

THE FOLEY REPORT 2015

THE **FOLEY**
INSTITUTE REPORT

The Thomas S. Foley Institute
for Public Policy and Public Service



1995-2015
Celebrating
Twenty Years



Director's Update

2015

is an important milestone in both the late Thomas Foley's career and for the Foley Institute, which continues his legacy of commitment to public service. It has been 50 years since Thomas Foley began his long and distinguished career in public service, when he was first elected to Washington's 5th congressional seat in 1965. It has also been 20 years since the Thomas S. Foley Institute was established here at Washington State University. In light of these anniversaries, I'd like to share with you some of the significant events in both Mr. Foley's career and in the evolution of the institute that bears his name.



Cornell Clayton

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The institute was established in 1995 at Washington State University to foster congressional studies, civic education, public service, and public policy research in a non-partisan, cross-disciplinary setting.

Distinguished Professors

Cornell W. Clayton,
 Thomas S. Foley Distinguished Professor
Travis N. Ridout,
 Thomas S. Foley Distinguished Professor

Advisory Board

Daryll DeWald, Dean, College of Arts and Sciences
M. Grant Norton, Dean, Honors College
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Patricia Glazebrook, Director, School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs
Chip Hunter, Dean, Carson College of Business

Senior Foley Fellows

Todd Donovan
James R. Simpson
Clive S. Thomas

Foley Faculty Fellows

Kimberly Christen,
 WSU Department of English
Carolyn Long,
 WSU School of Politics, Philosophy,
 and Public Affairs

Administration

Richard Elgar, Assistant Director
Meghan Swanson, Secretary Senior

The Foley Institute Report is published annually by Washington State University, PO Box 645910, Pullman, WA 99164-5910, for the Foley Institute.
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|------|---|------|--|
| 1965 | Thomas Foley first elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and served for 30 years until 1994 | 2001 | Edward P. Weber appointed third director of the institute |
| 1975 | Thomas Foley became Chair of the House Committee on Agriculture | 2004 | Alice O. Rice Graduate Fellowship established at the institute |
| 1987 | Thomas Foley elected House Majority Leader | 2008 | Cornell W. Clayton appointed fourth director of the institute
The Coffee & Politics series established |
| 1989 | Thomas Foley elected 57th Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives | 2010 | The annual Olympia policy symposium held in collaboration with the Washington Secretary of State's office began
Lance T. LeLoup Congressional Internship Scholarship established at the institute |
| 1993 | The Foley Distinguished Professorship of Government established at WSU | 2011 | The institute received a grant of \$215,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities to host a conference on the theme of Civility and American Democracy |
| 1994 | Thomas S. Foley defeated in close election by George Nethercutt | 2012 | Foley Institute moves into its new home in Bryan Hall, with a state of the art Speaker's Room for public events |
| 1995 | Thomas S. Foley Institute for Public Policy and Public Service established at WSU
Steven D. Stehr appointed first director of the institute
WSU Libraries receives Mr. Foley's papers | 2013 | The first endowed Foley Distinguished Lecture is established at the institute through an anonymous gift
Thomas S. Foley passes away in Washington, D.C. |
| 1997 | Thomas Foley appointed as 25th U.S. Ambassador to Japan
First graduate fellowships established at the institute (by Burlington Northern Foundation and Scott & Betty Lukins) | 2014 | The Sam Reed Distinguished Professorship in Civic Education and Public Civility is established at the institute |
| 1998 | Lance T. LeLoup appointed second director of the institute | | |
| 1999 | First undergraduate scholarships established at the institute (by John & Ardith Pierce) | | |
| 2000 | Congress recognized Mr. Foley's career in public service with a \$2.25 million endowment to provide permanent funding for the institute | | |

I hope you find these highlights from the institute's history interesting and informative. The Foley Institute has accomplished a lot during its first 20 years at WSU. Please read on to find out more about what the institute has been up to this past year. Thank you for your continued interest and support. We hope you enjoy hearing about how we have been striving to continue Tom Foley's amazing legacy of public service and his belief in the importance of public education.

—Cornell Clayton, Director

Foley Institute *news*



New Secretary Senior

In 2015, **Meghan Swanson** was hired to be the new secretary senior at the institute. Meghan graduated from Washington State University in 2011 with a bachelor of arts in English. She relocated to Pullman from Ridgefield, WA, where she worked as a senior library assistant for the Fort Vancouver Regional Library

District. She is a great addition to the institute's staff.



Foley Fellow

Dr. Carolyn Long, associate professor of political science at Washington State University Vancouver, was appointed as a Foley Faculty Fellow. She is the academic lead on the institute's Initiative for Public Deliberation in southwest Washington. Read more about the initiative on page 7.

2015 Foley Interns

Welcome to this year's interns, Bekah Young and Jake Montaña.

Rebekah (Bekah) Young is a senior majoring in political science. She is minoring in economics and sociology, and hopes to pursue a career in law. **Jacob (Jake) Montaña** is a senior double-majoring in political science and criminal justice. He is minoring in sociology and Spanish and plans to attend law school after graduation.



Rebekah and Jacob's duties at the Foley Institute include marketing Foley events, recording and photographing visiting speakers, assisting WSU's Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections department with digitizing media from Thomas Foley's congressional records, and more.

The Foley on YouTube

Unable to make it to Pullman or Spokane for one of our events? Search for the Foley Institute channel on YouTube to see videos of past talks, forums, and more. The institute is also live streaming events. Keep an eye out on our Facebook page and Twitter for announcements regarding live streaming.

Watch us on



The Foley Institute: Celebrating 20 Years

Thomas S. Foley served the people of the U.S. Fifth Congressional District, which includes Spokane and much of eastern Washington, for over 30 years. He lived and worked from a set of principles that defined his political legacy: civility, honesty, and integrity.

Toward the end of Mr. Foley's congressional career, the idea of establishing a Foley Institute at Washington State University evolved out of discussions between WSU's then-President Sam Smith, John Pierce (then Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, and a former legislative staff member to Mr. Foley), Speaker Foley and Heather, his wife and long-time chief of staff.

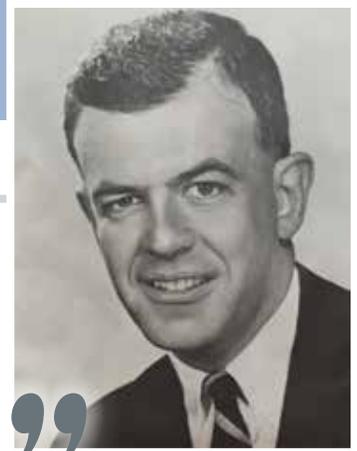
The day after the 1994 election, Foley spoke to President Smith. During that conversation, Smith asked for Mr. Foley's congressional papers and Speaker Foley agreed to commit them to WSU.

Housing the Foley archives proved to be a massive undertaking. Not only were all of the papers to be gathered from Spokane, Washington, D.C., and elsewhere, for storage at WSU's Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, but WSU also acquired Foley's office furnishings and extensive collection of memorabilia, all of which needed to be housed at WSU. That same year, a consensus around the name of the institute was arrived at: The Thomas S. Foley Institute for Public Policy and Public Service.

The institute was supported at this time with funding from the WSU President's Office and the College of Liberal Arts. There was no full-time staff and only a small office on the fourth floor of Johnson Tower. The institute's budget and functions continued to be limited until it received a Congressional endowment in 2000 which enabled it to begin a more robust set of programs.

“In a cynical age, I still believe that we must summon people to a vision of public service.”

—The Honorable Thomas S. Foley



The Foley Institute Today

Speaker Foley's hope to have a “living, breathing place” for students to gather materialized when the institute moved to the third floor of WSU's historic Bryan Hall in 2012. Today, guests enter a well-lit, welcoming space with comfortable furnishings and prominent memorabilia from Foley's career. Down a hallway is the Speaker's Room, where guest lecturers speak to students, faculty, and community members on a very wide range of topics.

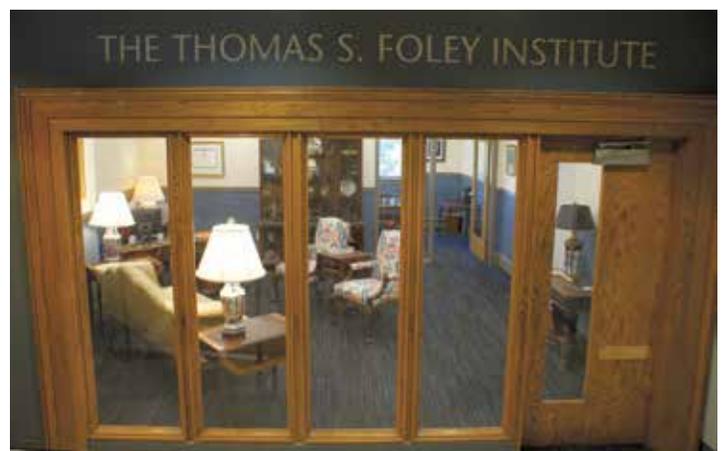
The intimate “Coffee and Politics” talks in the Speaker's Room are just a part of the institute's public education programs. The institute hosts dozens of lectures and forums on all of WSU's campuses and elsewhere across the state, and these are attended each year by thousands of people.

Cornell Clayton, the current director of the Foley Institute, works as an ambassador on behalf of the institute and seeks to ensure that the institute's events are informative, fair, and provoke critical thought about public policy and the function of democratic institutions.

The institute is committed to broad, cross-platform



Bryan Hall



The Foley Institute Lobby

discussions as the best way to inform public policy debates. Clayton says, “Public policy is complicated. Science, economics, culture, and social change are connected in complex ways. The Foley Institute is perfectly positioned to help decision-makers speak and think across political, disciplinary, and cultural boundaries.”

The academic reach of the Foley Institute is as wide-ranging as its public education programs and embraces just about every academic subject. Graduate student fellows, senior researchers, and professors from nearly every discipline work with the institute to examine critical issues of policy and public significance.



WSU student interns in Olympia

Many students have gained experience in public service through internships with the institute over the years. There have been Foley interns in local, county, state, and national government; in diplomacy, law enforcement, the courts, political action groups, and at an array of research organizations. The institute has focused particularly on internships in Olympia and Washington, D.C., and supports students with scholarships available on a need basis.



Christopher Hitchens

It has inspired scores of students to pursue careers in public service through its internships and scholarships. And it has fostered informed public policy debate by organizing formal and informal political gatherings, multi-disciplinary symposia, and citizen forums.

Marking 20 Years of Service

The Foley Institute has delivered on its promise to advance public affairs education and public service careers, promote political civility, and foster a better understanding of the challenges facing our nation today through its many programs.

The institute has hosted hundreds of speakers, from John Ashcroft to Angela Davis, and from Seymour



The Foley Archives

Foley's extensive congressional archive is stored and curated at WSU's Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections in the Holland Library. The legislative files, correspondence, office files, and media materials, documenting 30 years of Mr. Foley's work, are available to the public and the institute supports researchers who utilize the papers. Several doctoral dissertations have been based on the materials

from the Foley archive, including that of Kenton Bird, associate professor at the University of Idaho, who says "The Foley papers are a treasure trove for historians of American and Washington state politics in the second half of the 20th Century."



Speaker Foley being sworn in

Thomas Foley's effective, bipartisan work ethic propelled him from attorney, to the U.S. House

of Representatives, to one of our nation's finest statesmen. His personal honesty and integrity, as well as his willingness to work across the aisle stands as a poignant reminder of what makes a great political leader. WSU's Foley Institute was built in the spirit that characterized Mr. Foley's life and career, and continues his work of fostering an informed citizenry and effective representational government.

Let's Talk

Initiative for Public Deliberation in Southwest Washington

A Foley Institute and WSU Vancouver Collaboration

In many areas of the country, citizens perceive politics as overly partisan, improperly influenced by external interests, and dominated by advocates from the extreme ends of the ideological spectrum. Because of this toxic environment, many people refrain from participation and become disengaged from civic life. This is reflected in low voting rates, people withdrawing from political activities, and a decline in the community of associations that once brought people together. One way to address what many refer to as a “democratic deficit” is for Washington State University to take the lead in creating an environment to help facilitate a more effective and less polarized civic discourse.

On February 26, 2015, the Foley Institute, in partnership with WSU Vancouver, launched the Initiative for Public Deliberation (IPD), a program designed to provide citizens of southwest Washington with moderated public forums to address important issues of local, state, or national interest. The intention was to create a public space for the discussion of community beliefs and values, and deliberation and action on important policy issues of the day.

The IPD is dedicated to improving public communication and community problem-solving, and reflects the idea that citizens are “problem solvers and co-creators of public goods” not just clients or consumers of government actions. From the onset, it was envisioned that the community voice would be an integral part of the conversation and the key to translating beliefs and values into public policy situations.

The infrastructure for the IPD was provided in a class taught by Dr. Carolyn Long, Foley Faculty Fellow, in spring 2015, titled Public Discourse in a Time of Incivility: Training and Practice. Reflecting on the class, Sean Philbrook, who will be one of two IPD interns in the fall, noted, “Dr. Long’s class opened my eyes to the intricacies of working through local political and social issues. Rather than continuing the fruitless lecture-style communication between elected officials and their constituents, the Initiative for Public Deliberation seeks to break down those barriers, to remove titles and hierarchy, and to encourage deliberative democracy through meaningful conversation. The class itself is structured on a theory-to-practicum model in which students initially learn about the history and practice of civic engagement in the United States, and are then trained on the strategies of group facilitation.”

The mission of the Initiative for Public Deliberation is to promote the development of a vibrant deliberative democracy in southwest Washington.



Citizens talk in Vancouver in April 2015

At the initiative’s launch, former Washington Secretary of State Sam Reed delivered the keynote speech, where he discussed the challenges with public discourse today and reflected on some of the ways he was able to reach consensus while he held public office.

The IPD later hosted two major deliberation events in the spring, supported by the Community Foundation for Southwest Washington, the Foley Institute, WSU Vancouver, and Identity Clark County. The first event, on the issue of affordable housing, was a series of

six forums in southwest Washington, in which 262 citizens from the Battleground, Camas, Carson-Skamania, Clark, Longview, and Vancouver areas participated.

The forums yielded rich, new data and options for addressing the local affordable housing crisis, the “trade-offs” each option entailed, and reflection about how the community could find common ground. As Philbrook noted, “Many of the skills I learned are applicable in my work and in my relationships. Students learned the art of active listening and passionate impartiality, as well as how to watch for body language cues. This class is unlike any other available on the WSU Vancouver campus. Its model of expedited theory-to-practicum works. I absolutely loved it.”

The second deliberation event was the Southwest Washington Community Summit on College Access. Two hundred citizens gathered at the WSU Vancouver campus to discuss access to higher education.



Student facilitators of the IPD



Citizens talk in Battleground in March 2015

The IPD is already planning its next steps, partnering with the Fort Vancouver Regional Library District to train library staff and community members on our approach to deliberative democracy and facilitation techniques.

The training, co-sponsored by the FVRLD and the IPD, is an effort to build a civic infrastructure to more easily pursue deliberative events in the future.

As Jackie Spurlock, branch manager of the Vancouver Community Library, commented, “libraries and universities, with their common interest in building an informed citizenry, appear to be the perfect team when it comes to public deliberation. The FVRLD seized an opportunity to collaborate with IPD. We plan to continue the partnership, building our infrastructure and capacity for civic engagement in southwest Washington.”



Training takes place in the Vancouver Community Library

Undergraduate Internships & Graduate Fellowships

Thanks to the generous support of donors each year, the Foley Institute is able to offer scholarships to our interns, including the Lance LeLoup Congressional Scholarship for internships in the U.S. Congress. Please contact us or visit us online at foley.wsu.edu if you would like to know more or are interested in contributing to our scholarship funds.

Undergraduate Internships

We would like to thank our Foley Institute interns **Stephanie Logan**, **Jamal Fakhreddine**, and **Rebekah Young** who assisted in the institute's daily operations this past academic year. You can read about Stephanie's later internship in Washington, D.C. on page 17.



L-R: Cornell Clayton, Rebekah Young, and Jamal Fakhreddine



Stephanie George



A number of Foley Institute interns worked for the Cougar Lobby Team at WSU this past year. The team included **Samantha Arnold** (who also interned with BallotPath), **Joseph Kelstrup**, **Dana Mydland**, and **Emily Strode**. **Austin Bonvallet** and **Julia Brokaw** interned at ASWSU Student Legal Services, and **Hayley Hohman** interned as ASWSU director for Legislative Affairs at WSU and in Olympia.

In Olympia, **Jeffrey McCrea**, **Adam Noorani**, and **Joseph Orf** participated in the Washington State Legislative program, while **Rebecca Shelley** was an intern at the Thurston County Prosecuting Attorney's Office.

Brady Penn interned for the Alaska Victory '14 Campaign in Anchorage. **Alejandro Castillo** was an intern at the Center for Justice in Spokane, **Stephanie George** spent the summer in the office of Congresswoman Cathy McMorris Rodgers in Washington D.C., and **Edward Traverso** interned for attorney Eraclides Gelman in Aventura, Florida.

Foley Graduate Fellows

The institute awarded six graduate fellowships for the 2014-15 academic year.

Pictured here are some of our graduate fellows, from left to right: Director Cornell Clayton, **Pip Sherwood** (Political Science), **Laci Mattix-Hubbard** (Political Science), **Melanie Thornton** (Environmental and Natural Resource Sciences), and **Brenden Higashi** (Political Science).

Fellowships were also awarded to **Ashley Colby Fitzgerald** (Sociology), and to **Lucas McMillan** (Political Science).



Foley Distinguished Lecture

Saving American Capitalism: The Truth About Jobs, Prosperity, and Economic Growth

Nick Hanauer, successful Seattle venture capitalist, civic activist, and self-professed plutocrat, gave the Foley Institute Distinguished Lecture on October 2 at WSU Pullman and a second lecture later in the day at the Fox Theater in Spokane.

Hanauer's lecture focused on growing economic inequality. He prefaced his remarks by noting that 46 million Americans — 15 percent of the population — live below the poverty level today, including one in four American children. Meanwhile, since 2008, the stock market's value has doubled, CEO salaries are at record highs, and, according to the Commerce Department, the after-tax profit of corporations topped \$1.7 trillion last year, the highest ever in both absolute terms and as a percentage of GDP.

Hanauer pointed out that even as the economy has been recovering, the massive wealth it produces continues to concentrate at the top and is not being distributed to the broad workforce that generates it. The figures are staggering, Hanauer said. Since the recession ended in June 2009, 95 percent of income gains have gone to the top 1 percent of Americans, while median incomes actually declined. The top 1 percent of Americans raked in 20 percent of all income earned in 2013 (up from 8 percent in 1973), while the bottom 50 percent saw their share of all income drop to just 16 percent. The top 1 percent now owns 40 percent of American wealth — stocks, property, cash, and other assets. The 400 richest Americans now own more assets than the 155 million at the bottom combined.



As most Americans continue to struggle, the wealthiest have increased their riches, Hanauer continued. Economists debate what has driven the unprecedented redistribution of income and wealth. Is it structural changes brought on by globalization and deindustrialization? Is it the impact of trickle-down economics policies (which, among other things, allowed CEO compensation to grow 127 times faster than worker wages since the 1980s)? But what is beyond dispute, Hanauer said, is that rising economic inequality is the central domestic challenge facing Americans.

Hanauer's main objective was to suggest the unprecedented polarization of income and shrinking middle class is a detriment to

everyone in the United States — even the very wealthiest of its citizens. Although successful capitalism is the greatest social technology ever invented to create prosperity, when left unchecked, it leads to the concentration of capital and eventual economic collapse. His suggestion was that instead of a trickle-down approach to our economy, we need to refocus our efforts on a “middle-out” form of economic policy that will strengthen the vanishing middle class. He called for change in the way Americans see the economy and how the wealth it generates is distributed.

Presented with support from the WSU College of Arts and Sciences, WSU Student Entertainment Board, and community partners Ron & Debbie Reed/PacifiCAD.

Public Lectures

Angela Davis

On January 22, **Angela Davis** visited WSU as part of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Day programming. The scholar, activist, and author is well-known as a counterculture intellectual and activist of the 1960s. Her particular interests are civil rights, feminism, and prison reform. She was famously jailed for charges relating to a prison escape attempt, though she was ultimately cleared of those charges.

Davis discussed today's problems with race and police violence. She urged people to come together and see issues like police violence and criminal justice reform from a "colorblind" perspective so that society can move together toward equality.



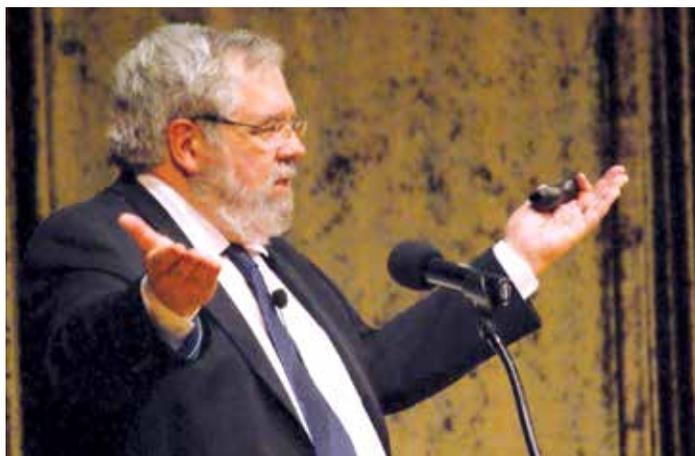
The Rights of Indigenous Peoples in the Contemporary World

James Anaya is a former United Nations special rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and is currently James J. Lenoir Professor of Human Rights Law and Policy at the University of Arizona. He spoke at WSU Spokane on February 12 about the UN's Declaration for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Anaya, one of the declaration's authors, discussed the factors leading to an "implementation gap"

around the declaration. He argued that for centuries indigenous people have been cast as "stoic Indians" or "bloodthirsty savages," and that these stereotypes continue to have a negative impact on the rights of indigenous people and in some cases, have prevented implementation of rights under the UN declaration.



Taxing the Many to Give to the Few: How Government Creates Inequality



David Cay Johnston, author and investigative journalist who was awarded the 2001 Pulitzer Prize for reporting on U.S. corporate tax policy, spoke at the Fox Theatre in Spokane and at WSU Pullman on February 18 and 19. Johnston discussed his most recent book *Divided*, which examines the massive rift in wealth between the top 1% of the United States and the rest of society.

He suggested tax policies have had much to do with growing inequality as large corporations and wealthy individuals receive tax subsidies while the major burden of all taxes fall on people from lower income brackets. Johnston discussed his investigation into how tax breaks are exploited by major corporations.

Co-sponsored with the HOOPS Institute of Taxation Research & Policy, WSU, with support from the WSU Carson College of Business, and Ron & Debbie Reed/ PacifiCAD

Public Symposia *Olympia/Pullman*

Polling and the Pollsters

The Foley Institute continued its collaboration with the **Washington Secretary of State's Office** to host the sixth annual public policy symposium in the state capitol on February 27.

This year's symposium was introduced by Secretary of State **Kim Wyman**. The panel of experts discussed how politicians, political parties, and interest groups employ pollsters to shape their messaging and argue for their preferred policies. Panelists included **Kathy Frankovic**, former director of surveys, CBS News; **H. Stuart Elway**,

president, Elway Research Inc.; and **Todd Donovan**, professor of political science and Foley Fellow, Western Washington University. The panel was moderated by **Melissa Santos** of the Tacoma News Tribune.



Washington Secretary of State
Kim Wyman



L-R: H. Stuart Elway, Kathy Frankovic, Todd Donovan,
and Melissa Santos

The wide-ranging discussion also touched on the way that political polarization has interacted with polling. Frankovic noted that because of polarized attitudes, opinion polls have become less helpful in determining public policy choices. Elway explained the way technological advances have changed how polling is conducted, and Donovan discussed how surveys can create media attention and produce a "bandwagon effect." All of the panelists discussed how survey data is misused in politics today and the proper role of polls in public life.

Media & Politics Symposium

Speaking for the President: The Role of the White House Press Secretary

The Foley Institute's sixth annual Media & Politics Symposium was held on April 16. Cosponsored with the Murrow College of Communication, this year's event focused on the challenges faced by White House press secretaries. The panel featured former White House press secretary for George W. Bush, **Scott McClellan**, as well as **Robert Mann**, Douglas Manship Chair of Journalism at Louisiana State University, and **Lawrence Pintak**, dean of the Murrow College and a former reporter for CBS News.

Scott McClellan, now vice president at Seattle University, began the discussion by recounting the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, and the events that led up to his becoming the White House press secretary in 2003. He described his experiences with the press during the controversial and politically challenging time of the U.S. invasion of Iraq. Mann and Pintak both recounted some of their experiences as correspondents covering presidential politics and the importance of the trust relationship between journalists and the White House press secretary.



Pictured L-R: Scott McClellan, Robert Mann, and
Lawrence Pintak

Environmental Policy

Poison Everywhere: The Ethics, Law, and Policy Regulation of Environmental Toxicants

The fourth annual Science, Ethics, and Public Policy Symposium, focusing on environmental toxicants, was held on September 24.

Carl Cranor, distinguished professor of philosophy at the University of California Riverside, discussed the ethical and moral implications of untested chemicals found in many goods that are on the market and for which there are no legally required tests or regulations. **Michael Skinner**, professor of the School of Biological Sciences at WSU, shared his research findings showing that environmental toxicants that enter a body can be present generations later. **Raoul S. Lievanos**, assistant professor of sociology at WSU, discussed the role public policy plays in protecting citizens from harm and maintaining environmental justice.



The SEPP series works to link various research departments at Washington State University with external experts to provide discussion and insights into controversial issues at the crossroads of science and public policy.

The Need for an American Land Ethic

Walter Echo-Hawk, Justice of the Supreme Court of the Pawnee Nation, attorney, activist, and author, discussed the need for a new land and sea ethic within the United States during a lecture on September 17.

He argued that the “world is facing a grave environmental crisis as our nation begins to enter a new human rights era,” and listed six key elements that indicate the need for a land and sea ethic: the mass extinction of animals and plants, the destruction and degradation of native plant life, land pollution, ocean pollution, depletion of the world’s fisheries, and air pollution.



Keeping it Civil: Encouraging Rational Discussion of Climate Change

On April 22 (Earth Day), environmental activist **Alex Steffen** spoke on climate change issues, including rising global temperatures, a lack of biodiversity, and depleted natural resources during a talk cosponsored by the WSU Environmental Sustainability alliance.

Although there has been increased publicity in the United States about environmental concerns and sustainable communities, Steffen argued that green efforts are not currently marketed in ways that lead to effective change. “The campaign to combat climate change,” he said, “needs to be bigger than simply encouraging recycling or riding a bicycle to work.”



Washington State Politics

View from the U.S. House of Representatives

Congresswoman **Cathy McMorris Rodgers** visited Pullman on October 31 to discuss her work as U.S. Representative in Washington's Fifth Congressional District. After preliminary remarks, Congresswoman McMorris Rodgers opened the floor for questions from a standing-room-only crowd made up of faculty, staff, students, and community members.

The discussion covered topics ranging from gun control to the future of Obamacare. An opponent of the Affordable Care Act, Congresswoman McMorris Rodgers pointed out the aspects of the act she hoped would be debated, and perhaps changed, by Congress.

Congresswoman McMorris Rodgers was re-elected for another two-year term in November 2014, defeating Democratic challenger Joe Pakootas of Colville.



Challenger for the House

On September 24, congressional Democratic candidate **Joe Pakootas** visited Pullman. Pakootas was the challenger to Cathy McMorris Rodgers for the seat in Washington's Fifth Congressional district. Pakootas discussed his experience as former chairman of the Colville Tribal Council, as the current CEO of the Colville Tribal Federal Corporation, and tried to dispel what he said were some common misconceptions about Native Americans.

He expressed his concern about poverty and rising income inequality, as well as natural resources and environmental issues. Pakootas said that his motivation to run for public office was to create a better world for his children and grandchildren.



L-R: Rep. Joe Schmick, Senator Mark Schoessler, Rep. Susan Fagan

Legislative Update

The institute welcomed Washington's House of Representatives District 9 delegation in the Washington State Legislature, for our annual legislative session preview on December 9.

State Representatives **Joe Schmick** and **Susan Fagan** joined Senator **Mark Schoessler** to discuss the issues on the agenda for the 2015 legislative session, including the questions surrounding the biennial budget and university tuition rates.



Coffee & Politics

— politics in the U.S. —

When the Honeymoon Ends: The Romance (and Reality) of Marriage Inequality Litigation

On April 23, **Alison Gash**, assistant professor of political science at the University of Oregon, spoke about civil rights and same-sex marriage, focusing on the cases before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Gash explained how same-sex marriage as a political issue is commonly misperceived as being driven by special-interest groups at the national level. However, there are several other factors that have influenced the political climate around same-sex marriage, she argued. For example, before same-sex marriage was legalized anywhere in the United States, gay couples were already able

to adopt children and co-parent in many states. With a majority of these cases being in family court, they were “below the radar,” which was the inspiration for the title of Gash’s book, *Below the Radar: How Silence Can Save Civil Rights*.



The Most Famous Political Ad Ever? The Daisy Girl

Louisiana State University professor **Robert Mann** spoke on April 16, and discussed the history of political advertising and his 2011 book that examined the famous Daisy Girl advertisement the Lyndon Johnson campaign ran against Barry Goldwater in 1964.

Describing it as “the most famous political ad ever,” the Daisy Girl ad showed a young girl picking the leaves off of a daisy just before the countdown to a nuclear explosion. Mann explained the importance and impact the ad had on the

campaign, and how it opened the way for short, televised political attack spots.

Although the ad has become famous, he noted evidence that shows it had little impact on actual voting in the 1964 election.

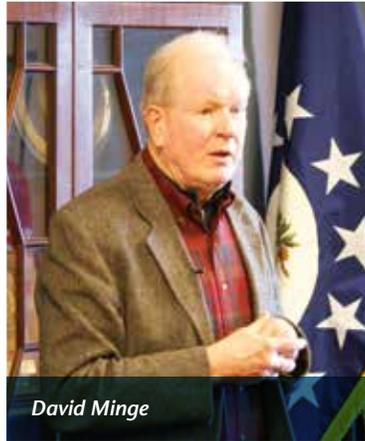


The Foley Institute’s Coffee & Politics series provides an informal setting to connect WSU students and faculty with local and national members of government, political scholars, and experts in public policy.

What is Wrong with Congress?



Charles Djou



David Minge

Former Congressmen **Charles Djou** (R-Hawaii) and **David Minge** (D-Minn.) spoke at the Foley Institute on March 4, presenting a bipartisan view about problems confronting Congress as an institution.

They described numerous difficulties with how Congress operates today, from bitter partisanship to the use of lengthy omnibus bills that get passed without being read.

The talk was casual and informative as the two congressmen regaled the audience with stories from their time in Congress. Djou explained how he made up his mind when voting on bills, while Minge discussed the difficulties he faced in attempting meaningful discussion with those of the opposing party.

Between the two former representatives and the audience's questions, there was much meaningful discussion about the current state of Congress, and possible solutions for fixing it.

How to Fix Congress

Greg Koger, associate professor of political science at the University of Miami, and **Peter Hanson**, assistant professor of political science at the University of Denver, visited WSU on April 9 to continue the discussion started by David Minge and Charles Djou (above): How do we fix Congress?

Koger suggested that the main problem with Congress is its inability to pass meaningful legislation. He said that legislators need more competition for their seats and increased transparency, both of which would allow the public to hold legislators more accountable for their policy decisions.



L-R: Greg Koger and Peter Hanson

Sitting in front of an audience of students, they described the major issues that plague Congress and proposed ways to make it more effective.

By contrast, Hanson said it might be helpful to have less transparency in Congress so members could more freely engage in negotiation and compromise across party lines, facilitating a more effective and less partisan process.

Cougar Pre-Law Day

Washington State Supreme Court Chief Justice **Barbara Madsen** was the keynote speaker for Cougar Pre-Law Day, organized by the Foley Institute, on September 26. She gave advice to students seeking careers in law, spoke about her own growth as a professional, and answered questions from students. The day also featured a law school admissions fair.





Coffee & Politics

global politics

Northern Irish Politics: From Bullets to the Peace Process



Jon McCourt, civil rights activist and former member of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), was welcomed to the institute on October 28 to speak about the complexities of Irish politics from the late 1960s through the 1990s. McCourt described his time as a member of the IRA during historical events like Bloody Sunday, captivating his audience. He detailed how both

sides eventually came to the unifying realization that the war has no easy end and that “even though the armed conflict might continue, there had to be another way.”

McCourt spoke about the process of de-escalating conflicts. Unless compromises were made, he said, it became clear that senseless violence would find no end. This viewpoint eventually led both sides to a ceasefire, and then to peace talks between the previously militant enemies.

The Anthropocene: Confronting Global Environmental Change and Hazardous Worlds

The Foley Institute cosponsored the EARTHs mini-conference on April 11. **Debra Davidson**, director of Resilient Urban Food Systems at the University of Alberta and lead author for a working group of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, was the keynote speaker. Davidson, along

with presenters from a variety of other disciplines, covered a range of topics including how human activity is contributing to climate change, environmental risk production, and the collective efforts to address or adapt to such problems.



Games Without Rules: Fight for Afghanistan

Afghan-American author **Tamim Ansary** spoke about his new book *Games Without Rules* during his visit to the Foley Institute on November 18.

The book provides an insider’s point of view of the power struggles within Afghanistan and the impact that wars



and foreign interventions have had on the country. Ansary focused his comments on the history leading up to U.S. involvement in Afghanistan.

Hong Kong: Behind the Protests and Beyond

On October 14, **Alejandro Reyes**, associate professor at the University of Hong Kong, spoke about democratic protests taking place in Hong Kong.

Reyes explained that the main protest group, Occupy Central with Peace and Love, was disorganized and lacked central leadership. This, combined with the “incompetent” Chinese government, made Reyes doubtful that a significant change would come about in Hong Kong’s government as a result of the protests. Reyes argued the movement should have focused more on policy issues rather than electoral issues in order to effect significant change.



LeLoup Congressional Scholar

by Stephanie Logan

I sat in the gallery of the House of Representatives, attentively listening to the debate on the floor. The bill under consideration was H.R. 1731, the National Cybersecurity Protection Advancement Act of 2015. Working for a top official in the Congressional Research Service, I had become intimately familiar with this legislation, poring over the bill's text and supporting documents for the past few months. I even co-authored a report which gave a side-by-side comparison of this bill and a similar bill, H.R. 1530. From my vantage point in the chamber, I watched the measure pass the House with bipartisan support. My excitement was short-lived, however, as I knew we still had our work cut out for us; the bill still had to go through the Senate. I grabbed a coffee and got back to work.

In order to understand how I came to be sitting in on this particular proceeding, it is important to rewind to January 2014 and the beginning of two donut-and-coffee-fueled semesters of interning at the Foley Institute. I worked on anything and everything that needed to be done, though with the camaraderie in the office, it hardly felt like work. One of the highlights of my time at the Foley Institute was hosting the speaker series – I loved the breadth of policy issues covered in these talks. Throughout my internship,

I became absolutely certain I wanted to pursue a career in public service. The knowledge and skills I gained, combined with the relationships fostered by the institute, truly set me on a path to academic and career success.

When it came time for me to think about what my plans were for my last semester of college, Richard Elgar and Dr. Cornell Clayton encouraged me to think about an

internship in Washington, D.C. With the help of the Foley Institute and Dr. Steven Stehr (associate professor in the WSU School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs), I landed an internship with the Congressional Research Service (CRS) working on cybersecurity issues. CRS is a nonpartisan, professional legislative agency that functions like Congress's



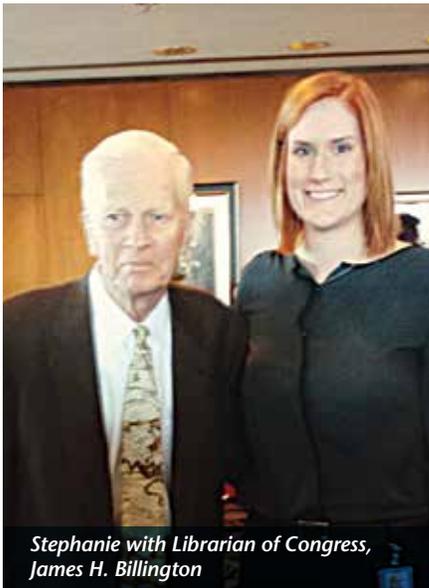
Stephanie Logan

own think tank and research arm. Fortunately, the Foley Institute awarded me the Lance LeLoup Congressional Scholarship, which really made the opportunity to live and work in D.C. possible.

I hit the ground running when I arrived in the other Washington. My boss, Eric Fischer, asked me to research federal agencies' roles in cybersecurity for a report to a congressional subcommittee. My research had to be fast, accurate, and precise. I learned the ways in which reports are painstakingly prepared and reviewed to ensure objectivity, verifiability, and reliability.

After my first week, I never stopped moving. Cybersecurity is a vast and rapidly evolving field, so I attended many hearings and briefings on Capitol Hill, conferences and events at think tanks around the District, and training sessions at CRS. As an intern, I had license to participate in as many learning opportunities as I could fit into my schedule, and I also assisted with research for congressional requests by compiling relevant articles and sources, comparing draft bills side-by-side, and accessing the Tor network.

Near the end of my semester-long internship at CRS, I was offered a job as a research assistant in the office. I was thrilled at the opportunity to continue with my research and involvement with the policy-making process, and I enrolled at American University to begin my master's in public administration in the fall of 2015. The opportunities afforded to me have been far beyond what I could have hoped, and I can attribute my success to the faculty of the Foley Institute, the School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs, and the Lance LeLoup Scholarship fund.



Stephanie with Librarian of Congress, James H. Billington

Foley Scholars

Michael Baumgartner

by Sam Rhodes

In 1995, Michael Baumgartner was an aspiring economics major at Washington State University in Pullman when he was awarded one of the first Foley student fellowships. Baumgartner, now in his second term as a Washington State Senator representing Spokane, recently spoke about how his time at WSU helped prepare him for a tough political environment. “Everything I learned at Washington State University prepared me well for life” he said.

The son of a WSU professor, Baumgartner grew up in Pullman and spent much of his life in and dedicated to higher education and education policy. In previous legislative sessions, Baumgartner championed bipartisan coalitions to maintain state support for higher education and ensure affordability and student access to the state’s university system.

Recently, Baumgartner worked closely with Governor Jay Inslee and a bipartisan group of legislators to prepare the way for establishing a new WSU medical school in Spokane. “The state really needs more than one medical school. It was just a matter of willpower.” Baumgartner found friends on both sides of the aisle, as well as the key support of the late President Elson S. Floyd, when drafting legislation to repeal a century-old law that precluded a second state medical school and would permit a new medical school to be established in Spokane. “It was a pleasure to work with Dr. Floyd. It was hard work, but I really enjoyed the process of helping set up the med school.”

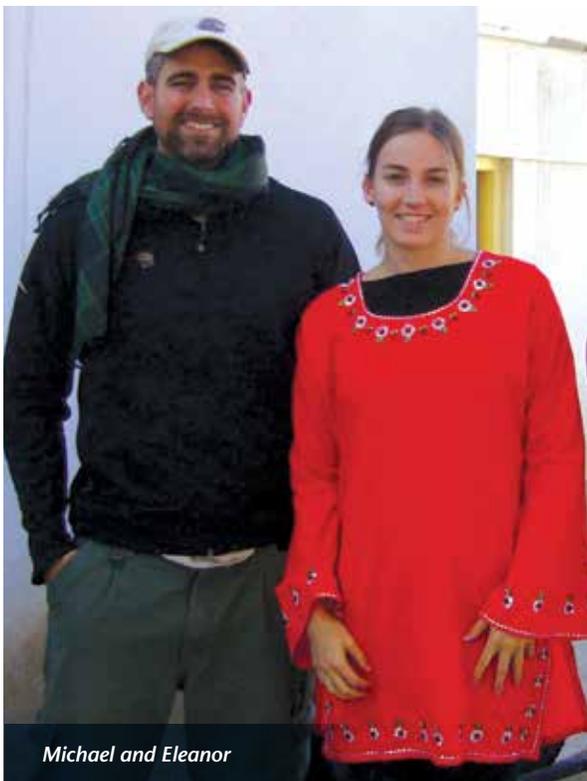


“Sometimes you learn more by going out into the world and serving others.”
—Michael Baumgartner

Aside from his abiding interest in education and fostering new opportunities for those in his district, Baumgartner has focused much of his career on international development and diplomacy. One of his first international experiences was developed with the help of Speaker Foley. In 1988, Foley’s office arranged a trip for 12-year-old Michael and his school’s basketball team to visit the former Soviet Union. This proved to be an eye-opening experience for the future diplomat and politician, as Baumgartner would use sports as a cultural bridge later in life.

After graduating from WSU in 1999, Baumgartner volunteered and taught in Mozambique with a group of Jesuit priests. The school where he volunteered lacked a formal athletics program, so Baumgartner founded and became the first coach of the women’s basketball team. Realizing that they needed uniforms and a team name, Baumgartner requested WSU jerseys from Pullman. He warmly recalled the experience. “It was so great, but the students and teachers in Mozambique kept asking me what a Cougar was. It required a little explanation.”

Later, Baumgartner would work as a diplomat in some of the world’s most dangerous and complicated hotspots. In Iraq, he served as the economic affairs officer with the U.S. State Department. He also worked on counter-narcotics operations in Afghanistan’s treacherous Helmand Province, where he met his future wife, Eleanor. Chuckling, he reflected on the unique experience. “If I was able to find love there, all things are possible.”



Michael and Eleanor

Baumgartner was quick to point out that his experience in the Middle East prepared him for politics back in the United States and working with people who come to the table with very different viewpoints. Baumgartner's service as the chair of the Senate's Commerce and Labor Committee, as well as serving as vice chair on the Higher Education Committee have been gratifying experiences for him. "I really enjoy my work on issues that matter," he said.

For Baumgartner, who went on to obtain a master's in public administration from Harvard, "higher education is a passion." While a teaching fellow at Harvard University, he met with Foley, who at that time was serving as U.S. Ambassador to Japan. Baumgartner recalls that Foley spoke with a sense of conviction



and urgency about the importance of diplomacy and the great satisfaction he had serving as an ambassador after leaving the House of Representatives.

Without diminishing the importance of formal schooling and scholastic achievement, Baumgartner also emphasized the importance for young people to seek out life experience. Remarking that college graduates would be well served by volunteering with the Peace Corps or Teach for America, Baumgartner feels

that "you learn by doing. This is on top of studying. Sometimes you learn more by going out into the world and serving others." Whether in the public or private sector, it's important to just "get out there and do it." Real rewards in life come when we "work on things bigger than ourselves."

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Meet our Community Partners

Ron & Debbie Reed by Sam Rhodes

Inside the Spokane kitchen of Ron and Debbie Reed is a large John F. Kennedy campaign poster from 1960. Ron, referencing the turbulence of the Vietnam War, the civil rights movement, and student protests, recognizes the difficult reality of the decade for so many Americans. "It was a hard time," he said, "everything was political then." For Ron and Debbie, the triumph of the sixties was the flourishing of individual rights and new forms of self-expression. The disappointment was that these did not grow in tandem with the sense of national community that existed then, a sense which has faded with time. "Every aspect of our culture has become concerned with the individual. Even in the sixties, we still viewed ourselves as part of a community, part of society."

In 1985 Ron founded PacifiCAD, an engineering software company that services major architectural firms throughout the Pacific Northwest. As the company celebrates its 30th anniversary, recently opening a new office in Seattle, the couple's business success has enabled them to advocate for renewing that sense of shared community and for a more active role for progressive business leadership. As a lifelong Eastern Washington resident, Ron feels his position as an industry leader in Spokane gave him a unique voice to address many of the challenges that confront the community today. He is quick to point out facts and statistics. "We have 76,000 people living at or below the poverty level in the Spokane area alone." As a person who

faced his own financial difficulties as a young man, Ron speaks fervently about the plight of the working poor. "These are people that face exponential difficulties. They have to get up and battle their way through every single day."

The Reeds, who have partnered with the Foley Institute to bring speakers and events to Washington State University and the Spokane community, speak in the dedicated vocabulary of community responsibility and business leadership. They feel that an informed and civil dialogue is the most effective way of connecting with others in society seeking change. "Ultimately, people need to know more," Ron said. "They need to know what is going on." During the past year, the Reeds made it possible for the Foley Institute to bring two major lectures to the Spokane community.

The first lecture, held in October 2014, was by millionaire entrepreneur, author, and civic activist Nick Hanauer (see page 9), who delivered a version of his popular TED talk, "Saving American Capitalism." The second lecture, held in February 2015, featured Pulitzer-Prize-winning journalist David Cay Johnston on "Taxing the many to give to the few: How government creates inequality" (see page 10), both at WSU Pullman and the Fox Theater in Spokane.

Besides partnering with the Foley Institute, the Reeds are advocates for a variety of progressive causes and organizations. Compelled to draw attention to climate

change, they spent their own money to make sure a local movie theater continued showing Al Gore's *An Inconvenient Truth* long past its scheduled run. Ron has testified to state legislators in Olympia on the potential of a privately funded, single-payer health insurance option for Washingtonians and been a champion of protecting and restoring endangered species.

Debbie, who serves on the board of directors of the Lands Council, discussed the responsibility she feels towards her community's environment. Her ancestors rode across the continent in wagons, spending their first Washington winter in a cave to avoid certain death. Peach, the community they helped settle, is now underwater due to the construction of the Grand Coulee Dam. "My heritage comes out of the land. It is a part of me."

Part of the Reeds' desire to support the Foley Institute is their belief in the importance of education. Ron speaks passionately about his old civics teacher, Mr. Engels. It was in his classroom that Ron first began to develop a sense of the value of community and importance of a healthy civic life. "He was a teacher that just grabbed you." Ron describes the erosion of the American civic community over the decades. "We live in a culture of greed today." Economic

elites hold an enormous amount of power, Ron concludes, and part of the role of public education is to help equalize the playing field and foster dialogue across all socioeconomic levels, "The fundamental culture in a community is based on the way everyone treats each other. It is a problem if the

powerful start to neglect those without the means," he said.

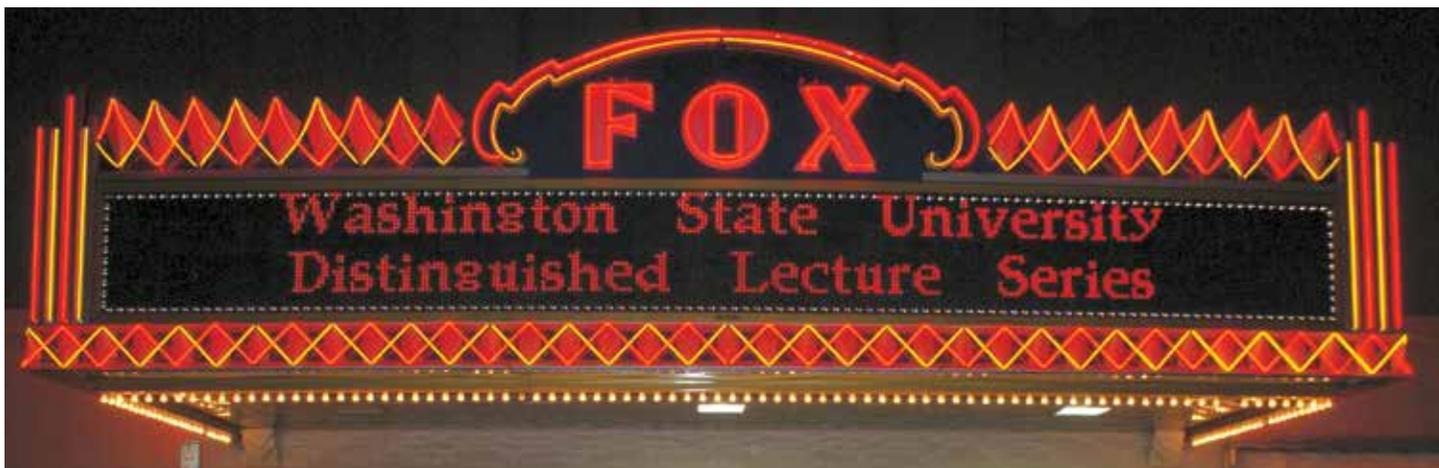
Debbie and Ron spoke in warm tones about Speaker Foley. He was "the salt of the earth" said Debbie. Ron echoed the importance of places like the Foley Institute on college campuses, to help encourage and foster greater substantive debate on important policy issues and to encourage young people to see the honor and importance of public service.

"Young people are huge," said Debbie, speaking about the need for organizations and speakers to connect with the budding political development of college students.

The awareness of young people, and the legacy that they will be left with, is close at heart to the Reeds. Ron reflected on Kennedy's call to the young people of his time. "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country." Just out of sight, the Reeds' grandchildren could be heard playing. "When I think about my grandchildren and their generation — that is what really woke me up."

“The fundamental culture in a community is based on the way everyone treats each other. It is a problem if the powerful start to neglect those without the means.”

—Ron Reed



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