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Lessons from a Statesman

A Conversation with
Senator Slade Gorton

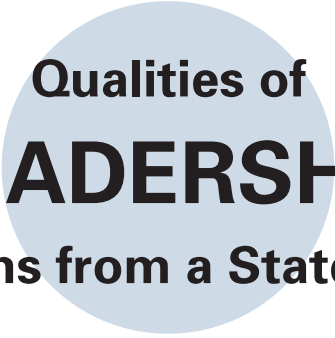
The Henry M. Jackson/
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Lectures on Leadership

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The Henry M. Jackson Foundation was founded in 1983 to continue the unfinished work of the late Senator Henry M. “Scoop” Jackson in the fields in which he played a key leadership role: international affairs education, human rights, environment and natural resources management, and public service. Through its grantmaking and strategic initiatives, the Foundation seeks to make a lasting impact and perpetuate the Jackson legacy for the benefit of future generations.

The Henry M. Jackson/William J. Van Ness Lectures on Leadership was established to honor and link two men whose careers were interwoven for many decades. The series recognizes the remarkable qualities that its immediate past president, William J. Van Ness, Jr., and Senator Jackson demonstrated in their decades of service. Both exemplify the good judgment, integrity, and character inherent in true leadership. The Jackson / Van Ness Lectures on Leadership are designed to attract lecturers who showcase the qualities of leadership mentioned above and which are highlighted in the Foundation’s 25th anniversary publication, *The Nature of Leadership: Lessons from an Exemplary Statesman*.



Qualities of
LEADERSHIP
Lessons from a Statesman

A Conversation with
Senator Slade Gorton

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Seattle, Washington



John Hempelmann, president of the Henry M. Jackson Foundation, in conversation with Senator Slade Gorton at the University of Washington.

Senator Slade Gorton is one of Washington State's most exceptional leaders. Known for his extraordinary intellect, effectiveness, bipartisanship, and integrity, he represented Washingtonians as majority leader of the state House of Representatives, for three terms as state attorney general, and for three terms as United States Senator. He proposed a successful federal budget compromise during his first Senate term and was a member of the Republican leadership as counsel to the majority leader (1996–2000). In the Senate, he was known for his effectiveness on powerful committees, including Appropriations; Energy and Natural Resources; Budget; Commerce, Science, and Transportation; and Intelligence. Following his Senate career, he was the first permanent appointment to the 9/11 Commission and served on the War Powers Commission.

Qualities of Leadership

JOHN HEMPELMANN: Senator Gorton, you completed five terms in the Washington State House of Representatives and served as the Majority Leader in the Washington State House of Representatives at a time that can be referred to as the halcyon days of legislative politics, certainly when the moderate and progressive Republicans were in control. Dan Evans was governor at the time. You had people like Joel Pritchard and Bob Anderson and Chuck Moriarty and a wonderful group of colleagues in the Washington State Legislature. And then you served three terms in the United States Senate and were the first appointee to the 9/11 Commission. You obviously were one hell of a leader. What was it? Was it your parents? Was it a teacher? Was it some hero of yours? What led you to this career, Senator?

SLADE GORTON: When I was a freshman in high school—a huge high school with 3,200 students in Evanston, Illinois—shortly after Pearl Harbor we had an all-school assembly and heard a speech by a man from the twin cities in Minnesota named Walter Judd. Walter Judd was a physician and a Presbyterian minister who had been a medical missionary in China before and during the Japanese invasion. Eventually the Japanese drove them out. He went home to Minneapolis and decided the United States had to be aroused by this challenge to free institutions. He ran successfully for Congress as a Republican in Minneapolis and was elected; he ended up serving several terms. He spoke to us about his experiences, about China, about the war, and talked about what it all meant. And when I left that assembly, I decided that when I grew up I wanted to be Walter

Judd. Not at all incidentally, many years later I had a chance to tell him so. He was in his nineties in a retirement home in Washington, D.C., when I first went to the Senate, and I was able to tell him that he was my inspiration.

JH: I want to go back to when you started in Washington State politics. As I recall, the ink on your airplane ticket or your driver's license was still "wet." You had just gotten here. You were elected to the State House, and you barely were a Washington State resident, right? How did that happen?

SG: I picked Seattle as a place to live in my final year of law school at Columbia in New York City. I'd grown up in Illinois. My father and his business had moved back to Boston, Massachusetts. Between my second and third years of law school, I had a summer internship at Ropes & Gray, Boston's best law firm. And the lawyer I was assigned to work for was Elliot Richardson. He was reputed to have had the fourth highest grades in the history of Harvard Law School. He was very bright. I've got to tell you it was a tough summer, working for him.

At the end of the summer, Ropes & Gray offered me a job when I finished law school. I turned it down for two reasons. One is I didn't really fancy spending the rest of my life trying to keep my nose above water at Ropes & Gray. And second, I was interested in politics. And you didn't have to be very bright to know what future an impecunious Yankee Republican Protestant had in Boston. So I said no to Ropes & Gray.

I got out an atlas and an almanac, and it came down to Seattle. The day I got my degree, I had a one-way ticket on a Greyhound bus and came out here just long enough to take the bar exam because I had military service ahead of me. I came back

three years later in the midst of a presidential and a gubernatorial campaign, and got involved.

JH: What year was that?

SG: The year was 1956—it was the year the League of Women Voters passed a legislative redistricting bill by initiative in this state, the first time the state had been redistricted in about 40 or 50 years. This was before the Supreme Court said one person got one vote. And when a district came up with no incumbents, I decided to run in 1958.

I was very fortunate. I was in a small law firm and I went to one of the partners to tell him that I wanted to do it, and he was rather shocked. I'm sure the more senior members, who were pretty old and crotchety and conservative, did not think this was a good idea, but they didn't want a discontented associate. So they said, "Let him run. He hasn't been here long enough. He's not going to win. He'll get it out of his system." So I moved a few blocks north of where we are right now and door-belled every house in the district. An interesting factor about Seattle, which I considered when I picked it in the first place, was that in that entire campaign, only one person asked me how long I had lived here.

JH: Interesting—yes, because most people in Seattle were not born here.

SG: There was another incidental element. In those days, running for state representative, you didn't have separate positions. You just voted for any two, and the top two Democrats were nominated as were the top two Republicans. I went through the whole district, and there were seven candidates altogether—five Democrats and two

Republicans. I finished first, but I finished seventh in one precinct in the district—dead last.

JH: How did you analyze that precinct? What was the problem?

SG: I went out to that precinct and door-belled it very carefully on a Saturday before the general election. And I did a lot better. I finished fourth out of four. I took care of it very easily. I ran Interstate 5 through it before the next election.

JH: Slade, when you were down in Olympia, what was it about those days and that group of progressive, smart Republicans that had such a big impact on you and your career?

SG: Well, Dan Evans was our leader. He was elected two years before I was, two years before Joel Pritchard, two years before Jim Anderson and he was a great help to all of us. But the legislature was considerably more disproportional then than it is now. The House had 99 members then—66 Democrats and 33 Republicans. What that meant as a freshman Republican was that there was no way you could screw anything up.

JH: Because you couldn't get anything done?

SG: We couldn't really get anything done in any event. There were about six of us who decided that the Republican Party was going nowhere. It needed new ideas, and we met together constantly to come up with a program of what we would accomplish if we had an opportunity. And we were totally free to do that because we were learning—it was on-the-job training. I learned parliamentary rules at that time. John Lord O'Brien was the speaker. Eventually, I was a part

of a coup that replaced him, but he was the best presiding officer I've ever come across in any legislative body with respect to knowing the rules and recognizing members.

Joel Pritchard and I were seatmates in the last row in what were called the “water fountain seats” in the back of the Washington State House of Representatives. It was a very, very good way to start. And then we organized ourselves into a team to recruit like-minded people—and even some not so like-minded people—to run for the legislature in the future.

We were never a majority until my last term, but after each election we were always better off than we had been before. There was a total lack of leadership in the Republican Party. They held no statewide office. Dan Evans had run for a secondary leadership position the first time I was there, and lost. And then in 1961, in my second term—his third—he ran for Republican leader. And the whole history of this state was affected by the fact that he won by one vote—that was effectively the beginning of his career.

The session after that was a little bit like the Washington State Senate is now. That was when we replaced O'Brien as speaker as the Republicans elected a puppet Democratic speaker. We were under a court order to redistrict. I was the chairman of the Elections Committee. It didn't succeed that time, but Dan was the leader and probably the most prominent member of the legislature, and he turned around and ran successfully for governor. He ran for governor when the leader of the Republican Party on the ballot was Barry Goldwater. People really split their tickets in those days.

JH: Was that the 1964 election?

SG: Yes, that was in 1964. In 1965, we did do the redistricting. In 1967, we had a Republican majority in the House. That may have

been one of the most successful legislative sessions in history, while Bob Greive and the Democrats still led in the Senate. But Dan was a tremendous leader and dealt very well with a significant number of the Democrats. That was the year of the passage of all of the Forward-Thrust legislation and most of Governor Evans' agenda.

JH: A few minutes ago, you used the term “competent leadership.” You have seen it, and you have emulated it, obviously, and you have exemplified it. From your perspective, how would you define competent leadership?

SG: It's leadership that's thoughtful and fair-minded and lets everyone have a voice into what's going on. During my first term there were at least half a dozen members of the Washington State House of Representatives who thought they were going to be governor or even president of the United States (Dan Evans was not one of them). That made them less effective as legislators because they were thinking about how each vote was going to impact what they wanted to do later. And that was evident to all of their colleagues—they thought they were better than those colleagues. They ended up not being very successful. So a part of being a success is to do the job you have. That's the way Dan operated, and it's the way several very impressive Democrats operated as well. I was pretty good friends with a number of them.

It was that willingness to talk to people across the political spectrum that led to our success in 1963. Seven or eight of us were philosophical soul mates. I think a leader has respect for others, works hard, has a certain degree of intellectual competence, and is a nice person.

JH: I want to talk more about bipartisanship. As we all know, Scoop

Jackson was a Democrat during his entire life and career. Here at the Jackson Foundation we value highly the bipartisanship he was so famous for, and so good at, that enabled Bill Van Ness and others to steer through so many pieces of legislation. You cannot pass legislation successfully in a partisan body without bipartisanship. So what do you see as the problem? What do you see as the prospect for bipartisanship today in the U. S. Senate or the House? And why don't people act the way you and Scoop did when you got things done?

SG: First I'd like to talk about Scoop, because I served in the Senate during his last three years there. Scoop was the campaign chairman for Warren Magnuson when I ran against him successfully in 1980. He and Warren were a great pair; each of them always strongly supported the other during their time in the Senate and in their campaigns.

But at 11:00 p.m. on election night, when I had won that election, I got a call from Scoop congratulating me on a great campaign, and saying, "Now we've got to get together for lunch no later than next week and talk about what's happening." Well, I accepted that luncheon invitation with alacrity. I was smart enough to do a lot of listening to what Scoop had to say.

And after that evening, for the three years we served together in the Senate, we never had a cross word. Scoop was, in some respects, very much a creature of habit. He had a table in the Senate dining room at which he ate lunch almost every day and he always had people there he wanted to talk to and learn something from. Every other month, he'd invite my wife Sally to have lunch with him and he'd give Sally a reading list of books he thought were important that she read—and I'd read with interest—and it was a wonderful relationship. One of the peculiarities of the U.S. Senate is that when the two members from a given state are from opposite parties, they

often get along better than if they're from the same party because you really aren't sharing the same principal constituency. You don't compete for who's the most popular with the base or with the party organization.

I remember, in a bittersweet moment, that in the last week of July before the August recess during which Scoop died so suddenly, I walked over to his desk and said, "Scoop, do you realize that that last little amendment," whatever it was, "was the first time you and I have ever spoken on opposite sides of the same issue?" Scoop just laughed. Everybody in the Senate knew that Scoop put his country first and that his positions weren't calculated for some kind of political gain, but were for the United States of America and so everyone liked him and respected him even when they disagreed with him.

While Scoop and I had very similar views on foreign and defense policies, we rarely voted together on economic or Reagan-type issues. But that didn't have anything to do with the relationship.

To get to your question, I guess I would have to say that I think there may be more hope this year for at least the beginning of a restoration of people speaking to one another than there's been before. It didn't work in the recent debate on gun control. The fact that it was a serious debate was because there was some cross-party dealing with one another. I think it is more likely than not to be successful on immigration. To be perfectly candid with you, I am astounded that it's Chuck Schumer from New York who's the Democratic leader. I never thought he would be part of a bipartisan movement. Lindsey Graham from South Carolina is like that on a large number of issues. There are groups that have been working across party lines on what to do with the huge challenge of the budget and that's what it requires. It requires members of both parties being able to respect the differences and being able to look

for positions in which they can come together even though no one gets everything they want. As I said, there's a little bit of that in the House. But the House has always been more partisan than the Senate. If we can return to a spirit of bipartisanship in the Senate over three or four major issues, we will have made a big step forward.

JH: Senators Reid and McConnell, the current Majority Leader and Minority Leader in the Senate, seem to be very firmly ensconced. They seem to most people to be unwaveringly partisan. Can you be a leader—a party leader in the U.S. Senate—and be bipartisan? Or is it always necessary for Senators Reid and McConnell to be strident and critical of the other side?

SG: Well, I don't know that it's necessary to be strident, but I am inclined to think that it's necessary to be firm. The party leader is the party leader, but he or she is also a party follower. You can't get too far from a majority of the party without losing out to it. And you do change as you're there for a period of time.

I have a vivid memory of an experience with Senator Reid. Shortly after I returned for my second term in the Senate, I became the most junior member of the Appropriations Committee in the minority party. Under those circumstances, you're assigned to the Legislative Branch Subcommittee, which funds the Congress—the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian, basically. Henry Reid was a relatively junior Democrat, but he was chairman of the subcommittee. He did me the great courtesy, as the ranking minority member out of two, to come to me when he had written his appropriations bill for the Congress just to give me advance notice of it. I didn't have any part in writing it, but he asked, "Now, is there anything that you'd like in here?" And I said, "Yes, there is. There are no benches out on the Capitol grounds for people to sit on when

they're here during the heat of the summer. And I think we ought to put some benches out there." He said, "Okay," and we came up with \$150,000 to buy benches for the Capitol grounds. Four years later, I was the chairman of the Subcommittee on the Interior with a \$16 billion budget and Harry was the ranking minority member and he got those benches back for Nevada a hundred times over.

JH: Here is one of the quotes we pulled out about you. It says when you were in the Senate, "He won many friends and had a lot of enemies, but it wasn't always the friends and enemies that you'd expect." Did you have enemies? Is that fair to say? Or is that an inaccurate statement?

SG: I have never liked to use that term. I had plenty of opponents. I don't think I had enemies. On the other hand, you know, politics is about differences. Elections are about differences. I read one line in all the reflections about Margaret Thatcher last week that really struck me. The line was, "To decide is to divide." A whole lot of what we do in the Congress and elsewhere is just that. If you are decisive, you are probably going to be divisive in a number of respects. But one of the best qualities for any politician, in my view, is to have a raging case of selective amnesia. You don't forget everything, but the fact that you and one of your colleagues are on opposite sides today doesn't necessarily mean that's going to happen tomorrow.

Perhaps the greatest example of the ability to forget was Ted Stevens from Alaska. I once asked Ted if he'd ever come across a minor issue in his career. He laughed and said, "No." He was passionate about everything he was for. And he and I had a war for two years on fisheries, especially the pollock fishery. It was one of the longest running, most bitter experiences I had. And the day it was over, it was over. And Ted, who almost got a fistfight started at

SeaTac when we had a hearing on it at one time, never let it affect our relationship. We were buddies.

JH: I know there are a lot of people who recall your leadership on the 9/11 Commission and I would like to ask you about that. You provided a lot of leadership, and the commission provided leadership concerning safety in America, while at the same time respecting our heritage, our Constitution, and our civil liberties. Do you think the Boston bombings tell you anything about what the commission accomplished or failed to do? Do we have the right leadership in America today to protect America?

SG: I think the general answer to that question is yes. But the 9/11 Commission is a great illustration of how people faced with a particular challenge can work across party and ideological lines. The ten-member commission—five Republicans, five Democrats, one appointed by the President and the other nine by leaders like Reid in the House and the Senate—was created by Congress because of the pressure of the single most effective lobbying organization I have ever come across in my career. They worked on behalf of the organizations representing the survivors of the victims of 9/11.

They were people who could get on television whenever they wanted and get all kinds of publicity. They all had losses and, of course, they had very strong views. It was that pressure that got Congress to give up jurisdiction over what to do and appoint an independent commission. The victims of families were triumphant, and hated the fact that it was appointed politically. They did not believe in us, and they didn't like us. From the very beginning, they were critical of us.

President Bush appointed Henry Kissinger as chairman, and a Democratic leader in the Senate appointed George Mitchell.

If they had kept those jobs, all the air would have gone out of the room in the first 30 minutes. But neither of them was willing to fill out the financial disclosures form. When they learned that, they both declined.

Their successors were their polar opposites. And the two of them got together before we ever met and just said, “One thing we’ll agree on, there will never be a five-to-five partisan vote on this. We will just see to it.” In fact, I think we only voted three times, all on procedural issues. But when we first met, almost every one of the ten said, either explicitly or implicitly, that if we can’t at least agree on the history, that is to say what happened, we’re wasting our time and the taxpayers’ money. And that approach permeated everything we did.

My two closest friends on the commission were Jamie Gorelick, the one woman who was a Democratic appointee, and Bob Kerrey, the former senator from Nebraska. Frequently, when we had what started out to be a partisan debate, someone would say something, and we’d modify it a little bit and reach toward the middle ground.

We figured out that we could write the history unanimously by simply stating the facts with no opinions about how somebody screwed up and we could state it without any adjectives. Once we got through that, we wrote a short section on the nature of the enemy, and then developed all of the recommendations. Now, there were differences of opinion on several of the commission’s recommendations, but at that point, we were on such a roll that we all very consciously came together in the center so that the whole report was unanimous and there were no added views of anyone on it.

In one hour, the victims’ family groups turned from being our greatest opponents to being our greatest supporters. It was due to them and two separate Congresses that we probably got more of our recommendations adopted than any other similar commission in the

history of the republic. We didn't accomplish them all. For example, we found that there were 81 committees and subcommittees in the two houses of Congress that had something to do with security. We recommended that the number be reduced to four. They reduced it to 77. With that exception, many of the recommendations were accepted.

It hasn't worked out exactly as we had envisioned, but we went from 2001 until a week ago without any successful terrorist attack in the continental United States and that's a remarkable degree of success. The number of frustrated attempts has been relatively large. As I often said, when I was making frequent speeches on this, in a sense, our greatest opponent is complacency. Why do we have to go through all of these things again? You see that even at the Transportation Security Administration, which was going to allow people to get back on planes with knives, which I think is absolutely absurd. The very fact that the Boston bombers were successful makes us slightly more vulnerable to something else. But overall, I think both administrations have been successful.

JH: We would like now to open it up to questions from folks in the audience.

Questions from the Audience

Q: What motivated your promotion and advocacy for helping women move forward in the legal profession and the political world?

SG: I was honestly surprised that so many people on the Senators' staffs did not come from their states and were lifetime or quasi-lifetime staff people. I hired exclusively people from Washington State or people who had gone to school in our state. I just felt it was vitally important to have people representing me who knew the state.

I hoped—though I certainly didn't require—that when they were finished, they'd come back and play a role in the community. To a large measure, I was successful. I guess in one sense, I learned it from being attorney general. While I was attorney general, and advanced jobs would come up in the office, I paid very little attention to an applicant's knowledge of a particular subject. A good position would come up in the Department of Transportation. I'd pick somebody who'd been working in the Department of Health and Human Services, thinking about the specialized knowledge they would gain that would add to their confidence. And that's how we should make those promotions. Of course, they were all from the Washington State.

And I tended to follow the same rule on hiring in my D.C. office. I can take someone right out of college or right out of law school. If they're any good, they'll learn the subject. And they did, by and large. We had a great staff, and they got along well with one another. There were three weddings among people who met while they were members of my staff. I think I probably could have been sued by men for sex discrimination for my hiring practices, but I found that generally women were better in dealing with constituents.

Q: You spoke earlier about barriers to bipartisanship in the Congress now and in legislatures. You also spoke about redistricting efforts in the '60s. I think one of the barriers nationally has been that redistricting efforts in a number of states have become extremely politicized to the degree that it's all about creating safe districts. Do you agree? I also want to thank you for the role that you've played recently in what seemed to me like a redistricting effort that was very much about creating good districts for the State of Washington rather than creating seats where nobody has any incentive to move to the middle.

JH: To add to the question just posed, we recently had redistricting again in the State of Washington and you were on that commission again. I remember asking you exactly the same question many months ago: Are we really going to have some competitive districts, or are we just creating districts that are safe for Republicans and Democrats?

SG: I am convinced that the State of Washington has the best redistricting system in the country, period. But my original experience was doing it in the legislature and being the Republican captain when it took three years to do it.

During the legislative session in 1965, the state legislature was enjoined from passing a bill on any subject other than redistricting until it finished redistricting to the satisfaction of the judge. It took 47 days. We had then a Democratic legislature and a Republican governor. We ultimately succeeded. We didn't immediately change to our commission system, but I think that was probably the greatest single incentive, just saying this is not the right way to do it. While probably somewhere between 15 and 20 states, still a minority, do it by commission now, most of them make a serious error, in my view. They'll have an even number of members of both parties appointed. They'll pick a chairman and as I put it, one party always guesses wrong. You know, the two parties don't really get together, and the chairman ends up deciding more or less on one side or the other. We have just four members—two Republicans and two Democrats. We elect a chairman with no vote to preside. So it means that it cannot be a partisan gerrymander. That doesn't mean that it can't be an incumbent gerrymander. You know, they can succeed in dividing it up. And I think the criticisms about highly partisan redistricting in Congress and elsewhere are a little bit overblown because we've divided ourselves by where we live by party now. To be perfectly

honest with you, we divided into two teams of two each. And Tim Ceis and I did all the legislative districts from the King/Pierce County line up to Canada and the congressional districts. And the other two did the other legislative districts. Well, I didn't argue with Tim for ten minutes over where the lines went in the city of Seattle. If I'd done it myself, I couldn't have drawn a competitive district for the legislature in the city of Seattle. I was interested in the districts on the east side of Lake Washington as you go north and south. The same thing was true of much of eastern Washington. It doesn't matter where you draw the line—the results are going to turn out the same either way. Tim and I ended up being pretty good friends. But we didn't even use the same way of analyzing the political conception of a district. I used four races, he used only two. And we don't register by party. People cross over a lot. I think the great irony is in the essentially dead-even first congressional district we drew, agreeing that it would be dead even. His figures showed that it was a little bit more than one-half of a percent Republican. Mine showed it was exactly the same Democratic. So you averaged the two, and it ended up being 50.00. We reached our goals on that and it has worked. Our districts look more regular and have a greater degree of community interest than, say, Chicago or North Carolina. North Carolina used to have what they called the I-95 district that went for some 20 miles just along I-95 without any of the buildings on either side to join two groups that were politically similar. I would recommend our system of an equal number of commissioners from both parties to everyone. Ours is helped in addition by our "top two" primary. Our top two primary means there will be a contest for Congress and a contest for the legislature in every single district every November. Now, it may be two Democrats or two Republicans. But I think it has a tendency to make winning candidates more moderate in order to have an appeal across party lines. I would recommend that to every other state. One

other state, California, has it.

JH: One of the statements Dan Evans has said about you is, “Slade left an exemplary legacy of honesty and integrity.” Don’t all of us want to hear that at the end of our careers?

SG: They often say that about you when your career is over.

JH: Well, the good news is you are still very active and very much a leader. Here is the question: How can a politician not be honest? How can someone not have integrity and want to be a leader? Can that kind of person still be successful?

SG: Oh, I think in most cases they’re not ultimately successful. But I remember an incident from that very first term in the legislature when I was sitting in the back row with Joel Pritchard as my seatmate. Legislators had no offices then. They had no staff. Your office was your desk, and you read the bills yourself. And lobbyists were allowed on the floor until 15 minutes before the session started and 15 minutes afterward. And a lot of lobbying was done on the floor. I learned very early that the best thing to do was to make up your mind firmly and early, and then they didn’t bother to spend time on you. I don’t remember what the bill was, but some lobbyists were down in the front row with some of the senior members on my side whom Joel and I held in “minimal high regard.” I asked what kind of people would vote the way he advocated. Joel said to me, “He who can be pressured will be pressured.” I never forgot that.

JH: Reversing the situation, we just heard several examples of the honesty and integrity that have exemplified your approach throughout your career. Others have said similar things. Rudy

Boschwitz, the former U.S. Senator, talked about your work ethic and your toughness, but also your legislative skills and your integrity. What can you say to young leaders in America about the value of having a reputation for honesty and integrity?

SG: Well, it's a must. Let me put it a little bit differently for people who may think about running for office. Some people want to be a member of Congress, some people want to do the work. And that's a huge distinction. And if you want to do it, you're going to do anything you possibly can to hold onto it. Actually doing it ends up being not only the better thing for your character and yourself, but also probably the better thing for your career as well.

JH: You have all heard many stories about Senator Jackson. Obviously, he was trusted implicitly by people on both sides of the aisle. He always did his homework. People respected his views. And it is a proud day for us here at the Henry M. Jackson Foundation that you share so many of those same qualities. It is obvious that it does not matter whether you are a Republican or a Democrat. The same qualities of leadership are going to make you successful in a legislative career no matter which party you represent. If you have a work ethic, if you do your homework, if you are known to be honest, you will be successful.

Senator, we are grateful to you for taking the time to speak to us today. On behalf of the citizens of Washington State and elsewhere, we are extraordinarily grateful that you are still actively participating. You continue to make a valuable contribution to our society, to our state, and to our country. Thank you very, very much.



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