooney, a lawyer and former climate team leader with the American Petroleum Institute – which was done to downplay the reality of human-driven global warming and its harmful impacts, and exaggerate scientific uncertainty. This scandal sparked a media frenzy that resulted in the resignation of Cooney, who found a job at ExxonMobil days later.

**Jesselyn Radack** served as an Ethics Advisor in the Department of Justice. In 2001, she learned that FBI agents sought to interrogate “American Taliban” John Walker Lindh. Because Lindh was represented by counsel, she advised the agents they could not conduct the interrogation. They did so anyway. As a result, she correctly advised them that the Lindh testimony was inadmissible in a legal proceeding. When Attorney General John Ashcroft erroneously maintained in public that the seriously injured Lindh had waived his right to legal counsel before speaking with the FBI, Radack’s advice was reported in the news media. Currently, Radack is GAP’s National Security & Human Rights Director.

**Dr. Kunal Saha**, an internationally recognized HIV/AIDS researcher and patients-rights advocate, in 2007 called attention to the use of defective blood testing equipment by a World Bank-funded health care project designed to combat HIV/AIDS in India. Dr. Saha discovered that corporate, Indian government and World Bank authorities had been advised as early as 2004 that the kits produced “false negative” results, meaning that HIV-infected blood was often approved for use in hospitals.

**Frank Serpico** joined the New York City Police Department in 1959 at the age of 23. He was a police officer for 12 years, and during his last several years on the force, his attempts to report police corruption to his superiors in the department fell on deaf ears. Serpico ultimately decided to go to *The New York Times*, which published an exposé on police corruption in the NYPD. Serpico was shot in the face during a "buy and bust" operation in 1971, and nearly died. Many people believe that Serpico was set up by the police in order to silence him. Later that year, he testified in front of the Knapp Commission, which was appointed by Mayor John Lindsay to investigate pervasive police corruption.
Jack Spadaro has dedicated 40 years of his professional life to mine safety, and today he is among the nation's leading experts on coal waste safety and disposal. Spadaro headed the National Mine Safety and Health Academy when the Martin County Coal Slurry Spill occurred in October 2000, spilling 300 million gallons of coal slurry into 100 miles of streams in Kentucky and West Virginia. The disaster polluted waterways and the drinking supply, killed all life forms in the streams for 100 miles, and affected 27,000 people. Spadaro participated in the federal investigation of that disaster and found evidence that Massey Energy – the owner and operator of the impoundment dam – had prior knowledge of problems with the mine. When the George W. Bush administration took office in January 2001, however, Spadaro's team was told to stop, and repeated interference weakened the report. Spadaro refused to sign off on the erroneous report and resigned his position before going public with his evidence of gross wrongdoing.

Wilma Subra received a MacArthur Genius Award in 1999 and has nearly 50 years of experience in the fields of chemistry, toxicology and microbiology. Immediately following the BP Deepwater Horizon disaster in April 2010, Subra found evidence of serious health risks for clean-up workers and Gulf Coast residents from crude oil, aerosol forms of oil, and the dispersant used on the spill. Subra also found grossly inadequate training for workers and warning of residents by the government and BP about the risks. After the courts ordered BP to provide cleanup workers with adequate protection and training – orders BP failed to respect – she secured proper equipment for the workers to use themselves. Subra's work has contributed to the public’s knowledge of problems concerning the clean-up. Specifically, she has chronicled the devastating long-term effects on human health and the ecosystem of the Gulf of Mexico stemming from the widespread use of a toxic dispersant named Corexit.

Thomas M. Tamm was a well-regarded Justice Department attorney in the Capital Cases Unit who, in 2003, transferred to the Office of Intelligence Policy and Review (OIPR), perhaps the most sensitive unit within the Justice Department. While working there, Tamm became aware of a program that bypassed the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance (FISA) court in an arrangement where only the Attorney General would sign certain wiretap requests, without review by the 11-member court. After Tamm’s inquiries about the program repeatedly ran into walls of silence, he contacted The New York Times, which in 2005 ran an explosive Pulitzer Prize-winning cover story about the Bush administration’s warrantless wiretapping program. The program was in fact part of wide-ranging covert surveillance activities authorized by President Bush in the aftermath of 9/11. Although the law creating the FISA court made it a federal crime for any official to engage in such surveillance without following strict rules, including court approval, it was Tamm who became a target of law enforcement officials. In August of 2007, Tamms’s home was raided by 18 FBI agents, executing a search warrant looking for the source of leaks to The New York Times. He was the subject of a federal criminal investigation that lasted over six years. As the result of these events, he received the 2009 Ridenour Truth-Telling Award.

Walt Tamosaitis was the Deputy Chief Process Engineer and Research & Technology Manager for the Waste Treatment Plant (WTP) at the Hanford Nuclear Site in Eastern Washington. He was terminated from the project in July 2010 by Bechtel after he raised safety concerns about issues that would impact the overall safety and operation of the plant. The WTP, being built by the Bechtel and URS Corporations for the Department of Energy-owned Hanford site, is a $12.2+ billion project intended to process much of the 50+ million gallons of toxic and radioactive waste at Hanford for permanent disposal. Tamosaitis was removed from the project and reassigned to an office in a basement copy room after raising technical concerns about safety and operations. Numerous investigations by independent federal agencies have found that safety culture problems are
widespread at Hanford and that employees are afraid to raise technical and safety concerns about the project. The project was originally to cost $4.6B and start up in 2008. Current estimates indicate a cost of over $20B and start up in 2022. Tamosaitis has filed both State and Federal law suits.

**Sherron Watkins** was Vice President of Corporate Development at Enron. She is considered by many to be the whistleblower who helped to uncover the Enron scandal in 2001, as she alerted then-CEO Ken Lay to accounting irregularities within the company, warning him that Enron ‘might implode in a wave of accounting scandals.’ She later testified before congressional committees investigating Enron’s demise. Watkins was named one of *Time Magazine’s 2002 Persons of the Year.*

**J.Kirk Wiebe**, is a former senior analyst who worked at NSA for more than 30 years, and was awarded the Meritorious Civilian Service Award, NSA’s second highest distinction. Wiebe was part of a team of technical analysts that created a revolutionary information processing system called ThinThread that could efficiently and cost-effectively analyze massive amounts of information while protecting Americans’ privacy. When NSA leadership ignored ThinThread in favor of Trailblazer, a vastly more expensive, intrusive and in the end inoperable program, Wiebe and his colleague spoke up; they went to Congress in 2000 to blow the whistle on the mismanagement and waste of funds, but saw no change take place. In retaliation for communicating with overseers, Wiebe was denied an assignment that would’ve advanced his career. He retired from NSA in October 2001, but continued to take action, despite increasing retaliation, including having his home raided by the FBI. He is one of the whistleblowers who first revealed the NSA’s massive domestic spying program, Stellar Wind, which intercepts domestic communications without protections for US citizens.

**Michael Winston** was a high level executive at Countrywide Financial, the lending giant taken over by Bank of America in 2008 during the mortgage crisis. Hired in 2005 as an executive vice president in leadership development, he was tasked with helping Countrywide develop better managers to grow the organization. Previously Mr. Winston held executive positions at Motorola, Merrill Lynch, Lockheed Martin, and McDonnell Douglas. When Moody’s Investors Services expressed concern about Countrywide’s succession planning and other governance issues, Mr. Winston was asked by Countrywide’s president to present a report detailing the organization’s extensive succession plans to allay Moody’s concerns. He refused to comply with this request because he knew of no such plan. Soon afterward his budget was frozen and his duties severely curtailed. When Bank of America took over Countrywide in January 2007, he was fired. Mr. Winston sued Bank of America for wrongful termination and retaliation against him for his refusal to mislead Moody’s, and for his filing a complaint with CAL-OSHA when employees in his building were sickened by exposure to toxic chemicals. His trial was the first to compel top Countrywide executives—including its now-disgraced founder Angelo Mozilo—to testify before a jury. In February 2011 he won a $3.8 million jury award, which was subsequently overturned on a legal technicality.

**Dr. Susan Wood** served as FDA Assistant Commissioner for Women’s Health for five years. When she concluded in 2005 that Bush administration politics was tying up the approval of Plan-B, not the safety or efficacy of this “morning-after pill,” she resigned and spoke our forcefully that FDA science was being held captive by the “pro-life movement.” Following her resignation, Wood traveled around the country, sharing her story and voicing her concerns over the state of public health policy. Currently, Wood is a Research Professor at George Washington University’s School of Public Health and Health Services.