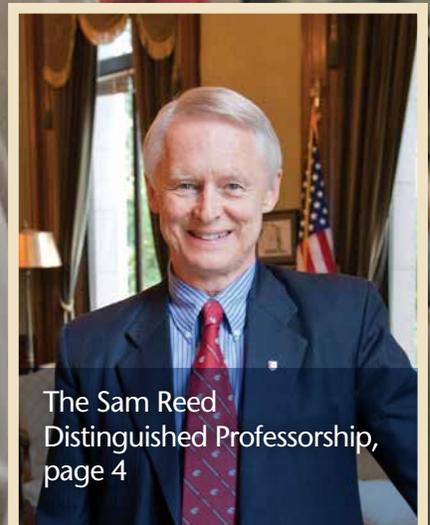
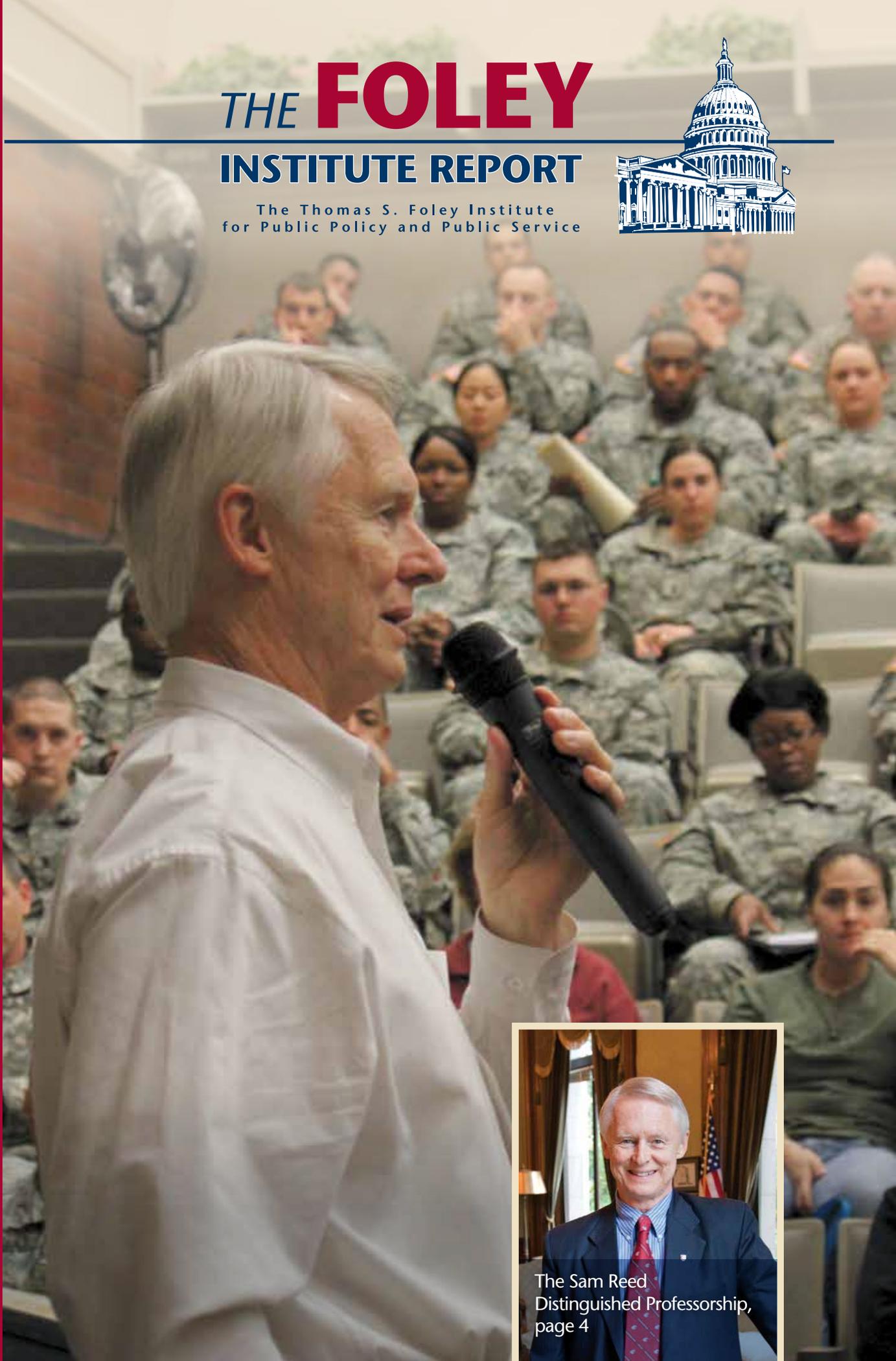


2014
THE FOLEY REPORT

THE **FOLEY**
INSTITUTE REPORT

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



The Sam Reed
Distinguished Professorship,
page 4

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The Foley Institute was established at Washington State University in 1995. The mission of the institute is to foster congressional studies, civic education, public service, and public policy research in a nonpartisan, cross disciplinary setting.

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on the cover

**Sam Reed speaking at
 Joint Base Lewis-McChord**

Director's Update



Cornell Clayton

In my director's update last year I noted that our best political leaders serve us well not only while in office but by leaving behind institutions that continue to advance the values and goals for which they fought. My comment was made in connection with the passing of Speaker Foley last year, and in light of the fact that the institute bearing his name will soon celebrate its 20th anniversary.

This year's cover story features another long-time Washington political leader, Sam Reed. Sam's legacy will also continue to live on at the Foley Institute with the establishment of the Sam Reed Distinguished Professorship in Civic Education and Public Civility.

Sam Reed served the citizens of the state of Washington with great distinction for more than three decades, including 12 years as Washington's fourteenth Secretary of State. Sam's passion for civic education is well known. He gives tirelessly of his time to educate the public, especially students and young people, about the virtues of democratic self-government and about various public policy issues of the day. As Secretary of State, he presided over Washington's closest and most bitterly contested election, during which he earned respect across the political aisle and an unparalleled reputation for his even-handedness, fairness, and civility.

Although Tom Foley and Sam Reed belonged to different political parties, they were both respected and well-liked by those on the other side of the aisle, something rare in today's politics. I am convinced that people often misunderstand what makes such political leaders so effective and beloved. It is not that they

eschew partisanship—Foley loved the Democratic Party, just as Reed was a loyal Republican—but they understood that democracy requires a refined approach toward those with whom we disagree. It requires us to treat their views and opinions respectfully, and to honor their common citizenship even when we disagree deeply about policy.

Sam Reed understood and embodied this commitment to the democratic ideal throughout his long career in public service. So it is an honor that the Foley Institute will be establishing the Reed Distinguished Professorship. In the future, holders of the professorship will teach and engage in research that advances the values that Sam Reed stood for—creating an informed citizenry and a more considerate and civil political discourse. If you can, I hope you will accept my invitation to pay tribute to Sam Reed's service by contributing to the establishment of the professorship that will bear his name and help us continue his legacy of civic, and civil, engagement here at the Foley Institute.

—Cornell Clayton, Director
 Thomas S. Foley Institute for
 Public Policy and Public Service
 Washington State University

Foley Institute *news*

Remodel Update

Last year, the Foley Institute completed its move from a cramped home in Johnson Tower, where we had been located since 1995, into our new home in Bryan Hall, with its iconic clock tower, at the center of WSU's Pullman campus.

The institute's new space in Bryan Hall includes a Speaker's Room in which we hold many of our events. Most of these events are streamed and are also available for watching again, either from our website at foley.wsu.edu or at our Facebook page. A YouTube channel will go live during this academic year.

Our new offices include a conference room and foyer, both of which contain furniture on long-

term loan from the U.S. Congress, as well as numerous other awards and interesting objects collected by Speaker Foley during his long and distinguished political career.

The Speaker's Room also showcases part of the Frank and Marty Mullen Political Memorabilia Collection. It consists of political campaign buttons and pins dating back to 1824. The collection was started by Frank Mullen, former professor of political science at WSU, and was donated to the institute by his wife, Marty Mullen. Part of the collection is pictured below.

Please stop by and visit us at our new location next time you are in Pullman.

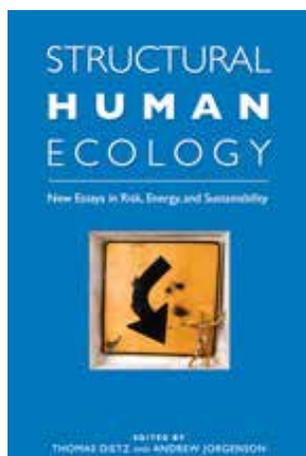


Part of the Mullen Collection



The Speaker's Room

Structural Human Ecology



This year, the WSU Press and the Foley Institute published *Structural Human Ecology*. The book is a collection of essays delivered at an institute-sponsored symposium held in September 2011, honoring the work of Eugene A. Rosa, WSU Boeing Distinguished Professor of Environmental Sociology, and previously a distinguished professor affiliated with the Foley Institute.

Eugene "Gene" Rosa



The Sam Reed Distinguished Professorship in Civic Education and Public Civility



Recognition of Service

The Foley Institute is honored to announce the creation of the Sam Reed Distinguished Professorship in Civic Education and Public Civility. Sam Reed, a WSU alumnus, served the citizens of Washington for over 34 years in public office, first as county auditor for Thurston County and for 12 years as Washington's Secretary of State. The professorship, the fourth to be housed in the institute and the first created since the institute was initially established, recognizes Secretary Reed's years of dedicated public service and his extraordinary commitment to civility and civic education.

Sam Reed received his bachelor's and master's degrees in political science at Washington State University. After graduation, he relocated to Olympia to intern in the office of Secretary of State Lud Kramer. By the age of 28, Sam was appointed assistant Secretary of State, and was chosen by Governor Dan Evans to head the Governor's Advisory Council on Urban Affairs.

In 1978, Reed won his first elected position as Thurston County Auditor, a post he held for 23 years. During this time, his dedication to innovation, student engagement, and voter turnout led his office to be nationally recognized with nine awards.

Reed became Washington's fourteenth Secretary of State in 2000—a title which he held until his retirement in January 2013. His many accomplishments included major election reform, including a new statewide voter registration system that prevents opportunity for fraud. He also championed the

"Top 2 Primary," which allows voters to choose any candidate on the primary ballot, regardless of political party.

He is perhaps best known for his handling of the 2004 Washington gubernatorial race, the closest in U.S. history. In that election, it took two recounts to name eventual winner Christine Gregoire by a margin of 129 votes. Reed was widely honored for his fair handling of the extremely close election and resulting court cases, and wrote the foreword to a book on the events around that election: *An Election for the Ages: Rossi vs Gregoire, 2004* (published by WSU Press).

Throughout his career, Reed was a tireless advocate for civic education, often finding time in his busy schedule to speak at public gatherings throughout the state and to return to his alma mater to speak to students and faculty at WSU. During numerous visits to the Foley Institute, Reed cherished the time he

had with students, encouraging them to pursue careers in public service and giving them an inside understanding of the political challenges and controversies the state confronted. His office also hosted a number of WSU undergraduate interns. As Secretary of State he took the initiative to invite the Foley Institute to partner with his office to host annual symposia on major public policy issues each year in Olympia, attended by members of the legislature, their staff, and the public.

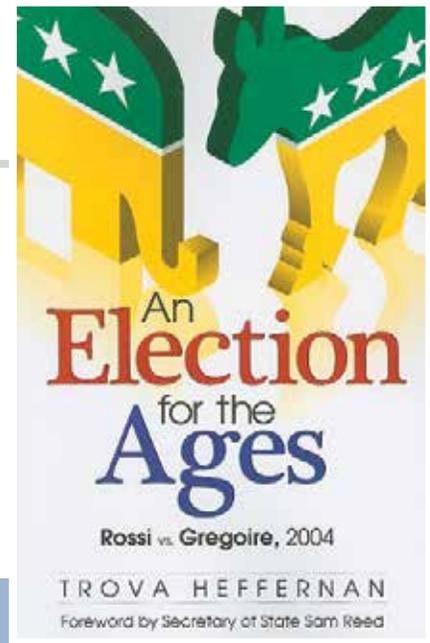
Reed was an outspoken advocate for a return to civility in public discourse and electoral politics. Widely respected on both sides of the aisle, he was known for the great civility with which he treated everyone, even political opponents, and for his even-handed style in conducting the often

“Sam’s long career is an exemplar of honor in public service and a commitment to civil discourse.”

—Cornell Clayton



*Sam Reed pictured with author Trova Heffernan at the publication of *An Election for the Ages*.*



volatile work of running elections in the state of Washington. On account of his reputation for civility, Reed was invited to be a keynote speaker at the Foley Institute's 2011 Civility and American Democracy Conference, held in Spokane and supported by a large grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

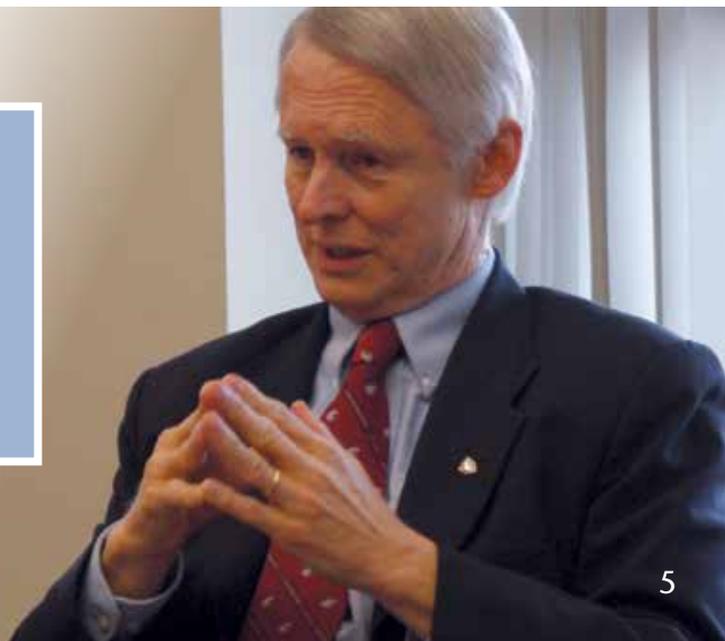
"Sam Reed's reputation for bipartisanship and for believing that people of different political beliefs can work together to find common solutions to problems is unusual in today's political climate," said Cornell Clayton, institute director. "Sam's long career is an exemplar of honor in public service and a commitment to civil discourse."

Given Sam Reed's long-time commitment to civility and civic education, along with his relationship with the Foley Institute over the years, the institute was the natural place to house the new Reed Professorship. As Daryll DeWald, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, noted, "These distinguished professorships have benefitted most of the students at WSU by recruiting or retaining

some of our very best professors. From my perspective, the Reed Professorship at the Foley Institute will help us keep our best scholars and educators working in the area that Sam Reed cares so much about—civic education and civility. WSU students have an enhanced educational experience, which is our investment in the future of this state and nation."

The professorship will assure that Reed's legacy of educating the public about civic affairs and encouraging honor and civility in public service will continue. "After enjoying working with the Foley Institute extensively during my twelve years as Secretary of State, it is an honor and privilege to have this professorship named after me," he said. "It strikes me as appropriate and critically important to have this professor work with the institute to promote political civility and the teaching of civics throughout the state. I am excited about the opportunities that will be presented to candidates, elected officials, teachers and students."

If you would like to support the Sam Reed Distinguished Professorship in Civic Education and Public Civility, you can securely give online at givetocas.wsu.edu (search for "Sam Reed").



Policy Symposia

Public Policy



Pictured left to right at our Business Policy Symposium are James Barth, Richard Riccobono, and Jerry Kallberg.



Pictured left to right at our Media and Politics Symposium are Lawrence Pintak, David Faris, and Deen Freelon.

Is Financial Reform Working and Should More Be Done?

The Foley Institute and the WSU Carson College of Business held their annual Business Policy Symposium on March 11, 2014. Panelists discussed reforms following the 2008 financial crisis.

Jerry Kallberg, the Alvin J. Wolff Distinguished Professor of Real Estate at WSU, provided an overview of the 2008 crisis. He was followed by **Richard Riccobono**, director of banks at the Washington State Department of Financial Institutions, who discussed the provisions of the Dodd-Frank Act and assessed where it had met, or failed to meet, expectations. **James Barth**, the Lowder Eminent Scholar in Finance at Auburn University, placed the current reform efforts into a broader historical context and suggested several lessons that could be gleaned from past experience.

The Media and Political Transformation in the Arab World

The fifth annual Media and Politics Symposium on April 23, 2014, explored how social media and blogger activists impacted events in the Middle East. Cosponsored with the Edward R. Murrow College of Communication at WSU, the panel discussion was moderated by **Lawrence Pintak** (dean of the Murrow College).

Deen Freelon, assistant professor of communications at American University, discussed how social media influenced the events in Syria, and how Twitter feeds reflected the way foreign and domestic audiences responded to events as the crisis developed. **David Faris**, professor of political science at Roosevelt University, explained how the internet has long served as an outlet for political grievances in the Middle East, even before Facebook and Twitter were available. He explained how social media significantly influenced the Egyptian uprising in 2011 and how bloggers and political groups formed on social networking sites to plan protests against government forces.

Science Ethics and Public Policy Series

Now in its third year, the Foley Institute's SEPP series has worked to link various research departments at WSU with external experts to provide discussion and insights into some of the most controversial issues at the crossroads of science and public policy.



Pictured left to right at the GMO discussion are Heather Hansen, Chuck Benbrook, Michael Neff, and Paul Thompson.



Pictured left to right at the animal experimentation discussion are Sylvie Cloutier, Gary Varner, and Steven Russell.

The Science, Ethics, and Politics of GMOs and Your Food

The fall SEPP Symposium, held on October 28, 2013, was designed to educate Washington voters about Initiative 522, which required foods containing genetically modified organisms to be labeled as such. The panel discussed the empirical research about, and ethical dimensions of, genetically modified organisms in food.

Paul Thompson, Kellogg Chair in Agricultural Food and Ethics at Michigan State University, explained the history of food labeling, arguing from an ethical perspective that it was hard to oppose providing consumers more information about what they eat. **Michael Neff**, the director of the Molecular Plant Sciences Graduate Program at WSU, explained that extensive studies on GMOs provide a high level of confidence in their safety. **Heather Hansen**, the executive director of Washington Friends of Farms and Forests, expressed concern that the proposed initiative might confuse consumers due to the contents of many everyday foodstuffs that would fall under the proposed regulations. **Chuck Benbrook**, program leader at the Center for Sustaining Agriculture and Natural Resources at WSU, suggested that, since many people are concerned about the possibility of side effects of long-term GMO use, they should nevertheless have the benefit of GMO labels on their food.

Initiative 522 was rejected by voters in November 2013, following the most expensive initiative campaign in Washington's history (see related article on page 8).

The Ethics of Animal Experimentation

The spring SEPP Symposium, held on March 13, 2014, focused on the ethics of experimenting on animals. **Sylvie Cloutier**, a research professor in the Department of Integrated Physiology and Neuroscience at WSU, opened the event with a brief overview of animal cognition. Comparing this with human cognition and emotion, she shared studies that show animals have deep emotions. **Gary Varner** provided a philosophical perspective on the moral status of animals. As a professor and head of the Department of Philosophy at Texas A&M, Dr. Varner offered an overview of different philosophical perspectives regarding animal cognition. Also participating was WSU's campus veterinarian, **Steven Russell**, who explained his role overseeing experiments performed on animals, and the policies WSU researchers must follow when using animals for experiments.

Washington State Politics

Issues in the Evergreen State

Annual Olympia Symposium

Disengaged Youth and Encouraging Millennials to Vote

The Foley Institute was pleased to continue its collaboration with the Washington Office of the Secretary of State to host the fifth annual public policy symposium at the state capital on February 21, 2014.

This year's symposium was introduced by Secretary of State **Kim Wyman**, and the panel of experts considered why younger citizens tend not to vote despite their interest and participation in other social issues and causes.

Panelists included **Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg**, deputy director of the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement at Tufts University; **Emile "Mel" Netzhammer**, chancellor of WSU Vancouver; **Lindsay Pryor**, voter education and outreach coordinator, Washington Secretary of State's Office; and **Toby Crittenden**, executive director of The Washington Bus, a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that seeks to engage youth in the political process.

You can listen to Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg being interviewed by Austin Jenkins for NPR on this subject by visiting go.wsu.edu/millennials.



Pictured left to right are Emile "Mel" Netzhammer, Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, Lindsay Pryor, and Toby Crittenden.

Washington Attorney General Bob Ferguson

Following the Money: Accountability in Campaign Finance

On April 3, 2014, Washington State Attorney General **Bob Ferguson** returned to the Foley Institute to discuss transparency in campaign finance and spending by outside groups on I-522 (requiring the labeling of genetically engineered food), which appeared on Washington's 2013 ballot.

Ferguson filed a lawsuit against the Grocery Manufacturer's Association (GMA) for illegally donating \$11 million to the "No on I-522" campaign and improperly concealing large corporate donors. The case, still pending in the courts, is the largest case of campaign finance concealment in state history (see related article on page 7).



Washington State Attorney General Bob Ferguson.



Washington Supreme Court Chief Justice Barbara Madsen

The Role of an Independent Judiciary in Washington

The chief justice of the Washington Supreme Court made a return visit to the institute on March 28, 2014. Chief Justice **Barbara Madsen** discussed the important role of state courts in the political system and the challenge that state judges have to remain politically

independent. Madsen’s talk highlighted the role of state supreme courts in shaping national political change, given that the U.S. Supreme Court often defers to state courts or looks to them for guidance when deciding cases involving controversial policy questions.

Coffee with Your Legislators

For the fourth consecutive year, Washington’s District 9 legislators made a trip to the institute on December 4, 2013, to discuss the upcoming legislative session.

Senator **Mark Schoesler**, along with Representatives **Susan Fagan** and **Joe Schmick**, covered a number of topics related to the 2014 session, including the state budget, university tuition levels, transportation needs, and mental health care in the state. WSU and Pullman community members alike had the chance to have their questions answered and thoughts heard.



Pictured left to right are Joe Schmick, Mark Schoesler, and Susan Fagan.



A Long, Strange Trip: Legalizing Recreational Marijuana in Washington

On February 27, 2014, **Chris Marr** of the Washington State Liquor Control Board visited the institute to discuss implementation of Initiative 502, which legalized the production, retail sale, and possession of recreational marijuana. Marr provided an overview of the initiative and

its stipulations, including tax structure and regulations. He described the challenges of creating a policy framework for regulating recreational marijuana in Washington when the drug remains prohibited under federal law.

Should Washington Adopt a Carbon Tax?

Visiting the Foley Institute on November 12, 2013, **Yoram Bauman** holds the distinction of being the first comedian to speak at a Coffee & Politics session at WSU. An environmental economist based in Seattle, Bauman is a fellow at the Sightline Institute, a nonprofit research center focused on Northwest sustainability. The “stand-up economist” coauthored the book *Tax Shift*, which inspired the revenue-neutral carbon tax

adopted by British Columbia in 2008.

Bauman explained the logic behind adopting a carbon tax by suggesting the tax would encourage a lifestyle change for Washingtonians while taxes in other areas could be reduced. This tax swap would allow revenue from the carbon tax to go toward funding low-income programs such as the Working Families Sales Tax Rebate.



A tax swap for Washington State

- Reduce state sales tax by 1 percentage point.
- Fund the Working Families Sales Tax Rebate.
- Eliminate S&B taxes for manufacturers and strip the small business E&O credit.
- Allocate the revenue with a carbon fee of \$25 per CO₂ (valued to = national GDP).
- CarbonWk.org



Coffee & Politics

— policy and politics in the U.S. —



Political Polarization

On October 3, 2013, the Foley Institute welcomed **Matthew Levendusky**, associate professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania.

Author of *The Partisan Sort* and *How Partisan Media Polarize America*, Levendusky's research examines mass-level political behavior and the effects that media have on political polarization. His talk coincided with the government shutdown that

began two days earlier on October 1.

Levendusky explained that empirical studies show that elected elites have become increasingly polarized along partisan lines while average Americans remain relatively moderate in their views. They do, however, increasingly align themselves with media sources that they know will support their ideological beliefs, and this is leading to increased polarization among the public as well.

Is Transparency Good for Democracy?

Mark Stephan, associate professor in the School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs at WSU Vancouver, spoke at the institute on March 25, 2014, discussing the role of transparency in governmental decision-making.

Stephan argued that while citizens' access to information is critical in a democracy, the emphasis on

"transparency" may be a problem. Full transparency can limit policy-makers' ability to take risks and work effectively. Rather than transparency, Stephan argued in favor a regime based around "disclosure" as a more useful way to disperse information about government activity.



Money in Elections

David Parker, professor of political science at Montana State University, visited the institute on April 16, 2014, to discuss his work on campaign spending following the Supreme Court's decision in *Citizen's United*, which relaxed campaign spending limits on corporations. His research showed that almost all political advertisements aired on television in Montana were paid

for by outside sources, rather than the candidates. He suggested that virtually unlimited outside funding will lead to lengthier campaign seasons and will force local companies to increasingly compete with political groups for commercial airtime. This cyclic campaign spending, he said, is impossible to control and may keep the most qualified candidates from winning office.

Culture and Sustainable Development Policy



On September 27, 2013, the institute cohosted (with the WSU Department of Anthropology and the College of Arts and Sciences) **E. Christian Wells**, associate professor of anthropology at the University of South Florida. An environmental archaeologist, Dr. Wells stressed the role that the behavioral sciences should play in policy-making. Touching on his fieldwork in Belize, Mexico, and

Tampa Bay, Wells explained how anthropological research methods have been used to unearth physical evidence upon which a more sustainable environmental policy can be based.

Wells is currently co-principal investigator of a National Science Foundation-funded research project studying the relationship between tourism and coastal health in Caribbean communities.

Do We Have Moral Autonomy?

On January 24, 2014, the institute hosted **Alfred Mele**, the William H. and Lucyle T. Werkmeister Professor of Philosophy at Florida State University.



Mele's talk focused on the nature of moral choice in public policy, explaining how powerful situational influences shape an individual's decision-making process. Nevertheless, Mele argued, evidence from experimental psychology indicates that we are not "zombies" but possess the power to control many of our thought processes and moral decisions, and public policy should reflect this.

Remaking Urban Nature

On March 24, 2014, **James Elliott**, professor of sociology at the University of Oregon, discussed the impact of industrial waste on urban communities.

Comparing four river port cities—Portland, New Orleans, Minneapolis, and Philadelphia—his research found that residual industrial waste has impacted large areas of these cities and has ill effects on citizens regardless of their age, race, or socioeconomic status. The problems are caused by factories that close, leaving behind waste residing in the soil. As urban renewal projects convert



these previously industrial areas into housing developments, parks, or shopping districts, they often simply pave over the residual industrial waste.

Confessions of a Young Rebel

Mary Beth Tinker came to the Foley Institute on April 28, 2014, to speak about her experience as a young political activist protesting the Vietnam War. Tinker described her experience as a 13-year-old girl suspended from Des Moines Public Schools because she chose to wear an armband banned by school administrators.

Her challenge to the school went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. The case (*Tinker v. Des Moines*) was decided in her



favor, and remains a landmark decision defining the free speech rights of students.



Coffee & Politics

global politics

The U.S.–Iran Relationship



Abbas Milani, the Hamid and Christina Moghadam Director of Iranian Studies at Stanford University, visited the Foley Institute on October 10, 2013, to address the U.S.–Iran relationship. Describing the history of the relationship, Milani expressed hope that relations might improve in the wake of President Obama’s contact with Iranian president Hassan Rouhani, breaking a long-term silence between the two countries.

During a question and answer session Milani also discussed the Iranian diaspora, with the loss of highly-educated Iranians to other countries, and explained the historical inaccuracies found in the award-winning film *Argo*, among other issues.

The New “Great Game” in Central Asia



In partnership with the WSU Asia Program, the Foley Institute hosted **Anara Tabyshalieva**, professor at Marshall University and consultant for the World Bank and the United Nations Development Fund for Women, on February 21, 2014.

Tabyshalieva discussed the “Great Game,” or the ongoing competition between Russia, China, the United States, Japan, India, Iran, the European Union, and others for control of Central Asia. She suggested that the two groups that hold the most power over the region are the Russia-centered Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and the China-centered Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). These two groups are seeking control over the area for cultural, monetary, and military reasons, and the region’s growing desirability connected to the renaissance of the Silk Road.

China and Cybersecurity

Nelson Dong, a prominent Seattle attorney with experience in cases involving cyberespionage, came to the institute October 28, 2013, to discuss China and cybersecurity.

Dong noted that as more companies and government agencies go online, cybersecurity is a growing problem. Cyber attacks coming from China in particular have been rising, with most cases targeting U.S. intellectual property and state secrets. The government, he said, needs to do much more to protect its own security information as well as the intellectual property of American corporations from such attacks.





Lawrence Pintak, dean of the Edward R. Murrow College of Communication at WSU, visited the institute on September 10, 2013, to discuss events in Egypt.

Drawing upon his experience in the Arab world and as a director of the Kamal Adham Center for Journalism

Revolt in the Desert

Training and Research at the American University in Cairo, Pintak discussed the fallout between the Muslim Brotherhood and the secular Arab nationalist groups in the wake of the ousting of former Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak. Political unrest following Mubarak's imprisonment led to the removal of the Muslim Brotherhood-backed Morsi by the Egyptian military. Much of the instability in Egypt, Pintak said, is caused by the weakness of civil society and strong non-governmental institutions.

He concluded his speech by predicting that there would be more unrest before a peaceful resolution was found. While there were no "good options" in the short term for U.S. policy toward Egypt, in the long term he argued that Western countries needed to help Egypt build a more robust civil society.

American Democracy through British Eyes



The institute was visited by **Gillian Peele**, fellow and tutor of politics at Oxford University, on September 3, 2013.

Peele assessed the quality of American democracy and the dysfunctions possibly caused by an outmoded American constitutional system. Peele commented that few other democracies around the world actually experience a shutdown of governmental functions, which, she noted, is symptomatic of deeper structural problems in the political system.

Despite inherent problems with the system, Peele was optimistic that American democracy would continue to endure, and noted that the inability to decisively confront tough policy choices was not unique to the United States.

How Foreign Voices Shape U.S. Support for Military Action



On November 4, 2013, the institute welcomed **Danny Hayes**, professor of political science at George Washington University.

Hayes shared his research on how partisanship influences American perceptions and support for foreign military interventions. Hayes' research suggests that voters' views about military action are strongly shaped by the position taken by partisan elites, and he compared this with findings on how foreign governments and international bodies, such as the United Nations, influence domestic views about U.S. foreign policy.

fellowships & internships

Undergraduate Interns

This past year was another successful one for the institute's internship program. Internships are career-enhancing experiences, allowing students to integrate their academic studies with work in a practical arena. In addition to bridging the gap between formal schooling and work, internships often function as a launching pad for careers in public service.



Dakota Renz (second from left) and Hayley Hohman (right)

Four Foley interns spent spring semester in Olympia as part of the Washington State Legislative Internship program for the 2014 session. **Evangelina Alvarez** and **Trevor Brown** interned in the House of Representatives, while **Stephanie DeHart** and **Arthur Whitten** completed internships in the Senate.

Additionally, **Jansen VanderMeulen** interned as ASWSU's director of legislative affairs during spring semester in Olympia, and students of the Cougar Lobby Team collaborated in preparation for lobbying in Olympia at "Coug Day at the Capitol." Students **Hayley Hohman**, **Leoma James**, **Annie Pocklington**, **Alex Shipman**, **Timothy Chatburn**, **Dakota Renz**, and **McKenzie Wright** completed internships with the Cougar Lobby Team this year.

Conor Devitt completed a journalism internship with the *Oregonian*, where he spent his time reporting on political stories from Olympia.

Interns were also involved in ASWSU's Student Legal Services, an office that provides legal service for WSU students. They included director **Chris Morgan** and associate director **Katherine Naulty** as well as **William Jensen**, **Jillian Berg**, **Francisco Carriedo**, and **Jeffrey McCrea**.



WSU interns in Olympia pictured with WSU football coach Mike Leach



Conor Devitt (center)

Other students were involved in a variety of internship opportunities. **Derek Lambert** interned as a reserve police officer at the Pullman Police Department. **Jordan Isom** interned with WSU doctoral candidate Lucas McMillan to assist with research on judicial philosophies. At WSU Spokane, **Maria Delane** was a research assistant to Professor Kawkab Shishani's study of waterpipe smoking cessation.

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 if you would like to know more or if you are interested in contributing to our scholarship fund.



Alex Stevens and Alex Clark

Alex Clark and **Alex Stevens** interned as reserve deputy sheriffs with the Whitman County Sheriff's Office. **Alejandra Mendoza** interned with the WSU Alumni Association.



*Interns at the Foley Institute for 2013-14:
Jillian Archer (left) and Stephanie Logan*



*Alejandra Mendoza pictured right
at an Alumni Association event*

We would also like to thank our Foley Institute interns: **Joel Freeborn**, **Jillian Archer**, and **Stephanie Logan**, who assisted in the institute's daily operations this academic year.

LeLoup Scholar

We are very pleased to announce that **Daniel Purkeypyle** is this year's Lance LeLoup Congressional Scholar. Dan spent the summer in Washington, D.C., in the office of Congresswoman Cathy McMorris Rodgers. He is pictured here meeting Newt Gingrich, former Speaker of the House.



fellowships & internships

Graduate Student Fellowships



Pictured left to right are Lucas McMillan, Melanie Thornton, Hong Zhang, Christopher Gambino, and Michael Lengefeld.



Greg Atkins

The institute is very pleased to announce the recipients of six graduate student fellowships this coming year. The fellowships are awarded to students who conduct research into just and sustainable societies, seek to enhance their public policy research skills, or pursue research focusing on major public policy issues, or political institutions and democracy.

As always, there were many excellent nominees this year, so congratulations to all of the students.

Scott & Betty Lukins Graduate Fellowships were awarded to **Lucas McMillan** (Political Science), and **Melanie Thornton** (School of the Environment).

Burlington Northern Fellowships were awarded to **Christopher Gambino** (Animal Sciences) and **Hong Zhang** (Sociology).

Alice O. Rice Graduate Fellowships were awarded to **Greg Atkins** (History), and **Michael Lengefeld** (Sociology).

Foley Graduate Fellow Report

Phil Travis

“*I hope that my work will help Americans to approach the current war on terrorism in a more aware and critical manner.*”

—Phil Travis



This past April I completed work on my dissertation, “Outlaw States: The United States, Nicaragua, and the Cold War Roots of the War on Terrorism.” My work demonstrates how terrorism crises in the 1980s transformed U.S. foreign policy. In response to events like the hijacking of TWA-847 and the murder of four U.S. Marines in El Salvador in June of 1985, the Reagan administration altered the old model of Cold War containment and constructed a new offensive policy to combat state-sponsored terrorism. Thus, long before September 11, 2001, the United States established key principles for the war on terrorism.

The Reagan administration’s move toward a global response to terrorism involved the adoption of aggressive unilateral measures against states that were suspected sponsors of terrorism. The administration argued that terrorism was a new tactic in an expanded Cold War, involving an alliance of radical Middle Eastern powers, communist nations, and Marxist revolutionaries. In order to respond effectively to this threat, the administration adopted a new framework of intervention that challenged the norms of international behavior and marginalized the sovereignty of nations suspected of involvement in terrorism.

In conjunction with its efforts in Nicaragua, the administration worked to convince a skeptical Congress, public, and international community of the need to adopt an offensive policy against the Sandinista government there. In this process, the administration used “terrorism” as a linguistic tool to help delegitimize the Nicaraguan government. It labeled Nicaragua a state sponsor of world terror and insisted on the right to take measures that included an array of military options.

The case of Nicaragua is significant for several reasons. First, the conflict began as an effort to contain communism but was transformed into an offensive war on terrorism in the mid-1980s. Second, this case became a model for how the United States deals with alleged terror states today: aggressive use of hard power justified with a powerful rhetoric. However, Nicaragua also demonstrates the danger of a military-oriented response to terrorism, which often creates more problems than solutions.



Research on this project involved important trips to the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, the George Bush Presidential Library, and the National Security Archive at George Washington University. The research was intensive and not without unexpected challenges, such as the government shut down in October 2013, just as I was beginning my research at the Bush Library in College Station, Texas.



Over the course of sifting through thousands of documents, I was overjoyed to discover several significant and recently declassified documents. These new documents, released between 2006 and 2012, provided new insight into how the U.S. conflict with Nicaragua became not only a war on communism but also a war on terrorism. Perhaps most exciting were memoranda from Robert Oakley and Parker Borg, top officials in the Office of Counterterrorism, that strongly opposed the administration’s counterterrorism approach. In my dissertation, I used the opinions of Borg and Oakley to show how there was an alternative to the course of action taken by the administration. In this respect I hope that my work will help Americans to approach the current war on terrorism in a more aware and critical manner.

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