

Uncle Sam's sloppy record-keeping

JAMES GLASSMAN

WASHINGTON — Imagine that a top accounting firm performs its annual audit of a giant corporation. It finds the books in such a horrific state that it is forced to write in its official transmittal letter: "We are unable to, and we do not, express an opinion on the accompanying financial statements."

Consequences would be swift and dire. The stock of the giant corporation would plummet, its bond rating would fall, the Securities and Exchange Commission would investigate, the CEO might be forced out and the story would be smeared all over the newspapers.

Now imagine that it's not a giant corporation being audited but the federal government. Consequences? Next to zero.

Last year, for the first time in history, the federal government prepared consolidated financial statements that were subjected to an independent audit by the General Accounting Office. The results were an unmitigated disaster.

In a letter to Congress on March 31, James F. Hinchman, who, as acting comptroller general, heads the GAO, wrote, "In summary, significant financial-systems weaknesses, problems with fundamental record-keeping, incomplete documentation, and weak internal controls, including computer controls, prevent the government from accurately reporting a large portion of its assets, liabilities, and costs."

Hinchman said the government

Taxpayers send \$1.6 trillion a year to Washington, but the people entrusted with this money don't know what happens to much of it.

could not account for "billions of dollars of property, equipment and supplies." It couldn't "accurately report major portions of the net costs of government operations." It couldn't even calculate the loans that were payable to it or the loans it had guaranteed.

In other words, taxpayers send \$1.6 trillion a year to Washington, but the people entrusted with this money don't know what happens to much of it.

The GAO revealed some of the worst abuses a few days ago at a House subcommittee hearing that focused on the Pentagon. Only the conscientious chairman, Rep. Steve Horn, R-Calif., and freshman Rep. Dennis Kucinich, D-Ohio, attended. Kucinich found it "mind-boggling."

James Warren, one of the few to report the hearings, said the GAO findings "dwarf previous claims of federal ineptitude or stupidity."

Eleanor Hill, the Pentagon's inspector general, told the panel that "financial statement data for most DOD funds remain unreliable and essentially not in condition for audit." And, she added, they "cannot produce an audit trail of information."

The results? Well, for one thing, there were more than \$10 billion in "problem disbursements" that can't be matched against contracts. Also chilling is that the Pentagon doesn't know the whereabouts of much of its \$636 billion in property, plant and equipment.

Kucinich asked if any of the missing military equipment was classified and if the CIA had been involved in figuring out where it ended up. "The answer," said another GAO official, "would be yes."

Horn found these results of the audit particularly "appalling": Housing and Urban Development is making \$900 million a year in overpayments on rent subsidies, and the Health Care Financing Administration is making \$23 billion in overpayments on Medicare.

In order to get the federal books to balance, the GAO had to plug in \$12 billion in "unreconciled transactions." And that's a net figure. In fact, there were more than \$100 billion worth of such dealings — in positive and negative amounts. Try this technique if you're Ford or General Electric and investors will take your stock down 20 percent or so.

Anyone who runs a business knows that the first rule is to keep honest, clean and complete records. To do less is unethical, and often criminal. Gore and Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin owe that much to America's citizens.

Glassman is a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

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Whistle-blower now fighting former allies

By Tom Lowry
USA TODAY

RREADING, Pa. — Robert Merena thought he would be able to call a government fraud hot line, report alleged improper billing by his employer, SmithKline Beecham, and then return to his quiet suburban life here. He says he had never heard the term whistle-blower.

That was in 1993. Today Merena remains locked in a legal battle but not with the obvious opponent. SmithKline Beecham Clinical Laboratories settled with the Justice Department in February 1997 for \$325 million, the largest award ever in a whistle-blower case.

Instead, Merena is at war with Justice Department lawyers, who are fighting a judge's decision to award Merena and two other whistle-blowers \$52 million. Merena once believed department officials were his allies. He now says they have betrayed him and turned a well-intentioned act of coming forward into a bitter episode.

"I see these guys spending more money fighting me than they did on fighting SmithKline," says Merena, 36. "In 1993, my lawyer warned me my kids would be in college by the time this was over. I laughed. But now I'm not so sure." His daughter is 13; his son 9.

Whistle-blowers, typically individuals who accuse their companies of defrauding the government, pay a high price emotionally, financially and professionally.

That is one reason Congress said they should receive generous awards — up to 30% of what the government recovers.

"Whistle-blowers are the eyes and the ears of the government. They should be treated as patriots," says Sen. Charles Grassley, R-Iowa, who helped write the whistle-blower law.

But the dispute over Merena's pay could inhibit others from coming forward with evidence of fraud, whistle-blower advocates say.

"This case has sent chills throughout the community of whistle-blowers and their lawyers," says Lisa Hovelson, head of Taxpayers Against Fraud, a nonprofit group that supports whistle-blowers.

Merena and his family "have been through hell," Grassley says. Justice should "pay him what he deserves." Justice officials declined to comment. In court papers filed Friday, Justice says it plans to argue on appeal that Merena and the others do not deserve so much money, because

wreck. "Sometimes, he'd call me from a pay phone and say 'A bunch of executives just went into a meeting. I think they found out about me.' I'd say 'Relax, Rob. Executives have meetings,'" Rasputnik says.

Merena worked undercover for 18 months before a court document was unsealed, revealing that he was gathering information for the government. In March 1995, SmithKline's lawyers asked Merena to leave the company. He negotiated a severance package of 16 months pay.

After leaving the company, Merena went to work at the government's "war room," a small office the government rented in suburban Philadelphia where agents reviewed boxes of subpoenaed documents and computer files. Merena acted as an interpreter and computer consultant, fielding constant questions from agents who worked in tiny offices arrayed around his desk.

Emotional, financial toll

Being a whistle-blower has taken its toll, Merena says. He left a \$60,000-a-year job he says was a dream position. At times, he was deeply in debt and barely able to support his wife, a homemaker, and children. Taxpayers Against Fraud loaned him \$25,000 to get through a holiday season.

Old friends from SmithKline would turn away from him when they spotted him in stores. Sworn to secrecy, Merena and his wife, Dana, told family members Merena had left the company to work as a "consultant."

For a while, Merena suffered from panic attacks and would have to pull his car to the side of the road because he was hyperventilating. Rasputnik says Dana once told him she would calm her husband at night by telling him everything was going to be all right. Then she would roll over and cry herself to sleep.

When Justice announced the SmithKline settlement, Merena and two other whistle-blowers — Charles Robinson, a former SmithKline lab medical director, and his lawyer, Glenn Grossenbacher — were praised as heroes. SmithKline neither confirmed nor denied the allegations.

But when Merena and the others asked for their share of the settlement under the federal False Claims Act, Justice balked. Officials argued that Merena wasn't as helpful as he believes he was and that he brought information late to an investigation that was already ongoing. Justice

noted that the media had reported about subpoenas being served at SmithKline before Merena came forward.

In April, U.S. District Court Judge Donald VanArman ruled that Merena and the other whistle-blowers "provided very valuable and substantial assistance to the government in bringing these actions to a successful settlement." He ordered the government to pay the whistle-blowers a total of \$52 million from the settlement, or about 16%. The average whistle-blower award is 18%.

The whistle-blowers already have been paid \$9.7 million. The Justice Department is disputing the remaining \$42.3 million.

Justice's challenge has caused a rift between top civil fraud lawyers in Washington and the FBI agents and the U.S. Attorney in Philadelphia, who worked closely with Merena.

James Sheehan, head of the civil division in the U.S. Attorney's office in Philadelphia and a respected prosecutor of health care fraud, is known to disagree with Justice's position. Rick McAdams, an FBI agent, now retired, who spent more than two years on the case, says Merena has paid a high price. "You're out of the industry you've worked hard to get ahead in — suddenly you're gone. He's lost friends and he's still seen as a pariah. That's tough."

The irony, Rasputnik says, is that Merena didn't even know about whistle-blowers being paid when he first came forward. "Most whistle-blowers come in and ask, 'What do I think this case is worth?'" Rasputnik says.

John Clark, the lawyer for the two other whistle-blowers in the case, says: "This reminds me of one of those Dickens tales where parties are born into and die out of cases." Clark, the former U.S. Attorney in San Antonio, says he has soured on the Justice Department. "I have a long connection to Justice, but this is very disappointing."

His clients Robinson and Grossenbacher declined comment. Merena says he's had trouble finding a job because prospective employers ask him why he left SmithKline. Merena tells them and never gets a call back.

And his dreams for the future are relatively modest given that he now is a millionaire and might receive millions more. He wants to own an ice hockey rink for kids. "When asked if he has any regrets, Merena takes his time: 'No. I want to see this through to the end now. I'm thankful, though, that I didn't let the process going into this'

SmithKline case among the biggest

Whistle-blower cases that resulted in the biggest payments to the federal government.

Who paid: SmithKline Beecham Clinical Laboratories
How much: \$325 million
When: February 1997

Allegations: The company's clinical laboratories division paid kickbacks to doctors, billed Medicare for lab tests nobody ordered and submitted bills for lab tests using phony diagnosis codes.
Whistle-blower share: \$52 million, but the Justice Department is appealing \$42.3 million of the award.

Who paid: United Technologies
How much: \$150 million
When: March 1994

Allegations: The company's Sikorsky Aircraft Division prematurely billed for work not yet performed on its helicopter contract with the U.S. military.
Whistle-blower share: \$22.5 million

Who paid: Health Care Service
How much: \$140 million
When: July 1998

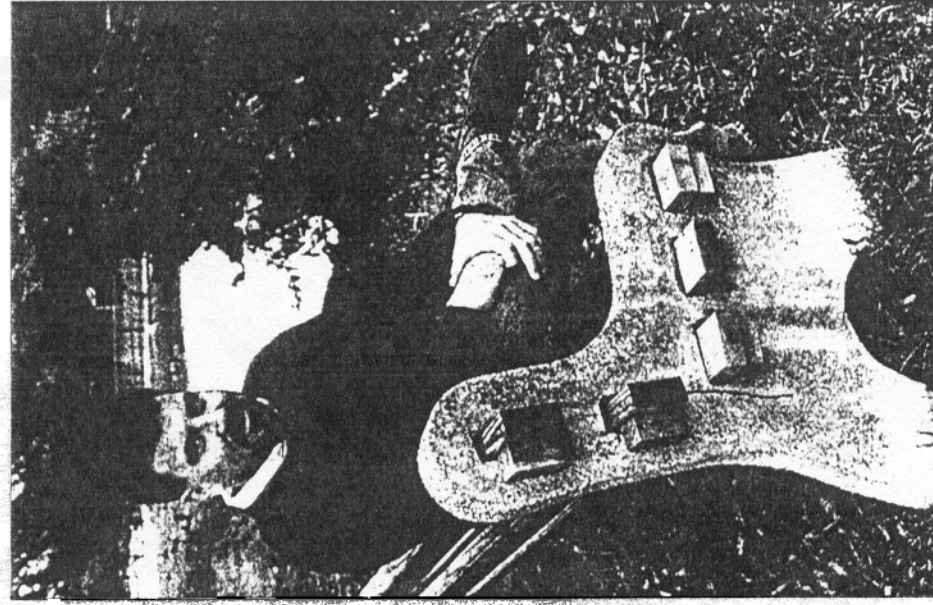
Allegations: The company, Medicare contractor for Illinois and Michigan, shredded claims and concealed evidence of poor performance in processing Medicare claims.
Whistle-blower share: at least \$2.1 million

Who paid: Lucas Western
How much: \$88 million
When: October 1995

Allegations: The company failed to test military parts properly and knowingly sold defective parts to the Navy, Army and Air Force.
Whistle-blower share: \$18.5 million

Who paid: Teledyne Industries
How much: \$85 million
When: April 1994

Allegations: The company's Telephony Relays Division falsely certified that relay switches sold to the U.S. military for use in a variety of weapons and satellite systems met testing requirements.
Whistle-blower share: \$18.5 million



Whistle-blower: Rob Merena's life has yet to return to normal

the amount of useful information they provided was limited.

Roadmap of fraud

But Merena says he worked hundreds of hours undercover at SmithKline and then with FBI and other government agents to provide the government a roadmap into alleged billing fraud.

Merena, a computer billing analyst in SmithKline's U.S. headquarters in Collegeville, Pa., alleged SmithKline billed Medicare and other government programs for tests not performed, granted discounts as kick-

PHOTO BY TOM LOWRY FOR USA TODAY

Whistle-blowers finally

getting back at DOE

By Peter Eisler
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Former Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary says they were called "the crazies." They were silenced by almost any means — shuffled to backwater offices, verbally threatened, denied the authority to do their jobs.

It's never been easy for whistle-blowers to raise health and safety concerns in the secretive, industrial plants and labs where the Department of Energy (DOE) develops and maintains the nation's nuclear weapons. Although illegal, retaliation was a constant risk.

But these days, DOE whistle-blowers are doing a little retaliating of their own — in court.

DOE and its contractors face lawsuits filed nationwide by an array of whistle-blowers. The suits — no one tracks how many there are — seek back pay, damages and other remedies for alleged damage to the whistle-blowers' careers after they complained about bad management or unsafe working conditions.

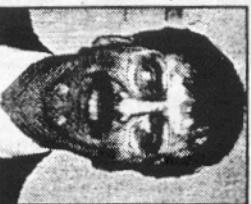
In a remarkable turn of events, O'Leary, who ran the agency they're suing until January 1996, is emerging as a key witness for their side. In sworn, videotaped testimony to air today in the Joe Carson case, O'Leary talks of the "hostile relationships" between whistle-blowers and the DOE.

O'Leary says she became aware of retaliatory actions against whistle-blowers soon after taking over the department in January 1993. She says whistle-blowers told her of having their cars forced off the road and of threats whispered into their ears.

as they left to go home.

And she explains how employees lost the security clearances required to do their jobs.

"This withdrawal of security was used as a reprisal," she says. "I thought the government was in deep trouble in that it could not hear any opposition or any questioning."



USA TODAY
Carson: Case in court today

Two years ago, largely at O'Leary's behest, DOE established an Office of Employee Concerns to handle whistle-blower complaints. That office has resolved about 80% of the 1,000 or so complaints it has received without legal action. It has cut DOE court costs by 30%, or \$500,000.

The department also is getting more involved in complaints lodged by employees of DOE contractors, who handle most of the department's operations.

"We're moving in the right direction," says Bill Lewis, who heads the Office of Employee Concerns. Energy Secretary Federico Pena "has made it pretty clear that these issues remain a priority."

Among the cases pending:

► Larry Cornett is seeking a federal injunction ordering DOE to freeze payment to the contractor that fired Cornett after he charged that the contractor suppressed findings on radioactive contamination in a waste management study.

► James Bailey, a courier who transports nuclear material for DOE, is awaiting action on a complaint alleging that he was forced out of his job for raising concerns about radiation exposure in his duties.

► Testimony's Impact, 1A

O'Leary admits whistle-blowers face reprisal

By Peter Eisler
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — In a remarkable, videotaped deposition to air today in federal court, former Energy secretary Hazel O'Leary says workers who expose flaws at nuclear weapons plants and labs regularly are harassed and undermined by their bosses.

There "has been a practice of repeated and long-term reprisal that visits (a whistle-blower) in the place he or she is most vulnerable" by "questioning the employee's competence," O'Leary testifies.

Federal law bars retaliation against whistle-blowers, and the Department of Energy and its contractors face a spate of suits alleging violations.

O'Leary's testimony, obtained by USA TODAY, has implications beyond the case for which it was given — a suit by Joseph Carson, a DOE safety inspector who says his career was ruined by raising concerns about the Oak Ridge nuclear weapons site in Tennessee.

O'Leary's testimony offers high-level corroboration for whistle-blowers' complaints.

"This takes the genie out of the bottle," says Robert Seldon,

Carson's lawyer, of Project LAW, a group that represents whistle-blowers. "You've got a Cabinet secretary testifying under oath that the DOE ... systematically violates the rights of its employees. This testimony could be used in every whistle-blower case against DOE."

It is rare for a former Cabinet secretary to testify against his or her own agency.

Carson says DOE managers cut his duties and ordered his transfer after he alleged, among other things, that a worker was crushed by an illegal hoist and a welder died unnecessarily in a fire.

The DOE says Carson is a disgruntled worker who was properly disciplined for violating reporting procedures and harassing colleagues.

O'Leary, Energy secretary from 1993-96, initiated reforms to protect whistle-blowers.

DOE officials say they've made great progress in addressing a culture of reprisal.

But O'Leary, in an interview, says problems remain. "These are important issues that deserve the light of day," she says of her testimony. "The old way, I suspect, is slipping back."

► Whistle-blower suits, 7A

FBI whistle-blower feels vindicated

■ Scientist spent decade complaining about lab's rush to judgment before probe found deficiencies.

By Carol D. Leonnig
KNIGHT-RIDDER NEWSPAPERS



Frederic Whitehurst's love for the precision of science turned him into the FBI's albatross.

WASHINGTON — Many times in his career as the FBI's top explosives expert, Frederic Whitehurst found himself torn between the science he cherished and the criminal convictions his bosses wanted.

Always, Whitehurst said, he stood by the science.

Even when his tests failed to show a clear answer, or when they hinted that the bureau's suspect might be the wrong person. Even, he said, when his bosses at the FBI's respected crime laboratory got angry that his reports weren't helping put bad guys in jail.

"One guy told me, 'You either rewrite that report or we'll get a bright college student in here to replace you,'" Whitehurst recalled.

His love for the precision of science turned Whitehurst into the bureau's albatross.

For 10 years, he complained to each rung of the Justice Department's management, searching for someone to address his concern that the lab was rushing to judgment in such major cases as the World Trade Center and Oklahoma City bombings. His supervisors considered Whitehurst a rigid know-it-all whose standards were impossibly high.

Now, with an inspector general's report supporting his complaints of seriously flawed lab reports, Whitehurst has become a whistle-blower's hero.

FBI Deputy Director William Esposito said the bureau plans to hire an outside scientist to run the lab and have an outside review team monitor the creation of new lab procedures.

"I'm elated," said Whitehurst, a 49-year-old Greenville, N.C., native with a doctorate in chemistry from Duke University. "They chose to attack me and not seriously look at the problem (before). Now they have to look."

His judgment questioned

But Whitehurst has not been completely vindicated. While the report upheld some of Whitehurst's important allegations, it also found that many of his serious charges that former lab colleagues engaged in perjury, fabri-

cation of evidence and conspiracy were groundless.

The inspector general also raised questions about Whitehurst. Calling Whitehurst a "complex" person, the inspector general said Whitehurst "lacks the judgment and common sense necessary for a forensic examiner, notwithstanding his own stated commitment to objective and valid scientific analysis."

Nevertheless, the systemic flaws that Whitehurst helped uncover at the lab — many stemming from reports that he passed along for dozens of colleagues — will probably throw into question thousands of past, current and future cases.

"The entire justice system of America has been compromised," said Bill Moffett of the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers. "One man stood up

alone, against enormous pressure ... to show us the cover-up."

Whitehurst said the FBI will need to review tens of thousands of cases. "This is the minor tip of the iceberg," he says.

That kind of demand is just like Whitehurst, an exacting man who wants a full picture, no matter how intricate the details, or how costly or time-consuming the search.

What might be surprising is that Whitehurst wants more than anything to return to his job at the crime lab. He was put on administrative leave with pay in late January, after the inspector general's preliminary report suggested his whistle-blowing had some merit. His wife, Cheryl, still works at the bureau.

"I will return to that lab," he said. "I best served my country in that lab."

Whether he'll be able to return appears doubtful, however. The inspector general said it was virtually impossible for Whitehurst to come back to the lab because of the "considerable harm" he has caused to the reputations of innocent people.

In a recent three-hour interview in his lawyer's Washington office, Whitehurst talked of his excitement before joining the FBI in

1982. An agent friend gave him a tour through the crime lab.

"It was a dream," Whitehurst said. "They had every piece of equipment you could ever want."

Whitehurst had just finished his doctorate. Earlier, he served three combat tours in Vietnam.

He immediately loved the lab challenge — "digging for things you can't see."

He noticed the lab was sloppy, though, and was surprised to find that agents with English degrees — not scientists — were interpreting data in court.

The inspector's report said Whitehurst appears difficult to work with and unable to compromise on inconsequential matters.

"I will not work well with a man who points a finger in my face and suggests I lie in a court of law," Whitehurst said. "I don't think anybody would fault me for that."

N.Y. police named in brothel scandal

■ Precinct praised for Times Square rebound had officers who patronized prostitutes, Giuliani says.

By Dan Barry

THE NEW YORK TIMES

NEW YORK — For as long as 15 years, New York City police officers at the precinct responsible for eradicating much of the tawdriness from Times Square frequented a neighborhood brothel — in uniform and while on duty — for free sex, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and police officials acknowledged Friday.

After a while, investigators say, the brothel's madam became so concerned about having a uniformed presence among her clients that she made her apartment available to those carrying police badges. There, investigators say, on-duty officers from the Midtown South precinct relaxed, had sex with prostitutes and made telephone calls to their homes.

Some officers from Midtown South also patronized a massage parlor that tended to move to vari-

ous locations within their Manhattan precinct, investigators say. At least one visit was memorialized by the parlor's video-surveillance camera, which filmed police officers entering the establishment and demanding sex, say investigators. They say that the film footage is now in their custody.

So far, 19 officers and a sergeant from the Midtown South precinct have been confined to desk duty, their badges and guns confiscated, on administrative charges that they frequented the brothel, officials said. Three other precinct supervisors, including the commanding officer and the executive officer, have been reassigned.

In addition, the police department's internal affairs bureau and the Manhattan district attorney's office are investigating the possible criminal links between officers from Midtown South, with headquarters at 357 West 35th St., and the

brothel, which until a year ago operated just four blocks away, above a store at 355 West 39th St.

Police Commissioner Howard Saafir revealed details of the case at a late-night news conference Thursday, because, he said, a newspaper was about to publish a story about it. "And I thought it was much more important to the public and to the department that we get our message out very clearly, unfiltered and unedited," he said Friday.

Several investigators said Friday that they were disappointed by the decision to go public. They said that the investigation was on the cusp of expanding, thanks to a recent break in the case: the cooperation of at least one of the implicated police officers.

"How far does it go? Were there other crimes being committed? Were higher-ups involved?" asked one investigator, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "Now we'll never know."

But Robert Morgenthau, the Manhattan district attorney, praised the department's internal-

affairs operation and maintained that investigators would continue trying to identify all of the officers involved. "The investigation is going to be aggressive and pursued intensively," he said.

Investigators said that the implicated police officers could face felony charges of falsifying records and bribery — for receiving a sex act in exchange for not enforcing the law — as well as official misconduct, a misdemeanor.

During a sometimes-testy news conference at City Hall on Friday afternoon, Giuliani and Saafir sought to emphasize what they said were the positive aspects of the case.

"This is a 10- to 15-year-old situation," Giuliani said. "We caught it. About the only thing you can honestly say is this administration did a better job than was done in the last 10 to 15 years in finding out about this."

"There is a business called reflexive, knee-jerk criticism, and you can do that if you want," the mayor added.

CBS prepares for full-scale war

CBS and Dan Rather were caught Friday in a "Wag the Dog" moment, and the mass media hardly even blinked. Since the movie came out, it seems we've blinded ourselves even more to the difference between fiction and real news. Aliens could attack, and we'd think it was a "War of the Worlds" broadcast. A White House intern could make unsubstantiated charges against the president, and we'd take it as gospel. Perhaps we're so cynical we don't even care to discern the difference anymore.

Here are the basics — CBS, in testing a closed-circuit link between its Washington and New York bureaus, accidentally broadcasted a "rehearsal" between anchor Rather and Pentagon correspondent David Martin to a communications satellite. News stations and people with access to Satellite G4 saw what they thought was a war with Iraq, complete with "live footage" of an attack on Baghdad. CBS wowed the lucky viewers with 3-D graphics showing cruise missiles and their routes and targets. Rather reported it was not known how many casualties there were. A CBS staffer admitted in the *Los Angeles Times*, "If I'd seen the report, I would have thought we were at war."

Perhaps this was a foreshadowing of what is to come — a viewer said Rather assured viewers could now get back to the Grammys — which won't air until the Feb. 25 — and CBS would return with updates.

Unless CBS has an inside source in the government and knows something we don't, just what does it think it was doing? CBS spokeswoman Kerri Weitzberg claimed it was simply testing new graphics and theme music just in case a war occurred. How reassuring. Do we even get an anthem as they did in "Wag the Dog?"

An event such as Rather being caught "practicing" for a war cries for some serious media criticism. Doesn't it bother *anyone* that CBS already has computer graphics and theme music for a war that doesn't exist? The mass media simply had a good laugh about CBS' "embarrassment" and essentially said "whoops!" No one seemed to question the disturbing premise that CBS is ready with pre-made graphics, and Rather is ready with a

solemn voice to deliver pre-written news to the gullible public.

Maybe we shouldn't be surprised. According to "Unreliable Sources," a book by Martin Lee and Norm Solomon, CBS was exposed in 1989 for having aired fake combat footage and false news reports about the war in Afghanistan a few years earlier. It had staged scenes of guerrilla warfare and turned footage of a Pakistani jet on a training run into a Soviet plane bombing villages. Seriously — who's wagging who here? Is the government manipulating the media? Are the media manipulating us? Why is the headline "U.S. Prepares for Air Strikes" next to "Peace Talks Continue in Iraq" on The Associated Press wires? Are we aiming for war or peace? Is it a mass conspiracy to "deceive, inveigle and obfuscate," as Agent Scully once theorized?

The government is obviously playing off lazy journalists, our collective amnesia and our lack of critical thinking skills to spin the news. In an interview with an Italian journal about Iraq, Noam Chomsky pointed out Saddam Hussein was grossly abusing his citizens when he was our favored ally and trading partner. After the Gulf War, we silently watched him crush the Iraqi democratic rebellion. Chomsky remarked we've been flagrantly ignoring U.N. resolutions since the 1970s, when we outwardly condemned the genocide in East Timor as we secretly sent arms to the Indonesian killers. He quotes from the memoirs of U.N. ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan, in which he gleefully recalls he rendered the United Nations "utterly ineffective in whatever measures it undertook."

In "Wag the Dog," Robert DeNiro and Dustin Hoffman repeatedly remark their media-created war must be real because they're watching it on television. *If we see* Rather listing American war casualties in Iraq and CBS' "live footage" of military action on television, is it real? How can we tell the difference anymore in the intellectually infantile, visually slick propaganda machine we call the media?

The fact is we have no clue what is real and what isn't nowadays, so turn off your television and expand your mind.



► LAURA
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is a senior
studying
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