A letter from BPC President Jason Grumet

We live in an ideologically sorted and polarized nation. But despite deep rifts, most Americans agree: Washington isn’t working. To address this, the Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC) began 2014 with a mission: to develop actionable ideas to help Congress function better and to support policymakers with the fortitude and imagination necessary to tackle major challenges. America’s greatest leaders were all fierce partisans who compromised out of necessity, not desire. Nostalgia for a gentler time isn’t useful, but a return to productive partisanship is. And while the headwinds remain strong, there are promising dynamics at work: a Republican-controlled Congress and Democratic administration means greater accountability; the improving economy creates a sense of possibility and diminishes the anger that undermines collaboration; and exhaustion from prolonged gridlock is generating more constructive dialogue.

In 2015, BPC will advocate for an agenda based on these key takeaways from 2014:

Spend more time in Washington. Though it is impossible to re-create an era of members spending weekends together watching Little League, much can be done to relieve the alienation that rewards rigidity and discourages collaboration. Simple ideas such as a five-day workweek and a better alignment of the Senate and House calendars are a good start.

Restore committees. Committees used to be a place where members made alliances and gained issue expertise while crafting national policy. In recent years, partisan leadership made the decisions outside the committee process. Members should serve on fewer committees, devote more time to the committees they do serve, and focus on developing real knowledge. Congressional leadership, meanwhile, should guarantee floor time for committee-passed legislation.

Build bonds. Personal relationships should be allowed to flourish without constant public scrutiny. Often the imperative for deliberation trumps the need for access. Last year, the Senate met in private for a few hours and worked through challenging disagreements. Regular sessions away from news cameras could yield more legislative compromises. Similarly, members forge bonds by traveling together or sharing meals. But in a culture of disdain, official congressional fact-finding trips or seated lunches at policy discussions are too easily dismissed as taxpayer boondoggles or “gateway graft.” If we have so little trust in Congress, how can we expect those in Congress to trust one another?

Increase election access. Only one of five Americans participates in primaries, which further divides the nation. There are myriad ways to increase public engagement that, over time, will incentivize less-rigid leaders, including automatic and online registration, a national primary day, increased early voting, and allowing independents to vote in primaries—as well as bolder ideas, like primary experiments in California and Washington, where candidates from all parties face off at once and the top two advance to the state’s general election.
It is certainly true that toxic partisanship is a cause of legislative dysfunction. But it is also true that legislative dysfunction feeds toxic partisanship. Rather than wishing for national cohesion, bemoaning the media, or aspiring to a new Constitutional Convention, BPC envisions a virtuous cycle in which small accomplishments enhance Congress’s capacity to once again be both partisan and productive.

We will always live in an ideologically divided nation. Instead of lamenting the challenges, it is our responsibility to provide a place at the negotiation table both for collaboration and for partisanship. As the nation heads toward the 2016 presidential election, BPC’s continued belief in the collaborative power of partisanship will carry unique importance in 2015.

Jason Grumet
BPC President
Howard Baker
This year, BPC mourned the loss of one of its co-founders: former Senate Majority Leader Howard H. Baker, Jr. Throughout Senator Baker’s career, he was known as a staunch supporter of bipartisanship.

**Tom Daschle**
*BPC Co-Founder*

“Howard Baker’s distinguished career, as senator and statesman, is a product of his unique capacity to win the confidence and trust of even those with whom he fundamentally disagreed. It was a joy and privilege to work with Howard in establishing the Bipartisan Policy Center.”

**Bob Dole**
*BPC Co-Founder*

“Howard’s reputation as the ‘Great Conciliator’ was well earned. He was a person you could work with. In the Senate, he was able to accomplish so much because he cultivated mutual respect and cooperation with his opponents.”

**George Mitchell**
*BPC Co-Founder*

“Senator Baker’s conciliatory style as majority leader was legendary. Howard always represented the gold standard for working with others—not against or around them. He acted on the belief that principled cooperation is the key to progress.”

**Jason Grumet**
*BPC President*

“Senator Baker was a consummate statesman. He always reminded us that to make real progress, you have to build bridges that connect the best ideas from divergent ideologies.”

**In his own words**

“Howard Baker was a lifelong and proud Republican. Unlike some, however, I don’t believe loyalty to party precludes common-sense decision and policymaking. Some of our nation’s greatest triumphs have come when political leaders have not allowed partisan differences to deter their efforts to find solutions that are in our nation’s best interest.”
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Chairman & CEO (ret.)
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Former Secretary of the Senate
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Senior Attorney & Co-Director,
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Natural Resources Defense Council
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Federal Aviation Administration
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Bipartisan Policy Center
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Managing Director
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Frank Keating
President & CEO
American Bankers Association
Washington, DC

Olympia Snowe
Former Senator from Maine
Washington, DC

Susan Story
President & CEO
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Julie Sweet
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Gen. Charles Wald (Chair)
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Rosslyn, VA

Mark Walsh
CEO & Chairman
GeniusRocket
Chevy Chase, MD

Anthony A. Williams
CEO, Federal City Council
Former Mayor of Washington, DC
Washington, DC

Mortimer Zuckerman
Chairman of the Board of Directors
Boston Properties
New York, NY
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<td>Slade Gorton</td>
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<td>General James L. Jones, USMC (ret.)</td>
<td>National Security Advisor, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe</td>
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<td>Tommy G. Thompson</td>
<td>Secretary of Health and Human Services, Governor of Wisconsin</td>
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<td>Antonio R. Villaraigosa</td>
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Economy

Kent Conrad
Former Senator from North Dakota

Pete V. Domenici
Former Senator from New Mexico and BPC Senior Fellow

James B. Lockhart III
Former Deputy Commissioner of the Social Security Administration

Dr. Alice Rivlin
Former Director of the Office of Management and Budget and the Congressional Budget Office

Energy

Byron Dorgan
Former Senator from North Dakota and BPC Senior Fellow

Trent Lott
Former Senate Majority Leader and BPC Senior Fellow

General James L. Jones (ret.)
Former National Security Advisor and BPC Senior Fellow

Financial Reform

Martin Baily
Former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors

Phillip Swagel
Former Assistant Secretary for Economic Policy at the Treasury Department

Governance

William K. Reilly
Former Environmental Protection Agency Administrator

Tom Daschle
Former Senate Majority Leader and BPC Co-Founder

Dan Glickman
Former Secretary of Agriculture and BPC Senior Fellow

Dirk Kempthorne
Former Governor of Idaho

Trent Lott
Former Senate Majority Leader and BPC Senior Fellow

Olympia Snowe
Former Senator from Maine and BPC Senior Fellow
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Making an Impact

BPC is a nimble organization focused on complex issues requiring urgent solutions. In 2014, BPC concentrated on eight areas:

- Economy
- Energy
- Financial Reform
- Governance
- Health
- Housing
- Immigration
- National Security
In each program area, BPC combines technical expertise with political insights to develop and advocate ideas that influence active policy debates. From efforts to strengthen the nation’s housing finance system to health care solutions that increase the quality of care at reduced cost to analysis of the dire consequences of a federal debt default, BPC projects were influential in framing policy debates.

However, policy doesn’t happen in isolation. Solving problems is a collaborative effort. Part of BPC’s work in 2014 focused on joining the expertise from multiple program arenas. Through these efforts, BPC produced policy analysis on the economic impacts of different approaches to immigration reform, the importance of cybersecurity to protect the electric grid, and the sequester’s impact on defense spending.

BPC also increased efforts to engage in debates beyond Congress. For example, BPC partnered with Midwest states to analyze proposed Environmental Protection Agency regulations for the electric power sector, and BPC recommended ways to improve implementation of the Dodd-Frank Act which governs the financial sector.

BPC’s affiliate organization, the Bipartisan Policy Center Advocacy Network (BPCAN), provides timely political input into the policy development process and identifies key opportunities to advance recommendations with Congress and the administration. The work of BPCAN is multifaceted and involves facilitating basic educational activities to increase members’ and their staff’s understanding of issues, convening senior staff on a regular basis to build bonds and improve appreciation for their respective views, and providing feedback to offices looking for technical input on legislative proposals as well as strategic advice to those seeking to collaborate with colleagues on the other side of the aisle. BPC, through the efforts of BPCAN, has become a trusted go-to source for analysis and insight for the Hill.
BPC, through its Governors’ Council, helped shape the Workforce Investment and Opportunity Act to increase state flexibility and encourage innovation. The act was signed into law in July 2014.

BPC’s housing recommendations were incorporated into the Senate Banking Committee’s bipartisan government-sponsored enterprise reform bill that passed out of committee.

BPC’s health care cost containment recommendations were reflected in several pieces of new legislation, including the Tri-Committee health care bill, which seeks to resolve the chronic problem of funding physicians under the Medicare sustainable growth rate.

BPC’s regulatory framework for health information technology served as a base for legislation introduced in several bipartisan House and Senate bills. The end-of-year FY2015 Omnibus Appropriations package also reflected BPC’s call for an aggressive push for interoperability of health IT systems to improve information transfer, efficiency, and patient care.

Reflecting a key recommendation by BPC’s Commission on Political Reform, incoming Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) and Speaker of the House John Boehner (R-OH) committed to restore regular order in their respective chambers with a greater committee role in the development of legislation and a more open amendment process on the floor.

The Insurance Capital Standards Clarification Act was enacted into law. The bill was championed by BPC’s Financial Regulatory Reform Initiative to clarify that the Federal Reserve has the authority to tailor bank capital rules for insurance companies under the Dodd-Frank Act.

The American Savings Promotion Act was passed into law. The bill was championed by BPC’s Commission on Retirement Security and Personal Savings as an innovative way to increase Americans’ personal savings.
Regulatory Impact:

- BPC recommendations for health IT were incorporated by the Food and Drug Administration, the Federal Communications Commission, and the Office of the National Coordinator for Health IT in the draft health IT plan developed under the FDA Safety and Innovation Act.

- After BPC recommended that the FDIC release greater detail about its proposed single-point-of-entry process for systemically important financial institutions, the agency formally solicited comments on how it might do so.

- The U.S. Treasury Department’s Financial Stability Oversight Council instituted a transparency policy one month after BPC recommended it.

Building a Foundation:

- BPC’s Governors’ Council supported the newly formed Senate Governors’ Caucus, comprising the 11 senators who were formerly governors.

- BPC’s Senate Legislative Directors dinner series has brought together more than 40 bipartisan senior congressional staffs to build relationships, become better educated on the issues, and develop a deeper understanding of institutional history.

To view the “Top Ten Solutions for Regulators to Improve Upon Dodd-Frank” infographic in full, bipartisanpolicy.org/dodd-frank

Representative Marsha Blackburn (R-TN) gives insight on improving health and health care through the use of technology at the BPC event “Promoting Innovation; Protecting Patient Safety: Advancing Use of Technology in Health Care.”
BPC is designed to produce practical and politically actionable solutions. BPC’s success is anchored in the political diversity and substantive expertise of its project members. By combining detailed policy prescriptions with proactive advocacy and outreach, BPC shapes the national policy debate as it develops and pursues consensus solutions. Below is an example of how BPC’s unique process works.

**Scoping the Problem**

BPC launched the Commission on Political Reform in 2013 to investigate the causes and consequences of America’s partisan political divide and to advocate for specific reforms that will improve the political process and that will work in a polarized atmosphere.

**The Right People**

The commission was formed to shine a spotlight on the sometimes arcane processes and traditions that enable our government to work. Led by former Senate Majority Leaders Tom Daschle and Trent Lott, former Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman, former Governor of Idaho Dirk Kempthorne, and former Senator Olympia Snowe, the commission included an array of prominent national, state, and local political leaders. But improving democracy requires expertise and passion from outside the political process. Recognizing that national challenges require many different and diverse voices, the commission also included individuals from a variety of sectors, including the military, faith, business, and academic communities. In all, 29 members came together to resolve the big questions our democracy faces.
Analyzing the Numbers

BPC’s work is informed by objective analysis and research. For the commission, analysis was conducted on a number of key topics, including redistricting, political primaries, and congressional rules, among many others. In addition, BPC and USA TODAY conducted four polls over the course of the commission’s deliberations. The polls focused on political polarization, the electoral process, public service, and on Congress itself. The first poll revealed a deeply polarized America, where voters take their cues from the political parties even when they do not realize it. While polarized on specific policy issues, the polls showed that there are potential areas for broad policy agreement. Confirming expectations, three out of four of those polled say that U.S. politics has become more divided in recent years. Only 14 percent of Americans said that they would be interested in running for public office. Further, two out of ten people approved of Congress—but more than half still supported their individual members of Congress. The information collected by these polls was key in helping the commission to define the problem and focus its efforts.
Going Public

The commission, in partnership with USA TODAY, hosted town halls across the country at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library, the National Constitution Center, the Ohio State University, and the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum in collaboration with the Edward M. Kennedy Institute for the United States Senate to engage with the American public and to gather insights from experts and political leaders. With the help of interactive technology and social media, the commission reached more than 220,000 people through these events. Many shared their views about the sources of today’s political dysfunction and proposed specific solutions.

“The challenges in our country are too pressing and consequential for American families to fall victim to partisan gridlock. The Bipartisan Policy Center is working with both sides of the aisle to develop useful policies that address key national issues.”

- Senator Mike Bennet (D-CO)

The Art of Compromise

Many of the topics considered elicited strong views from commissioners. At times, some questioned if the group would ever be able to reach consensus on key aspects of election reform and congressional rules changes. After numerous meetings, dinners, and emails, sharing insights and diverse opinions, the group worked through its differences and agreed to proposed reforms to increase public engagement and strengthen the political process.

For instance, one of the commission’s most challenging debates occurred over the use of the filibuster. For several months, former Senate Majority Leaders Daschle and Lott guided the commission’s debates over the appropriate use of the filibuster. While the debate in Congress broke down—resulting in the use of the “nuclear option” in November 2013—BPC’s commission proposed a reasoned solution: the filibuster should remain available when Congress is voting on the substantive aspects of a proposal, but it should not be allowed to delay the procedural vote to move legislation to the floor. Moreover, the minority must have a meaningful opportunity to offer amendments (at least five) in any substantive debate.
In June 2014, 15 months after the first town hall meeting, the commission released its carefully researched, bipartisan recommendations for strengthening U.S. democracy. In a time of deep ideological divide in Washington and around the country, the commission’s more than 60 recommendations aim to increase confidence in U.S. elections, restore congressional debate and deliberation, and embrace Americans’ enthusiasm for public service.

Following the release of the commission’s report in June, commissioners spread out across the country to raise awareness about its recommendations—with visits to Harvard University’s Institute of Politics, the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, the Ohio State University, the Dole Institute of Politics at the University of Kansas, the University of Central Florida, and South Dakota University (home of the Senator Thomas A. Daschle Congressional Research Study). The recommendations also focused on critical state issues, and BPC staff has actively been involved in redistricting reform in Ohio and other states. Throughout the fall, BPCAN continued to advance the recommendations with members of Congress through meetings and briefings. BPCAN also continued its dinner series for Senate Legislative Directors, fostering bipartisan relationships that will help move Congress forward. The commission continues to encourage the input of everyday Americans through its Citizens for Political Reform effort, which empowers people to create positive civic change.
One Week at BPC

Here is what just one week in July looked like at BPC.

Dodd-Frank at Four: Making Progress, Meeting Challenges, and Finding Solutions

Four years after the passage of the Dodd-Frank Act, BPC released an analysis and hosted a discussion of what has been accomplished in financial regulatory reform since the financial crisis, what challenges remain, and BPC’s recommendations for how to address them.

The Budget Act at 40: Midlife Crisis?

BPC hosted former Congressional Budget Office directors and former members of the House and Senate Budget Committees on the 40th anniversary of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act to discuss its past, its present, and its future.

High Standards and High Stakes: Defining Terms of an Acceptable Iran Nuclear Deal

As the United States approaches the July 20, 2015, deadline for a final Iran nuclear deal, what standards should Congress seek in an acceptable agreement? And what are the stakes for the United States and its allies? BPC and the Foundation for Defense of Democracies hosted a public forum on these and other questions featuring members of Congress and experts.
Putting Military Personnel Costs in Context: Analysis by AEI and BPC

According to a new study by BPC and the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), the per-capita cost of active-duty military personnel increased by 42 percent over the last decade. Overall, growth in cost was much faster than growth in the number of people serving. AEI and BPC hosted a discussion about the cost trends impacting America’s professional volunteer force and their implications for the future.

The 9/11 Commission Report: Ten Years Later

BPC and the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania hosted former 9/11 Commission Chairman Tom Kean, former Vice Chairman Lee Hamilton, and other commission members on the 10th anniversary of the release of The 9/11 Commission Report to examine threats to the nation; current homeland security challenges, successes, and innovations; and the difficult questions and oversight obstacles presently facing policymakers.

A Discussion with Energy Secretary Dr. Ernest Moniz

BPC hosted Energy Secretary Dr. Ernest Moniz for a discussion of how to accelerate innovation in the energy sector. Joining the conversation were CEOs from leading tech companies, energy policy experts, and advocates.

Driving Resources into Energy Innovation

BPC’s American Energy Innovation Council gathered more than 20 experts, business leaders, academics, and policymakers—with an audience of 250—to assess the state of American energy innovation and new approaches to drive more resources into it.
2014 in review

Winter / Spring
The Debt Limit at the Eleventh Hour

As history shows, when legislators delay raising the debt limit, taxpayers lose billions and the stock market plunges. In 2013, America again found itself at the edge of a fiscal cliff. BPC released quantitative analysis demonstrating that, absent congressional action, the Treasury Department would likely be unable to meet its financial obligations by March 14, 2014. The analysis also explored the devastating impacts of a U.S. default on sovereign debt. In the weeks before the deadline, Treasury Secretary Jack Lew gave a keynote address at BPC, asserting, “Delaying action [would] cause harm to our economy, rattle financial markets, and hurt taxpayers.” Later that month, Congress voted to increase the debt limit. This issue will recur in 2015. In addition to helping the public and policymakers understand the repercussions of inaction, BPC is working to develop a more sustainable solution to end the yearly congressional crisis.

*Treasury Secretary Jack Lew reiterated his view on the critical need to increase the debt limit in a timely manner to ensure the U.S. government could continue to finance its existing obligations before the debt ceiling was reached in early 2014.*
In his 2014 State of the Union speech, President Obama asserted that immigration reform could reduce budget deficits by $1 trillion, a figure that supported a 2013 BPC study on the economic implications of immigration reform, which found $1.2 trillion in savings over 20 years. In early 2014, BPC conducted a new assessment, *Immigration: America’s Demographic Edge*. Led by two of its co-chairs, former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Henry Cisneros, BPC’s Immigration Task Force came together at a public forum in Silicon Valley to release the report and to hold a day of policy discussions. “America’s history of attracting and fully integrating immigrants is a big part of what made us the world’s most prosperous and influential nation,” said Secretary Rice. “As today’s report illustrates, immigrants are no less important to our future than they were two centuries ago. Continuing our tradition of welcoming immigrants will be essential to our future economic growth and position in the world.” The task force continued work in 2014 to move immigration reform legislation, with public events and statements as well as reports on key aspects of reform.
Lights Out: Cyber Threats and the Electric Grid

The Department of Homeland Security has confirmed that cyberattacks on key energy and electric infrastructure are increasing in frequency and sophistication. The FBI has confirmed that cyberattacks are eclipsing terrorism as the primary threat facing the United States. Yet, there are few public efforts that join the energy and security communities in developing solutions. That’s why BPC created the Electric Grid Cybersecurity Initiative. The group’s report, *Cybersecurity and the North American Electric Grid: New Policy Approaches to Address an Evolving Threat*, proposed policies to improve cyber risk management and to build resilience in the event of a cyberattack. The initiative—led by General (ret.) Michael Hayden, former director of the CIA and the National Security Agency; Curt Hébert, former chairman of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission; and Sue Tierney, former assistant secretary for policy at the Department of Energy—elevated the policy discussion on cyber threats to the electric grid and proposed improvements to existing protocols for response and restoration.

Breaking Through Gridlock

Even with severe partisanship in Congress, a majority of Americans feel that members have a responsibility to work across party lines to find solutions, according to a BPC/USA Today poll. After crisscrossing the country for 12 months, BPC’s Commission on Political Reform held a final town hall, “A National Conversation on Congress,” in partnership with USA TODAY at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum in Boston.

The event featured former elected officials and former White House chiefs of staff discussing solutions to America’s congressional gridlock. Among the participants were former chiefs of staff Josh Bolten, Andy Card, John H. Sununu, and former Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott. On reaching goals in Congress, Senator Lott said: “You have to be able to preserve your position but also understand what the president needs, what your colleagues have to have, and find that sweet spot. It can be done.”
Greenwire reporter Jean Chemnick moderates a discussion on 111(d) regulations with Assistant Commissioner of the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency David Thornton, Senior Director of Governmental Affairs for Southern Company Ray Harry, and Director of Regulatory Policy and Senior Attorney at the Environmental Defense Fund Megan Ceronsky.

Power Position

President Obama’s direction that the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) regulate carbon emissions from existing power plants dominated much of the 2014 energy debate. In conjunction with the National Association of Regulatory Utility Commissioners, BPC kicked off the year by initiating a series of public workshops. The series explored the environmental and economical impacts of EPA’s proposed greenhouse gas regulation of existing power plants under the Clean Air Act. To advance constructive dialogue on this complex topic, the workshops explored the differences among current state regulations, the necessary flexibility that should be reflected in a new regulation, the affordability and reliability issues that must be addressed, the implications for energy efficiency, and more. The forums gathered EPA officials, public-utility commissioners, environmental leaders, power company executives, technology providers, and other experts.
Retirement Security

Millions of Americans are approaching retirement with inadequate savings. The Employee Benefit Research Institute estimates that more than 40 percent of baby-boomers and Gen-Xers are likely to run short of money in retirement. Moreover, a recent Pew study found most American households do not have enough liquid savings to replace their income for even a month. To address these issues, BPC launched the 20-member Commission on Retirement Security and Personal Savings, which will release recommendations in 2015 designed to improve the U.S. retirement system, including Social Security, disability insurance, defined benefit pensions, defined contribution savings vehicles like 401(k) plans, other personal savings, and strategies to ensure lifetime income.

Is Turkey Still a U.S. Ally?

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, America has turned to Turkey, a majority-Muslim democracy, as a partner in dealing with regional challenges. Turkey’s interest in such cooperation, however, seems to be waning. During the 12-year reign of Turkey’s Justice and Development Party, its foreign policy has undergone a dramatic shift away from its traditional Western-centric focus and toward the Middle East. Simultaneously, the country’s politics are increasingly authoritarian.

In April, BPC highlighted these twin developments by releasing two prescient reports, *Back to Zero Problems? Recent Developments in Turkey’s Foreign Policy* and *Legislating Autocracy? Recent Legal Developments in Turkey*. The reports noted Turkey’s importance to the United States and the growing strain between the two countries. BPC continues to assess how to restore a U.S.-Turkey relationship that could more effectively tackle the myriad challenges facing the Middle East.
2014 review in Summer
BPC received the Burton Foundation’s 2014 Regulatory Innovation Award. Morrison & Foerster LLP established the award in 2008 through the Burton Foundation to honor an academic or non-elected public official whose innovative ideas have made a significant contribution to the discourse on regulatory reform in the arena of corporate governance, securities, capital markets, or financial institutions. According to the foundation, BPC’s work on too-big-to-fail, the Volcker Rule, the Lincoln Amendment, the role of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, and financial services regulation, “have provided constructive and actionable recommendations that have been lauded by lawmakers from both parties. In an era of intense and often unproductive partisanship, the work of the Bipartisan Policy Center stands out as worthy of recognition.”

BPC Director of the Financial Regulatory Reform Initiative Aaron Klein accepts the Burton Award.
With mounting threats from a resurgent Al Qaeda and a menacing Islamic State, BPC brought the 9/11 Commission members back together ten years after the release of The 9/11 Commission Report to ask: “Are We Safer?” In partnership with the University of Pennsylvania’s Annenberg Public Policy Center, the nine-month effort—led by former 9/11 Commission Chairman Tom Kean and former Vice Chairman Lee Hamilton—produced a new report, *Today’s Rising Terrorist Threat and the Danger to the United States: Reflections on the Tenth Anniversary of The 9/11 Commission Report*, calling for a vigorous, proactive counterterrorism effort. Commissioners also cautioned that the United States should be aggressive in confronting the looming cyber threat: “One lesson of the 9/11 story is that, as a nation, Americans did not awaken to the gravity of the terrorist threat until it was too late. History may be repeating itself in the cyber realm. The Internet’s vulnerabilities are outpacing the nation’s ability to secure it.”
A whopping one-fifth of all U.S. spending goes to health care. So, while Obamacare debates rage on Capitol Hill, BPC is at work analyzing options for delivering higher-quality health care at lower costs. In June, BPC launched the Delivery System Reform Initiative to help accelerate the transition to higher-value, more coordinated health care payment and delivery systems—all under the leadership of former Senate Majority Leaders Tom Daschle and Bill Frist, former Congressional Budget Office Director Alice Rivlin, and former House Ways and Means Ranking Member Jim McCrery. BPC initiated this work with a report, *A Bipartisan Rx for Patient-Centered Care and System-Wide Cost Containment*. At the initiative’s launch, a panel of health policy experts—including Deputy Administrator for Innovation and Quality and Chief Medical Officer for the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services Dr. Patrick Conway—talked about what’s ahead for health care providers as they navigate this transition. In 2015, BPC will release policy recommendations on the roles of accountable-care organizations and fee-for-service programs.
Expertise in Action: How to Define a Good Deal with Iran

By the end of 2014, Iran had thwarted International Atomic Energy Agency attempts to examine its past nuclear work, had activated a previously non-operational advanced centrifuge, and had failed to cap its uranium production as agreed. BPC has long argued that a nuclear-weapons-capable Iran is strategically untenable for the United States. After years of unsuccessful negotiations, the Joint Plan of Action—a confidence-building agreement signed by Iran and six world powers—offered the best opportunity for a peaceful and diplomatic settlement. Rife with complex technicalities, however, the negotiations were far from transparent. BPC entered this fray, publishing *Nuclear Iran: The Definitive Guide to a Good Deal*, which highlighted the major issues any comprehensive agreement with Iran would have to address, including the current status of Iran’s nuclear program, past proposals for reining in that program, and a road map by which to judge any agreement that might be struck. BPC became specifically concerned that international monitors lacked the funds to carry out inspections of Iran’s nuclear facilities. By working with allies to raise awareness of the issue, BPC helped secure the needed resources for continued monitoring of Iran’s nuclear program. As Middle East turmoil continues, BPC will be a sought-after resource in 2015.
How to Govern in a Polarized America

A BPC analysis shows that the number of competitive U.S. congressional districts has declined since the 1970s. More than 50 million eligible citizens aren’t registered to vote. The Commission on Political Reform released its landmark report, *Governing in a Polarized America: A Bipartisan Blueprint to Strengthen our Democracy*, arguing for a more robust democracy by creating a fairer and more open electoral system, transforming Congress into a higher-performing organization, and calling for a more engaged citizenry through public service. Recommendations include disclosure of campaign contributions, creating bipartisan redistricting commissions, improving voter registration, restoring regular order in Congress, and repairing an overburdened federal appointments process.

After the report’s release, BPC advocated for changes in congressional rules and for improvements to state elections. These efforts will continue throughout the year and ramp up as the 2016 presidential election approaches.
The Best Cure Is Prevention

Even though two-thirds of Americans are obese or overweight, nearly 90 percent of doctors’ office visits go without nutrition or physical activity counseling. Meanwhile, obesity is one of the most challenging and costly public-health threats facing Americans today. Doctors, nurses, and other health professionals are uniquely positioned to deliver effective messages about the importance of diet and physical activity. Unfortunately, the U.S. health care system—which often focuses more on treatment than prevention—fails to provide practitioners with adequate training in this area.

BPC teamed up with the American College of Sports Medicine and the Alliance for a Healthier Generation to develop and present a report, *Teaching Nutrition and Physical Activity in Medical School: Training Doctors for Prevention-Oriented Care*, which recommends training medical students and physicians to combat America’s obesity epidemic. BPC’s focus on cutting rates of obesity and chronic disease will continue in 2015 with BPC’s assessment of the Defense Department’s Healthy Base Initiative, focusing on health promotion for service members and their families.

“Using data to say who can go to home health, how can we treat this person in the home instead of a higher-cost environment … [is] really exciting work, and I think [BPC’s] comments on bundles were very on point.”

- Patrick Conway, Deputy Administrator for Innovation & Quality, Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services Chief Medical Officer
The Future of Energy

Funding U.S. energy research is a crucial economic, security, and environmental priority. Yet, America’s investment in energy innovation, from the public and private sectors combined, is less than half of 1 percent of the nation’s energy bill. BPC is leading the effort to capitalize on America’s energy strengths and to develop the technologies that the United States will need going forward. BPC’s American Energy Innovation Council hosted “Driving Resources to Energy Innovation” to assess the state of energy technologies and to discuss increasing the pace of innovation despite diminishing federal investment. “Energy security breeds national security, breeds economic security,” said keynote speaker Tom Fanning, CEO of Southern Company. Other speakers included Energy Secretary Dr. Ernest Moniz, Cummins Chief Technology Officer John Wall, and GE Ventures Partner Ricardo Angel. Headed by business leaders Norm Augustine, John Doerr, Bill Gates, Chad Holliday, Jeff Immelt, and Tom Linebarger, the council aims to foster economic growth, create jobs in new industries, and reestablish America’s energy technology leadership through greater public and private investment in energy technology innovation.

Millennials and BPC

Today’s young people may be the first generation in U.S. history to have fewer opportunities than their parents—at least, under current economic policies. BPC partnered with Common Sense Action (CSA), a bipartisan advocacy organization composed of Millennials, to tackle issues from a Millennial perspective. CSA encourages young people to get involved in politics and policy and to vote. In 2014, the organization expanded to 40 colleges, with university chapters across the United States. BPC advised CSA as it created the Agenda for Generational Equity, or “AGE.” AGE is a policy agenda generated through an entirely Millennial-driven, nationwide, bipartisan process. It was officially unveiled at a June BPC event. AGE highlights issues facing the next generation of national leaders, such as fiscal responsibility, economic mobility, investments, and national service.
At the AEIC event “Driving Resources into Energy Innovation,” Founder and Managing Partner of DBL Investors Nancy E. Pfund, CEO of Proterra Ryan Popple, and CEO of Massachusetts Clean Energy Center Alicia Barton discuss the role that public agencies can play in unlocking private capital and lowering the cost of capital to finance energy innovation.
Can America Still Defend Itself?

Even though spending on personnel has remained at approximately one-third of the U.S. defense budget since 1980, that third of the budget is now paying for 500,000 fewer service members. BPC and the American Enterprise Institute analyzed military personnel costs and found substantial growth in retirement and health benefit spending. BPC briefed both the House and Senate Armed Services Committees as well as senior officials at the Defense Department. BPC experts were also invited to speak before the Aeronautics Industry Association’s annual meeting.

Dodd-Frank: Four Years In

In 2008, a series of failures and shocks led to a near-collapse of the global financial system, requiring an unprecedented level of public support to stem a full-scale financial panic. The Dodd-Frank Act confronted the too-big-to-fail problem, but not surprisingly did not resolve all the issues related to U.S. financial regulation. In April 2014, BPC released *Dodd-Frank’s Missed Opportunity*, which outlined a road map for achieving a more rational and effective financial regulatory architecture over time.

To mark the four-year anniversary of the Dodd-Frank Act in July, BPC hosted a discussion of what has been accomplished in regulatory reform since the financial crisis, what challenges remain, and BPC’s recommendations for how to address them. The forum featured former Senator Chris Dodd, former U.S. Comptroller of the Currency Gene Ludwig, and a bipartisan panel of experts. At the anniversary event, BPC released *Dodd-Frank: Progress, Challenges, and Solutions*, identifying three top-ten lists: where Dodd-Frank made progress, where implementation could be more effective, and where Congress could improve the legislation.
The Voter Experience

When American voters don’t get to cast their ballots due to long waits or inefficient polling places, democracy loses. After examining how to streamline voting, BPC’s Commission on Political Reform developed a series of recommendations to improve the U.S. election process and increase participation. Then, in August, the co-chairs of the Presidential Commission on Election Administration (PCEA), Bob Bauer and Ben Ginsberg, announced that they would continue to promote the PCEA recommendations at BPC. President Obama created the Presidential Commission on Election Administration after long lines and other obstacles impeded voting in 2012. BPC is now focused on implementing key recommendations from that commission’s January 2014 report, including improving polling facilities and line management, addressing voting-technology flaws, creating online voter registration, expanding data-sharing for more accurate voter lists, increasing early voting opportunities, and expanding polling places.
The Housing Summit: “It Is an American Issue”

Housing comprises nearly one-fifth of the U.S. economy. The sector is a barometer of the nation’s overall economic health, predicting and reflecting conditions from the boardroom conference table to the kitchen table. The BPC “Housing America’s Future: New Directions for National Policy” two-day summit was the capstone of BPC’s Housing Commission. Over the past three years, the Housing Commission developed and advocated for a series of specific housing finance reforms and advanced ideas to improve and balanced existing federal housing policy. For the more than 1,200 attendees, the summit offered an opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of the housing sector and to interact with an unusually broad array of people and interests.

Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Julián Castro headlined the summit, declaring: “As the Bipartisan Policy Center knows better than anyone, housing is not a Republican or Democratic issue. It is an American issue.”

“The Bipartisan Policy Center has been in the forefront of the housing policy discussion, identifying bipartisan solutions on housing finance reform. BPC created a constructive dialogue to help move the conversation forward.”

- Senator Mike Crapo (R-ID)
CEOs: Making Health Care Work

Together with their employees, private-sector employers bear more than half of the nation’s $2.8 trillion in health care expenditures. In September, CEOs from some of the nation’s largest employers, including the Coca-Cola Company, Verizon, and Bank of America, worked with BPC to form the CEO Council on Health Innovation and to release *Building Better Health: Innovative Strategies from America’s Business Leaders*. The consensus report shares the companies’ most successful strategies for addressing the nation’s most pressing health care challenges. Commitments and actions fall into three areas: improving the health and wellness of individuals, improving the health of communities, and improving the health care system. An interactive website ([healthinnovationcouncil.org](http://healthinnovationcouncil.org)) allows employers to make commitments to action and contains a wealth of resources on successful strategies. In 2015, the council will launch a series of pilots, including a physical activity challenge to improve employee health.
How Important Is Turkey in Defeating ISIS? Very.

In 2014, a new threat to the United States emerged: the Islamic State (or ISIS). With surprising speed, the terrorist group overran significant swaths of Iraq and Syria, threatening regional stability and international security. A group of BPC experts concluded that not enough was being done to engage Turkey in confronting ISIS. In *The American Interest*, a quarterly review focusing on foreign policy, BPC Turkey Task Force members Henri Barkey and Eric Edelman wrote that the United States must act quickly to stop ISIS from overrunning the Syrian border town of Kobani: “The fall of Kobani would have a devastating impact not just on the Kurds in the region, but on the credibility of America’s anti-ISIS strategy.” Addressing the challenge facing American policymakers, BPC’s National Security Program Director Blaise Misztal wrote, “Refraining from chastising the Turkish government for policies that run counter to U.S. priorities—or, in the case of ISIS, a regional policy of supporting extremists that helped create the current crisis in the first place—is unlikely to push Turkey from a reluctant to a willing member of the U.S.-led coalition.”

“Partisan and Productive”

“SURPRISE! THERE MAY BE A WAY TO FIX WASHINGTON.” That was the *Reuters* headline the morning after the midterm elections in an article about BPC. “One of the best places to go for hope that the 114th Congress might actually get something done [is] a think tank not far from the Capitol called the Bipartisan Policy Center.” *Reuters* heralded BPC President Jason Grumet’s prescriptions for change in his new book, *City of Rivals*. Meanwhile, the day after the elections, former Senate Majority Leaders Trent Lott and Tom Daschle headlined an event to discuss moving forward in a divided republic. Just days later, *The Christian Science Monitor* reported on Daschle’s remarks, which praised President Obama’s post-election meeting with the Republican leadership. What’s more, Obama and Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) came out of that meeting with a call for a return to regular order as proposed by BPC’s Commission on Political Reform. “We cannot wish away our differences,” said Grumet, “but with real leadership, our government can be both partisan and productive.”
Advancing a New Oversight Framework for Health Information Technology

BPC has played an instrumental role in developing and advancing a new oversight framework for health information technology that both promotes innovation and protects patient safety. Developed in 2013 through a collaborative effort involving hundreds of experts and stakeholders, the principles and recommendations in the BPC oversight framework were reflected in the administration’s draft health IT plan released in April 2014 and legislation introduced in Congress. The framework, along with actions taken since its release, were highlighted during a BPC event, “Promoting Innovation, Protecting Patient Safety: Advancing Use of Technology in Health Care” in December. In the 114th Congress, there is increasing momentum for ensuring that laws and regulations keep pace with science and technology – including in the areas of drugs, medical devices, and health IT. This will be critical for the U.S. to remain a global leader in innovation, discovery, development, and delivery of treatments and technologies that improve lives.
Spend Smart. Build Smart.

The American Society of Civil Engineers has given U.S. infrastructure a D+ grade. And yet, this critical domestic issue is facing a funding crisis. “It is really important, in a world where there are finite resources, that we spend smart,” said Antonio Villaraigosa, BPC senior fellow and former mayor of Los Angeles, at the BPC event “Filling the Gap: Private Sector Solutions for Infrastructure Finance.” Concerns over America’s weak federal infrastructure investments are well known. But, rather than lamenting the inadequacy of federal funding, the event focused on opportunities to increase private investment in critical infrastructure. “With a concentrated effort between the private sector and the public sector,” said Doug Peterson, president and CEO of McGraw Hill Financial, “we believe there are solutions to reverse the trend and find ways to bring financing back to infrastructure.” In 2015, BPC will initiate a new effort with leading CEOs to explore these private-sector solutions.

Virtual Currency in the Real World

How will innovations like Bitcoin, ApplePay, and mobile payments change the way we buy things? BPC led a discussion—“Payments Policy in the 21st Century: The Promise of Innovation and the Challenge of Regulation” with keynote speaker Benjamin M. Lawsky, superintendent of the New York Department of Financial Services—analyzing how new technologies will impact consumers, businesses, financial institutions, and state and federal oversight. In 2015 BPC will begin a new effort exploring payment policy and regulations, and considering whether additional reforms are needed to protect consumers, promote financial inclusion and a level playing-field, and encourage further innovation and economic growth. As Lawsky stated, “We need to start moving a little more quickly to provide regulatory clarity and guidance on important issues such as consumer protection and anti-money-laundering requirements.”
BPC is constantly thinking ahead of the curve and starting the discussion on issues that will enter the larger political debate in the near future. In addition to continuing many of its current efforts, BPC is actively evaluating new projects on a variety of issues, including:

1. **Medical Drugs and Device Modernization**
   How can the time and cost currently involved with medical product discovery and development better align with public policies to support medical innovation?

2. **Infrastructure**
   There is a substantial amount of capital that is looking for a place to be invested, why isn’t this money going to infrastructure and how can public-private partnerships be part of the solution?

3. **Tax Reform**
   Both houses of Congress are taking initial steps to tackle tax reform. The viability of tax reform in 2015 will require an early commitment from both the president and congressional leaders to work together toward a deal. Can common ground be found on important tax issues to jumpstart the discussions necessary to achieve real tax reform?
Improving the Delivery of Long-Term Services and Supports

How do we slow the rate of growth in health care costs for the delivery of long-term services and supports, while still improving the quality of health care provided?

Global Health

Can investments in programs such as PEPFAR (President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief) be utilized as cost-effective diplomacy tools that improve U.S. national security?

Energy Trade and Exports

The United States is experiencing an era of energy abundance, so how do we manage this from an environmental, national security, and economic perspective? How do geopolitics and exports play a role in domestic energy policy?

Retirement Savings

Given the complexity of retirement income sources and the increasing reliance on a Social Security system, how can individuals and families in middle- and lower-income brackets plan for and achieve adequate savings to maintain their standards of living in retirement and to address other needs they may face as they age, such as disability or long-term care?

Education

Given the high costs and importance of education from early childhood to post-secondary years, how can public and private efforts provide more options and more opportunities for families and individuals across the economic spectrum?
# Publications

Winter / Spring

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<td>Getting Work: How Government Can Do Better Preparing Americans for Today’s Jobs</td>
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<td>Back to Zero Problems? Recent Developments in Turkey’s Foreign Policy</td>
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<td>Legislating Autocracy? Recent Legal Developments In Turkey</td>
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<td>Entry-Exit System: Progress, Challenges, and Outlook</td>
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<td>Technical Barriers to the Consumption of Higher Blends of Ethanol</td>
<td><em>The International Council on Clean Transportation</em></td>
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<td>Petroleum and Renewable Fuels Supply Chain</td>
<td><em>Stillwater Associates LLC</em></td>
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<td>Inventory of Federal Regulations Affecting Biofuels other than the Renewable Fuel Standard</td>
<td><em>Van Ness Feldman</em></td>
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<td>The Environmental Protection Agency’s Authority to Amend the Renewable Fuel Standard</td>
<td><em>Sutherland Asbill &amp; Brennan LLP</em></td>
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*These publications were produced by other agencies in cooperation with BPC and do not represent the reviews of the RFS advisory group or staff.*
Governing in a Polarized America:
A Bipartisan Blueprint to Strengthen Our Democracy

Shadows and Doubts: The Turkish Local Elections

Teaching Nutrition and Physical Activity in Medical School:
Training Doctors for Prevention-Oriented Care

2014 Agenda for Generational Equality

New Geopolitics of Petroleum and Natural Gas

Military Compensation Chartbook (in partnership with AEI)

Evaluating a Nuclear Deal with Iran

Reflections on the Tenth Anniversary of The 9/11 Commission Report

Building Better Health:
Innovative Strategies from America’s Business Leaders

Jihadist Terrorism and Other Unconventional Threats

Immigration and Housing – Supply, Demand, and Characteristics

A Diversity of Risks:
The Challenge of Retirement Preparedness in America

Responding to Systemic Risk: Restoring the Balance

Transitioning from Volume to Value:
Opportunities and Challenges for Health Care Delivery System Reform

Natural Gas Infrastructure and Methane Emissions

The Big Bank Theory: Breaking Down the Breakup Arguments

Energy Options for Reforming the Renewable Fuel Standard

President Erdoğan: Prospects for a Strong Presidency
Major media outlets turned to BPC’s senior fellows and policy experts to provide insight and expertise on the top issues of the day. News outlets that relied on BPC in 2014 include:

- ABC News
- Bloomberg TV
- CNN
- CQ Weekly
- CSPAN
- Fox News
- The Hill
- HousingWire
- The Huffington Post
- Los Angeles Times
- MSNBC
- National Journal
- POLITICO
- USA TODAY
- U.S. News and World Report
- The Washington Post
A New Look Online

Our website redesign transformed the way people interact with BPC and reorganized content so that BPC’s major topics dominate the site’s flow, rather than discrete programs and projects. We are expanding our reach and had outgrown the previous website. The new website highlights BPC’s stunning and original visual content and is far easier to navigate.

Social Media Power

Our tech savvy has given BPC policy recommendations and insights a new way to reach audiences. BPC had its highest engagement rates with Twitter users during the Commission on Political Reform’s events in Boston and Washington, D.C. More visual content—through images, infographics, and pullout charts/data—makes BPC content understandable and user-friendly.

Since 2013, Twitter followers have increased by **45 percent**.

In the month after unveiling the redesigned website, page views were up **48 percent** compared with the preceding month.

Aided by the new navigation and updated site organization, pages per session were up **59 percent**.

November marked BPC’s **best month** for website traffic.
Financial Information

2014 Grants & Contributions

- Foundations: $16,827,998
- Corporations and Individuals: $7,077,128

Grand Total: $23,905,126

Proportions:
- Corporations & Individuals: 30%
- Foundations: 70%
2014 Expenses

- **Program**: $19,228,809
- **Management & General**: $1,063,438
- **Development**: $1,941,050
- **Grand Total**: $22,233,297

- 5% Management & General
- 9% Development
- 86% Program
Donors List

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

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Michael Vavala, Director of HR and Administration
Dallas Pearson, Senior Staff Accountant
Garrett Langdon, Financial Analyst
Tricia Ferrone, Executive Assistant to the President
Priscilla Rodriguez, Executive Assistant
Quinlan Brennan, Executive Assistant
Babu Jackson, IT Operations Support
Abbey Brandon, Systems & Data Analyst
Marissa McCauley, Operations Analyst
John Fajardo, Staff Accountant
Gordon Somers, Facilities Coordinator
Nydra Moore, Administrative Assistant

Bipartisan Policy Center Advocacy Network
Kimberly Dean, Senior Advisor
Michele Nellenbach, Director of Strategic Initiatives
Ashley Ridlon, Senior Manager
Laura Hall, Manager
Jessica Smith, Senior Project Analyst
Kristen Dahlman, Administrative Assistant
Support for BPC

“I can count on the Bipartisan Policy Center to unravel complex issues, suggest big ideas, and provide straight facts. We need that kind of help if we’re going to get results and move our country in the right direction.”

- Senator Lamar Alexander (R-TN)

“The hardships in our country don’t discriminate by political party. They don’t just affect Democrats. They don’t just affect Republicans. They affect us all. We must avoid the dangerous and damaging temptation to drift into a red state/blue state divide, and instead we must find common ground. That’s why we need institutions like the Bipartisan Policy Center to promote compromise to find a way to resolve these issues.”

- Representative Emanuel Cleaver (D-MO)

“The Bipartisan Policy Center provides an opportunity for an open discussion of issues. Both Republicans and Democrats can find areas of cooperation without checking their credentials at the door.”

- Senator Mike Rounds (R-SD)
“If you are looking for an organization that goes above and beyond in the name of bipartisanship, look no further than the Bipartisan Policy Center.”

- Senator Mark Warner (D-VA)

“The American people recognize and understand that partisan gridlock is not a sustainable path for our nation’s future. The Bipartisan Policy Center strives to bring Democrats and Republicans together to encourage pragmatic legislative solutions to address the nation’s most urgent issues.”

- Representative Kay Granger (R-TX)