



BIPARTISAN POLICY CENTER

2013 Annual Report

PRESIDENT'S LETTER



Creating Space to Govern

2013 was a tough year for American democracy. But there is no need to despair, we have been here before. America has endured wars, depressions, recessions, and all manners of scandal and sometimes our federal government just gets stuck in the mud. In March of 1822, an editorial in *The Saturday Evening Post* described the accomplishments of our nation's 17th Congress as: "Procrastination. Debate. . . . New committees. New Reports. New speeches . . . and, finally, indefinite postponements." Harry Truman famously ran against a "do nothing Congress in 1948," and the government shutdown and "politics of personal destruction" during the Clinton-Gingrich battles were pretty bare-knuckled. Fortunately American democracy bends, but it does not break. At times like these, the Bipartisan Policy Center's (BPC) approach and leadership are needed more than ever.

Last year, the Senate and House took turns failing to execute their most basic obligations. In the Republican-controlled House, gridlock over the government's finances led to a shutdown that harmed millions of Americans. A few months later, the Democrat-led Senate could not resolve conflicts over presidential appointments invoking the so-called "nuclear option" and ending the century-old tradition of protecting minority rights in the confirmation process.

The systemic breakdown on display raises some basic questions: Why do political factions that once sought solutions now pursue obstruction? Why are congressional leaders no longer able or willing to corral their party's maverick fringes to advance a national agenda? And most important, can anything be done to get things back on track?

The answers to these questions—and the path to a solution—center around a single phenomenon: the breakdown in trust. Throughout the history of democratic government, trust has been the key to bridging policy disputes. That's why restoring confidence in analysis, respectful deliberation, and balanced advocacy is fundamental to BPC's mission.

BPC provides a safe and politically balanced forum for diverse interests to develop consensus solutions. These efforts are led by a corps of highly respected political leaders and supported by a team of top-notch subject-matter experts and analysts. In 2013, BPC projects, reports, forums, and workshops addressed a series of challenging issues including:

- Replacing Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac;
- Effectively implementing Dodd-Frank;
- Reducing health care costs while increasing access, quality, and personal privacy;
- Confronting dangerous situations in the Middle East and increased radicalization here at home;
- Assessing the costs and benefits of immigration reform, options to improve border security, and a process to effectively and equitably integrate millions of people into the fabric of American society;

- Maximizing the benefits of our energy boom while moving toward a low-carbon economy; and
- Developing the intellectual foundation and political motivation for tax and entitlement reform.

BPC's unique process is essential to bridging differences and achieving consensus:

We don't stack the deck: Our projects are led by experts with diverse experience and divergent interests.

We respect data and conduct transparent analysis: BPC policy recommendations are based upon detailed studies that are broadly distributed.

We fight for what we believe in: Once a task force develops detailed recommendations, we work as a group to advocate for all aspects of our agreement.

We understand the latitude and limitations of our role: BPC exists to advance the debate by digging deeper and pressing further and faster than is often possible inside government. We then provide space for policymakers to engage in ideas that stray from single-party orthodoxy. Our efforts demonstrate what can be accomplished when experts and passionate advocates are brought together in an environment that enables constructive deliberation.

The second way BPC works to restore trust is by promoting thoughtful political reform from the outside in. The highlight of these efforts in 2013 was the creation of BPC's Commission on Political Reform (CPR). CPR's co-chairs are national leaders with storied careers in Congress, the executive branch, and state government. Tom Daschle, Trent Lott, Olympia Snowe, Dirk Kempthorne, and Dan Glickman are working with 25

other volunteer and religious leaders, veterans, business executives, academics, state and local elected officials, and journalists to understand the causes and consequences of America's partisan divide and to recommend reforms to help achieve shared national goals. Among CPR's efforts last year was a series of National Conversations on American Unity launched at the Reagan Presidential Library and continued at leading institutions across the country.

BPC—through our affiliated entity, the Bipartisan Policy Center Advocacy Network (BPCAN)—also engages directly in the political process. We conduct aggressive advocacy, provide analysis, work with congressional offices to develop legislative proposals, and push federal decision makers to consider ideas that can generate broad bipartisan support.

The hopeful news is that 2013 also demonstrated that our political leaders remain capable of real collaboration when given the right incentives. The bipartisan budget agreement negotiated by Budget Committee Chairs Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) and Representative Paul Ryan (R-WI) was developed in an atmosphere of urgency, respect, and mutual trust. The process was also strongly supported by the Senate majority leader and the speaker of the House.

Our goal in 2014, and the years to come, is to encourage and reinforce policymakers with the fortitude, creativity, and commitment to take on big challenges. The American people deserve better than gridlock. BPC will continue our work to support a government empowered by substance, allegiance, and trust.



JASON GRUMET

UNIFIED SOLUTIONS.

NATIONAL IMPACT.

A healthy, civil debate among those with differing viewpoints is the engine of our democracy. In the face of growing polarization, BPC remains steadfast in its mission to demonstrate the possibility and power of bipartisan solutions. In 2013, BPC again proved what can be accomplished when diverse interests are joined together in rigorous analysis and reasoned debate. BPC policy recommendations on health, energy, foreign policy, homeland security, the economy, housing immigration, and governance are shaping, and in many cases, leading the national debate. BPC forums and workshops continue to provide unique opportunities to air differing views, advance substantive arguments, and build constructive relationships among disparate interests.

“If BPC didn’t already exist, we would have to create it.”

—Former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Henry Cisneros

“In a time of great political divide, the Bipartisan Policy Center proves again and again that good policy is what is best for the country.”

—Former Governor of Mississippi Haley Barbour

A Passion for Pragmatism

BPC brings together all sides—regardless of party affiliation or position—when tackling a problem. By combining politically balanced policymaking with strong, proactive advocacy and outreach, BPC is shaping the national policy debate. BPC’s unique process, shown here, is essential to providing a forum for diverse perspectives to develop consensus solutions.



SCOPING

Only a fraction of project proposals become BPC policy initiatives. BPC conducts extensive research to define the mission, goals, and potential for impact before starting a new effort.



LAUNCH

BPC generates attention, momentum, and accountability with prominent kick off events.



Immigration Task Force members at BPC's "The Evolving Immigration Debate: Reform and its Implications for the High-Tech Community" event in Silicon Valley



Senator **Bob Corker** (R-TN) and Senator **Mark Warner** (D-VA)



RESEARCH

Research and analysis are the foundation for all BPC projects.



POLICY DEVELOPMENT

Through extensive deliberation and negotiation, detailed proposals take shape. Nothing is agreed to until everything is agreed to.



RELEASE

Once a consensus is reached, BPC works with project leaders to develop and execute a roll-out strategy.



ADVOCACY

The Bipartisan Policy Center Advocacy Network works with project leaders to advocate for the project's recommendations.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

“The Bipartisan Policy Center proves that it is possible to overcome tough obstacles and solve real problems.”

—BPC Board Member Frank Keating

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Deloitte & Touche, LLP
Retired General, U.S. Air Force
Rosslyn, VA

Dennis Archer

Chairman Emeritus
Dickinson Wright, PLLC
Former Mayor of Detroit
Detroit, MI

Norm Augustine

Chairman and Chief
Executive Officer (ret.)
Lockheed Martin Corporation
Bethesda, MD

Sheila Burke

Chair, Government Relations
& Public Policy Group
Baker, Donelson, Bearman, Caldwell
& Berkowitz, PC
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Washington, DC

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Natural Resources Defense Council
San Francisco, CA

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Bipartisan Policy Center
Washington, DC

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Managing Director
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Chairman
New Majority California
Retired CEO, Apria Healthcare
Newport Beach, CA

Walter Isaacson

President & CEO
The Aspen Institute
Washington, DC

Frank Keating

President & CEO
American Bankers Association
Former Governor of Oklahoma
Washington, DC

Charles Robb

Distinguished Professor
of Law and Public Policy
George Mason University
Former Senator from Virginia
McLean, VA

Olympia Snowe

Former Senator from Maine
Washington, DC

Susan Story

President and CEO
American Water
Voorhees, NJ

Julie Sweet

General Counsel & COO
Accenture
Arlington, VA

Frances Fragos Townsend

Senior Vice President
MacAndrews & Forbes Holdings Inc.
Former Assistant to President George
W. Bush for Homeland Security and
Counterterrorism
New York, NY

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Executive Chairman
Homesnap
Chevy Chase, MD

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Chairman of the Board of Directors
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New York, NY

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FROM THE

FOUNDERS



Many years ago, before I ever aspired to public office, my father taught me a very important lesson. The lesson was, you need to learn the art of being an exquisite listener because even as set in your ways as you may be, you ought to consider that the other fellow may be right. And that is what we do at BPC—We listen.”

— Former Senate Majority Leader
Howard Baker



BPC’s ability to make policy recommendations based on the information in front of them and not based on a preconceived standpoint sets them apart from other organizations in Washington.”

—Former Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle



BPC does not take the easy way out—in fact, they do quite the opposite. By confronting gridlock with real solutions, BPC has the pragmatic answers to today’s big policy questions.”

—Former Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole



The Bipartisan Policy Center has an unwavering commitment to bring different perspectives to the discussion. It has demonstrated that regardless of how diverse the viewpoints are, collaboration can produce results that are in the best interests of the nation.”

—Former Senate Majority Leader
George Mitchell

SENIOR FELLOWS

Robert F. Bennett
Former Senator from Utah

Sherwood Boehlert
Former Representative from New York

John C. Danforth
Former Senator from Missouri

Pete V. Domenici
Former Senator from New Mexico

Byron L. Dorgan
Former Senator from North Dakota

Bill Frist
Former Senate Majority Leader

Dan Glickman
Former Secretary of Agriculture
Former Representative from Kansas

Slade Gorton
Former Senator from Washington

General James L. Jones, USMC (ret.)
Former National Security Advisor
Former Supreme Allied Commander Europe

Trent Lott
Former Senate Majority Leader

Olympia Snowe
Former Senator from Maine

Tommy G. Thompson
Former Secretary of Health and Human Services
Former Governor of Wisconsin

Álvaro Uribe
Former President of Colombia

Antonio R. Villaraigosa
Former Mayor of Los Angeles

“At a time when our government has been shut down and Washington is mired in a partisan meltdown, I couldn't be prouder to work with an organization that works with both Democrats and Republicans to move our government and nation forward.”

—BPC Senior Fellow and former Mayor of Los Angeles Antonio R. Villaraigosa

COMMUNICATING WITH THE NATION

Every day BPC is connecting with Americans from across the country. Through partnerships with major media outlets, social media, dynamic infographics, and interactive forums and public events, BPC extends its reach far beyond the Beltway to create national impact. BPC's experts are frequently called upon to explain the issues of the day and regularly communicate their work and ideas through social media and BPC's website.



BPC Senior Fellow **Dan Glickman** on *BBC World News*



Former Mississippi Governor **Haley Barbour** and former Pennsylvania Governor **Ed Rendell** on *"Morning Joe"*



BPC Senior Fellow **Olympia Snowe** on *"The Daily Show with Jon Stewart"*



Former Secretary of State **Condoleezza Rice** on *"Fox & Friends"*



Senior Director of Economic Policy **Steve Bell** on C-SPAN



BPC Co-Founder **George Mitchell** on Bloomberg TV

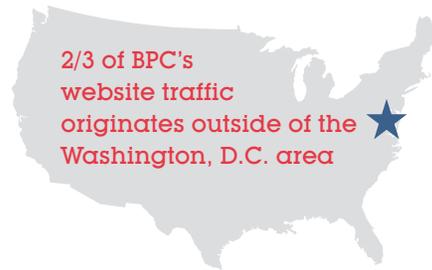


Acting Director of Foreign Policy **Blaise Misztal** on Al Jazeera

Digital Dialogue



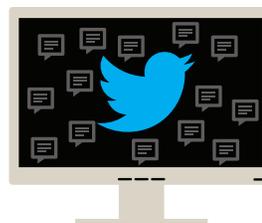
BPC continues to successfully reach new audiences and regions outside the Beltway, as well as key players and policymakers in Washington, via our website and social media.



A National Conversation on American Unity



In 2013, Twitter became a large part of BPC's strategy for disseminating commentary, reports, and live event coverage. BPC's followers include prominent journalists, policy analysts, members of Congress, and administration officials. BPC's blog also continues to be a powerful platform for sharing in depth and timely analysis.



Events and Partnerships

In 2013, BPC convened national town halls, summits, press conferences, panel discussions, and Bridge-Builder Breakfasts—and not just in Washington, but throughout the country. BPC used the August recess to host events with congressional leaders in their home states and districts. BPC also formed partnerships with organizations like the Baker Institute at Rice University, Bibles Badges & Businesses, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, among others.



A BPC panel at the Aspen Ideas Festival

Photo: Dan Bayer/The Aspen Institute



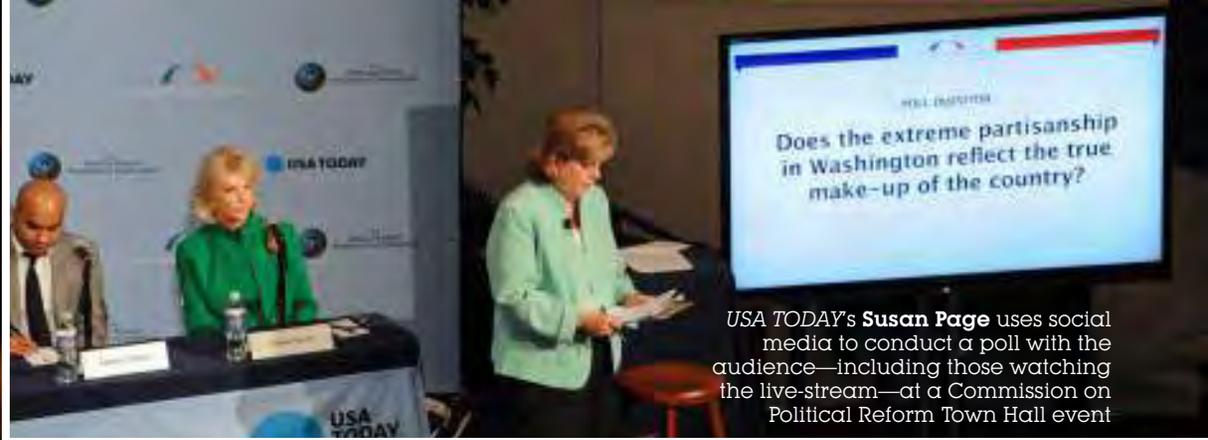
BPC and *Capitol File* sponsored an event on "The Intersection of Hollywood and Washington."



A BPC, AmericaSpeaks, and George Washington University event: "Face the Facts USA"



BPC Co-Founder **Tom Daschle** and BPC Senior Fellow **Olympia Snowe**



USA TODAY's **Susan Page** uses social media to conduct a poll with the audience—including those watching the live-stream—at a Commission on Political Reform Town Hall event

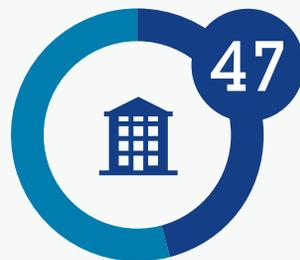


A Bridge-Builder Breakfast discussion on "The First 100 Days: A Reflection," featuring BPC President **Jason Grumet**, Winston Group Vice President **Kristen Soltis Anderson**, *MSNBC's* **Richard Wolffe**, Democratic strategist **Paul Begala**, and *Buzzfeed's* **John Stanton**

Total Events



In-House Events



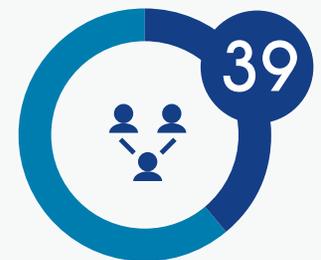
Out-of-Town Events



Bridge-Builder Breakfasts



Event Partnerships



ADVOCACY

NETWORK

Ideas, roundtables, and reports only go so far. The hard work of impacting the federal policy debate requires action on the ground. That's why the Bipartisan Policy Center Advocacy Network (BPCAN) works directly with Congress and the administration—translating BPC projects into workable proposals and finding common ground between Democrats and Republicans. BPCAN pairs the substantive analysis of BPC with strong advocacy efforts and strategic engagement with policymakers.

In 2013, BPCAN conducted three major advocacy campaigns in health, energy, and housing, and established a presence in immigration and financial services. Plus, BPCAN maintained its extensive and respected work on the fiscal challenges facing the nation, with a special focus on the debt ceiling and the sequester.



I appreciate what [BPC does] to promote policies to increase America's competitiveness in the global economy."

—Senator Ron Wyden (D-OR)

Each week BPCAN conducts an average of

10 Hill meetings

promoting BPC's policy recommendations



The Bipartisan Policy Center has been in the forefront of the housing policy discussion, identifying solutions, like the Low Income Housing Tax Credit, that help ensure our nation has an adequate supply of affordable housing."

—Representative Pat Tiberi (R-OH)

In the legislative mix:

- **Housing Policy:** Senators Mark Warner (D-VA) and Bob Corker (R-TN) introduced legislation to reform Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac that mirrors BPC's Housing Commission recommendations.
- **Health Care:** Project leaders were invited to brief 20 senators on BPC's Health Care Cost Containment Initiative (HCCI) policy recommendations.
- **Iran:** Key foreign policy leaders in the Senate, including Senators Robert Menendez (D-NJ) and Mark Kirk (R-IL), have incorporated BPC proposals into Iran sanctions legislation.
- **Debt Ceiling:** BPC remains an influential voice on the impacts of the debt ceiling, hosting dozens of meetings and briefings for members and staff.
- **Energy Efficiency:** The Better Buildings Act echoes BPC recommendations. Former Senator Byron Dorgan testified before the House Energy and Commerce Subcommittee on Energy and Power, highlighting BPC's report on U.S. energy strength.
- **Governors' Caucus:** BPCAN collaborated with former governors currently serving in the Senate to form a new Governors' Caucus. BPCAN supports the activities of the caucus, providing policy briefings on topics like workforce development and improvements to the budget process.



BPC Senior Fellow **Pete V. Domenici** greets Senator **Lisa Murkowski** (R-AK)

Former Senator **Jeff Bingaman**, Senator **Al Franken** (D-MN),
and BPC President **Jason Grumet**



2013 BPCAN ADVOCACY: A SNAPSHOT



Electric Grid
Cybersecurity
Initiative Co-Chair
Susan Tierney



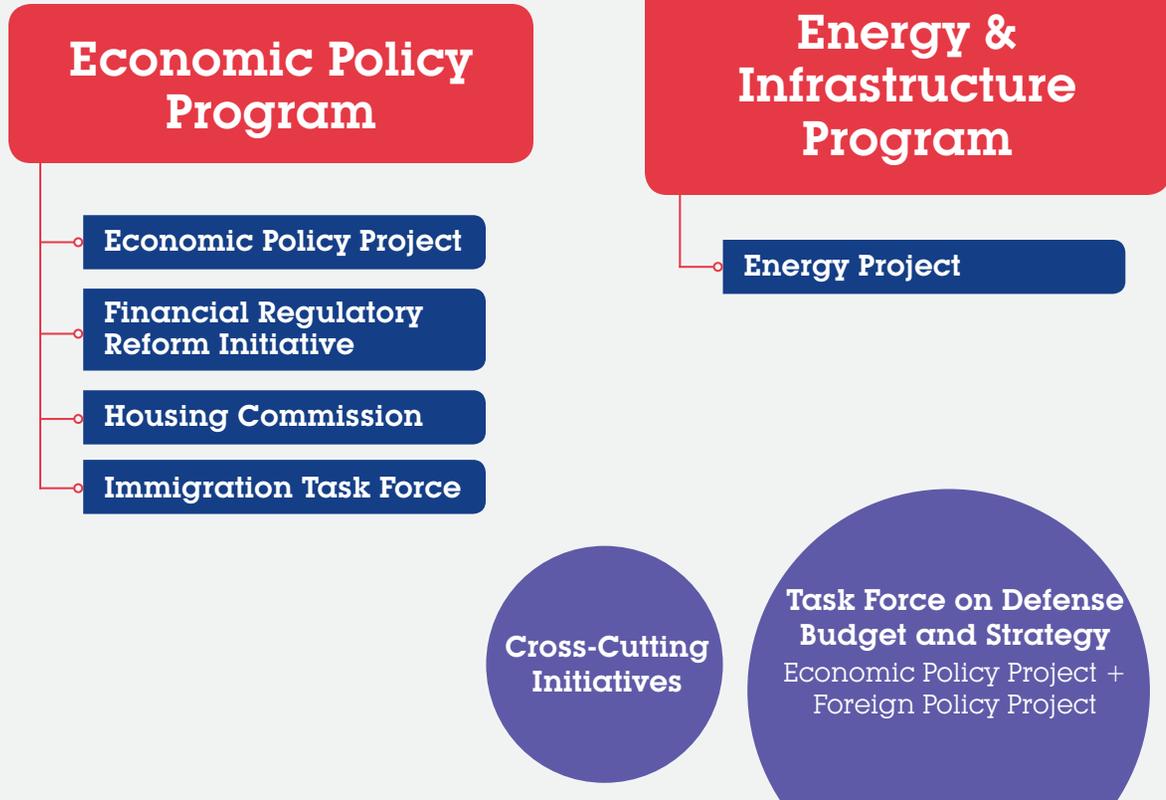
Representative
Pat Tiberi (R-OH)



British Ambassador to
the United States
Sir Peter Westmacott



BPC's Program Structure





National Review's **Reihan Salam** and President of the Nevada State Board of Education **Elaine Wynn** at a CPR event



BPC Senior Fellow
Pete V. Domenici



BPC Senior Fellow and former Senator **Olympia Snowe**, economist **Dr. Alice Rivlin**, former Secretary of Agriculture **Ann Veneman**, and former Senator **Blanche Lincoln**

Governance Program

Commission on Political Reform

Democracy Project

Governors' Council

Health Program

Health Project

Health Innovation Initiative

Nutrition and Physical Activity Initiative

National Security Program

Foreign Policy Project

Homeland Security Project

Health Cost Containment Initiative
Economic Policy Project + Health Project

Electric Grid Cybersecurity Initiative
Energy Project + Homeland Security Project

Governor of the Federal Reserve
Board **Jerome Powell** speaks at BPC

A photograph of Jerome Powell, Governor of the Federal Reserve, speaking at a podium. He is wearing a dark suit, a white shirt, and a pink patterned tie. He is wearing glasses and looking slightly to the right. The background is blurred, showing a microphone and some indistinct shapes. The text 'ECONOM POLICY' is overlaid in large, bold, red letters across the bottom right of the image.

ECONOM POLICY

The role of government in the U.S. economy came into sharp focus in 2013 as debates about the debt, the budget, fiscal reform, financial regulation, housing, and immigration all came to the forefront of national discourse. The Economic Policy Program tackles these issues with a combination of gritty analysis and a sophisticated understanding of the policymaking process.

ECONOMIC POLICY PROJECT

Over the last year, the U.S. economy has been a topic of fierce congressional debate as the federal budget and the statutory debt limit were both subject to intense brinksmanship. In 2013, the Economic Policy Project expanded its contribution as a trusted resource for media, elected officials, and the public—all of whom were trying to parse the complexities of the government shutdown, the sequester, and a threatened default on America's financial obligations.

FINANCIAL REGULATORY REFORM INITIATIVE

The financial crisis exposed fundamental problems in U.S. financial markets and in the regulatory system tasked with overseeing those markets. In response, Congress passed sweeping reforms under the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act. The Financial Regulatory Reform Initiative promotes policies that balance financial stability, economic growth, and consumer protection while enhancing America's financial prosperity, security, and competitiveness. The initiative is working with federal agencies, Congress, and key stakeholders on the implementation of the Dodd-Frank Act and seeking ways to improve the performance and efficiency of the financial regulatory system.

HOUSING COMMISSION

Housing is a key driver of the economy. The collapse of the housing finance system played a significant role in one of the worst recessions the nation has ever experienced. Reforming this system and creating a healthy, stable, and affordable housing market is essential for a strong economy and a competitive America. Federal housing policy, and the institutions that support it, are ill-equipped to respond to today's numerous housing challenges. The BPC Housing Commission has developed a new pragmatic policy roadmap that aims to meet today's housing needs and those of future generations.

IMMIGRATION TASK FORCE

For the first time in years, legislators across both parties seemed galvanized to fix the nation's flawed immigration system. Reform efforts, largely stymied since the failure of comprehensive legislation in 2007, gained serious traction following the 2012 election—and BPC was on top of the issue. The Immigration Task Force launched in early 2013 and quickly went to work developing a set of initial policy recommendations, holding events across the country, and analyzing key issues such as the economic benefits of reform.

IC PROGRAM

Leadership



1



2



3

1. Pete Domenici
Former Senator and
BPC Senior Fellow
2. Dr. Alice Rivlin
Former Director of the Office of
Management and Budget and the
Congressional Budget Office
3. Steve Bell
Senior Director of Economic Policy

ECONOMIC POLICY PROJECT

HIGHLIGHTS

“Uncharted Territory”: Debt and Fiscal Policy

Washington temporarily averted a debt limit disaster, but in the eyes of Wall Street, the debt ceiling still poses a great danger to the world economy. The Economic Policy Project looked to non-congressional financial experts—including Robert Zoellick, former president of the World Bank—to discuss the debt limit debate and how it complicates fiscal issues across the globe. “This monetary policy is in truly uncharted territory,” said Zoellick

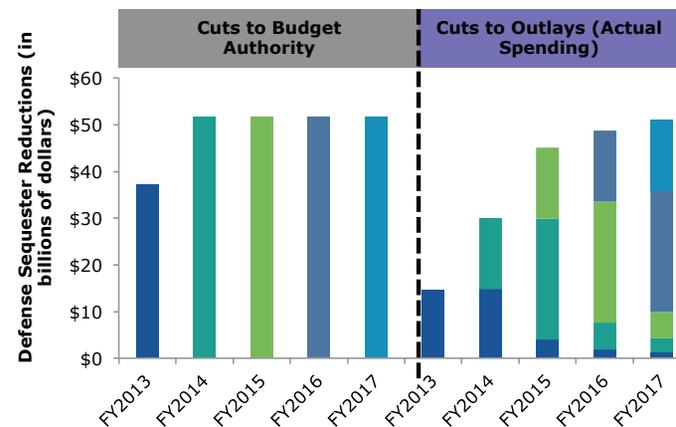
at the project’s “Debt Ceiling and Fiscal Follies” event. Following his speech, a panel of economists debated the financial impacts of defaulting and evaluated the effects of government inaction on the global economy.

From Merely Stupid to Dangerous: The Sequester’s Effects on National and Economic Security

“The indiscriminate and irrational application of sequester cuts in 2013 will have adverse impacts on our military capabilities and

Effects of Sequester Cuts Will Grow Over Time

Although sequestration cut budget authority in 2013, cuts to outlays (actual spending) won’t be anywhere near their total impact until 2015.



Sources: Department of Defense; Bipartisan Policy Center calculations. From BPC’s *What is the Impact of the Defense Sequester on the Economy*.

“The Bipartisan Policy Center—an independent group with a long track record of accurate prognostication—has confirmed that they expect massive job losses across the board if Congress is unable to avert the sequester.”

—Walter Hickey in *Business Insider*

readiness and economic vibrancy”—and will do virtually nothing to ease the nation’s long-term debt crisis. That was the primary conclusion of BPC’s Task Force on Defense Budget and Strategy, a joint effort of the Economic Policy Project and the Foreign Policy Project, in its landmark report, *Indefensible*. The task force worked closely with both houses of Congress and particularly with Senators Carl Levin (D-MI), John McCain (R-AZ), and Lindsey Graham (R-SC) to raise awareness on the Hill and across the country about the national security implications of sequestration. The initiative made a huge splash in government and in the private

sector. In 2013, the Economic Policy Project released a follow up to *Indefensible* detailing how the impact of the sequester, which started in March, would ramp up throughout the year. The report catalogued the impacts so far, including significant reductions to military readiness and reduced long-term investment in medical and scientific research. The analysis also demonstrated that the worst of the economic and national security impacts were yet to come, as budget cuts in one fiscal year will affect outlays (i.e., actual spending) over many years.

BEYOND
BPC

The Economic Policy Project team appeared before more than a dozen different outside groups, including the National Lieutenant Governors Association, the National Academy of Social Insurance, the Annual Convention of the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Press Foundation, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the National League of Cities, the National Conference of State Legislatures, Howard University, Georgetown University, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The project also hosted Federal Reserve Board Governor Jerome H. Powell for an event at BPC.

USA TODAY used data from the Economic Policy Project for a front-page story on the debt limit. Several major news outlets, including *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, MSNBC, CNBC, and Fox News, used charts or data from the project alongside their own reporting.



Senior Director of Economic Policy **Steve Bell**

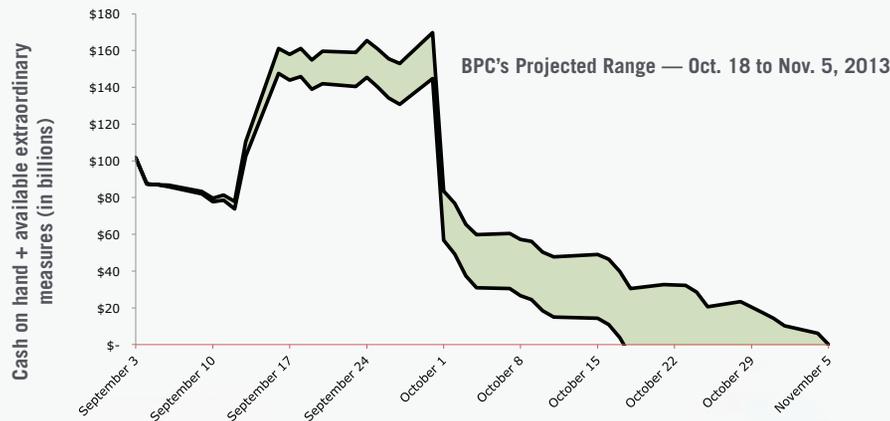
Life Under the Debt Limit

“The Bipartisan Policy Center is considered the gold standard in terms of analysis of the debt ceiling, and to be able to understand the debt ceiling, you have to look at these presentations. I have been following Wall Street analysts’ notes for a long time and I’ve never seen as many notes citing a Washington think tank over the past month and they have been citing BPC so they are useful numbers, they are credible numbers, and they matter.”

—Sudeep Reddy in *The Wall Street Journal*

BPC’s Economic Policy Project is considered one of the nation’s premier resources on this hot-button issue. It’s just another example of an ongoing trend: BPC doesn’t only go to policymakers to persuade them of the best policies for the nation; Congress comes to BPC, especially when it needs expertise and the hard data necessary to develop the best possible policy solutions.

When is the “X Date”?



Note: The projections above are subject to substantial uncertainty and volatility resulting from economic performance, cash flow fluctuations, and other factors.

Source: Bipartisan Policy Center Projections based off of Treasury’s Daily, Monthly, and Direct Government Account Statements. From: BPC blog post “As BPC’s X Date Window Narrows, Economic Risks Grow.”

“This means that the Bipartisan Policy Center’s prediction of an ‘X date’ is dead-on. The venerable think tank estimated that the date when Treasury would run out of financial delay tactics and when it would run out of cash-on-hand—the ‘X date’—would be between Oct. 18 and Nov. 5.”

—Jonathan Capehart in *The Washington Post*



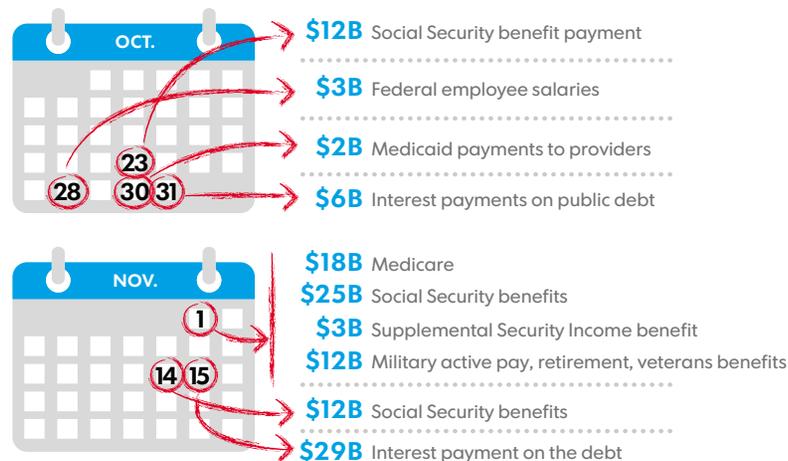
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 2013

NEWS 7A

Debt Ceiling 101: A Look At What Washington Is Fighting About

COUNTDOWN TO THE 'X' DATE

Without authority to borrow more money, the government will have to pay bills from cash on hand. The date when Treasury is unable to pay all of its bills on time and in full is known as the "X" date. The Bipartisan Policy Center estimates that day could be Nov. 1. Here's when some big bills must be paid:



Source: USA TODAY

TOUGH CHOICES

If the "X" date arrives, Treasury might have to decide which payments to make and which to defer. The Bipartisan Policy Center says these are some choices Treasury will face (in billions):

IF YOU CHOOSE TO PAY...	THEN YOU CAN'T FUND...
Interest on Treasury securities \$35B	IRS tax refunds \$4B
Medicare/Medicaid \$69B	Veterans benefits \$4B
Social Security benefits \$49B	Federal salaries + benefits \$24B
Military pay and retirement \$10B	Health and Human Services grants \$7B
Education programs \$12B	Supplemental Security Income \$3B
Defense vendors \$28B	Other agencies ² \$64B
Food stamps, other entitlements \$20B	TOTAL \$106B
TOTAL \$222B¹	

1 – total does not add up due to rounding.
 2 – Department of Justice, Department of Energy, Federal Highway Administration, Federal Aviation Administration, Environmental Protection Agency, FEMA and National Flood Insurance Program)

Sources USA TODAY research, Bipartisan Policy Center, Congressional Budget Office, the White House
 DOUG CARROLL, ANNE R. CAREY, DENNY GAINER, JOAN MURPHY, JANET LOEHRKE AND VERONICA BRAVO, USA TODAY



This morning, I attended a briefing by the Bipartisan Policy Center on the debt ceiling. They did amazing work on this issue. They really got into the weeds on it, more so than anyone I've seen before. They were looking, literally, at how many checks the government sends a month and how our payment software works. I want to tell you some of the things they found because after you hear this, you're not going to want to bust through the debt ceiling."

—Ezra Klein on MSNBC's "The Last Word"

Former World Bank President
Robert Zoellick delivers the
keynote address at a BPC forum





Senior Vice President **Bill Hoagland**, former Chairman of the Senate Budget Committee **Kent Conrad**, former Secretary of Health and Human Services **Tommy Thompson**, former FAA Administrator **Jane Garvey**, former Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations **David Obey**, and former Senator **Don Nickles** at a BPC panel discussion

“This fall, the Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC) issued a devastating report, arguably the most insightful analysis to be found anywhere, on the full impact of the mindless havoc being done to the U.S. military as a result of Washington’s fiscal dysfunction.”

—Economist Tim Kane
in *National Review*

Coming Up in 2014



Personal Savings Initiative. The initiative will launch to examine a major problem confronting Americans: insufficient savings for retirement and other significant life events, like purchasing a home, paying for higher education, or paying for needed long-term care.



Student Loans. Higher education is a savings challenge itself, and there is evidence that rising levels of student debt are delaying homeownership and could be impeding retirement savings. The project will analyze program operations, recent changes, and policy trade-offs.



Debt Limit. The project will continue its work to provide timely and accurate estimates of the “X Date,” the day on which the federal government’s borrowing authority would run out and the United States would not be able to pay all of its bills in full and on time.



Tax Reform. The project will continue its efforts on tax reform with a working group of experts.



The Sequester and Security. The project will encourage the replacement of sequestration with more sensible, long-term deficit reduction, and it will examine potential reforms to the Department of Defense that could replace the senseless, across-the-board cuts.

BPCAN Impact

January 22, 2013

Bill Hoagland, BPC senior vice president, testified before the House Ways and Means Committee on the debt limit.

February 13, 2013

Senator Pete Domenici, BPC senior fellow and BPC Economic Policy Project co-chair, introduced Jacob J. Lew to the Senate Finance Committee during his confirmation hearing.

April/May, 2013

Project experts met with House Ways and Means Committee bipartisan working groups to educate members on tax policies; the Joint Committee on Taxation produced a report on present tax law and suggestions for reform that included an in-depth look at BPC’s Domenici-Rivlin plan.

May 23, 2013

Bill Hoagland testified before the House Ways and Means Committee, Subcommittee on Social Security.

July 31, 2013

Bill Hoagland sent a statement of support for the bipartisan passage of H.R. 1911, the Bipartisan Student Loan Certainty Act of 2013, to the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Leadership



1. Martin Baily
Initiative Co-Chair, Former Chairman
of the Council of Economic Advisers



2. Phillip Swagel
Initiative Co-Chair, Former Assistant
Secretary for Economic Policy at the
Treasury Department



3. Aaron Klein
Director of the Financial Regulatory
Reform Initiative

FINANCIAL REGULATORY REFORM INITIATIVE

HIGHLIGHTS

Improving Consumer Protection— from Both Sides of the Aisle

In 2013, the Financial Regulatory Reform Initiative took an extensive look at the newly created and hotly debated Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB). In September, the initiative's Consumer Protection Task Force released *The Consumer Financial Protection Bureau: Measuring the Progress of a New Agency* with 32 recommendations to improve the agency. But getting there meant serious bipartisanship: Republican task force Co-Chair Richard Fischer agreed to recommend legislation that would increase the bureau's reach; meanwhile,

Democratic task force Co-Chair Eric Rodriguez agreed to improvements of several specific CFPB policies. Ultimately, the task force's report is not only an important analysis of a new agency. It struck a chord: only weeks after its release, *The Wall Street Journal* reported that the CFPB was adopting a key recommendation of the report: ending a policy of including enforcement attorneys in bank examinations.

Failure Is Not an Option

"Too big to fail" is perhaps the most memorable phrase from the U.S. financial crisis. Far too many people believe that the central lesson of the

"Report Urges Changes
at Consumer Protection
Bureau"

—*The Wall Street Journal*

"Derivatives rules: Global
problem needs global solution"

— Financial Regulatory Reform Initiative
Co-Chair Martin Neil Baily and Financial
Regulatory Reform Initiative Director
Aaron Klein in *Reuters*

“The financial crisis of 2008 showed the importance of domestic and international regulatory cooperation.”

—Financial Regulatory Reform Initiative Director Aaron Klein in *The Washington Post*



Financial Regulatory Reform Co-Chair **Martin Baily**



Financial Regulatory Reform Co-Chair **Phillip Swagel**

crisis is that certain institutions are so large and systemically important that governments will never let them go out of business. The Failure Resolution Task Force disagrees. In its landmark report, *Too Big to Fail: The Path to a Solution*, the task force found that innovative new FDIC authorities codified in Title II of Dodd-Frank show great promise for winding down large financial institutions. The task force’s solution—to keep Title II but augment the Bankruptcy Code—is a stark departure from the conventional wisdom and was well received as a thoughtful, politically balanced, and creative approach.

Keeping Track

In April, the Financial Regulatory Reform Initiative launched the BPC Nominations Tracker to serve as a resource to Capitol Hill and the public. The online tracker captures current and historical data on the length of time regulators wait to be nominated by the president and confirmed by the Senate. For example, the initiative’s Nominations Tracker captured each pending day of Richard Cordray’s nomination and confirmation to lead the CFPB.



BPC Nominations Tracker



BIPARTISAN POLICY CENTER



Senator **Mike Johanns** (R-NE) and Senator **Sherrod Brown** (D-OH) shake hands after the BPC event "Does Dodd-Frank Work for Non-Banks? Insurance as the Test Case"

RG

WWW.BIPARTISANPOLICY.C



It has taken an average of 240 days and a median of 134 days for presidents to decide on a nominee for an independent financial regulatory position. The Senate has taken an average of 137 days and a median of 90 days to resolve a nomination.*

Nominees of ...	NUMBER OF DAYS FOR PRESIDENT TO NOMINATE		NUMBER OF DAYS FOR SENATE TO RESOLVE	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
All Agencies	240	134	137	90
Single-Director Agencies	439	402	229	189
All Commission Members	223	123	130	88
Commission Non-Chairs	239	134	129	88
Commission Chairs	74	16	135	71
President Clinton (limited sample)	327	160	193	132
President Bush	181	123	98	51
President Obama	233	167	162	133

* All data as of April 2013. From BPC's *Analysis of the Nominations Process for Financial Regulators*.

Coming Up in 2014



Regulatory Architecture and Systemic Risk Task Forces.

The initiative's two remaining task forces plan to release their white papers by the summer of 2014.



Dodd-Frank Turns Four. The initiative's co-chairs will release a paper consolidating all of the recommendations of its individual task forces.



International Finance Panel. The initiative will host an event to look at the role global banking and finance plays in the modern world. This conference will look at the provision of finance from an industry viewpoint rather than a finance perspective.



Does Dodd-Frank Work For Non-Banks? The initiative plans to continue its series of events on whether the Dodd-Frank Act effectively addresses non-banks. The series will include a closer look at asset management as a test case.

BPC Report Takes Center Stage at Senate Hearing

During the Senate Banking Committee's hearing, "The Consumer Financial Protection Bureau's Semi-Annual Report to Congress," senators questioned CFPB Director Richard Cordray about the efficiency of the bureau. Throughout the hearing, senators from both sides of the aisle cited the Financial Regulatory Reform Initiative's CFPB report, *The Consumer Financial Protection Bureau: Measuring the Progress of a New Agency*. The following are just three highlights:

"The Bipartisan Policy Center has done some reports on the consumer agency, and y'all got very high remarks on QM rulemaking. ... Most people are very happy with that process. ... There has been some criticism—I'm sure you've read it—in the Bipartisan Policy Center report that says we're not doing that on other things. ... All of us want the same thing; that is, we want good practices out there. But I wondered if you wanted to publicly respond to the report on that issue."

—Senator Bob Corker (R-TN)

"I know the CFPB has some indirect ways of getting at this problem, but a recent report from the Bipartisan Policy Center—this report that's been cited now several times—recommends that Congress close this loophole and give the CFPB the authority to make sure that car loans are on the up and up."

—Senator Elizabeth Warren (D-MA)

"I want to go back to something that Senator Corker raised and that's this Bipartisan Policy Center report. They stated that, and I'll just quote a little phrase here, when the CFPB has used a closed-door process to issue guidance and has not broadly gathered input from stakeholders, quality has suffered."

—Senator Pat Toomey (R-PA)

Leadership



1. Christopher S. "Kit" Bond
Former Senator



2. Henry Cisneros
Former Secretary of Housing and
Urban Development



3. Mel Martinez
Former Senator and Secretary of
Housing and Urban Development



4. George J. Mitchell
Former Senate Majority Leader and
BPC Co-Founder



5. Pamela Hughes Patenaude
Director of Housing Policy

HOUSING COMMISSION

HIGHLIGHTS

Housing America

In February 2013, after 16 months of research and deliberation, BPC's Housing Commission released its breakthrough report, *Housing America's Future: New Directions for National Policy*, which provides a detailed blueprint for a reformed housing finance system and proposes a new approach to rental assistance that targets households most in need. Rounding out the commission's report are recommendations for a more sustainable approach to homeownership with housing counseling at its core, ways to more effectively meet the housing needs of the nation's rural families, and a comprehensive focus on helping seniors safely and affordably "age in place" in their own homes and communities. The commission

also hit the road, hosting four regional forums to showcase report recommendations in New York City, Dallas, Los Angeles, and Columbus, Ohio. Commissioners and staff have participated in nearly 100 public events across the country, reaching a combined audience of more than 18,000, and more than 200 articles have been published citing the commission's recommendations. The year brought promising opportunities to work with leaders in the House and Senate on housing finance reform, as well as renewed attention from the White House. At the state level, the commission worked with the National Council of State Housing Agencies to highlight potential savings from bridging the housing and health care sectors.



If you'd asked most commentators around D.C. six months ago, or even three months ago, whether we were going to make any progress on this issue, most would have said no. But we've seen over the last few months the Bipartisan Policy Center, led by a strong bipartisan group of former senators and housing leaders, put out a proposal. We've seen now real movement in the Senate towards strongly bipartisan reform."

—Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Shaun Donovan

Building a Bipartisan Path Forward

The commission's report was timely. The commission has been broadly credited with restarting the stalled debate on housing finance reform. At a Housing Commission event in Washington, Senator Tim Johnson (D-SD), chairman of the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, closed the event by saying that BPC's Housing Commission had "built momentum for reform and shown that there is bipartisan support for a government guarantee in the secondary market." He continued: "It gives me hope that bipartisan consensus is



possible." Speaking at a forum hosted by the Housing Commission in August, Representative Pat Tiberi (R-OH), chairman of the Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures, referenced the commission's affordable housing recommendations and urged attendees to "communicate the value of the Low Income Housing Tax Credit" noting that "to fix problems, we have to work together."

"Reform Plan Offers Path to Reviving Housing Market"

—Housing Commission Co-Chairs
George Mitchell,
Kit Bond, Mel Martinez,
and Henry Cisneros in *POLITICO*

Representative **Job Hensarling** (R-TX) provides keynote remarks at the Housing Commission's Regional Forum in Dallas, Texas



Housing America's Future was the most popular publication on BPC's website in 2013.

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BPC's Pamela Patenaude Selected for *HousingWire's* 2013 Influential Women in Housing

Director of Housing Policy Pamela Patenaude was honored on the cover of the November 2013 edition of *HousingWire* for her work with the BPC Housing Commission. Each year, the magazine highlights a group of influential decision-makers who have distinguished themselves as innovators, entrepreneurs, and trailblazers in the housing sector.



Representative **Maxine Waters** (D-CA), BPC Director of Housing Policy **Pamela Patenaude**, and former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development **Henry Cisneros** at the Housing Commission's Regional Forum in Los Angeles, California

BPC Infographic:

Skyrocketing student loan debt levels may depress household formation and delay a full recovery of the housing market.

The infographic features a red background. At the top left is an icon of a graduation cap with stacks of green bills. To the right, the text reads: "SKYROCKETING STUDENT LOAN DEBT IS A SIGNIFICANT OBSTACLE TO A FULL RECOVERY OF THE HOUSING MARKET AND U.S. ECONOMY". At the bottom is a silhouette of a row of houses.

The infographic has a purple background. At the top, it says "ALTHOUGH THERE IS SOME ENCOURAGING NEWS...". Below this are two white boxes. The first box contains the text: "THE AVERAGE STARTING SALARY FOR A RECENT COLLEGE GRAD IS UP 5% OVER THE LAST YEAR TO \$45,000...". The second box contains the text: "...and credit card debt is on the decline". Below this text are two red downward-pointing arrows. The left arrow contains "39%" and "of young households had any credit-card debt in 2010, compared with 50% in 2001". The right arrow contains "Median debt for those who did owe, fell from \$2,500 TO LESS THAN \$1,700".



I want to thank the Bipartisan Policy Center for the work it has done on housing finance reform. ... Let me also thank the Center for promoting a respectful and constructive dialogue on this subject."

—Representative Jeb Hensarling (R-TX)

BPCAN Impact

March 19, 2013

Mel Martinez, BPC Housing Commission co-chair, testified before the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs on housing finance reform.

November 21, 2013

BPC Housing Commissioner Rob Couch testified before the Senate Banking Committee on housing finance reform.

December 11, 2013

The BPC Housing Commission hosted Senator Tim Johnson (D-SD) and Senator Mike Crapo (R-ID), Chairman and Ranking Member of the Senate Banking Committee, at a forum on bringing private capital into the mortgage market.

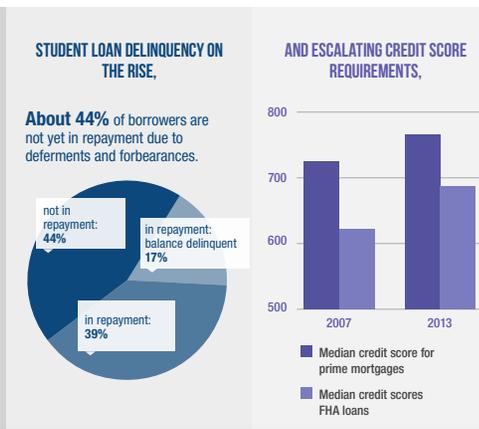
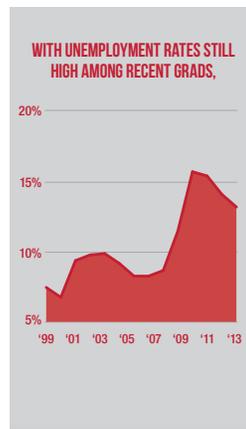
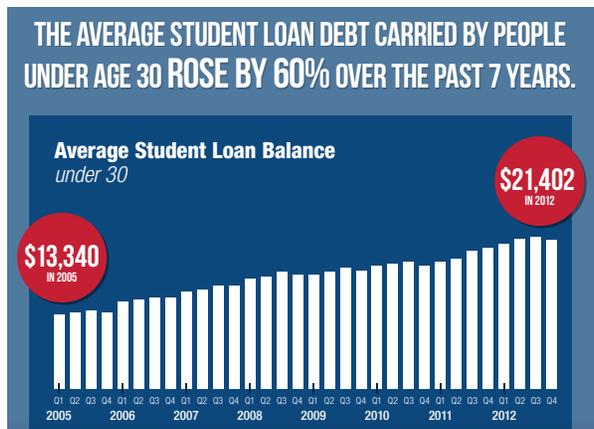
Coming Up in 2014



National Housing Summit. The commission will host New Directions for National Policy: 2014 Housing Summit on September 15-16, 2014, to highlight the importance of housing and housing policy on a national stage.



Building Momentum. The commission will continue to advance and advocate for recommendations in its *Housing America's Future* report.



Leadership



1. Haley Barbour
Former Governor of Mississippi



2. Henry Cisneros
Former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development



3. Ed Rendell
Former Governor of Pennsylvania



4. Condoleezza Rice
Former Secretary of State



5. Rebecca Tallent
Director of Immigration Policy

6. Theresa Brown
Incoming Director
of Immigration Policy

IMMIGRATION TASK FORCE

HIGHLIGHTS

Immigration: “A Vehicle to Grow the American Economy”

“We hope that this bipartisan task force can shed light on some of the challenges of immigration reform and provide some potential solutions,” said former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice at the launch of BPC’s Immigration Task Force. The Silicon Valley event was the first in a series of discussions the task force hosted around the country in 2013. Taking place in the heart of the nation’s technology hub, the first meeting focused on high-skilled, high-tech immigration and, more generally, on the economic benefit of immigrants’ entrepreneurial and innovative contributions to society. The task force met with leaders from the tech industry to discuss building bipartisan support for comprehensive

immigration reform. “Immigration reform should be a vehicle to grow the American economy,” said former Governor Haley Barbour. “Here in Silicon Valley, there is an understanding of the need for high-skilled labor, whether it is science, technology, or other types of high skills that generate economic growth.”

Making Immigration Work

Among the many problems the United States faces is a large community of individuals living without the responsibilities and privileges of legal status. Today, these individuals are not living up to their economic potential and are costing the United States millions of dollars in law-enforcement efforts. Because of their undocumented status, these individuals are also open to exploitation by those who



It’s easy to conclude, with Congress seemingly gridlocked on so many issues, that comprehensive immigration reform will be yet another casualty of today’s divisive politics. But where some may see conflict, we see real progress.”

—Immigration Task Force Co-Chairs Condoleezza Rice, Ed Rendell, Haley Barbour, and Henry Cisneros in *POLITICO*

capitalize on the shadow economy. As a nation, Americans can no longer afford to turn away and ignore the status quo: the de facto amnesty that exists today. BPC's Immigration Task Force, a politically diverse group working toward bipartisan consensus around the key immigration reform issues, agreed to focus on a set of principles in the following areas: controlling the flow of unauthorized immigration, legalization and citizenship, legal immigration, and economic impacts.

Immigration Reform by the Numbers

At the heart of the ongoing immigration reform debate is the question of the anticipated costs and benefits of reform. Assessing the impact of the various reform proposals on economic

growth, wages, housing markets, and the federal budget is critical to making an informed judgment as to whether enactment of reform legislation is in the best interest of the country. That's why the Immigration Task Force released a study of the economic and budgetary impacts of varying policy frameworks for immigration reform: *Immigration Reform: Implications for Growth, Budgets, and Housing*. Following the paper's release, top economists discussed the findings and the role of immigration reform in economic growth during a panel at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

\$68 Billion PER YEAR

the amount housing recovery stands to be boosted by immigration reform



Former Mississippi Governor **Haley Barbour** and former Florida Governor **Jeb Bush**

Coming Up in 2014



Detailed Recommendations. Building on the set of principles released in 2013, the Immigration Task Force will develop and release more detailed policy recommendations on critical areas in need of reform, including border and interior immigration enforcement, addressing the unauthorized population, and making changes to the way in which future immigrants—permanent and temporary—enter the country.



Economics. The task force will highlight immigration's economic and demographic implications through a series of white papers and events. Key issues include wage implications, the housing sector, the health care workforce, and state-level economic and fiscal trends.



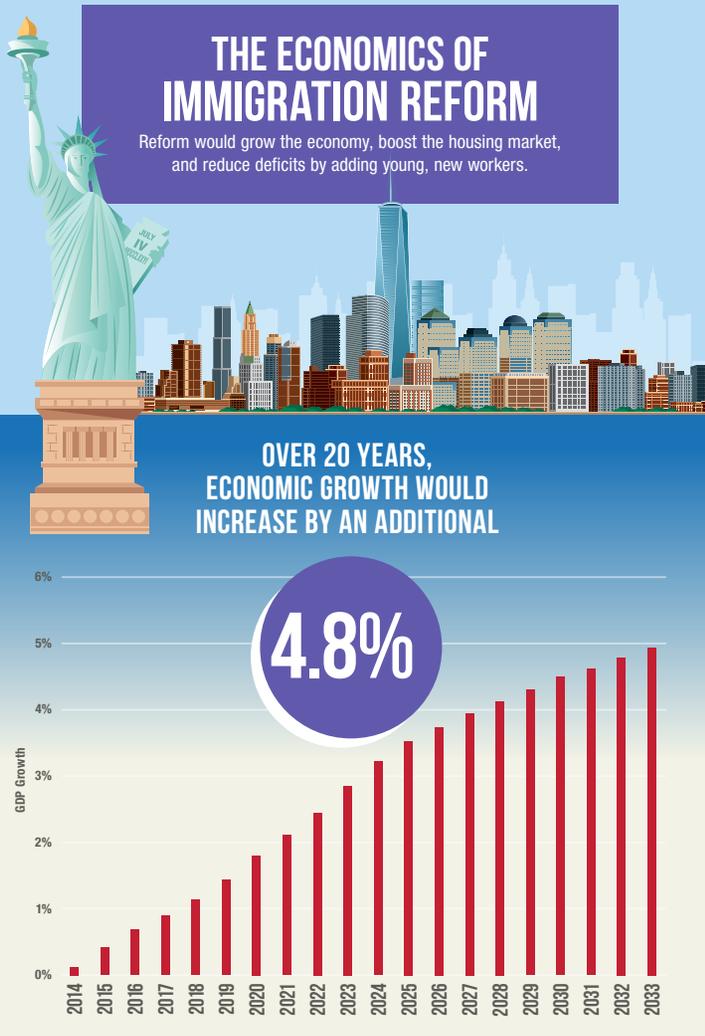
Forums and Advocacy. The task force will release its recommendations and staff papers at public events that explore different aspects of immigration reform and promote bipartisan consensus.

Members of BPC's Immigration Task Force: Former Representative **John Shadegg**, former Mississippi Governor **Haley Barbour**, former Secretary of Labor **Hilda L. Solis**, former Pennsylvania Governor **Ed Rendell**, former Secretary of State **Condoleezza Rice**, former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development **Henry Cisneros**, and former Representative **Howard Berman**



BPC Infographic:

In October, the Immigration Task Force released the following infographic showing the implications of immigration reform for economic growth, housing, and the federal budget.



YOUNG NEW WORKERS

4.4%



SIZE INCREASE IN LABOR FORCE In part because →

94%

65↓

OF NEW RESIDENTS WOULD BE UNDER 65

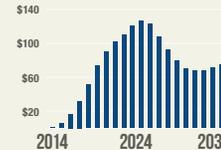
HOUSING DEMAND

NEW IMMIGRANTS WOULD JUMP-START THE HOUSING RECOVERY.

RESIDENTIAL CONSTRUCTION SPENDING WOULD INCREASE

\$68B

PER YEAR



LONG-TERM WAGE INCREASES

REAL WAGES WOULD RISE

0.5%

BY 2033



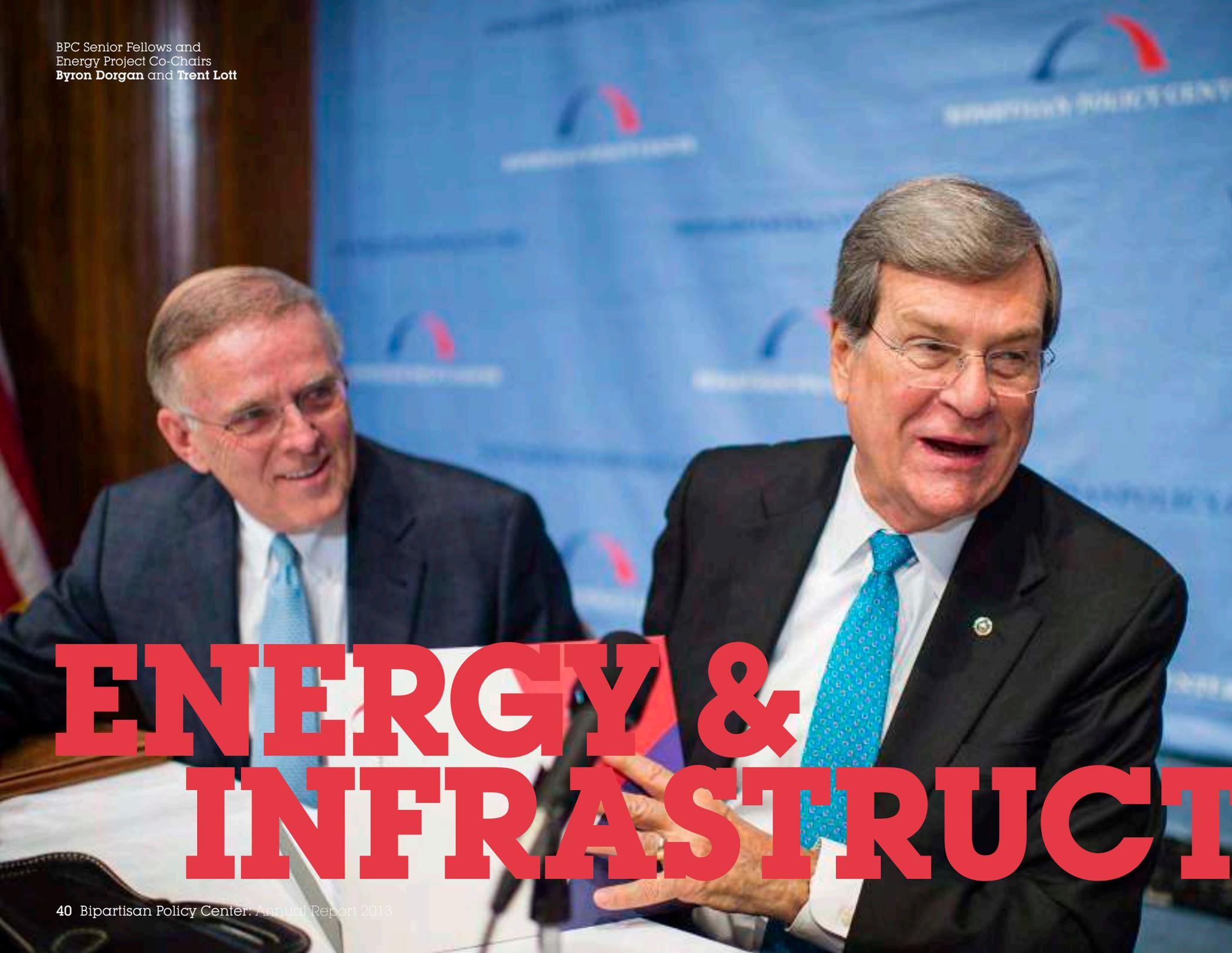
NEW, YOUNG WORKERS AND A BIGGER ECONOMY WOULD REDUCE DEFICITS BY

\$1.2 TRILLION

OVER 20 YEARS

“It makes little economic and moral sense to allow these unauthorized individuals to remain in the shadows of our society on a permanent basis.”

—Immigration Task Force Co-Chairs Condoleezza Rice, Ed Rendell, Haley Barbour, and Henry Cisneros in *POLITICO*



ENERGY & INFRASTRUCTURE

The U.S. energy landscape is in a state of rapid change. Energy use has declined across the country, and domestic production of oil and gas has surged. In just a few short years, the U.S. energy profile has been transformed to one of surprising strength. At the same time, the domestic energy renaissance poses significant geopolitical challenges and raises new concerns over climate change and environmental sustainability. Meanwhile, U.S. infrastructure—from power plants to pipelines—is straining to keep pace with these new dynamics while the nation’s most exciting innovators strive to lead the way in energy breakthroughs in an increasingly competitive environment. The Energy and Infrastructure Program works with a diverse array of stakeholders to tackle the tough issues affecting America’s energy and environmental future.

ENERGY PROJECT

2013 was a big year for BPC’s Energy Project. The Strategic Energy Policy Initiative (SEPI) released more than 50 recommendations to address new realities in U.S. energy. Specifically, the report prioritized pursuing a diverse portfolio of energy resources, improving the energy productivity of the economy, accelerating energy innovation, and improving energy policy governance. SEPI strongly supported the need for a Quadrennial Energy Review, which is now well underway by the executive branch, and was touted by a bipartisan group of senators on Capitol Hill, spearheaded by Senator Mark Pryor (D-AR).

The Energy Project report, *Capitalizing on the Evolving Power Sector: Policies for a Modern and Reliable U.S. Electric Grid*, offered policy recommendations aimed at improving electric system reliability and facilitating the transition to cleaner electricity and new energy technologies. Key recommendations to encourage the siting of wind production facilities were incorporated into Representative Jim Sensenbrenner’s (R-WI) proposed “Powering America for Tomorrow Act” in July.

The Energy Project also launched new efforts in 2013. A series of high-level events focusing on the new geopolitics of petroleum and natural gas brought together leading experts and policymakers to analyze and assess the domestic and international implications of the U.S. energy resurgence. The Electric Grid Cybersecurity Initiative—a joint effort with BPC’s Homeland Security Project—began deliberating on policy options to protect the North American electric grid from cyber attacks. To examine and debate the Environmental Protection Agency’s upcoming regulation of existing U.S. power plant emissions, BPC led two widely-attended workshops—jointly with the National Association of Regulatory Utility Commissioners—that featured industry experts, state representatives, public utility commissioners, advocacy groups, and others. Finally, the American Energy Innovation Council (AEIC) encouraged more public and private energy R&D in an era of slow economic growth.

URE PROGRAM

Leadership



1



2



3



4



5



6



7

- 1. Byron Dorgan**
Former Senator
and BPC Senior Fellow
- 2. Trent Lott**
Former Senate Majority Leader
and BPC Senior Fellow
- 3. General James L. Jones**
Former National Security Advisor
and BPC Senior Fellow
- 4. William K. Reilly**
Former EPA Administrator
- 5. Margot Anderson**
Executive Director of
the Energy Project
- 6. Joe Kruger**
Director for Energy & Environment
- 7. Tracy Terry**
Director for Energy Security

ENERGY PROJECT

HIGHLIGHTS

Homegrown Energy

The Energy Project's work on natural gas issues in 2013—especially its landmark report, *New Dynamics of the U.S. Natural Gas Markets*—captured the attention of a number of policymakers. The Department of Energy also cited *New Dynamics* in its own work on liquefied natural gas exports. *New Dynamics* focused on the nation's new gas supplies, assessed their impact on the energy system, and explored opportunities to expand natural gas use in ways that improve the economic and environmental performance of the U.S. energy system.

Boom! Oil and Gas in America

The United States is expected to surpass Saudi Arabia as the world's largest oil producer by the end of this decade, shifting significant influence from the Middle East to the West. "Sorting through the ramifications of this revolution is no easy task," said Senator Lisa Murkowski (R-AK)

at the first in a four-part BPC series on the "New Geopolitics of Petroleum and Natural Gas." The series focused on recent and emerging trends in global oil and natural gas production and their impact on energy markets, diplomacy, and economic growth. New production technology has unleashed vast reserves dramatically altering U.S. energy options. The Energy Project is continuing to lead the discussion on these groundbreaking developments. "It is almost as if we are in an economic Olympics," said Senator Ron Wyden (D-OR). "And the United States gets a lead out of the blocks due to natural gas. We want bipartisan policies that extend that lead."

Blackout Prevention: Cybersecurity and the Electric Grid

BPC created the Electric Grid Cyber Security Initiative in May to develop recommendations for how multiple government agencies and private companies can protect the North

"It will take more than improvements in energy efficiency to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to recommended levels."

—Energy Project Executive Director Margot Anderson in *POLITICO*

American electric grid from cyber-attacks. Former CIA and NSA Director General Hayden, one of the initiative co-chairs, indicated that the Internet was not designed to be protected: “We expect the government to control and defend our airspace. I don’t think that’s true—or at least it’s not as true—in the cyber domain.” The Electric Grid Cybersecurity Initiative combines expertise from BPC’s Energy and Homeland Security Project to examine cyber-attack prevention and response, privacy protections, and intelligence-sharing about cyber threats and system vulnerabilities.

The Initiative will release a final report with recommendations in early 2014 and implement an aggressive communications and advocacy campaign.

Power Struggle

In 2013, President Obama highlighted greenhouse gas regulation of power plants as a key feature of his Climate Action Plan. The president also directed the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to issue rules limiting the carbon emissions of the nation’s existing fleet of power plants. BPC’s Energy Project, along with the National Association of Regulatory Utility Commissioners, convened a series of workshops to explore a wide range of policy and technical issues. As EPA moves forward, the Energy Project will be analyzing the costs, environmental impacts, and regional implications of these new and far-reaching policy decisions.

“If we fail at electricity, we’re going to fail miserably,’ Curt Hébert, a former chairman of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, said at a recent conference held by the Bipartisan Policy Center.”

—*The New York Times*



Executive Director of BPC’s Energy Project **Margot Anderson**

Energized America's New Energy Landscape

The United States is more energy secure than it has been in a generation.

“Our country is in a very different position in terms of energy supply than it was just a few years ago,” says BPC Energy Project Co-Chair Byron Dorgan. “We must use this era of energy abundance as the ideal time to drive a diversity of policies.”

That’s a theme of the Energy Project’s flagship report, *America’s Energy Resurgence: Sustaining Success, Confronting Challenges*, which was among the first to grapple with the broad implications of new U.S. trends in energy efficiency and domestic production. In 2013, the Energy Project made cutting-edge policy recommendations that reflect this new energy landscape, so that the nation can continue to be a global leader in long-term energy prosperity and security.

For some, this meant adapting long-held ideas about energy to a new, dynamic energy scene. “I’ve always been more of a proponent of traditional energy resources and fossil fuels,” says BPC Energy Project Co-Chair Trent Lott, “but through this project, we were each required to budge a little and keep an open mind so the group could reach a consensus.”

That consensus was driven by a desire for policies that reflect the nation’s new energy reality. The United States has cut its energy needs by more than 50 percent since 1973, a trend that shows no signs of slowing. What’s more, America not only has a diversity of energy resources; it also has the innovative capacity and entrepreneurial spirit to improve productivity. That’s why domestic oil, natural gas, and renewable energy production are up—and energy imports are down. New energy development is even driving a jobs boom in many parts of the country, and lower energy costs are helping the manufacturing sector.

Nevertheless, challenges remain: affordable energy is a reach for many households and businesses, the oil and gas boom comes with environmental concerns, the electric grid needs to tackle infrastructure upgrades and renewable resource integration, energy R&D needs to be ramped up to maintain a competitive edge, and market volatility and international competition for energy remain serious issues.

But Americans are fortunate: The United States has enormous energy strengths. Acknowledging these strengths, the Strategic Energy Policy Initiative developed a blueprint for ensuring the nation’s energy prosperity, security, and sustainability in the 21st century.

“Honestly, if we can’t get natural gas right, then the chances that we will get oil right are pretty slim.”

—Senator Lisa Murkowski (R-AK) at the BPC event
“New Geopolitics of Petroleum and Natural Gas”

“I’ve got a big job on my hands,” said John Lyons, Kentucky’s assistant secretary for climate policy, at an event yesterday hosted by the Bipartisan Policy Center. “Over the years, it hasn’t been a goal for the state to diversify, due to our coal resources.”

—*E&E News*

“U.S. Moving Toward a Future of Energy ‘Made in America’”

—BPC Energy Project Co-Chairs Trent Lott and Byron Dorgan in *The Hill*

BPCAN Impact

April 10, 2013

Energy Project Executive Director Margot Anderson submitted comments to the House Ways and Means Committee on comprehensive tax reform and energy tax expenditures.

April 18, 2013

Former Senators Trent Lott and Byron Dorgan submitted a letter of support for energy-efficiency legislation introduced by Senators Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH) and Rob Portman (R-OH).

April 25, 2013

AEIC member Chad Holliday submitted letters of support to Senate and House appropriations committees urging them to prioritize clean-energy innovation programs like ARPA-E (Advanced Research Projects Agency-Energy).

April 26, 2013

Former Senator Pete Domenici and Dr. Warren F. Miller, BPC Nuclear Initiative co-chairs, submitted a letter to the Senate Appropriations Committee encouraging funding for U.S. nuclear energy programs.

May 7, 2013

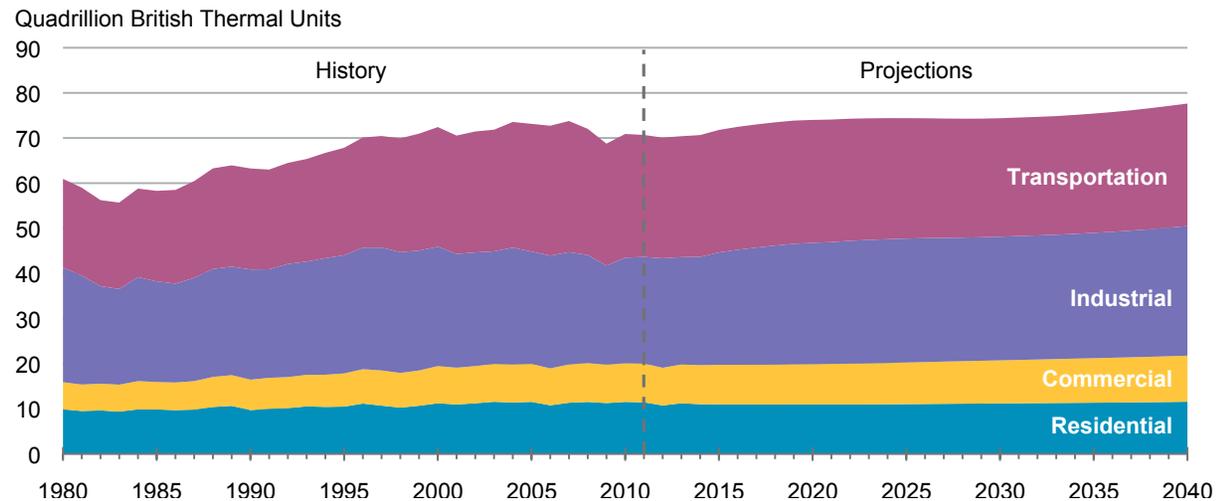
Former Senator Byron Dorgan testified before the House Energy and Commerce Committee, Subcommittee on Energy and Power, on U.S. energy abundance.

August 1, 2013

AEIC member Chad Holliday sent letters of support to Representatives Larry Bucshon (R-IN), Daniel Lipinski (D-IL), and Chris Collins (R-NY)—members on the House Science, Space, and Technology Committee, Subcommittee on Research and Technology—on their draft of the Innovative Approaches to Technology Act of 2013.

Energy Efficiency: A Critical Resource

The Energy Information Administration projects that total energy use in 2040 will be just 10 percent higher than in 2010, even though the U.S. population will have grown by 29 percent and the economy will have grown by 108 percent over the same time.



U.S. Energy Consumption by Sector, 1980-2040. From BPC’s *America’s Energy Resurgence: Sustaining Success, Confronting Challenges*.



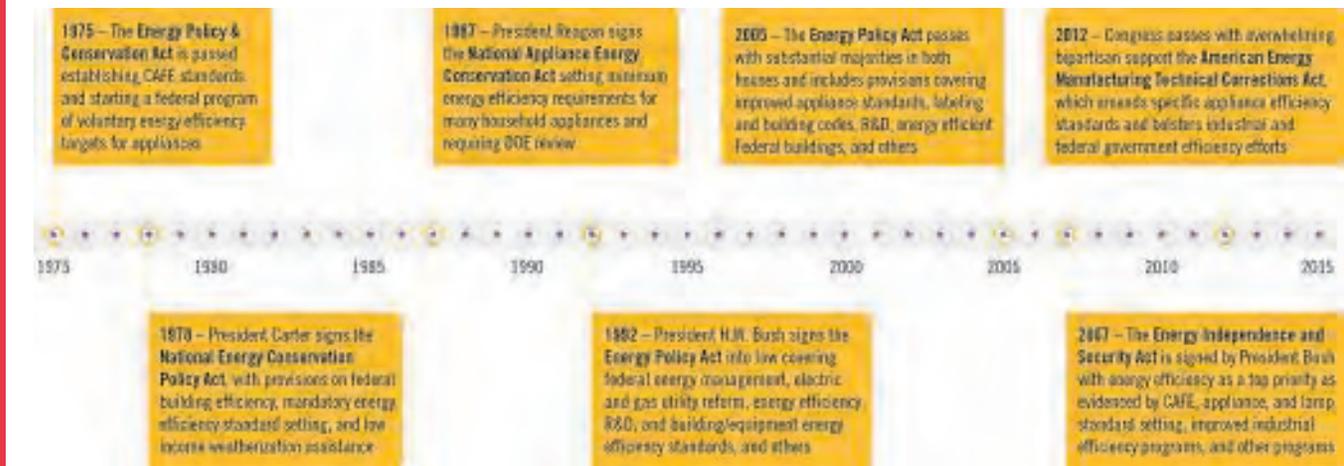
NARUC First Vice President and Florida Public Service Commissioner **Lisa Edgar** and Deputy Secretary of the Maryland Department of the Environment **Kathy Kinsey** at a BPC roundtable discussion



Former Director of both the CIA and the NSA, and a Co-Chair of BPC's Electric Grid Cybersecurity Initiative, **General Michael Hayden** (ret.)

BPC Infographic:

Bipartisan legislation has been successful at reducing the nation's energy use and also at minimizing the energy footprint of the federal government.





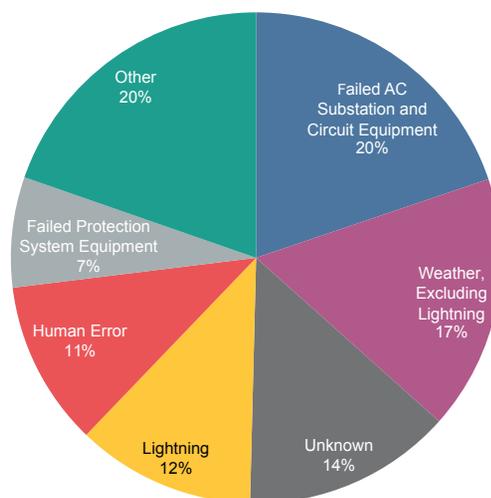
BPC Director for Energy and Environment **Joe Kruger** with BPC's Electric Grid Initiative Co-Chairs: former FERC Chairman **Curt Hébert**, former Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Energy and Air Quality **Rick Boucher**, and Director of the Project for Sustainable FERC Energy Policy at the NRDC **Allison Clements**

Top Ten Outage Occurrences By Cause

Source: "2012 State of Reliability." North American Electric Reliability Corporation. (2012): 10. http://www.nerc.com/files/2012_SOR.pdf.

Note: Percent is out of total number of outages. Other includes fire, vandalism, terrorism or other malicious acts, failed AC/DC terminal equipment, failed DC circuit equipment, vegetation, environmental, contamination, foreign interference, or power system conditions.

From BPC's *Capitalizing on the Evolving Power Sector: Policies for a Modern and Reliable U.S. Electric Grid*.



Coming Up in 2014



Greenhouse Gas Regulation. The Energy Project will continue to lead constructive discussions among critical stakeholders as EPA creates a robust, flexible framework that will lead to significant long-term emission reductions in the power sector.



Sustainable Natural Gas Production. The project will develop and advocate for policies to reduce methane emissions as well as address other environmental impacts of shale oil and gas production.



Renewable Fuels Standard. The project is reviewing which aspects of the federal renewable fuel program could benefit from reform and will produce policy recommendations.



GOVERN

Members of the Commission on Political Reform at the first Town Hall in California

A

mericans are rightly concerned about the federal government's ability to solve problems. BPC's Governance Program works to understand the true causes of political polarization and to develop proposals to increase government's capacity and competence. BPC works to diminish the partisan intensity that undermines deliberation and collaboration, as well as make recommendations to increase government's functionality, despite the polarization in Congress and across the country. Heartfelt ideological differences and aggressive debate are the engines of a functioning democracy. BPC's Governance Program is focused on creating a political environment that can produce effective and resilient public policy.

COMMISSION ON POLITICAL REFORM

The Commission on Political Reform engages the public in a national campaign to ensure that the United States continues to be a dynamic democracy. Commissioners—such as political leaders, scholars, communications experts, social activists, and religious leaders—connect with the public through national conversations and via social media. The commission launched in 2013 with two main purposes—to understand the causes and

consequences of America's partisan political divide and to advocate for specific reforms to help Americans achieve shared national goals. The commission is considering concrete but achievable reforms to the nation's congressional gridlock and electoral system dysfunction while promoting public service. They are shaping policy recommendations for release in June 2014 with an eye toward making U.S. institutions work better in a polarized world.

DEMOCRACY PROJECT

The Democracy Project conducts research and advocacy on improvements to U.S. democratic institutions. The Democracy Project focused on strengthening civil discourse in government and addressing institutional and structural barriers that make it more difficult for politicians to work together. After all, many of the nation's greatest achievements have resulted from principled compromises between Democrats and Republicans.

GOVERNORS' COUNCIL

In 2013, the Governors' Council key issues include Medicaid and workforce development. Founded in 2011, the Governors' Council enables BPC to better understand the changing landscape outside Washington and to promote policies to improve the federal-state relationship. Many governors believe that this relationship is increasingly falling short of the ideal. Too often, policies adopted at the national level result in federal overreach, impose unfunded mandates, trigger unintended consequences, and stifle state innovation. The council brings together a bipartisan group of former governors to offer practical solutions to public policy challenges critical to the nation.

FINANCE PROGRAM

Leadership



1



2



3



4



5



6



7

1. Tom Daschle
Former Senate Majority Leader
and BPC Co-Founder
2. Dan Glickman
Former Secretary of Agriculture
and BPC Senior Fellow
3. Dirk Kempthorne
Former Governor of Idaho
4. Trent Lott
Former Senate Majority Leader
and BPC Senior Fellow
5. Olympia Snowe
Former Senator and
BPC Senior Fellow
6. Dr. John C. Fortier
Co-Director of the Commission
on Political Reform
7. Michele Nellenbach
Co-Director of the Commission
on Political Reform

COMMISSION ON POLITICAL REFORM

HIGHLIGHTS

The Commission on Political Reform Launches

The Commission on Political Reform formally launched in March 2013 at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library in Simi Valley, California, where commissioners focused on the effects of increasing polarization among elected officials and the electorate itself. The event included an interactive public town hall hosted by *USA TODAY*'s Susan Page and a series of panels on hyper-partisanship in Congress and obstacles to public service at the state and federal levels. Prior to the event, BPC and *USA TODAY* conducted a national opinion poll on political

polarization and public engagement in politics. That same week, *USA TODAY* ran a front-page story about the poll and the commission.

A Town Hall at the National Constitution Center

A second commission event was held in July 2013 in Philadelphia at the National Constitution Center. The commission focused on barriers to public service and ways to encourage a new generation of Americans to serve their country. The event included a public town hall session that touched on topics such as encouraging greater public service, reforming the presidential



We need to remember that we are still Americans and ought to be working together for this country, not just the parties.”

—Commission Co-Chair and former Idaho Governor Dirk Kempthorne

Political Partisanship Mirrors Public

“Democrats and Republicans are not just more divided ideologically but also less collaborative in practice than at any time in our careers. Even more troublingly, we suspect that much of America is similarly riven along party lines, goaded to partisanship by increasingly shrill voices in politics, the news media and well-funded interests.”

—Commission Co-Chairs and BPC Senior Fellows Olympia Snowe and Dan Glickman in *USA TODAY*

Election Reform Can Counter Political Dysfunction

“Instead of lamenting gridlock and partisan paralysis, our commission seeks solutions from both sides of the ideological spectrum interested in moving the debate forward.”

—Commission members and former Representatives Henry Bonilla and Charles Gonzalez in *The Hill*

appointments process, and making elective public office more attractive. BPC and *USA TODAY* commissioned their second joint national poll for the event on public service, which led to another front-page story in *USA TODAY*.

Talking Electoral Reform in Ohio

The commission wrapped up the year in October at the Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio. The commission discussed challenges in election administration and possible electoral reforms. The commission was joined by Ohio Secretary of State Jon Husted, Minnesota Secretary of State Mark Ritchie, former Ohio Governors Ted

Strickland and Bob Taft, and former Speaker of the Ohio State House Jo Ann Davidson. The co-chairs of the Presidential Commission on Election Administration, Robert Bauer and Ben Ginsberg, joined Husted and Ritchie for a discussion on modernizing voter registration and improving election administration. Participants throughout the day referred to the third BPC and *USA TODAY* national opinion poll, this time focusing on elections and electoral reform, which again was covered in a front-page story in *USA TODAY*.

America the Partisan?

“Americans who blame Washington politicians for the polarization and gridlock of the nation’s politics might want to look in the mirror: Like the elected officials they decry, voters tend to automatically retreat into partisan camps even when they disagree with the party line on policy.

A *USA TODAY*/BPC Poll shows that the officials who have been unable to avert the automatic spending cuts known as sequestration—the current debate centers more on who’s to blame for them—in some ways reflect constituents who view the opposition party as deeply untrustworthy and its positions extreme. Though most Republican and Democratic voters say American politics are more polarized than the American people are, the findings indicate that on that they’re wrong.”

—from “Political Partisanship Mirrors Public”
by Susan Page in *USA TODAY*

USA TODAY

10.15.13

A GANNETT COMPANY

USA TODAY/BIPARTISAN POLICY CENTER POLL

‘I don’t feel like my voice is being heard’

A majority of Americans say end hyperpartisanship in Congress



MAX WHITMER, GETTY IMAGES

WASHINGTON The capital’s shutdowns and showdowns have tested the patience even of the Senate chaplain. “Save us from the madness,” he prayed at the opening of one session last week. But how, exactly?

Which is more important to you?



78% of Democrats
Making sure every individual who has a right to vote is allowed to exercise that right.

The roots of the nation’s polarized and sometimes paralyzed politics, decades in the making, are too complex and far-reaching to be easily reversed or resolved. Even so, some political scientists and politicians argue that making simple changes — expanding who can vote in primary elections, for instance, or rethinking how legislative districts are drawn — could make a difference in the kind of government that follows.

A nationwide *USA TODAY*/Bipartisan Policy Center poll finds a majority of Americans support a range of proposals aimed at easing hyperpartisanship and building confidence in elections. Some command the sort of broad bipartisan backing rare in national politics.

Allow independents to vote in primaries? Yes. Require photo IDs to

curb voter fraud? Definitely. Find an alternative to having legislatures draw congressional districts? Maybe. Vote over the Internet? Well, no.

Susan Deneen, 42, of Lynchburg, Va., would welcome changes that might address the political impasse. “I feel like our country is getting polarized, and it’s becoming harder and harder to come to any agreement,” the adjunct professor in sociology at Liberty University, who was called in the poll, said in a follow-up interview. “I don’t feel like my voice is being heard.”

The survey of 1,000 adults by Republican pollster Whit Ayres and Democratic pollster Mark Mellman, taken Sept. 19-23, has a margin of error of +/-3 percentage points.

Today, *USA TODAY* and the Bipartisan Policy Center are sponsoring a

▶ STORY CONTINUES ON 6A

Which is more important to you?



54% of Republicans
Making sure no one commits voter fraud and harms the rights of legitimate voters.

Source: *USA TODAY*

6A NEWS
WASHINGTON

Fine-tuning could free D.C. to function

CONTINUED FROM 1A

"town hall" at Ohio State University — the third in a series this year — with a panel of former governors, members of Congress, Cabinet secretaries and others to discuss potential repercussions of electoral changes.

"I'm always a little skeptical when someone gives you the silver bullet, but there are a lot of ways in which election laws shape politics and politics in turn shapes governance," says Heather Gerken, a Yale Law School professor who studies election law. Ohio Secretary of State Jon Husted, a Republican, says that if congressional districts had been drawn in a

"I feel like our country is getting polarized."

Southwestern, Lynchburg, Va.

less partisan way, "I don't think there'd be a government shutdown."

Incumbent lawmakers who benefit from the current system often are reluctant to change it, but California voters passed Proposition 13 in 1988, establishing an independent commission to draw state district lines, and expanded that in 2008 to congressional districts with Prop. 20.

The standoff in Washington could spur Rob Richie, executive director of advocacy group FairVote.org. "Out of this crisis, we are inevitably going to have a conversation about fundamental reforms that aren't even on the table now," he predicts.

In the poll, Americans told us:



DISTRICT LINES

Who should draw legislative districts?



Source: USA TODAY/Bipartisan Policy Center. Poll of 1,000 adults Sept. 19-23. Margin of error: ±3 percentage points.

1. Who should draw districts?

Most states leave the job of drawing legislative lines to the state legislature and the governor, who typically try to maximize their party's prospects by devising safely Republican or Democratic districts. That reduces the number of swing seats, where either side has a reasonable chance of winning.

In 1998, the non-partisan Cook Political Report counted 161 swing seats in the 435-member House. For the tentatively competitive districts that have been nearly halved, to 90.

"If a district is competitive, the question in the primary will be who

can appeal to the independent voters, the middle voters, the center?" says Minnesota Secretary of State Mark Ritchie, a Democrat. "If the district is simply a matter of appealing to the voters in the base within their party."

Change that, he says, and "that will change who goes to Washington, for sure."

Those surveyed are open to changing the current method, though they don't endorse behind a single alternative. One-third like the idea of a bipartisan commission of state officials.

One in five others having the state supreme court draw districts. Slightly

more than one in four want to stick with state legislatures and governors.

"I like the idea of the bipartisan commission," says Deborah Wright, 53, a tax attorney from Atlantic City, who was among those called "It's the Democrats and the Republicans, right? That would seem fair to me!"

While Democrats and independents prefer the bipartisan commission most, Republicans are inclined to prefer the current system — maintain control of the House of Representatives even though Democratic candidates received more total votes last year.

USA TODAY and BPC's Commission on Political Reform conducted several polls examining public attitudes about polarization in politics, public service, and voting and the electoral process. The following are just some of the findings as they appeared in USA TODAY:

"Partisanship Mirrors Public"

March 6, 2013

BPC/USA TODAY National Survey on Political Polarization.

"The poll reveals a deeply polarized America, one where voters take cues from political parties. Nevertheless, the poll also shows there are many potential areas for agreement in political discourse. The commission is using these results to engage the public in conversations and to develop policy to improve a polarized political system."

"Public Service Valued; Politics—Not So Much"

July 22, 2013

BPC/USA TODAY National Survey on Public Service.

"Americans are more interested in community service than in running for office. They are also largely in favor of stipends and educational incentives for those involved in full-time public service, like AmeriCorps or Peace Corps. A majority of Americans are even in favor of mandatory national service for young adults. The commission is developing recommendations to improve opportunities for public service."

"American Support Fine-Tuning Election Policy"

October 15, 2013

BPC/USA TODAY National Survey on the Electoral Process.

"The poll showed an expected divide between Republicans and Democrats on electoral reform—with the former prioritizing the integrity of the voting process and the latter focused on minimizing barriers to the polls. Still, some traditionally Republican and Democratic positions did not hold: e.g., a majority of respondents favored requiring people to show ID when voting. This poll helps the commission understand highly charged issues as it examines electoral reform."

TOWN HALL MEETING

USA TODAY and the Bipartisan Policy Center are sponsoring a national "town hall" on electoral policy this afternoon on the campus of Ohio State University. Current and former governors, Cabinet secretaries, members of Congress, secretaries of State and others will discuss proposals to change the way elections are held, part of a year-long exploration of the causes of and potential solutions to political partisanship and polarization.

You can watch the conversation online, livestreamed at supportuspolicy.org/ or engageUSA.com, and submit questions and comments via e-mail or Twitter. Use the hashtag #EngageUSA.

2. Who should vote in primaries?

Changes in redistricting might not have much impact because Americans increasingly choose to live in communities with people who share their political views. It means even districts that aren't gerrymandered are likely to be dominated by one party who choose candidates by allowing independents to cast ballots in primaries could boost contenders in the middle of the political spectrum rather than at the extremes.

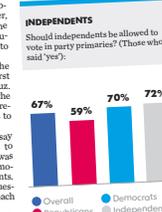
That's precisely what Bruce Zurchick, 55, an independent from Houston who was among those surveyed, tries to do when he votes in the GOP primary. Texas doesn't have ballots in either party's primaries. "Here in Texas, it's pretty much a foregone conclusion that the Republican candidate will be the winner, and I feel my vote is best used in the actual election," he says, usually opting to back the most centrist contender.

In last year's Senate primary, he voted for Lt. Gov. David Dewhurst over Tea Party favorite Ted Cruz. Cruz, who won the primary and the general election, has become a firing line leader in the fiscal battles — to Zurchick's dismay.

By nearly 3-1, those surveyed say independents should be allowed to vote in primaries. The idea was backed by solid majorities of Democrats, Republicans and independents.

After listening to a follow-up question that articulated the case for each side, GOP enthusiasm waned.

One argument: "Independents



should be allowed to vote in party primaries because it will help produce candidates in both parties who are more moderate and more willing to compromise." The alternative: "The members of each party should stand for party principles, which they are represented by candidates who closely share their views and views on party principles."

Democrats by 56%-36% still endorsed the idea of open primaries after hearing those statements.

Republicans by 50%-45% leaned against them.

"If someone is going to take the time to study a party's beliefs and core values and they want to align themselves with that party, they should have the right to decide who is going to represent them," says Deenen, a Republican.

3. Should voting be harder?

Moves in Texas and elsewhere to require photo IDs for voters have sparked controversy. Democratic investigations. But in the survey, eight in 10 Americans support the idea, including 70% of Democrats.

Indeed, the practice already seems common. Seven in 10 voters say they had to show a photo ID before casting a ballot in last year's presidential election.

Democrats warn that some voters will be disenfranchised. "In this country, you should be able to cast your ballot without a core, without an obstacle, and it shouldn't be hard," Democratic National Chair Debbie Wasserman Schultz, a Florida congressman, said in an interview.

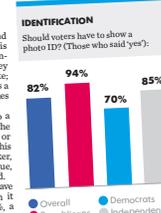
Republicans call it a common-sense requirement. "It would build confidence in the integrity of the ballot, and it's supported overwhelmingly by all three partisan groups," Ayres says. The GOP pollster notes the survey found significant concern about voter fraud. "While it's far from a majority, it's troubling when 20 to 25% of voters think illegal voting occurs frequently."

Law enforcement agencies and election scholars say voter fraud is rare, but Republicans aren't convinced: 39% of Republicans say they believe non-citizens frequently vote; 13% of Democrats say that happens a lot. Still, almost everyone endorses voter ID.

"I have to show my ID to go to a bar and have a beer or to go to the store and buy a pack of cigarettes or to get a job or anything else in this country," says Jon Haubentricker, 27, an engineer from East Dubuque, Ill., who was among those surveyed.

Republicans and Democrats have sharply different priorities when it comes to elections. By 54%-43%, a majority of Republicans say it's more important to make sure no one commits voter fraud and hampers the rights of legitimate voters. By 78%-20%, Democrats say it's more important to make sure every individual who has the right to vote is allowed to do so.

No change in the way elections are run is going to eliminate the partisan divide on that or other issues, but analysts say some steps might help ameliorate the political impasse of "We know the polarization is deep



Identification: Should voters have to show a photo ID? (Those who said yes):

Voting in the 2012 presidential election apparently was easy. Among those surveyed, nine in 10 say they are registered to vote. Of those, nine in 10 say they actually voted last year. (That reflects a much higher turnout than the actual turnout: 57.5% of eligible voters, perhaps because some of those surveyed didn't want to admit they hadn't gone to the polls.)

Three of four voters call the process "very easy"; just 4% say it was difficult. About one in four say they did not want to go to all the steps. Most Republicans oppose the idea.

Joshua Garcia, 27, a line cook who lives in Norwalk, Calif., in slightly longer times than Republicans, perhaps because more densely populated urban areas tend to be Democratic. 45% of Democrats say voting took longer than a half-hour, compared with 9% of Republicans.

Four in 10 say they voted before Election Day, missing an absentee ballot or taking advantage of early voting.

There is wide support for provisions such as those which make it easier to vote:

4. Should voting be easier?

74% back allowing early voting at polling places in the days leading up to Election Day. Although Republican lawmakers in North Carolina, Texas and elsewhere have pushed limits on early voting, two-thirds of Republicans support the idea.

Deen supports moving Election Day to the weekend instead of Tuesday. Republicans split on the issue.

58% support allowing people to register on Election Day. Most Republicans oppose the idea.

Most Americans agree. By 57%-40%, they reject the idea of voting online.



USA TODAY's **Susan Page** moderates a discussion about making government work with Co-Founder of the Edward M. Kennedy Institute for the United States Senate **Victoria Kennedy**, BPC Senior Fellow and former Secretary of Agriculture **Dan Glickman**, former Ohio Governor **Bob Taft**, former Speaker of the Ohio House of Representatives **Jo Ann Davidson**, BPC Governors' Council member and former Ohio Governor **Ted Strickland**, former Representative **Henry Bonilla**, former Secretary of Agriculture **Ann Veneman**, and *National Review Online's* **Reihan Salam**

“I think this Millennial generation ... is showing civic habits on par with the Greatest Generation in terms of their interest in issues, their willingness to volunteer—their willingness to serve is very important for impact.”

—Commission on Political Reform Member John Bridgeland

Social media has played an integral role in the commission's three national town hall events: the commission reached more than 35,000 viewers during live webcasts of its 2013 events.

Coming Up in 2014



Town Hall. The Commission on Political Reform heads to Boston for its final town hall at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum in partnership with the Edward M. Kennedy Institute for the United States Senate.



Service and Reform. In June, the commission will release its comprehensive report on encouraging public service and reforms to the U.S. congressional and electoral systems.



Engage the Public. The commission will then take its recommendations across the country and engage the public in an effort to reform and improve U.S. democratic institutions.

Leadership



Dr. John C. Fortier
Director of the Democracy Project

Coming Up in 2014



Elections and Redistricting. The Democracy Project, in conjunction with the Ohio State University Moritz College of Law, will work on election administration and redistricting reforms currently being debated in the Ohio legislature that may appear before the voters in 2014.



Election Administration. The Presidential Commission on Election Administration (PCEA) presented its report and recommendations on January 22, 2014. BPC staff assisted this effort providing research and strategic advice. In 2014, BPC plans to administer the next phase of this work, disseminating PCEA recommendations to a diverse group of stakeholders and identifying key states where the PCEA recommendations will have the most resonance and impact. BPC will collaborate with other groups and scholars who are working on election administration issues related to PCEA recommendations.

DEMOCRACY PROJECT

HIGHLIGHTS

Money in Politics

The Democracy Project, in conjunction with the Campaign Finance Institute, convened a working group of expert scholars to assess the current campaign finance literature and to develop a roadmap for future research priorities. Several scholars from the group wrote and published papers assessing topics such as independent campaign spending and how new technologies might affect small-donor fund-raising and broader participation in the electoral process. The working group released a report that outlined an agenda and research priorities for future scholarship in the field of money and politics.

Election Administration

Democracy Project staff advised the Presidential Commission on Election Administration—specifically in its work to recommend

improvements to election administration across the country. BPC facilitated several meetings with election administration stakeholders and advocacy groups to help inform the Presidential Commission on Election Administration commissioners. Through meetings of state and local administrators, the project led discussions on election administration challenges and problems encountered during the 2012 elections, such as election capacity and long lines. State and local administrators from Virginia, Maryland, Kansas, Ohio, and Washington, D.C., participated in the meetings. The Democracy Project also hosted a series of meetings in Ohio with the Ohio Secretary of State's office, local election administrators, political scientists, legal scholars, and advocates to discuss changes to the Ohio redistricting process as well as election administration more generally.

The Great Communicator:

The Democracy Project and Maryland Public Television held a screening of select clips from the American Public Television miniseries, *The Reagan Presidency*. Panelists discussed challenges during the Reagan presidency and highlighted bipartisan lessons to apply to today's hyper-partisan political climate.



Democracy Project Director **John Fortier** hosts a panel discussion with former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development **Henry Cisneros**, Director of *The Reagan Presidency* **Chip Duncan**, and BPC Senior Fellow and former Senate Majority Leader **Trent Lott**

Leadership



1. Phil Bredesen
Former Governor of Tennessee

2. Jim Douglas
Former Governor of Vermont

3. Brad Henry
Former Governor of Oklahoma

4. Linda Lingle
Former Governor of Hawaii

5. Sonny Perdue
Former Governor of Georgia

6. Mike Rounds
Former Governor of South Dakota

7. Ted Strickland
Former Governor of Ohio

8. Michele Nellenbach
Director of the Governors' Council



GOVERNORS' COUNCIL

HIGHLIGHTS

Medicaid and the States

A 2013 report by the Governors' Council, *Making Federalism Work: The Governors' Council Medicaid Recommendations*, includes a number of substantive reforms to the Medicaid program and calls on the administration and Congress to allow states to enroll dual eligible individuals in coordinated care. "Medicaid is the largest state-federal partnership program and requires intense collaboration between states and the federal government," wrote the governors in the report. "It presents an ongoing source of

budgetary strain for both parties." BPCAN, with the help of the Governors' Council, continues to advocate for the council's recommendations to key elected and appointed officials.

Governing the Nation

Former governors bring a unique perspective to the Senate along with a desire to get things done. The council collaborated with senators to form a Governors' Caucus to provide this pragmatic group with the support to tackle difficult issues, ranging from the budget to emergency relief.



Former CNN Correspondent **Kathleen Koch** moderates a panel with former Governors **Jim Douglas, Ted Strickland, Linda Lingle, Phil Bredesen,** and **Mike Rounds**



BPC Governors' Council
Member and former Ohio
Governor **Ted Strickland**

Coming Up in 2014



Workforce Development. In early 2014, the council plans to release its report, which will focus on four key areas: aligning and integrating existing programs; strengthening educational programs other than traditional four-year college; decentralizing existing programs to more closely meet local and regional needs; and standardizing the collection of data about jobs, skills, and education.

BPCAN Impact

April 22, 2013

The Governors' Council showed support for the Marketplace Fairness Act, calling on Congress to address the current inability of states to require online retailers to collect sales taxes.

Following up in its recommendations on both the Medicaid waiver process and Medicaid as a whole, the council met with Health and Human Services Secretary Kathleen Sebelius. The governors also met with senators, including several of the former governors currently serving in the Senate, to advance their Medicaid reforms.

Senator **Ron Wyden** (D-OR) gives a speech on health IT at BPC



HEA

BIPARTISAN POLICY CENTER

Based on media coverage, one might think 2013 saw little progress in health care. There were partisan battles over the Affordable Care Act and fundamental divides on taxes and entitlements that precluded debate over the future of Medicare and Medicaid. But there were some bright spots. For the fourth year, the growth rate of health spending slowed. Three congressional committees reported legislation to reform physicians' payments under Medicare to reward quality over volume. And the private sector drove improvements in wellness, quality, and cost with new delivery and payment models, an emphasis on prevention and lifestyle, and advances in information technology (IT). In 2013, BPC's Health Program tackled delivery system reforms to reduce costs and improve quality; prevention and health-promotion, especially through nutrition and physical activity; and innovation and IT to enhance health and health care.

HEALTH PROJECT

The Health Project conducted research and released policy recommendations to advance health care quality, lower costs, and improve coverage—which meant addressing the needs and challenges of both the government and the private sector. The Health Project addressed alternative payment and delivery systems designed to expand coverage and to improve the quality of care delivered at less cost. The project's initiatives focused on critical reforms to the current fee-for-service payment system, financing of federal-state Medicaid programs, shortages of health care professional workforce issues, and long-term health and social services for the vulnerable elderly.

HEALTH INNOVATION INITIATIVE

Continuing concerns about the health of individuals and the cost, quality, and patient experience of care have led public- and private-sector leaders to explore innovative ways to address the nation's most pressing health care challenges. In 2013, the Health Innovation Initiative engaged leaders from every sector of health care to assess barriers to innovation and to drive improvements in health and health care. The initiative tackled four key issues: employer-driven strategies that promote better health and health care, development of a new regulatory framework for health technology, personalized and genomic medicine, and the use of health IT and "big data" to support transformation in health care.

NUTRITION AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY INITIATIVE

Obesity has become an American epidemic—affecting everyone from children to soldiers. The Nutrition and Physical Activity Initiative partnered with leaders in the public and private sectors on efforts to reduce obesity, chronic disease, and their associated health care costs. The initiative focused on developing healthy institutions, including at the Department of Defense; improving nutrition and physical activity training for health care professionals; aligning federal agriculture policy and nutrition programs with Dietary Guidelines for Americans; and demonstrating the value of prevention and health promotion.

HEALTH PROGRAM

Leadership



1. Tom Daschle
Former Senate Majority Leader and
BPC Co-Founder



2. Bill Frist
Former Senate Majority Leader and
BPC Senior Fellow



3. Katherine Hayes
Director of Health Policy

HEALTH PROJECT

HIGHLIGHTS

Better Care, Lower Costs

Rapid changes in medical science have brought benefits to millions of Americans. These changes have also come with costs, particularly where fragmentation and a lack of coordination of care results in inefficiencies that translate into increased medical expenses. The U.S. health care system is performing well below its potential. This failure is a threat to the nation's health, economic viability, and ability to compete in the global marketplace. Addressing health care costs is vital to any long-term deficit reduction strategy and to increased productivity of the private sector. That's why the Health Project launched its Health Care Cost Containment Initiative.

In the current political environment, many believed bipartisan agreement on any health issue was impossible. So initiative leaders agreed to disagree on issues that were political non-starters, such as restructuring major components of the Affordable Care Act. The leaders also recognized that credible cost estimates of policies were necessary to make their recommendations stand out.

The result was *A Bipartisan Rx for Patient-Centered Care and System-wide Cost Containment*, a comprehensive package of reforms designed to lower health care costs and improve quality in the health care delivery system. The report, which included an improved Medicare program

"A strong health care system, a stable federal budget, and a productive economy are complimentary, not competing, priorities."

—Former Senators Tom Daschle,
Pete Domenici, Bill Frist, and

former Director of the Office of Management
and Budget Dr. Alice Rivlin in *The New England
Journal of Medicine*

U.S. health care costs:
\$2.8 trillion
annually
18% of GDP (and rising)

and proposed reforms to the tax treatment of employer-provided health benefits, was estimated to slow federal health expenditures and achieve approximately \$560 billion in federal deficit reduction over the next ten years. The analytics behind the estimates were developed using the last three years of actual Medicare claims and tax filing data. Authored by initiative Co-Chairs Tom Daschle, Bill Frist, Pete Domenici, and Alice Rivlin, the report contains more than 50 recommendations to improve health care affordability for all Americans.



“Until better care is prioritized over more care, our nation will continue to face a problem with health-care costs,” wrote the co-chairs in an op-ed in *The Washington Post*. “All of these policies are designed to improve the quality and value of our nation’s health care.”



BPC Co-Founder and former Senate Majority Leader **Tom Daschle**

“It’s a plan that goes beyond ideology and buzzwords. It provides a road map for Medicare to replace its current approach ... with one that provides incentives to professionals to keep their patients healthy.”

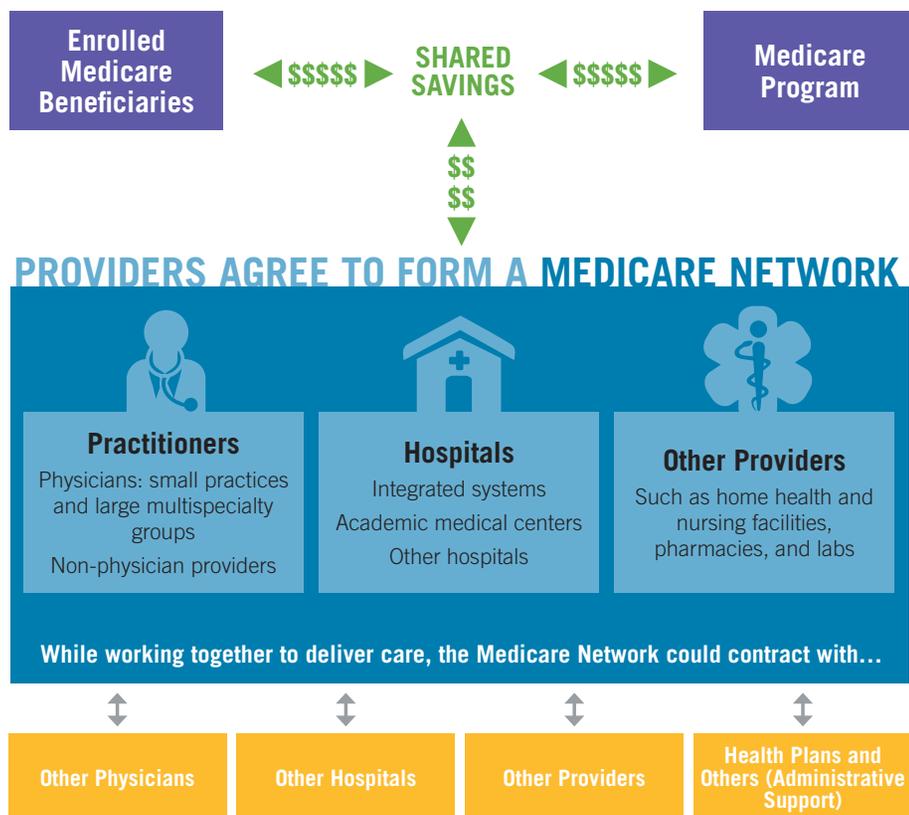
—*The Washington Post*

“Too often we in Washington talk about health care as though it is little more than a line item on a budget table. Those of us who have experienced the best of health care know that is not how care should be delivered or policy crafted in this most personal of issues.”

—Former Senators Tom Daschle, Pete Domenici, and Bill Frist along with former Director of the Office of Management and Budget Dr. Alice Rivlin in *The Washington Post*

BPC's Health Care Cost Containment Initiative developed the reforms necessary for long-term, affordable care. Below are graphics explaining the current health care landscape and the initiative's proposed reforms.

An Illustrative Example of a Medicare Network



From BPC's *A Bipartisan Rx for Patient-Centered Care and System-Wide Cost Containment*.

BPC's Approach: Key Elements of Three Medicare Options

Leaders of the Health and Economic Policy Projects envision a Medicare program that would offer three options to Medicare beneficiaries, including an enhanced version of Accountable Care Organizations (ACOs), called "Medicare Networks."

Beneficiaries: Each year, beneficiaries may select one of three Medicare options with a strengthened benefit and increased low-income assistance

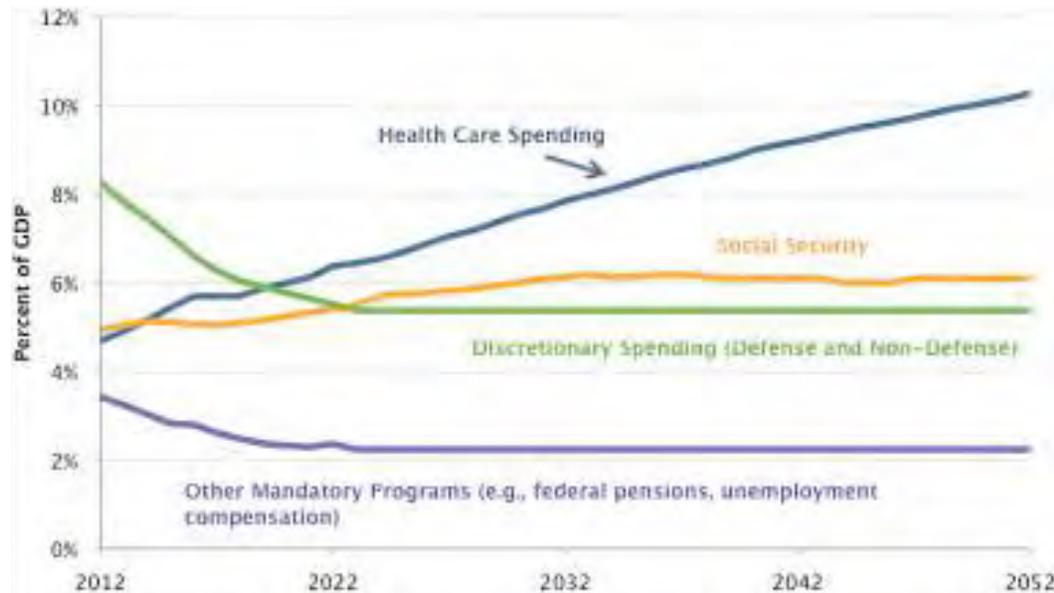


TRADITIONAL MEDICARE		MEDICARE ADVANTAGE
Fee-For-Service	Medicare Networks	Medicare Advantage Plans
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Guaranteed and strengthened benefit Constrained updates for providers Protections for rural areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Guaranteed and strengthened benefit Provider-led Better care coordination Providers accountable for cost and quality Savings shared with beneficiaries, providers, and taxpayers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Guaranteed and strengthened benefit Plan-led Competitively priced Improved risk adjustment Savings for taxpayers and beneficiaries

Providers: Could participate with any or all Medicare options

From BPC's *A Bipartisan Rx for Patient-Centered Care and System-Wide Cost Containment*.

Health Care Costs are the Primary Driver of the Debt



Source: Congressional Budget Office's Alternative Fiscal Scenario (February 2013), additionally assuming that combat troops overseas decline to 45,000 by 2015 and that Hurricane Sandy funding is not allocated in future years; Bipartisan Policy Center extrapolations. From BPC's *A Bipartisan Rx for Patient-Centered Care and System-Wide Cost Containment*.

Coming Up in 2014



Issue Brief on Long-Term Care. The Health Project will release a policy brief that provides background information on long-term care, with a focus on financing.



Long-Term Care Recommendations. Former Senators Daschle and Frist along with Dr. Rivlin, and former Governor Thompson will develop policy recommendations for the improvement of the financing and delivery of long-term services and supports. The September 2013 congressionally appointed Commission on Long Term Care was unable to reach recommendations on financing of long-term care. The goal of the health project will be to find consensus on recommendations for the best path forward in long-term care policy.

BPCAN Impact

May 21, 2013

Health Care Cost Containment Initiative Co-Chair Dr. Alice Rivlin testified before the House Committee on Ways and Means, Subcommittee on Health, on Medicare cost sharing and strategies to reduce health care spending over time.

May 31, 2013

Health Care Project Director Katherine Hayes and BPC Senior Vice President Bill Hoagland submitted a letter to Senate Finance Committee Chairman and Ranking Member Max Baucus (D-MT) and Orrin Hatch (R-UT), respectively, on the Medicare physician "Sustainable Growth Rate" (SGR) payment system.

June 27, 2013

BPC Senior Vice President Bill Hoagland testified before the federal Commission on Long-term Care on the federal budget environment for long-term care.

October 10, 2013

BPC Senior Vice President Bill Hoagland, along with other prominent health care scholars, submitted a letter to the Senate Finance Committee and House Ways and Means Committee urging Congress to take up Medicare payment reforms.

October 31, 2013

Health Project Director Katherine Hayes published a statement, along with other prominent health care thought leaders, applauding bipartisan collaboration and steps in the right direction to improve health care quality and reduce costs in the Senate Finance and House Ways and Means Medicare SGR legislation.

Leadership



1. Tom Daschle
Former Senate Majority Leader and
BPC Co-Founder



2. Bill Frist
Former Senate Majority Leader and
BPC Senior Fellow



3. Janet M. Marchibroda
Director of Health Innovation

HEALTH INNOVATION INITIATIVE

HIGHLIGHTS

Employers Share Strategies to Improve Health Care

In July 2013, the Health Innovation Initiative launched the CEO Council on Health and Innovation comprised of the chief executives of some of the nation's largest employers. The goal of the CEO Council is to identify and promote the widespread adoption of employer-driven innovative strategies to improve the health and wellness of individuals as well as the cost, quality, and patient experience of

care. CEO Council members are highlighting innovative best practices and strategies to improve the health, wellness, and management of chronic conditions of individuals, and will issue a call to action to other large and medium-sized employers to advance similar innovative strategies. A Health Care Advisory Board—made up of chief executives of organizations representing clinicians, consumers, and hospitals—is providing guidance to this effort.

CEO Council Members

Muhtar Kent (Co-Chair)
Chairman and CEO, The Coca-Cola Company

Lowell C. McAdam (Co-Chair)
Chairman and CEO, Verizon Communications

Patrick Soon-Shiong, MD (Co-Chair)
Chairman and CEO, Institute for Advanced Health

Dominic Barton
Managing Director, McKinsey & Company

Mark T. Bertolini
Chairman, CEO, and President, Aetna

Brian T. Moynihan
CEO, Bank of America Corporation

Scott P. Serota
President and CEO, Blue Cross and Blue Shield
Association

Gregory D. Wasson
President and CEO, Walgreen Co.

Bipartisan Policy Center and
Business and Health Leaders
Launch CEO Council on
Health and Innovation

—*The Wall Street Journal*



If we can develop and implement best-in-class policies and practices, we can lead the world in health care outcomes.”

—Verizon Chairman and CEO Lowell C. McAdam

.....

Protecting Patient Safety While Promoting Innovation

The Health Innovation Initiative convened more than 100 experts, clinicians, consumers, employers, hospitals, patient safety organizations, and technology companies to develop a set of principles and recommendations for a new oversight framework for health IT. These recommendations, designed to inform policies now being developed in response to the Food and Drug Administration Safety and Innovation Act of 2012, not only protect patient safety, but also promote innovation to meet the needs of a rapidly evolving health care system and technology landscape. Released in February 2013, the initiative's report, *An Oversight Framework for Assuring Patient Safety in Health Information Technology*, is informing the public policy now being developed by the administration and Congress.



Former National Coordinator for Health Information Technology **Farzad Mostashari** receives an award from BPC's Health Innovation Initiative for his commitment to patient safety through health IT

"If we are to significantly improve the quality, safety and cost-effectiveness of health care in our nation, we must employ the power of health information technology."

—Former Senate Majority Leaders Tom Daschle and Bill Frist in *The Hill*



Big Data, Big Implications

Big data and information technology are set to both transform health care and improve the health of individuals. The Health Innovation Initiative convened more than 35 public- and private-sector health care leaders to discuss the promise and challenges associated with big data. Key insights from this forum, hosted in collaboration with Intel Corporation, were captured in the report *A Policy Forum on the Use of Big Data in Health Care*. The Health Innovation Initiative challenged the scientific

community to tackle the most difficult questions facing health care organizations as they implement new delivery system and payment reforms; hosted leaders from the administration and the private sector to discuss policies and strategies that improve linking patient data across systems for safer, higher-quality care; and engaged health care leaders on the benefits, barriers, and policy actions needed to support widespread adoption of “connected health” or online care.

“We must prioritize electronic health information-sharing moving forward, in terms of both the allocation of resources and the focus of federal agencies and the health care industry.”

—BPC Health Innovation Initiative Director Janet Marchibroda in testimony to the Senate Finance Committee

BPC Senior Fellow and former Senate Majority Leader **Bill Frist**

A Personalized Approach to Health and Health Care

Personalized and genomic medicine hold great promise for improving patient care, preventing disease, and reducing the cost of care. Significant advancements are enabling clinicians to tailor medical treatments and preventive strategies to the individual characteristics of each patient. Rapid advancements in technology are helping to bring personalized medicine within reach, but

several barriers stand in the way of widespread adoption. The Health Innovation Initiative brought together a panel of experts and leaders who are implementing personalized medicine to explore its promise, its information needs, barriers to adoption, and policies needed to address those barriers. A policy brief on personalized and genomic medicine, based on the initiative's research and input from experts, will be released in 2014.



We have got to think of health in a disruptive way—the transformation will come from the exploding, but still very young, field of personalized medicine.”

—Former Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist

BPCAN Impact

July 24, 2013

Health Innovation Initiative Director Janet Marchibroda testified before the Senate Finance Committee on using health information technology to improve care.

Coming Up in 2014



The CEO Council on Health and Innovation. The council will release a report on employer-driven, innovative strategies for improving the health of individuals and the quality, cost, and patient experience of care; it will also call for widespread adoption of such strategies among other large- and mid-sized private-sector employers.



Electronic Information-Sharing. The Health Innovation Initiative will forge an agreement among health care leaders on a set of actions for increasing the level of interoperability and electronic information-sharing to promote improvements in health and health care.



Personalized Medicine. The initiative will also develop and widely disseminate policy recommendations on personalized medicine, proposing a new regulatory framework for health IT, and advancing the effective use of big data in health care.

Leadership



1. Dan Glickman
Former Secretary of Agriculture and
BPC Senior Fellow



2. Mike Leavitt
Former Governor of Utah and
Secretary of Health and Human
Services



3. Donna E. Shalala
Former Secretary of Health and
Human Services



4. Ann M. Veneman
Former Secretary of Agriculture and
former Executive Director of UNICEF



5. Lisel Loy
Director of Nutrition and Physical
Activity Initiative

NUTRITION AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY INITIATIVE

HIGHLIGHTS

Healthy Living for Robust National Security

Two-thirds of American adults are overweight or obese. This not only affects health care costs; it also affects national security: 27 percent of 17- to 24-year-olds cannot join the military because they are too overweight, and others are forced to leave the military because they cannot pass required fitness tests. The cost implications are significant: the Department of Defense's health spending has reached \$50 billion annually—nearly 10 percent of its overall budget. The Nutrition and Physical Activity Initiative is working with the Defense Department's Healthy Base Initiative to encourage healthy eating and active living among service members and their families. BPC's team advises the initiative with a goal of making healthy choices easy choices. Successes from the Defense Department

pilot could be scaled up to other parts of the military—as well as to other large U.S. institutions.

Med School: Ground Zero for Wellness

Currently, 50 percent of Americans live with chronic illness, and poor diet and physical inactivity are key risk factors for many. Health care professionals are uniquely positioned to change this trend through patient education, but unfortunately those professionals often lack the training or incentives. In order to shift focus from curative to preventive care, the medical school curriculum must include nutrition and physical activity education. So, BPC's Nutrition and Physical Activity Initiative, the Alliance for a Healthier Generation, and the American College of Sports Medicine explored innovative approaches taken by medical schools around

the country to increase nutrition and physical activity training. Together, they hosted an event, “Teaching Nutrition and Physical Activity in Medical School: Training Doctors for Prevention-Oriented Care” that highlighted perspectives from doctors, academics, insurance companies, students, credentialing agencies, and experts. “It is essential that doctors and other health professionals learn more than they currently do about the role of nutrition and physical activity in the health of their patients,” said Donna Shalala, former secretary of U.S. Health and Human Services, and BPC Nutrition and Physical Activity Initiative co-chair.

Farm Policy and Nutrition Go Together

Federal agriculture policy and nutrition programs play a key role in what food

Americans grow, sell, and consume. The Nutrition and Physical Activity Initiative raises awareness about the links among food and farm policy, population health, and rising health care costs to ensure a healthy farm sector and a healthy population. In June, the initiative hosted a Bridge-Builder Breakfast that brought together former Secretaries of Agriculture Dan Glickman and Ann M. Veneman, former Deputy Secretary of Agriculture Kathleen Merrigan, former Representative Charles Stenholm, Jillian Fry from Johns Hopkins University, and Kate Houston from Cargill, among others. This public forum highlighted the need for integration among food and farm policy, nutrition, and health care. The initiative is committed to ensuring that federal agriculture and food policies reflect the nutrition recommendations of the *Dietary Guidelines for Americans*.

BEYOND BPC

The Nutrition and Physical Activity Initiative was invited to present a panel at the American Public Health Association’s annual conference of 13,000 public health professionals.

The initiative was asked to provide expert commentary to the Trust for America’s Health annual “F as in Fat” report.



Former Secretary of Health and Human Services and BPC Nutrition and Physical Activity Initiative Co-Chair **Donna E. Shalala**

Former U.S. Secretary of Agriculture and BPC Senior Fellow **Dan Glickman**, Project Director at the Johns Hopkins Center for a Livable Future **Jillian Fry**, Feeding America's **Eric Olsen**, former Representative **Charles Stenholm**, Director of Federal Government Affairs at Cargill Inc. **Katherine Houston**, and the United Fresh Produce Association's **Robert Guenther** discuss America's relationship with food and nutrition

Coming Up in 2014



Healthy Base Initiative. The Nutrition and Physical Activity Initiative will analyze and report on the implementation and lessons learned from the Department of Defense pilot.



Health Professionals Education. The initiative will release a white paper summarizing its October 2013 event "Teaching Nutrition and Physical Activity in Medical School: Training Doctors for Prevention-Oriented Care" and will publish an article in the *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*.



Valuing Prevention. The initiative will host a public forum spotlighting innovative investments in prevention.



Institute of Medicine. Initiative Director Lisel Loy will participate as an invited member of the new Institute of Medicine Roundtable on Obesity Solutions.



"As former Agriculture secretaries, we believe we need to focus on the opportunities for our federal agriculture policy to support better health and lower health care costs."

—Former Secretaries of Agriculture
Dan Glickman and Ann Veneman in *The Hill*

"Changes to U.S. food and farm policy alone cannot solve America's obesity crisis. But ... the nation cannot afford to forgo any opportunity to address it. The current debate over the farm bill is one of those opportunities: a critical moment when we can ensure that improvements to our nation's physical and fiscal health go hand in hand with meaningful reform in food and farm policy."

—Former Secretaries of Agriculture
Dan Glickman and Ann Veneman in *Health Affairs*



Senator **Dan Coats** (R-IN) and Senator **Richard Blumenthal** (D-CT) at a BPC event



Partisanship should stop at the water's edge. One of the greatest incentives for cooperation is the imperative of ensuring the safety and security of all Americans. The National Security Program is devoted to developing innovative and consensus-driven solutions to the nation's most challenging national security and foreign policy concerns. That includes figuring out how to work with international partners like Turkey, prevent a nuclear Iran, address the evolving terrorist threat, and make cyberspace safer. The National Security Program tackles these challenges and more as it strives to make the United States a safer country and the world a more secure place.

FOREIGN POLICY PROJECT

America's relationships with countries across the globe have serious implications for the lives of everyday Americans. As the Arab world struggles to define itself, as Iran pursues its nuclear program, as old allies such as Turkey grow unstable and undependable, as Russia becomes a new

and often troubling partner in a post-Cold War world, and as Latin America struggles with democratic institutions, the Foreign Policy Project is developing realistic and robust bipartisan policy recommendations to guide U.S. foreign policy.

HOMELAND SECURITY PROJECT

Ten years since the 9/11 Commission released its report citing the failure of imagination that contributed to our vulnerabilities on 9/11, the Homeland Security Project aims to ask the tough questions and present policy solutions to ensure our nation is safer and more secure. The threat facing our nation has evolved in the past decade. Technology has forever transformed the nature of state secrets and personal privacy, putting individuals' financial and personal data, as well as a nation's classified materials just a few clicks away from determined thieves. A clever hacker

could damage the nation's electric grid and other critical infrastructure processes through manipulation of online control systems. All of these issues and more inform the Homeland Security Project's core mission as an active, bipartisan voice on homeland and national security issues. With terrorist threats and tactics becoming more complex, the project works to foster public discourse, evaluate reform, provide expert analysis, and develop proactive policy solutions on how to best address emerging security challenges.

SECURITY PROGRAM

Leadership



1. Charles Robb
Former Senator



2. General Charles Wald, USAF (ret.)
Former Deputy Commander, U.S.
European Command



3. Álvaro Uribe
Former President of Colombia and
BPC Senior Fellow



4. Blaise Misztal
Acting Director of Foreign
Policy

FOREIGN POLICY PROJECT

HIGHLIGHTS

Preventing a Nuclear Iran

For more than six years, the Foreign Policy Project has conducted rigorous analysis on the growing threat of a nuclear Iran—the most urgent national security risk facing the United States—and has developed a comprehensive strategy to prevent it. In 2013, House Foreign Affairs Committee Chair Ed Royce (R-CA) and Representative Eliot Engel (D-NY) sponsored bipartisan legislation aimed at preventing a nuclear Iran—including important BPC proposals on requiring regular, publicly reported assessments of Iran’s nuclear progress—that was passed by the House by an almost unanimous margin. Meanwhile, the Foreign Policy Project’s regular analysis of International Atomic Energy Agency reports on Iran’s nuclear program marked a rise in BPC’s Capitol Hill presence and influence: the Foreign Policy Project is now sought out for

its expertise on Iran (as well as other Middle East issues) with invitations to testify before Congress and to work with members on U.S. policies toward Iran.

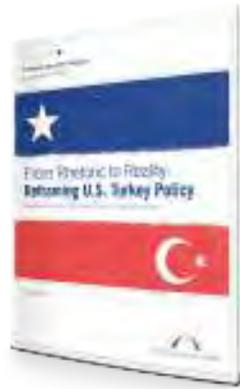
After Gezi Park: Turkey and the U.S.

After the Arab uprisings, the Foreign Policy Project leaders noticed Turkey’s waning cooperation with the United States and its growing domestic troubles, and they worried that one of America’s strongest regional allies was in jeopardy. The project was prescient: in May 2013, massive protests erupted in Turkey and the U.S.-Turkish relationship became strained. And so, BPC’s Turkey Initiative leaders traveled to Turkey to meet with government officials in the immediate aftermath of the Gezi Park protests. The result was three major papers on Turkey: *The Roots of Turkish Conduct*, *U.S.-Turkish Cooperation Toward*



It’s tragic that bleedingly obvious, common sense [foreign policy] observations are so rare as to be praiseworthy. But they are. Good job, @BPC_Bipartisan.

—Claire Berlinski, American novelist and journalist living in Istanbul, reacts to BPC’s *From Rhetoric to Reality* via Twitter



a Post-Assad Syria, and From Rhetoric to Reality: Reframing U.S. Turkey Policy. Each presented an evaluation of U.S.-Turkey relations and made bipartisan recommendations for improving the ties of this vital alliance—a unique contribution on a topic that is too often ignored in Washington.

Latin America: Challenges to Democracy

In 2013, while the world was transfixed by struggles with democracy in the Middle East, that same struggle occurred, unnoticed, much closer to America’s borders. Whereas military dictators, brutal Marxist guerrillas, and one-party systems affected much of Latin America’s democratic evolution throughout the 20th century, the current slow pace of democratic

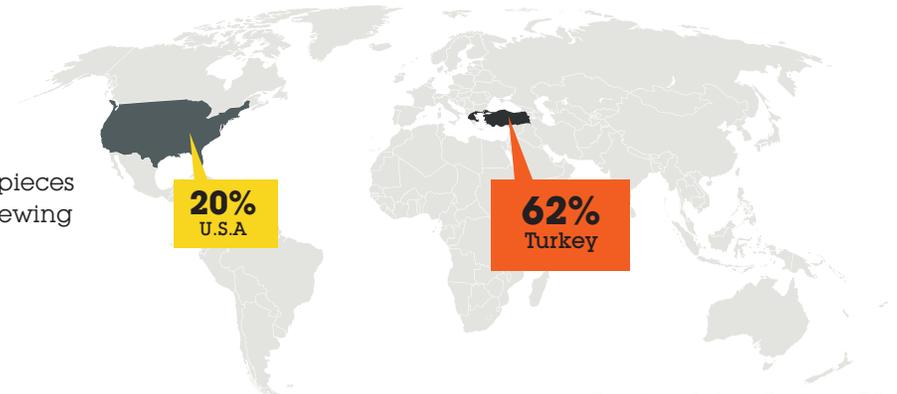
progress in some Latin American countries is due to the rise of radical populist governments. Foreign Policy Project Senior Fellow and former President of Colombia Álvaro Uribe testified before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere on “Challenges to Democracy in the Western Hemisphere.” President Uribe also spoke at a Foreign Policy Project event on Latin America; he expressed hope that Colombia will begin negotiations with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) to end a half-century of armed guerrilla conflict.



Former U.S. Ambassador to Turkey and Co-Chair of BPC’s Turkey Task Force **Mort Abramowitz** shares a laugh with Freedom House’s **Susan Corke**

International Impact

When combining the report and the event pages, BPC’s *From Rhetoric to Reality* received more than 7,000 total views, placing it among the top ten most popular pieces of content on BPC’s website in all of 2013. What’s more, 62 percent of the visitors viewing the report were from Turkey.

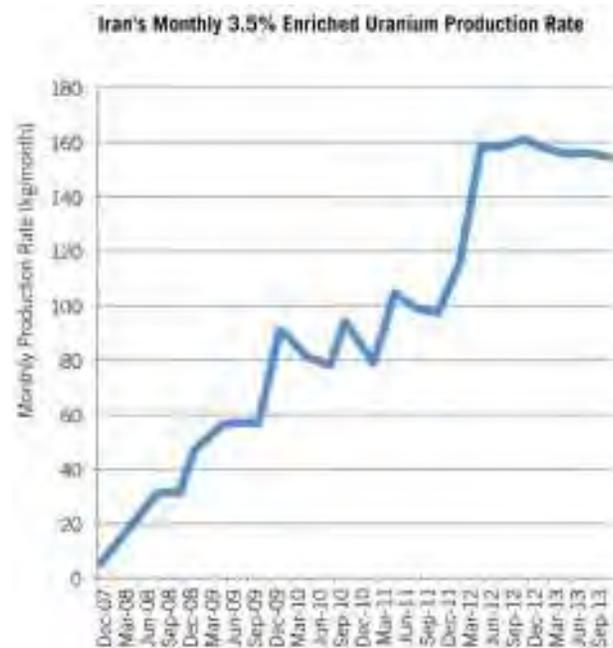




Former Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs **Paula Dobriansky**

Iran's Approach To Nuclear Weapons Capability

The Foreign Policy Project provided detailed analysis of Iran's nuclear progress and how it impacts U.S. national security, including the acceleration of the rate at which it is producing 3.5% enriched uranium.



From BPC blog post "A Tale of Two Irans in New IAEA Report."

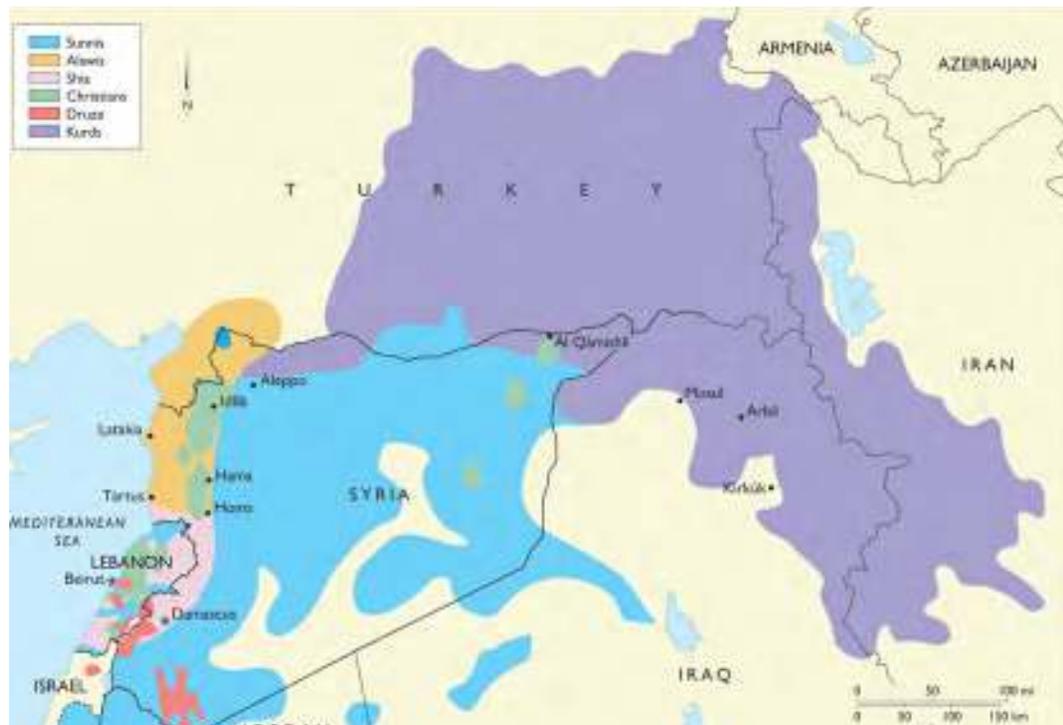
"(A) paper for the Bipartisan Policy Center ... points a way forward for the two NATO allies. One problem, as the paper makes clear, is that the incoherent policies of Erdogan's Turkey have dragged it into conflict with virtually everyone in the Middle East and beyond."

—*The Weekly Standard*

"Netanyahu fears—as do some influential members of Congress—that any so-called 'first step' agreement without major Iranian concessions is dangerous. One of his concerns, says Blaise Misztal, an Iran expert with the Bipartisan Policy Center, is that an interim deal 'will become the final deal.'"

—*Time*

Regional Ethnic and Sectarian Map



From BPC's *U.S.-Turkish Cooperation Toward a Post-Assad Syria*.

"The difficulty of the talks are a sign of how far both Iran's nuclear program and Western sanctions have progressed and how hard it is to roll them back, said Blaise Misztal, director of the Foreign Policy Project at the Bipartisan Policy Center, who has testified before Congress on Iran's nuclear program."

—USA TODAY

BPCAN Impact

July 9, 2013

Acting Director of Foreign Policy Blaise Misztal testified before the House Homeland Security Committee, Subcommittee on Oversight and Management Efficiency, on Iran as a threat to the United States.

September 10, 2013

BPC Senior Fellow and former President of Colombia Álvaro Uribe testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, on challenges to democracy in the Western Hemisphere.

October 30, 2013

Stephen G. Rademaker, a Foreign Policy Project advisor, testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittees on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations and Middle East and North Africa, in support of the House resolution to establish a war crime tribunal for Syria.

Coming Up in 2014



Iran. The project continues to promote a bipartisan strategy to prevent a nuclear Iran, including funding for International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspections of Iran's nuclear facilities and encouraging involvement from Congress and the administration in a final nuclear deal between Iran and other nations.



Turkey. The Turkey Initiative will continue to monitor events in and around Turkey as the Syrian civil war continues and as Turks vote in two elections.



Sequester. The project will continue to work with the Economic Policy Project on the analysis of defense budget issues, including a consideration of alternatives to the sequester cuts.

Leadership



1

1. Thomas H. Kean
Former Governor of New Jersey
and 9/11 Commission Co-Chair



2

2. Lee H. Hamilton
Former Representative and
9/11 Commission Co-Chair



3

3. Carie Lemack
Director of the Homeland
Security Project

HOMELAND SECURITY PROJECT

HIGHLIGHTS

The Jihadist Threat

“Al-Qaeda and sympathetic groups are situated in many more countries, maintaining a presence in 16 theaters of operation,” wrote Homeland Security Project Co-Chairs Thomas Kean and Lee Hamilton in *USA TODAY*. “But it is important to understand that no al-Qaeda threat has ever remained purely localized.” In September 2013, the Homeland Security Project released the first in an annual series of reports, *Jihadist Terrorism: A Threat Assessment*, on emerging threats facing the nation from jihadist terrorists. The report provides a comprehensive review of al-Qaeda and its affiliates—as well as other extremists who may target U.S. interests—and makes recommendations on how best to counter these

threats and protect the homeland. The report also sheds light on the al-Shabaab terror group, which, in September 2013, led a deadly attack in Kenya. The Homeland Security Project responded quickly, briefing Hill staff and the press about the group to inform the dialogue around the tragedy.

Taking on Intelligence-Sharing and U.S. Drone Policy

The Homeland Security Project hosted events in 2013 that focused on two of the most pressing security challenges of the day: intelligence-sharing and U.S. drone policy. In “Does the Public Need to Know? Journalistic Perspectives on Sharing Intelligence,” members of the media and leaders in the intelligence community discussed how

“While the core of al-Qaeda is reeling from 12 years of relentless pressure, its ideology is still winning new converts even on our soil. The future face of terrorism is decentralized and more diffuse, creating a challenge for law enforcement because it can surface anywhere, often without warning.”

—BPC Homeland Security Project Co-Chairs Tom Kean and Lee Hamilton in *USA TODAY*

Jihadist Terrorism: A Threat Assessment quickly became the second most popular piece of content on BPC's website.

to make information-sharing both transparent and secure. This included how to tackle the balance of sharing information with the public regarding serious national issues (such as last year's attacks in Benghazi) without compromising sources, methods, and secure information. And at "Analyzing the Legal and Moral Implications of U.S. Drone Policy," both legal and policy experts examined the use of drones. Panelists evaluated issues like the current frameworks for the use of drones, the ramifications of a "drone court," the targeting of American citizens abroad, and whether or not Congress should look at what these policies mean for the country.



The *Wall Street Journal*'s **Devlin Barrett**, *The Washington Post*'s **Dana Priest**, former U.S. Homeland and Counterterrorism Security Advisor **Fran Townsend**, and *The New York Times*' **David Sanger** at a BPC event

The State of Intelligence Reform

The Homeland Security Project kicked off a series of events leading up to a July 2014 event to commemorate ten years since the release of the 9/11 Commission report. Panelists—including former Director of the National Counterterrorism Center Michael Leiter, former Executive Director of the 9/11 Commission Philip Zelikow, and *The Wall Street Journal*'s Siobhan Gorman—evaluated the state of intelligence reforms since the 2004 Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act, determining if in the post—Edward Snowden era, U.S. intelligence capabilities are where they need to be to meet the threat facing the nation.

Cybersecurity: A Guide

The concept of protecting our cyber infrastructure is challenging and developing effective policies requires analysis from a range of experts and perspectives. The Homeland Security Project developed a guide to many reports on cybersecurity from experts across the country, as well as from resources from businesses and news sources. The guide provides a helpful starting tool for cybersecurity researchers who seek a wide array of opinions and information. As the nation and the world become increasingly connected online, American society must continue a healthy and necessary discussion of the challenges, dangers, and opportunities that global connectivity creates.

BEYOND
BPC

"TSA's decision to remove some banned items is less important than behavior detection."

—Op-ed by Carie Lemack in *USA TODAY*

House Homeland Security Subcommittee on Transportation Security Chairman Richard Hudson (R-NC) highlighted Homeland Security Project Director Carie Lemack's piece on airline security. In addition to the op-ed, Lemack authored a written statement for the hearing record.



The Wall Street Journal's **Siobhan Gorman**, former Majority Staff Director for the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence **Michael Allen**, former Director of the National Counterterrorism Center and BPC Homeland Security Project Task Force Member **Michael Leiter**, and former Executive Director of the 9/11 Commission **Philip Zelikow** chat after a BPC panel discussion on the state of intelligence reform.

BPCAN Impact

April 11, 2013

BPC Homeland Security Project Director Carie Lemack submitted a written statement for the record to the House Homeland Security Committee, Subcommittee on Transportation Security, regarding knives on planes. Her statement was mentioned in opening remarks during the subcommittee's hearing.

The Homeland Security Project also gave briefings on both domestic terrorism and radicalization to the Senate and House Homeland Security minority and majority staff.



This is a time as we all know of very strong partisan division. Therefore it's so important that we maintain a bipartisan approach. Republicans and Democrats should agree on the most important problems and divisions facing this country from terrorists abroad and at home to ensure the country's safety."

—Former Governor of New Jersey Tom Kean

Facts from BPC's *Jihadist Terrorism: A Threat Assessment*

As of September 2013

16 The number of theaters of operation where al-Qaeda and allied groups have a presence.

20K+ The number of people on the TSA No-Fly List.

108 The number of congressional committees and subcommittees that oversee the Department of Homeland Security.

Coming Up in 2014



10th Anniversary of 9/11 Commission Report. A decade later, the 9/11 Commission continues to demonstrate that cooperation and collaboration are both feasible and necessary in the name of homeland security. The Homeland Security Project will assess the progress made toward implementing the 9/11 Commission recommendations. But it will also look at lessons learned from the commission itself and at emerging threats.



Jihadist Terrorism: A Threat Assessment 2014. The Homeland Security Project will release the second annual assessment in September 2014.

BELTWAY

AGENDA FOR GENERATIONAL EQUITY

“The First Step in Bringing Youth Voices to the Policymaking Table”

In 2013, Common Sense Action (CSA) and BPC hosted the public launch of a joint partnership, AGE—the Agenda for Generational Equity. AGE brings together Republican, Democratic, and independent Millennials from college campuses across the United States to address the most pressing issues facing their generation—fiscal responsibility, economic mobility, greater Millennial investments, and national service. Last summer, CSA brought together hundreds of young

people working in Washington to discuss policy and the political process. Many of these young leaders joined the AGE Steering Committee and drafted the framework for AGE, including CSA Co-Founder and Chief Action Officer Andrew Kaplan. “We didn’t come together as moderates to find the perfect center,” said Kaplan at the launch. “We came together as proud partisans, proud of our own beliefs. AGE is the first step in bringing youth voices to the policymaking table.”



We can’t afford to have young people on the sidelines for critical debates about our nation’s future.”

—CSA Co-Founder and CEO Sam Gilman



Members of Common Sense Action meet with Representative **John Dingell** (D-MI)



Members of Common Sense Action on Capitol Hill



Members of Common Sense Action with BPC Senior Fellow **Robert F. Bennett**

“Citizens for Political Reform is a critical movement of Americans to take our political system in the right direction. This unique and significant effort will engage the public in the implementation of the Commission on Political Reform’s bold recommendations for change.”

—BPC Senior Fellow and former Senator Olympia Snowe

CITIZENS FOR POLITICAL REFORM

It's Your Country: BPC Listens to Americans Across the Nation

Launched in May of 2013 as part of BPC’s Commission on Political Reform (CPR), Citizens for Political Reform aims to connect with Americans to address the nation’s challenges and support leaders who show the courage to work across the aisle. Citizens is based on the premise that we get the government we demand, and the effort provides voters with the tools and information they need to become politically engaged.

Currently, Citizens has these efforts in motion:

- **Bipartisan Champions.** From the Americans with Disabilities Act to Campaign Finance Reform, many significant legislative achievements have been successful due to cross-party collaboration. The Bipartisan Champions series highlights lawmakers who are working across the aisle and getting things done.

- **50 State Solutions.** There is much Washington lawmakers can learn from their state and local counterparts. The 50 State Solutions series offers examples of bipartisan leadership in the states—with the hope that some of it will inspire representatives in D.C.
- **The Common Ground Project.** This initiative provides citizens with real-time insights into key issues before Congress, what’s holding back legislation, and where there might be common ground.



BPC President **Jason Grumet** and BPC staff discuss why they joined Citizens for Political Reform

Snaps of Service

Leading up to the second town hall in Philadelphia, BPC encouraged Americans to join the conversation by snapping a photo of what service meant to them in the Snaps of Service photo contest. Whether it was serving the local community, joining an organization like Americorps or the Peace Corps, or becoming active in political office or the military, BPC wanted to know how Citizens were serving their community. Winners were invited to join CPR in Philadelphia for the National Conversation on American Unity.

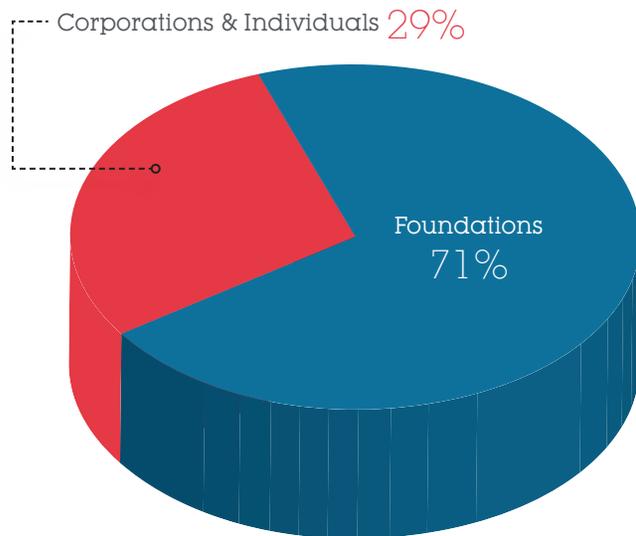


Snaps of Service photo contest winners

FINANCIAL INFORMATION

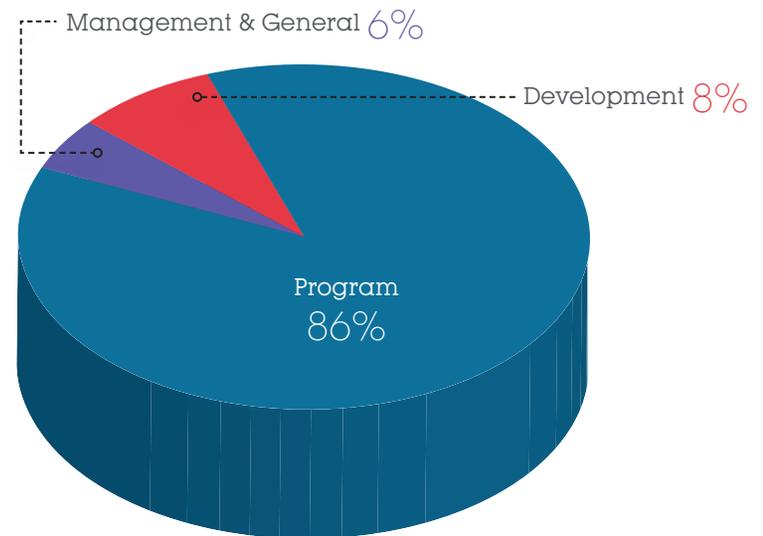
2013 Grants & Contributions

Foundations	\$14,845,647
Corporations & Individuals	\$6,142,242
Subtotal	\$20,987,889
+ Use of Carry Forward Funds	\$3,100,00
Grand Total	\$24,087,889



2013 Expenses

Program	\$20,762,037
Management & General	\$1,322,175
Development	\$1,972,480
Total	\$24,056,692



The Bipartisan Policy Center wishes to recognize and thank the diverse group of foundations, individuals, and corporations that invested in our five programs and core operations. The past year has seen significant expansion of support, allowing for a broadening in the size and scope of BPC's work to promote bipartisanship and find creative, effective solutions to the nation's challenges.

Foundations

S. D. Bechtel, Jr. Foundation
 Alfred P. Sloan Foundation
 The Howard G. Buffett Foundation
 Campaign Finance Institute
 Carnegie Corporation of New York
 The Annie E. Casey Foundation
 Chan Soon-Shiong Family Foundation
 Climate Works Foundation
 Foundation For a Better World
 GE Foundation
 The Goodman Family Supporting
 Foundation
 Heart Sing Foundation
 Henry M. Jackson Foundation
 The William & Flora Hewlett Foundation
 The Higby Family Fund
 Jewish Community Federation
 The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur
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 The Joyce Foundation
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 Omidyar Network Fund, Inc.
 Peter G. Peterson Foundation
 Robert Wood Johnson Foundation
 Rosenfeld Family Charitable Foundation
 The SCAN Foundation
 Silicon Valley Community Foundation
 Smith Richardson Foundation
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Corporations

Aetna
 American Bankers Association
 American Express
 American Fuel & Petrochemical
 Manufacturers
 American Gas Association
 American Natural Gas Alliance
 Anadarko Petroleum Corporation
 Ascension Health
 Athenahealth, Inc.
 Bank of America
 BP America Inc.
 BlueCross BlueShield Association
 Blue Cross & Blue Shield of North
 Carolina
 Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad
 Caremark RX, Inc.
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 Cheniere Energy, Inc.
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 Citigroup
 Claren Road Asset Management, LLC
 The Coca-Cola Company
 ConocoPhillips Company
 Consumers Energy Company
 Credit Suisse
 Dell, Inc.
 Discovery Capital Management
 Dominion Resources, Inc.
 Edison Electric Institute
 Eli Lilly & Company

Energy Future Holdings Corporation
 Eni S.P.A.
 Exelon
 Exxon Mobil
 Fidelity Investments
 Financial Services Forum
 The Gap, Inc.
 GE Healthcare
 General Dynamics Corporation
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 Greenway Medical Technologies
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 Intel Corporation
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 The McGraw-Hill Companies
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 Merck & Co., Inc.
 MetLife, Inc.
 National Grid USA
 Nomura Holding America, Inc.
 Northrop Grumman
 Nuclear Energy Institute
 OshKosh Corporation
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 Palantir Technologies
 Pfizer, Inc.
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The PNC Financial Services Group, Inc.
 Quality Systems, Inc.
 Schlumberger Limited
 Shell Oil Company
 Siemens Healthcare
 Southern Company
 TPG Capital, L.P.
 Turner Broadcasting System, Inc.
 United Airlines
 United Services Automobile Association
 United Technologies
 Verizon Wireless
 Walgreens
 Walmart
 Wellpoint

Individuals

Anonymous (2)
 Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift
 Fund
 William Fleischman
 Jane Garvey
 Jonathan Lewinsohn
 J. Ronald Terwilliger
 Sara Tirschwell
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 Mortimer Zuckerman

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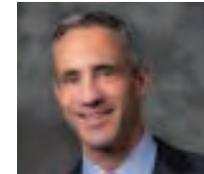
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Jessica Smith
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