

HOOVER INSTITUTION

NEWSLETTER

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Nobel Prize winner Shirin Ebadi, foreground, speaks as conference coorganizer Abbas Milani, background, translates.



RONALD REAGAN, HONORARY FELLOW

Ronald Wilson Reagan, America's 40th president and a Hoover Institution honorary fellow, died June 5 at his home in Los Angeles. He was 93.

"Ronald Reagan's two terms as president brought hope to and restored faith in the nation," said Hoover director John Raisian. "At the same time, he brought optimism to the post of chief executive and oversaw the dismantling of communism around the world.

"We are, of course, saddened by President Reagan's passing. We gather encouragement, however, from our long and significant relationship with him.

"His papers here at Hoover have not only provided scholars and researchers rare and important glimpses into his life

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HOOVER HOSTS CONFERENCE ON IRAN; NOBEL RECIPIENT SHRIN EBADI SPEAKS

"Is Iran ready to become a democracy?" asked Larry Diamond, Hoover senior fellow, in opening the conference "Politics, Society, and Economy in a Changing Iran" at the Hoover Institution, May 20-21, 2004. Par-

ticipants addressed this question through presentations and discussions in several panel sessions during the two days of the conference.

The conference was coordinated by Diamond and Hoover research fellow Abbas Milani.

In addition, Shirin Ebadi, recipient of the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize, was the keynote speaker at a reception and dinner May 20. Ebadi began her speech by saying that, "regardless of our ideology, we must join hands for freedom in democracy. We shall either lose together or win together. Let us join hands and this way we will have

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HOOVER HOSTS NATAN SHARANSKY, ISRAELI MINISTER AND HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATE

Natan Sharansky, Israeli minister for diaspora affairs, began his tour of college campuses, Caravan for Democracy, at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University on April 14. The talk by Sharansky was cohosted with the Republican Jewish Coalition of Northern California.

In his talk on prospects for democracy in the Middle East, Sharansky argued that democracy is possible there and was critical of those who doubt it. "Human rights is the right to express our beliefs and not go to prison for it," said Sharansky. "If you take

these principles and apply them to the Middle East, you have only one country that follows them, and that's Israel."

Sharansky, a noted human rights advocate, was born in the Ukraine. In 1973, Sharansky applied for an exit visa to Israel but was refused on "security" grounds. He remained prominently involved in Jewish refusnik activities until his arrest in 1977. He was convicted of treason and spying for the United States and sentenced to 13 years in prison. Sharansky was able to immigrate to Israel in 1986 when he was released as part of an East-West prisoner exchange.



Natan Sharansky

Robert Conquest, the world-renowned authority on Joseph Stalin and Russian history and a Hoover Institution research fellow, has been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Announced on April 30, he is one of 178 new fellows and 24 new foreign honorary members elected to the academy. The 202 men and women are leaders in scholarship, business, the arts, and public affairs.

The finest minds and most influential leaders from each generation, including George Washington and Ben Franklin in the eighteenth century, Daniel Webster and Ralph Waldo Emerson in the nineteenth, and Albert Einstein and Winston Churchill in the twentieth century, are chosen to join the academy.

Conquest is the 31st Hoover Institution fellow to be elected to the academy.

The academy was founded in 1780 by John Adams, James Bowdoin, John Hancock, and other scholar-patriots "to cultivate every art and science which may tend to advance the interest, honor, dignity, and happiness of a free, independent, and



Robert Conquest

ROBERT CONQUEST ELECTED TO AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

virtuous people." The unique structure of the American academy allows it to conduct interdisciplinary studies on international security, social policy, education, and the humanities that draw on the range of academic and intellectual disciplines of its members. The current membership of more than 4,500 includes 150 Nobel laureates and 50 Pulitzer Prize winners.

The academy will welcome this year's new fellows and foreign honorary members at its annual induction ceremony in October at its headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Robert Conquest's awards and honors include the Jefferson Lectureship in the Humanities, the federal government's highest distinction in the field, in 1993; the Richard Weaver Award for Scholarly Letters in 1999; and the Alexis de Tocqueville Award, 1992. His major scholarly concern has been with the nature of and

relations between despotic and consensual cultures.

He is the author of eighteen books on Soviet history, politics, and international affairs, including the classic *The Great Terror* (Macmillan, 1968). Translations have appeared in more than twenty languages, including Russian. Other works include the acclaimed *Harvest of Sorrow* (Oxford University Press, 1986), which has also appeared in many translations.

Later books are *Stalin and the Kirov Murder* (Oxford University Press, 1988); *Tyrants and Typewriters* (Lexington Books, 1989); *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (Oxford University Press, 1990); *Stalin: Breaker of Nations* (Viking, 1991); and *Reflections on a Ravaged Century* (W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), which analyzes the disasters of our time and looks at the prospects before us. His most recent book, *The Dragons of Expectation* (W.W. Norton), will be published later this year.

President George W. Bush has announced the appointment of Kiron K. Skinner, Hoover research fellow, to the National Security Education Board. In addition, Skinner was appointed to the Chief of Naval Operations Executive Panel (CEP) by United States defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld.

The National Security Education Act, which was signed in 1991 and under which the board was formed, provides for the establishment of the National Security Education Program, the National Security Education Board, and the National Security Education Trust Fund. These programs are designed to lead in educating United States citizens to understand foreign cultures, strengthen U.S. economic competitiveness, and enhance international cooperation and security.

The CEP provides independent advice and opinion from a select group of distinguished Americans to the chief of Naval Operations on a broad array of issues related to national seapower.

Skinner's other government service



Kiron Skinner

HOOVER FELLOW KIRON SKINNER APPOINTED TO NATIONAL SECURITY EDUCATION BOARD AND CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS EXECUTIVE PANEL

activities include membership on Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's Defense Policy Board and observer status on the secretary's Defense Business Board. The W. Glenn Campbell research fellow at the Hoover Institution, Skinner is an assistant professor of history and political science at Carnegie Mellon University. She specializes in the study of American foreign policy, international relations theory, and international security. Skinner uses game theoretic lenses to structure her empirical research, which includes the use of several presidential archives. She became interested in the role of U.S. strategy in ending the cold war while conducting research for Secretary of State George P. Shultz's memoir and while assisting Condoleezza Rice with the research for her coauthored diplomatic history of German unification.

Along with Hoover fellows Annelise Anderson and Martin Anderson, Skinner coedited the *New York Times* best seller *Reagan, In His Own Hand: The Writings of Ronald Reagan That Reveal His Revolutionary Vision for America* (Free Press, 2001); *Stories in His Own Hand: The Everyday Wisdom of Ronald Reagan* (Free Press, 2001); and *Reagan in His Own Voice* (Simon & Schuster, 2001). These books include selections from the 670 handwritten radio commentaries the president delivered between 1975 and 1979. The commentaries cover virtually every national policy issue of the day, prompting many Reagan detractors to reappraise his intellect. *Reagan, a Life in Letters* (Free Press, 2003), another book Skinner coedited with the Andersons, became a *New York Times* best seller. Skinner's writings have appeared in the *National Interest*, the *New York Times*, and the *Wall Street Journal*.

HOOVER TOWER RECOGNIZED FOR PRESERVATION

The distinctive Hoover Tower, a landmark on the Stanford University campus and part of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, is being recognized by the Art Deco Society of California (ADSC) with a 2004 Preservation Award. The award recognizes noteworthy preservation and restoration activities of buildings in California. In selecting recipients, ADSC considers the history, condition, and architectural style of the nominated buildings.

"Stanford deserves praise for maintaining the building in pristine condition," said Paula Trehearne, preservation director for ADSC. Maintenance and upkeep of older buildings is unusual, she noted, because it's expensive and difficult.

Hoover Tower, dedicated in 1941 to commemorate the university's fiftieth anniversary, houses the Hoover Institution Library, as well as the Herbert Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover exhibit rooms. Arthur Brown Jr., perhaps the most celebrated architect of his time, designed the tower. In addition, he designed many buildings in the Bay Area including Coit Tower and San Francisco City Hall; in Washington, D.C., he designed the War Memorial Veterans Building and the Federal Triangle Buildings.

The tower, measuring 285 feet, offers views of the surrounding area from its observation deck (open daily from 10 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.; closed during finals and academic breaks). Trehearne pointed out that

the top of the tower was originally intended to be square but was changed to its present dome shape to accommodate its forty-eight-bell carillon.

The carillon, cast for the Belgian Pavilion at the 1939-40 World's Fair, remained in this country owing to the outbreak of World War II. Later, the Belgian-American Education Foundation acquired it and donated it to the Hoover Institution in appreciation of Herbert Hoover's famine relief efforts during and after World War I. The inscription on the largest bell reads "For Peace Alone Do I Ring."

The Art Deco Society of California honors the architectural and other aesthetic achievements of the period referred to as art deco, which covered the first half of the twentieth century, especially the decades of the 1920s, '30s, and '40s.

CONFERENCE ON IRAN

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democracy.” To view the prepared text in its entirety, see <http://www-hoover.stanford.edu/research/conferences/05202004sp.html>

In the first panel session, Theory and History, Diamond and Michael McFaul, Hoover senior fellow, offered differing views on how and why countries become democratic.

Diamond suggested that Iran’s democratic future is linked to the “third wave” of democratization, as described by Samuel P. Huntington in his book *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1991). The *third wave* refers to an international push toward democracy that began with the Portuguese revolution in 1974 (the first wave took place between 1828 and 1926 and the second between 1943 and 1962).

McFaul countered by saying that “Iran is more like the fourth wave, not the third wave.” He compared it to Poland, one of the fourth-wave countries, but noted dissimilarities, such as a stronger economy, no split within the leadership, and no unified opposition, which separate Iran from other recent transitions from authoritarian rule.

The next session, The Political Landscape in Iran Today, followed up the first one by exploring the current politics of Iran. Hossein Bashiriye, a political science professor from Tehran University, presented a paper in which he argued that “ideological states in general are essentially caught in a number of reinforcing crises especially those of legitimacy, participation, effective administration, and hegemonic domination.” Azam Taleghani, editor of *Payan Hajar Weekly* and a former

member of the Iranian parliament, looked at the issues affecting women.

In the Iranian Culture and the Question of Democracy panel, the noted Iranian poet Simin Behbahani presented “A Portrait of Iran after the Revolution: A Twenty-five Year Appraisal,” a paper built around verse from her book *A Cup of Sin: Selected Poems* (Syracuse University Press, 1999). She recalled how, in the beginning, the revolution had the support of many. By September 1979, however, Behbahani said that “after speedy executions without trials and persistent arrests, after confiscations and street riots, after the spread of false accusations and vendettas and opportunism, terror crept in the air. Hope turned into doubts.”

In the following year came the Iran-Iraq war, the closing of the universities, and still more violence. She went on to detail the harassment and murders of writers and journalists by the government; her arrests and trial; and finally the continuing efforts of her peers and those who follow in their footsteps: “We have written incessantly and the younger generation is writing even more than us.” Farzaneh Milani, University of Virginia, commented that the government “has the desire to remove all those who have an unruly pen.”

Other topics covered during the afternoon sessions included constitutional reform and mass media.

The following day Abdulkarim Souroush, from Princeton University, in the panel Religion and Politics, discussed procedural (rule of law) versus liberal (human rights) democracy and how it relates to Islamism. “Islamic civilization,”



Hoover distinguished fellow George P. Shultz, right, discusses Iran’s future during the conference. At left is Hoover senior fellow Larry Diamond, who coorganized the conference.

he said, “is more than anything a civilization of law.” He believes, however, that within Islamism there is a theoretical struggle with liberal democracy.

Other panels on May 21 included Religious and Ethnic Minorities and The Economy and the Questions of Democracy in Iran.

The final event of the day was a roundtable discussion on United States–Iran relations. Former secretary of state George P. Shultz, now a Hoover distinguished fellow, began by discussing his experiences with Iran. “Whatever we [United States] do,” he said, “we want to make sure they [the Iranians] know we are on their side.”

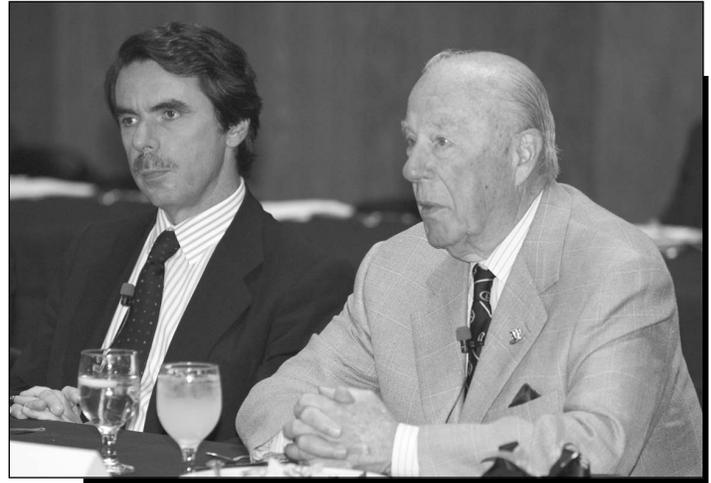
“There hasn’t been a coherent Middle East foreign policy,” said Abbas Milani, Hoover research fellow, since President Richard M. Nixon was in office. Hormoz Hekmat, editor of *IranNameh*, believes that public attitudes in Iran have changed, becoming increasingly favorable to the United States. McFaul and Diamond discussed ways to promote democracy in and build relationships with Iran. McFaul argued that the United States should be able to pursue arms control and democracy promotion at the same time.

Hoover Hosts Roundtable Discussion in Honor of Lu Hsiu-Lien



The vice president of the Republic of China on Taiwan, Lu Hsiu-Lien, visited the Hoover Institution on June 7. She was the guest of honor at a roundtable discussion on “Triangle Relations: United States, Republic of China on Taiwan, and the People’s Republic of China.” Vice President Lu (center) was greeted by Elena Danielson, Hoover associate director and library and archives and director (left); Don Meyer, Hoover associate director (second to the left); and Richard Sousa, Hoover senior associate director (right).

Hoover Hosts Roundtable Luncheon in Honor of Jose Aznar



During a private tour of the United States, former president of Spain Jose Aznar visited the Hoover Institution Friday, May 14. Hoover fellows attended a roundtable luncheon discussion held in his honor. Here he is seated with Hoover distinguished fellow George P. Shultz.

WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS COHOSTS CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST

Grave concerns about U.S. action and progress in Iraq were expressed on April 6 during the conference “The Future of Democracy in the Middle East,” cohosted by the Hoover Institution and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Hoover senior fellow Larry Diamond, who was a senior adviser with the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq from January to March, said in the keynote talk that he was alarmed about the rising strength of the Shi’ites, which he viewed as the biggest threat to the Coalition Provisional Authority.

From his vantage point in Iraq he observed that, “over the past year, a growing array of armed private militias...have been casting a long shadow over the political process in Iraq.”

As for the United States and its continued involvement, Diamond recommended that the troops and resources needed to defeat the militias be committed, along with the necessary resolve, to winning this war.

Haleh Esfandiari, director of the Middle East program at the Woodrow Wilson Center, moderated a panel consisting of Michael McFaul, Hoover senior fellow and an associate professor of political science at Stanford University, and Abbas Milani, Hoover research fellow.

Milani’s noted in his talk on the “Prospects of Democracy in Iran” that there is a genuine grassroots democratic movement but that it is in jeopardy. The dangers to democracy, Milani said, are from fundamentalists who control the current government; lack of organized

resistance to that government; and the support of that government by European countries and Japan.

In his presentation, “U.S. Foreign Policy and the Future of Democracy in the Middle East,” McFaul asked two questions: Should the United States be involved in promoting democracy? and Can the United States promote democracy in Middle East? To the first question, he answered absolutely yes; to the second, he answered maybe. “No country benefits more from democracy in other countries than ours,” McFaul said. He noted, however, that the United States is very good at destroying autocratic regimes through the use of military force but not as successful at building new democratic regimes using nonmilitary tools.

REMEMBERING REAGAN

HOOVER FELLOWS REMEMBER RONALD W. REAGAN

John Raisian

Hoover Institution Director

U.S. Department of Labor, 1980–84

*Executive Director, President's Task Force
on Food Assistance, 1983*

In 1983, welfare advocates were highly critical of the Reagan administration about the extent of poverty in the United States, claiming that hunger in America was on the rise. The attacks were vociferous, and the administration acceded to launch a presidential task force on food assistance to investigate and assess the extent of a problem, requesting that a report be submitted to the president within months of the charge.

I was named the executive director of this effort, having the responsibility of assembling a staff and managing the appointed task force of citizens picked to assess the claims of the welfare advocates. As a labor economist, I had been at the U.S. Labor Department in the Office of Policy, with oversight responsibilities for research on human resource issues, both inside and outside of the department. I was detailed to the White House for a period of six months to serve in this new capacity.

While the general claim was that poverty was on the rise in the nation, despite a recovery under way from a deep recession covering the previous two years, the specific claim was that people receiving food assistance in the form of food stamps were running out of coupons prior to the end of the month—and thus, experiencing hunger because of inadequate assistance, a situation that was much worse prior to the Reagan presidency.

Once the report of the task force was completed in early 1984, the chairman and I were invited to the Oval Office to meet with the president, with members of his

cabinet and senior staff in the background. Walking into that setting was a daunting experience. I was numb from the knees down, and adrenaline was gushing through my body. After all, I was just 34 years old, and had never been exposed to this kind of pressure situation before. Fortunately, I made it to the chair I was directed to sit in without incident.



John Raisian

The chairman of the task force was an old friend of the president, which allowed me a bit of time to try and settle myself. I adored Ronald Reagan, as he stirred my emotions with ease. His speeches were among the best I have heard, perhaps only rivaled by Margaret Thatcher. The initial conversation amounted to pleasantries, mostly between the chairman and the president,

as well as impressions by the chairman regarding the general experiences of the task force over the past several months.

I was there to answer any particular questions relating to the report we submitted, and my anxiety over being asked something that I may have no answer for was truly frightening. Suddenly, the president asked us a focused question. He had been briefed on our report, and learned that no substantive changes in the financial support of food assistance programs had occurred during the years of his presidency, yet there had been a clamor by welfare advocates and associated media coverage that he and his administration were enemies of the poor and had contributed mightily to the inadequate public support therein. He was genuinely puzzled, and wanted an explanation to the enigma, even if it was simply that they were hostile to him and his administration.

There was deafening silence seemingly lasting an interminable period. I realized that this was my chance to speak up—indeed this was why I was brought into the arena to handle. So I spoke up, starting with, “Well, Mr. President, . . .” immediately realizing that my voice was at least an octave higher than normal. I had experi-

enced an adrenaline spike, and cleared my throat before continuing.

I continued to tell him that just before he came into office, President Carter had signed an executive order, changing the way food stamps were distributed to those who qualified. Most recipients do not qualify for a full month's subsidy of food assistance; instead, a typical recipient might qualify for two-thirds of a month of support. Prior to 1981, eligible recipients had to put up some of their own money to receive a whole month's worth of coupons—thus, in the typical case, one had to put up (say) \$100 in order to receive \$300 in stamps. This was regarded as being a hardship for poor families, having to come up with the money in one lump each and every month.

Quietly, during the busyness of presidential transition, an executive order was signed that simply directed a qualified amount of stamps to go to recipients without asking for any cash advance. That is, in the stereotypic case, the recipient was provided \$200 in stamps at the beginning of the month, and was expected to use \$100 of their own money to cover the rest of the month's food expenditures. Presuming that stamps were used at the beginning of the month, it follows that recipients would run out of stamps prior to the end of the month! There was no such claim during the previous presidential administration.

Indeed, there had been no change in the program per se or support levels. Welfare advocates had simply embarked upon a new apparent finding as part of a campaign to be critical of an administration they deplored, and used this technical change as political fodder and pressure, leaving the administration feeling defensive and perplexed.

Reagan's eyes immediately lit up. He was infatuated with the response. He asked others in the room whether anyone knew of this change in policy, for which there was no response. The president, who had been described as an amiable dunce, was the first to grasp this conjecture, and seemed totally convinced of the explanation. So much so, he made this the topic of his weekly radio program the following Saturday.

Conversation continued for some ten minutes. I had now relaxed through the rest of the session, as I knew I had not failed to add some substance to the meeting. This was one of the most thrilling experiences of my life. I believe Ronald Reagan will be remembered as one of the great presidents in our history. On this day in 1984, I saw this firsthand. The man was truly amazing!

George P. Shultz
Distinguished Fellow
U.S. Secretary of State, 1982–89

We have lost Ronald Reagan, but his ideas remain with us, as vital as ever. We can remember the gifts he gave us—his advocacy of freedom, his contributions to our security, his belief in America, and his restoration of our belief in ourselves.

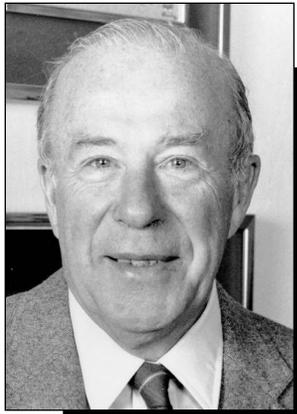
When he took office as governor of California, Ronald Reagan took responsibility for a state that was in rocky shape; when he left office, California was golden again. When Ronald Reagan took office as the president of the United States, the country was adrift, inflation was out of control, the economy was in the doldrums, and the cold war was as cold as it had ever been. When he left office, inflation was under control, the economy was expanding, the cold war was all over but the shouting, and America once again stood tall.

Ronald Reagan brought so much to this country. He started with carefully thought-out ideas and he put them to work effectively. He had a strong and constructive agenda, much of it labeled impossible and unattainable in the early years of his presidency. He challenged the conventional wisdom: on arms control, on the possibility of movement toward freedom in the communist-dominated world, on the need to stand up to Iran in the Persian Gulf, on the superiority of market- and enterprise-based economies. The world learned when Ronald Reagan faced down the air-traffic

controllers in 1981 that he could dig in and fight to win. The world learned in Grenada that he would use military force if needed. He did not accept that extensive political opposition doomed an attractive idea. He would fight resolutely for an idea, believing that, if it was valid, he could persuade the American people to support it. He changed the national and international agenda on issue after issue. He was an optimist; he spoke the vocabulary of opportunity. He had a vision of what he stood for and what we aspire to as a nation.

Ronald Reagan had and could express a clear and simple view of a complex world.

Every Sunday he brought acorns down from Camp David to feed the squirrels outside the Oval Office. The squirrels at the White House hadn't had it so good since Ike cleared the area to put in a putting green. His most endearing aspect was his fundamental decency. He appealed to people's best hopes, not their fears; to their confidence rather than their doubts.



George P. Shultz

Ronald Reagan was a doer, a pragmatist, a man who enjoyed hard physical tasks, as in the ranch work he loved to do. But that brush clearing and fence fixing was a symbol, too; he wanted to be doing it himself because from the land came not only strength and clarity—but a vision — the vision of the West and the endless horizon. The American people liked Ronald Reagan and reelected him in one of the biggest landslides in history because he trusted them and he conveyed to them that they need not be bound, tied down by class —or race—or childhood misfortune or poverty or bureaucracy; they, the people, could make something of themselves; indeed, they could remake themselves, endlessly.

But beneath this pragmatic attitude lay a bedrock of principle and purpose with which I was proud to be associated. He believed in being strong enough to defend our interests, but he viewed that strength as a means, not an end in itself. Ronald

Reagan had confidence in himself and in his ideas and was ready to negotiate from the strength so evident by the mid-1980s.

He was a fervent anticommunist who could comprehend and believe that people everywhere would choose to throw off the communist system if they ever had the chance. And he worked hard to give them that chance. He favored open trade because he had confidence in the ability of Americans to compete, and he had confidence that an integrated world economy would benefit America. He stuck to his agenda.

The points he made, however consummate the delivery, were unmistakably real in his mind and heart, an American creed: defend your country, value your family, make something of yourself, tell the government to get off your back, tell the tyrants to watch their step. Ronald Reagan conveyed simple truths that were especially welcome because “nowadays everything seems so complicated.” What he said ran deep and wide among the people.

Reagan as president was a Republican, a conservative, a man of the right. But these labels will mislead historians who do not see beyond them, for Americans could see some of Ronald Reagan in themselves. You couldn't figure him out like a fact, because to Reagan the main fact was a vision. He came from the heartland of the country, where people could be down-to-earth yet feel that the sky is the limit—not ashamed of, or cynical about, the American dream. Not far from Ronald Reagan's small town of Dixon, Illinois, is Jane Addams's small town of Cedarville; not far from Cedarville is Ulysses S. Grant's small town of Galena. And not far from Galena is Carl Sandburg's Galesburg. Reagan had something of them all: his heart going out to the people; his will ready to fight for the country; his voice able to move the nation. And, as Carl Sandburg wrote it,

The republic is a dream.

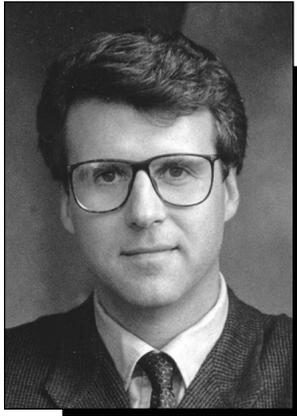
Nothing happens unless first a dream.

— first published in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 13, 2004

REMEMBERING REAGAN

Peter Robinson
Research Fellow
Reagan Speechwriter and Special Assistant, 1983–88

One day in 1977 Ronald Reagan asked Richard Allen, who would become his first national security adviser, if Mr. Allen would like to hear his theory of the cold war. “Some people think I’m simplistic,” Mr. Reagan said, “but there’s a difference between being simplistic and being simple. My theory of the cold war is that we win and they lose. What do you think about that?”



Peter Robinson

“I was flabbergasted,” Mr. Allen now says. “I’d worked for Nixon and Goldwater and many others, and I’d heard a lot about...detente and the need to ‘manage the cold war,’ but never did I hear a leading politician put the goal so starkly.

“Governor,” I asked, “do you mean that?”

“Mr. Reagan replied, ‘Of course I mean it. I just said it.’”

Yes, I know. Conservatives may credit the 40th chief executive with victory in the cold war — Margaret Thatcher has often said that “Ronald Reagan won the cold war without firing a single shot” — but the view is hardly universal. Well, then, if Ronald Reagan didn’t win the cold war, how did the conflict end? The alternative explanation holds that the Soviet Union simply collapsed, falling in on itself because of economic stagnation, imperial overreach — that is, an empire that had grown so big the Soviets could no longer afford it — and the rise of a generation that failed to share the communist faith of its parents and grandparents. Ronald Reagan? Don’t be silly. He had nothing to do with it.

Or had he?

The Soviet Union certainly did suffer from economic stagnation. But its economy had been growing feebly since at least the early ’70s. What changed during the ’80s wasn’t so much the economy of the USSR as the economy of the United States, which responded to the policies of Mr.

Reagan by growing dramatically. By the time he left office, American output had expanded by an amount nearly equal to the entire economy of what was then West Germany. The only way the Soviets could have expanded their economy by that amount would have been by annexing West Germany itself. If the Soviets finally decided they’d had it with the creaking, backward economic contraption that Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev had given them, it was because they’d caught a glimpse of the sleek new beauty that Ronald Reagan had given us.

Imperial overreach? True enough, the Soviets found themselves stuck with an empire they could no longer afford. But you can hardly blame them. By rebuilding our military, Mr. Reagan had forced the Soviets to spend more on theirs. By arming the Contras in Nicaragua and the mujahideen in Afghanistan, he had compelled the Soviets and their proxies to engage in long, expensive wars of attrition merely to cling to territory they’d already come to think of as their own. By supporting the dissident movement in Eastern Europe — Mr. Reagan provided funding and equipment to Solidarity, to name just one example — he had transformed the Warsaw Pact from an asset into a liability.

And by launching the Strategic Defense Initiative, he had confronted the Soviets with the need to make massive new investments in their nuclear arsenal. “[W]e didn’t have to build a complete version of SDI to make their calculations difficult,” Henry Kissinger says. “If the Soviets no longer knew how many missiles would get through, then they might have had to launch hundreds more to have had a chance of success. You can see why SDI had them so rattled.” The Soviet case of imperial overreach came courtesy of Ronald Reagan.

Did a new generation of Russians refuse to place its faith in the communism of their forebears? Evidently. But why? In part,

surely, because of the transformation young Russians saw taking place in the United States.

During the ’70s, the United States looked like a nation in decline, just about as Karl Marx would have predicted. “The symptoms of...[a] crisis in the American spirit are all around us,” President Carter said in an address from the Oval Office on July 15, 1979. Then, in 1981, Ronald Reagan took office. “The crisis we are facing today,” he said in his first inaugural address, “[requires] our willingness to believe in ourselves and to believe in our capacity to perform great deeds.... And after all, why shouldn’t we believe that? We are Americans.” The American people responded with renewed patriotism and self-confidence. “Morning Again in America,” the campaign slogan for Mr. Reagan’s 1984 reelection campaign, may have been derided in the media, but it captured the mood of the nation that returned him to office by 49 out of 50 states.

Morning again in America? As the children of the Soviet apparat would have noticed, that wasn’t in Marx’s game plan. Mr. Reagan made communism look a lot less like the wave of the future and a lot more like other misbegotten 19th-century ideologies, such as syndicalism or anarchism, destined for the ash heap of history.

“The great man or woman in history,” Sidney Hook argues in his book, *The Hero in History*, is “someone of whom we can say...that if they had not lived when they did, or acted as they did, the history of their countries and of the world...would have been profoundly different.” Does Mr. Reagan fit the description? He does. No one else would have done what he did. And what he did changed the world. “He was an authentic person and a great person,” Mikhail Gorbachev said in an interview not long ago. “If someone else had been in his place, I don’t know if what happened would have happened.”

There you have Ronald Reagan’s principal adversary all but admitting it. The man we will lay to rest at sunset on Friday was a hero.

— first published in the *Wall Street Journal*, June 7, 2004

REMEMBERING REAGAN

Kiron Skinner
Research Fellow

Coeditor of *Reagan: A Life in Letters* (2003), *Reagan: In His Own Hand* (2001), *Stories in His Own Hand: The Everyday Wisdom of Ronald Reagan* (2001), all published by Free Press.

“As an actor, he was the handsome, all-American, good guy, which, in his case, required knowing his lines — and being himself.” So spoke President George W. Bush at the funeral service for President Ronald Wilson Reagan at Washington National Cathedral on June 11, 2004.

Reagan had been an actor by trade, and his subsequent years as a public servant were marked by flawless public performance. Yet what made Reagan such a “Great Communicator” was not just his mastery of public performance, but something perceived by everyone, supporters and detractors alike, who heard him: He was himself.

Reagan’s writings demonstrate years of quiet preparation and hard work from which he derived



Kiron Skinner

clear principles and hypotheses that would guide his years as governor of California and president of the United States.

These long years of preparation gave Reagan the confidence to be himself—to state his beliefs, to take unpopular stands, to speak in a straightforward manner with no trace of ambiguity, to make it clear that his adversary was not his enemy, and to believe that mankind is essentially good.



Ronald Reagan speaks with students in Bishop Auditorium during a visit to the Hoover Institution and Stanford University in 1977.



Ronald Reagan joins then-Hoover director W. Glenn Campbell in front of the Hoover Tower during a visit in this undated photo.



In November 1990, Ronald Reagan, center, met with members of the first class of the Hoover Institution’s Diplomat Training Program at his office in Los Angeles. The class members, who came to Hoover for intensive work in economic theory and practice, were from Hungary and Poland. Hoover senior associate director Richard Sousa, who directed the program, is at far left.



President Ronald Reagan, third from right, meets in the White House in 1981 with Martin Anderson, standing to his right. At far left is Secretary of State Alexander Haig. At right are Richard Allen, background, and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, foreground.

RONALD REAGAN

continued from page 1

and work but are sure to enable future historians to better understand the indelible mark President Reagan left on this nation and the world.”

Reagan’s steadfast political philosophy and remarkable leadership led to his appointment as a Hoover Institution honorary fellow.

A number of Hoover Institution fellows were part of the Reagan presidential cabinets and staffs. Among them were George P. Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, 1982–89; Edwin Meese, U.S. attorney general, 1985–88; Richard Allen, national security adviser, 1981–82; Martin Anderson, economic policy adviser, 1982–89; Annelise Anderson, associate director, Office of Management and Budget, 1981–83; John Cogan, associate director, Office of Management and Budget, 1983–88, and deputy director, OMB, 1988; Dinesh D’Souza, 1987 to 1988, senior domestic policy

analyst, 1987–88; James Miller III, director, U.S. Office of Management and Budget, 1985–88, and chairman, Federal Trade Commission, 1981–85; Thomas Gale Moore, member, Council of Economic Advisers, 1985–89; and Peter Robinson, adviser and speechwriter, 1983–88.

Ronald Reagan’s legacy was celebrated by a number of Hoover Institution fellows with books recently released by major publishing houses.

Senior Fellow Martin Anderson coedited, along with Research Fellows Annelise Anderson and Kiron Skinner, three volumes developed from Reagan’s own handwritten memos, letters, and materials. Some of those materials were found in Reagan files in the Hoover Archives, while others were in the Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley.

Those books are *Reagan: A Life in Letters* (2003), *Reagan: In His Own Hand* (2001), and *Stories in His Own Hand: The Everyday Wisdom of Ronald Reagan* (2001), all published by Free Press, a division of Simon & Schuster.

Martin Anderson also wrote *Revolution: The Reagan Legacy* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988, and updated and published by Hoover Institution Press, 1990).

How Ronald Reagan Changed My Life (Harper-Collins, 2003) was authored by Research Fellow Peter Robinson who now is the host of the Hoover Institution’s long-running *Uncommon Knowledge*™ public affairs program on PBS.

Other books addressing Reagan and his legacy, written or edited by Hoover fellows or published by Hoover Institution Press include *With Reagan: The Inside Story* (Regnery Gateway Publishers, 1992) by Distinguished Fellow Edwin Meese III; *Fix the Budget!: Urgings of an ‘Abominable No-Man’* (Hoover Institution Press, 1994) by Senior Fellow James Miller III; *God and Ronald Reagan: A Spiritual Life* (Regan Books, 2004) by Visiting Fellow Paul Kengor; and *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State* (Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1993) by Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow George P. Shultz.

BOOKS ABOUT RONALD REAGAN AND HIS LEGACY

- *Reagan: A Life in Letters* (2003)
- *Reagan: In His Own Hand* (2001)
- *Stories in His Own Hand: The Everyday Wisdom of Ronald Reagan* (2001), all published by the Free Press and edited by Hoover research fellow **Kiron Skinner**, research fellow **Annelise Anderson**, and senior fellow **Martin Anderson**
- *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State* (Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1993) by Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow **George P. Shultz**, the Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow
- *Revolution: The Reagan Legacy* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988 and Hoover Institution Press, 1990) by Senior Fellow **Martin Anderson**

- *Ronald Reagan: How an Ordinary Man Became an Extraordinary Leader* (Free Press, 1997) by **Dinesh D’ Souza**, the Robert and Karen Rishwain Research Fellow
- *God and Ronald Reagan: A Spiritual Life* (Regan Books, 2004) by Visiting Fellow **Paul Kengor**
- *With Reagan: The Inside Story* (Regnery Gateway Publishers, 1992) by Distinguished Visiting Fellow **Edwin Meese III**
- *Fix the Budget!: Urgings of an ‘Abominable No-Man’* (Hoover Institution Press, 1994) by Senior Fellow **James Miller III**
- *How Ronald Reagan Changed My Life* (Harper-Collins, 2003) by Research Fellow **Peter Robinson**

- *Reagan’s War: The Epic Story of His Forty-year Battle and Final Triumph over Communism* (Doubleday, 2002)
- *The Fall of the Wall: Reassessing the Cause and Consequences of the End of the Cold War* (Hoover Institution Press, 2001)
- *Victory: The Reagan Administration’s Secret Strategy That Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Atlantic Monthly Press, 1996) all by Research Fellow **Peter Schweizer**
- *Law and Justice in the Reagan Administration: The Memoirs of an Attorney General* (Hoover Institution Press, 1991) by William French Smith

CULTURE, POLITICS, EDUCATION SUBJECTS OF SPRING RETREAT

“I don’t think this is a cultural war; that was the 1960s, and it’s over. Now we are in the era of social repair, and social indicators say society is repairing itself. But in Washington, there is a bitterness that is big and growing. In Washington, there is anger and partisanship, and it is hard to keep friendships intact and work together.”

The Hoover Institution’s Spring Director’s Retreat 2004 opened on May 2 with those comments from columnist David Brooks of the *New York Times*. He said that politicians and pundits point with alarm to the polarization of the American electorate. But as Brooks travels across the country, he is not sure how or why Americans stand so apart from one another.

What Brooks has found is that “every place in America becomes more like the others,” as mobility remains easy for many citizens and workers. And, as an adjunct to that, people gather with others like themselves in specific areas and communities.

Before-dinner remarks on May 3 were made by Dennis Miller, who is enjoying a successful career as a comedian and commentator. Miller entertained guests with irreverent but often insightful remarks targeting all areas of life.

Comments by Miller ranged from coffeehouses, “Starbucks is now opening a Starbucks inside a Starbucks,” to politicians and consultants such as James Carville, who he said “has more tics than a Belfast parking attendant,” to litigation, “as for the obese suing automakers because seatbelts don’t fit—this is the least of their problems.” Miller is the host and executive producer of CNBC’s *Dennis Miller*, a topical interview talk show featuring reasoned discourse, opinion, and humor.

Calling it “the nation’s most important civil rights issue,” authors Abigail Thernstrom and Stephan Thernstrom discussed the racial divide in academic achievement in the first plenary session of the retreat. In their presentation, based on their most recent book, *No Excuses: Closing the Racial Gap in Learning* (Simon & Schuster, 2003), they outlined the gap in academic achievement between Asians and whites on one side and blacks and Hispanics on the other. They view the differences, where blacks and Hispanics are falling behind their counterparts, as an “American tragedy and a national emergency.”



Kurt Hauser

In the next session David Horowitz asked, “What’s not to like about the war in Iraq?” in his presentation titled “The War on Terror and Its Domestic Opponents.” “America is winning the war, that’s what’s not to like about the war,” he said. He believes that those on the left reflexively feel that whenever America is attacked that America must be the cause. He concluded by saying that “there has never been a country like this in the history of the world; this is a country to be proud of.”

Economic discourse in the United States was the topic of Russell Roberts, a professor of economics at George Mason University.



David Brooks

Every few years there are those who predict economic gloom and doom for the United States because of threats posed by other countries; several years ago it was Japan, now it’s India. “The fear,” Roberts said, “is that free trade, particularly at the global level, will lower quality of life.” He stated, however, that trade creates wealth, wealth creates civilization and that without trade, life is nasty,

brutish, and short, according to Thomas Hobbes.

In the final session of the morning, “After Iraq: The War on Terror in Year Three,” Victor Davis Hanson, the Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellow, began by providing an overview of the United States response to 9/11 and the resulting divisions in our society that have arisen based on people’s perceptions. “We could have had a legitimate discussion between Democrat and Republican, liberal and conservative, about legitimate issues...the kind we had if we go back and look at 1944, but instead we have this hysteria.” He reviewed current events, such as the controversies over the use of preemption and unilateralism, when there’s actually no precedent established for or against them. “These controversies disappear when people win a war and arise when they lose,” Hanson said, as in Afghanistan, where controversies seem to have ended as people sense the situation there improving. He concluded by saying, “If we are resolute, this might be considered one of the most effective, idealistic successes in American history.”

Following the morning plenary speakers, Hoover fellows presented conversations on topics that included

- Anti-Americanism, causes and consequences of
- Update on what’s happening in Washington, D.C.
- Economics
- Terrorism
- U.S.- Russia relations

continued on page 12

SPRING RETREAT

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The final day of the retreat began with Hoover associate director and director of the library and archives Elena Danielson speaking about the activities at the library and archives.

The book *Gulag: A History* (Anchor, 2004), written by Anne Applebaum using Hoover materials, received the 2004 Pulitzer Prize for general nonfiction. “This is how the research process works at the Hoover Archives,” said Danielson; “it starts with acquisition, perhaps decades before the public is ready to assimilate the information, then comes research, and the result is new knowledge.”

“Our world has changed over the past few years,” said Dinesh D’Souza, the Robert and Karen Rishwain Research Fellow, in his talk “Three Ways the World Has Changed.” “The first way is that capitalism has defeated socialism,” he said. He went on to say, though, “that capitalism has won the economic debate, but not the moral debate.” Next is that communism has been replaced by Islamic fundamentalism. “The focus, here, of course,” D’Souza said, “is on Iraq and why did we get into Iraq?” The third change has to do with “a moral shift to moral autonomy.” He said that in Western culture there is a denial of an external source of morality; instead the focus is on looking inside oneself. The rest of the world, however, resists this shift.

Lawrence Wein, of the Stanford Graduate School of Business, spoke on defending the United States against terrorist attacks in his presentation “Homeland Security: Insights from Mathematical Modeling.” “[The United States] must be able to respond [to a terrorist attack] in a rapid and defect-free way,” he said.

Peter Schweizer, a Hoover research fellow, spoke on his most recent book, *The Bushes: Portrait of a Dynasty* (Doubleday, 2004), in a presentation by the same name. Drawing on the research he



Dennis Miller



John Raisian

did for the book, which he coauthored with Rochelle Schweizer, he said, “There are four qualities that are particularly critical to their [the Bushes’] success.” First is their remarkable ability to balance loyalty with competitiveness, followed by an inherent sense of how to prove yourself far from home. Third is that much of the success of the Bush family is owed to the

Bush women. Finally, how they are structured as an organization, as a bottom-up dynasty, is important.

In his presentation, “American Foreign Policy: Dizzy with Democracy,” Kenneth Jowitt, the Pres and Maurine Hotchkiss Senior Fellow, said, “To talk about our American foreign policy is to quote Stalin.” On March 30, 1930, Joseph Stalin delivered a speech titled “Dizzy with Success” that criticized the way in which communists were trying to create socialism, to which Jowitt compared the United States and how it is going about trying to create democracy. “Iraqis do not have [the] cultural, social base [with which] to create democracy,” Jowitt said.

Afternoon sessions covered issues that included

- Democracy
- U.S. health care
- Economic recovery
- The Bush family as an institution

The final session of the day was a panel, “The 2004 Election: Where Are the Voters and What Are the Campaign Strategies?” The panel included David Brady, chair; Morris Fiorina, Hoover senior fellow; Daron Shaw, Hoover visiting fellow and associate professor at the University of Texas at Austin; and Frederick Yang, senior vice president with Peter D. Hart Research Associates. Fiorina discussed how the nation is portrayed as divided, but said that he’s unsure of this view. “Most people are in the middle,” Fiorina said, “and parties are on either side.”

HOOVER INSTITUTION WEB SITES

www.hoover.org Comprehensive information about the Institution, its fellows, work, scholarly output, and outreach

www.hooverdigest.org Quarterly *Hoover Digest* available on-line

www.educationnext.org Presents the facts about education reform, gives voice—without fear or favor—to worthy research, sound ideas, and responsible arguments.

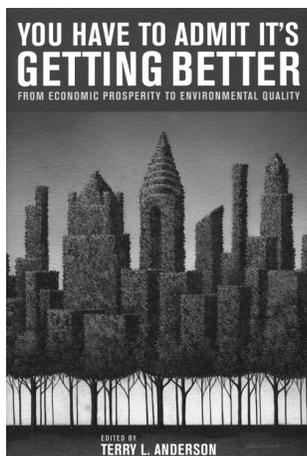
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HOOVER INSTITUTION NEWSLETTER

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The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, founded in 1919 by Herbert Hoover, is one of the leading centers in the world devoted to interdisciplinary scholarship in domestic and international affairs.



***You Have to Admit It's Getting Better:
From Economic Prosperity to Environmental Quality***

Edited by Terry L. Anderson

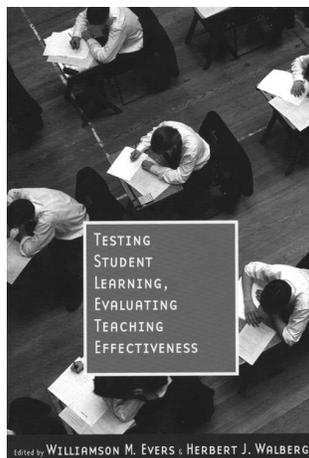
ISBN: 0-8179-4482-6

In the new book *You Have to Admit It's Getting Better: From Economic Prosperity to Environmental Quality* (Hoover Institution Press, 2004), the authors dispute what the editor Terry L. Anderson, Hoover senior fellow, identifies as the Malthusian prediction that “exponential growth and consumption will ultimately run up against resource limits.”

In what many will consider controversial the authors dispense with the idea of conserving finite resources as the means to sustain the environment. Instead they look to legal institutions as the means to bring about changes in the market that will bring about changes for the better in the environment. As Anderson sums it up, “Economic growth is not the antithesis of environmental quality: rather, the two go hand in hand—if the incentives are right.”

In the opening chapter Bjørn Lomborg reviews the findings of his 2001 book *The Skeptical Environmentalist* (Cambridge University Press) in which he identified and debunked environmental myths. In his research, Lomborg finds positive correlations between economic growth and environmental quality. In the following chapters the contributors discuss how economic performance, globalization, and other factors associated with growth improve environmental quality rather than destroy it.

Contributors to the book include Mad-



husudan Bhattarai, International Water Management Institute in Colombo, Sri Lanka; B. Delworth Gardner, Brigham Young University; Indur M. Goklany, formerly with the National Commission on Air Quality; Lomborg, Institut for Miljøvurdering/Environmental Assessment Institute; Robert E. McCormick, Clemson University; Seth W. Norton, Wheaton College; Maya Vijayaraghavan, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; and Bruce Yandle, Clemson University.

Anderson is the Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and the executive director of the Property and Environment Research Center – the Center for Free Market Environmentalism, a think tank focusing on market solutions to environmental problems located in Bozeman, Montana. His work has helped launch the idea of free market environmentalism and has prompted public debate over the balance between markets and government in managing natural resources.

Testing Student Learning, Evaluating Teaching Effectiveness

By Williamson M. Evers and Herbert J. Walberg

ISBN: 0-8179-2982-7

In *Testing Student Learning, Evaluating Teaching Effectiveness* (Hoover Institution Press, 2004), the editors Williamson M. Evers, Hoover research fellow, and Herbert J. Walberg, Hoover distinguished visiting fellow, have compiled and edited a wealth of information on not only on how to test, but on why testing plays such an important role in education.

Testing results can

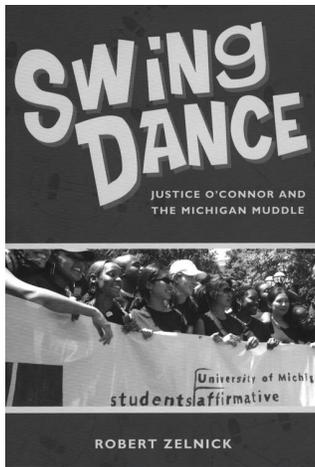
- Show educators’ and students’ strengths and weaknesses as a basis for planning
- Inform educators and students of their progress or lack thereof
- Reveal the degree to which educational products, programs, and practices are working and thus inform state and local boards about choices they face

In these and other ways described in the book, tests can play a vital role in improving American schools.

Evers is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and a member of the Institution’s Koret Task Force on K–12 Education. He specializes in research on education policy—especially as it pertains to curriculum, teaching, testing, and accountability from kindergarten through high school. From July to December 2003, he served as senior adviser for education to Administrator L. Paul Bremer of the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq.

Walberg, a distinguished visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution and a member of the Koret Task Force on K–12 Education, is a University Scholar at the University of Illinois at Chicago. He has written or edited more than 60 books; his research focuses on educational productivity and human accomplishments. Walberg is also chairman of the board of directors of the Heartland Institute, an independent, nonprofit research center headquartered in Chicago. The Heartland Institute provides policy analysis to national and state governments and journalists.

Contributors to the book include George K. Cunningham, University of Louisville; Evers, Hoover Institution; Jack M. Fletcher, University of Texas–Houston Health Science Center; Barbara R. Foorman, University of Texas–Houston Health Science Center; David J. Francis, University of Texas; Sandy Kress, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Geld; William A. Mehrens, Michigan State University; Stan Metzenberg, California State University–Northridge; Richard P. Phelps, author and former educator; Alan R. Siegel, New York University; Brian Stecher, RAND; Walberg, University of Illinois at Chicago; and Darwin M. Winick, University of Texas.



Swing Dance: Justice O'Connor and the Michigan Muddle

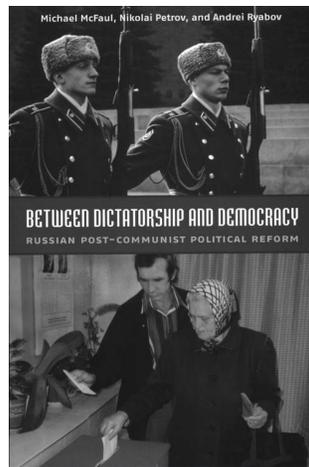
By Robert Zelnick

ISBN: 0-8179-4522-9

In the controversial 2003 University of Michigan affirmative action case, as in so many other cases, the “swing vote” in the five–four split on the case proved to be that of Sandra Day O'Connor.

In *Swing Dance: Justice O'Connor and the Michigan Muddle* (Hoover Institution Press, 2004) Hoover fellow Robert Zelnick examines Justice O'Connor's voting history as a Supreme Court justice from her early days on the Court to its most important ruling to date. In addition to a review of her earlier cases, he provides an intensive review of the University of Michigan case as it was argued. Finally, he discusses the repercussions of this case and how the university adapted its admissions program to fit the specific requirements of the Court's ruling.

Zelnick, an Emmy Award-winning journalist, is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and chairman of the Department of Journalism at Boston University. During a twenty-year career with ABC News, he covered political and congressional affairs for *ABC Morning News*, *World News Tonight Saturday/Sunday*, and *This Week*. While at ABC News Zelnick acted as the Pentagon correspondent from 1986 to 1994, as a Tel Aviv correspondent from 1984 to 1986, and as a Moscow correspondent from 1982 to 1984.



Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform

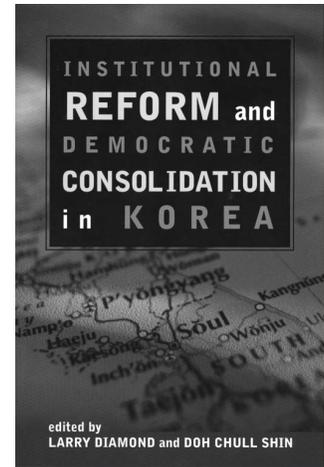
By Hoover Fellow Michael McFaul, Nikolai Petrov, and Andrei Ryabov

ISBN: 0-87003-206-2

In their new book *Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2004) Hoover senior fellow Michael McFaul, Nikolai Petrov, Andrei Ryabov, and their collaborators examine the current government of Russia.

For the past two decades, Russian leaders have attempted to launch a series of political reforms purportedly aimed at moving the country toward democracy. Have these reforms taken hold? If not, what kind of political regime will be sustained in post-Soviet Russia? How has Vladimir Putin's rise to power influenced the country's course? The authors seek to give a comprehensive answer to these fundamental questions about the nature of Russian politics.

McFaul, the Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow, is also a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment and an associate professor of political science at Stanford University. He is the author of several books including *Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political Change for Gorbachev to Putin*. Petrov is a scholar-in-residence at the Carnegie Moscow Center. Ryabov is a scholar-in-residence and cochair of the Russian Domestic Politics and Political Institutions Program at the Carnegie Moscow Center. Other contributors include Mikhail Krasnov, Vladimir Petukhov, Viktor Sheinis, and Elina Treyger.



Institutional Reform and Democratic Consolidation in Korea

Edited by Larry Diamond, Hoover senior fellow, and Doh Chull Shin

ISBN: 0-8179-9692-3

Institutional Reform and Democratic Consolidation in Korea (Hoover Institution Press, 1999), in its second printing, examines the problems and prospects of democracy in Korea a decade after the transition from authoritarian military rule. The book presents a wide-ranging and balanced account of the political, economic, and cultural factors shaping Korean democracy and of the institutional reforms that are needed to deepen and consolidate this crucial experiment with democracy in East Asia.

Diamond is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, coeditor of the *Journal of Democracy*, and codirector of the International Forum for Democratic Studies, of the National Endowment for Democracy. He is also a professor of political science and sociology (by courtesy) at Stanford University and coordinator of the Democracy Program of the new Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law at Stanford's Institute for International Studies.

Shin is the Endowed Chair Professor of Korean Politics at the University of Missouri at Columbia. For more than ten years he has directed the Korean Democracy Barometer surveys. He has also been engaged in the systematic monitoring of the cultural and institutional dynamics of democratization in Korea.

KORET TASK FORCE RELEASES RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REFORMING EDUCATION IN TEXAS

As the Texas legislature met in special session earlier this spring to tackle the state's school funding crisis, the Hoover Institution's Koret Task Force on K-12 Education announced the release of *Reforming Education in Texas: Recommendations from the Koret Task Force*, February 2004.

At the invitation of Governor Rick Perry and the cochairs of the Texas legislature's Joint Select Committee on Public School Finance, the task force developed the policy options in *Reforming Education in Texas* to assist lawmakers in shaping effective, equitable, and efficient primary and secondary schooling for the state's children. The memoranda address all key elements of Texas education policy—including school finance, school choice, rewards, teachers, principals, standards, tests, textbooks, and school boards.

The ten memoranda were submitted in February to the House Select Committee

on Public School Finance by three of the eleven members of the task force—Hoover Institution senior fellow Eric A. Hanushek and Harvard University professors Caroline M. Hoxby and Paul E. Peterson, distinguished visiting fellows at Hoover.

In testimony before the committee, the three members discussed the task force's policy suggestions.

"Our goal has been to listen to Texans' ideas for their elementary and secondary schools, then apply research-based expertise and sound policy principles to generate guidelines and concrete proposals that represent a consensus of ideas and expertise," said Hoxby, who serves on the Joint Select Committee on Public School Finance.

The Koret Task Force on K-12 Education is the centerpiece of the Hoover Institution's Initiative on American Public Education. Supported by the Koret Foundation, the eleven members of the task force

are nationally recognized experts in education and education policy.

The Koret Task Force members are Hoover distinguished visiting fellow John E. Chubb, Edison Schools; Hoover research fellow Williamson M. Evers; Hoover senior fellow and Koret Task Force chairman Chester E. Finn Jr., Thomas B. Fordham Foundation; Paul and Jean Hanna Senior Fellow Eric A. Hanushek, Hoover Institution; Hoover distinguished visiting fellow Paul T. Hill, University of Washington; Hoover distinguished visiting fellow E. D. Hirsch, University of Virginia; Hoover distinguished visiting fellow Caroline M. Hoxby, Harvard University; Hoover senior fellow Terry M. Moe, William Bennett Munro Professor of Political Science at Stanford University; Hoover senior fellow Paul E. Peterson, Harvard University; Hoover distinguished visiting fellow Diane Ravitch, New York University; and Hoover distinguished visiting fellow Herbert J. Walberg, University of Illinois at Chicago.

More information about the Koret Task Force is available online at <http://www-hoover.stanford.edu/koret/default.htm>

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AND EXHIBIT ON BORIS PASTERNAK, POET AND AUTHOR OF THE TIMELESS *DR. ZHIVAGO*, COSPONSORED BY HOOVER AND STANFORD

Boris Pasternak, poet, author of *Doctor Zhivago*, and recipient of the Nobel Prize for literature (1958), was the subject of a conference, "Hostage of Eternity: An International Conference on Pasternak," that took place May 3-7 at Tresidder Union at Stanford University.

In conjunction with the conference, the Hoover Institution Library and Archives organized an exhibit on Pasternak's life and work from their extensive collection of original materials by the poet.

The Pasternak exhibit, which may be viewed until August 27, features original letters, a typescript with corrections of

Doctor Zhivago, handmade books of poems, photographs, and many books he inscribed to his friends. The Exhibit Pavilion, located at the Hoover Institution on the Stanford University campus, adjacent to Hoover Tower, is open Tuesday through Saturday, 11 a.m. to 4 p.m.. For additional information, please contact the Hoover Institution Archives, 650-723-3563 or www.hoover.org/hila. Group tours are available.

At the May conference, participants from around the world discussed Pasternak's life and work, as well as recent studies concerning him. "One of the central

themes of his poetry as well as his magnum opus, the novel *Doctor Zhivago*," said Lazar Fleishman, professor of Slavic languages and literature at Stanford University and conference coordinator, "is the destiny of man in revolutionary times."

Among the 50 participants who made presentations at the conference were Pasternak's son, Evgeny Pasternak, and his wife, Elena, the foremost experts on the poet's literary legacy. The couple recently compiled the largest edition of his works, 11 volumes in all, titled *Complete Works* (Slovo, 2004). Pasternak's niece Ann Pasternak Slater discussed Pasternak's translations from Shakespeare.

Uncommon Knowledge™, the weekly public affairs television program coproduced by the Hoover Institution and KTEH-TV (PBS) in San Jose, presents a wide array of issues and guests in new segments for summer 2004 now available on the Public Broadcasting Service.

Hosted by Emmy-nominee and Hoover research fellow Peter Robinson, it is broadcast by more than 50 PBS stations across the United States. The audio content is carried overseas by National Public Radio International.

Details about each segment are available at the Hoover Institution web site, www.hoover.org. New programs include



“A Military Makeover: Transforming the Military”

Guests: Williamson Murray, coauthor, *The Iraq War: A Military History*, and James Wirtz, professor of national security affairs, Naval Postgraduate School



“Land of the Setting Sun? The Future of Japan”

Guests: Toshio Nishi, research fellow, Hoover Institution, and Steven Vogel, professor of political science, University of California, Berkeley



“Down by Law: Military Detainees in the War on Terror”

Guests: Erwin Chemerinsky, professor of public interest law, legal ethics, and political science, University of Southern

California, and John Yoo, professor of law, University of California, Berkeley



“Heaven Can Wait: Is the Pledge of Allegiance Unconstitutional?”

Guests: Erwin Chemerinsky, professor of public interest law, legal ethics, and political science, University of Southern California, and Douglas Kmiec, professor of constitutional law, Pepperdine University,



“Migration Headache: President Bush’s Immigration Plan”

Guests: Tamar Jacoby, senior fellow, Manhattan Institute, and editor, *Reinventing the Melting Pot: The New Immigrants and What It Means to Be American*, and Mark Krikorian, executive director, Center for Immigration Studies



“For a Few Dollars More: Global Poverty and the World Bank”

Guests: Douglass North, Nobel laureate in economics and senior fellow, Hoover Institution, and James Wolfensohn, president, World Bank



“Iraq of Ages: The United States and the Future of Iraq”

Guests: Donald Emmerson, senior fellow, Stanford Institute for International Studies; Michael McFaul, senior fellow, Hoover Institution; and Joseph Nye, dean, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University



“Trading Places: Is Outsourcing Good for America?”

Guests: Stephen Haber, professor of history and political science, Stanford University, and senior fellow, Hoover Institution; Kenneth Judd, senior fellow, Hoover Institution; and Harley Shaiken, professor of education and geography, University of California, Berkeley

The Hoover Institution presents a wide range of opinions, expert research, and commentary in four recognized and acclaimed publications: *Hoover Digest*, *Education Next*, *Policy Review*, and *China Leadership Monitor*. At newsletter press time, new issues of *Hoover Digest* and *Policy Review* were available; the highlights are below.

Hoover Digest

www.hooverdigest.org

- Iraq: “More at Stake Than Vietnam,” by Media Fellow **Robert Zelnick**
- National Security: “Secrecy and Security,” by Research Fellow **Bruce Berkowitz**

Education Next

www.educationnext.org

- “The Future of School Boards: Agents of Reform or Defenders of the Status Quo?”
- “Steering a True Course,” by Sarah C. Glover.
- “Lost at Sea,” by Distinguished Visiting Fellow **Chester E. Finn Jr.**, and Lisa G. Keegan

- “Where the Rubber Meets the Road: Districts Confront the Challenges of No Child Left Behind—One Child at a Time,” by William G. Howell
- “Putting Parents in Charge: Pell Grants for Kids,” by Lamar Alexander

Policy Review

www.policyreview.org

- “The Future of Ground Zero: Daniel Libeskind’s Perverse Vision,” by John Rosenthal
- “The Religious Sources of Islamic Terrorism—What the Fatwas Say,” by Shmuel Bar

- “The Psychological Sources of Islamic Terrorism: Alienation and Identity in the Arab World,” by Michael J. Mazarr

China Leadership Monitor

www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org

- Foreign policy: “Of Successors, Memories, and Guidance: Qian Qichen Defines His Legacy,” by Robert L. Suettinger
- Military affairs: “The PLA, Chen Shui-Bian, and the Referenda: The War Dogs That Didn’t Bark,” by James Mulvenon
- Economic policy: “Financial Reconstruction: Methodical Policymaking Moves into the Spotlight,” by Barry Naughton

MEDIA FELLOWS ROUNDUP

The Media Fellows program hosted print and broadcast journalists from around the country over the past few months.



“It will be a dogfight all the way to the end,” predicted Media Fellow Shailagh Murray in her talk “Election 2004: Why It’s Proving So Unpredictable, Mean and Substance Free.” Murray, congressional correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal*, spoke at a luncheon hosted by the Hoover Institution on April 16. “Everything is turned upside down,” Murray said, referring to the election this fall.

Murray has been the congressional correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal* since 1999. Before that she was a foreign correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal Europe*, where she covered issues such as the Irish economic boom, the Northern Irish peace process, social and economic trends from Brussels, and the East European transition from Prague. Her journalism career began at the *Tampa Tribune*, where she covered courts, crime, and transportation.



During his fellowship Doyle McManus, Washington Bureau chief of the *Los Angeles Times* and former Stanford trustee, explored the question “Is there a Bush doctrine?” He believes that “not only is there a Bush doctrine, there are many Bush doctrines.” Among these, McManus said, are that nations that harbor terrorists are held responsible for their actions; that the axis of evil includes Iraq, Iran, and North Korea; and preemption.

McManus also noted in his talk on April 19 that “while President George W. Bush

says we’re at war, the rest of us are at peace.” This war is difficult to experience, he said, except in Washington. “In Washington,” McManus observed, “there is a sense that these are the buildings that will be targeted next time around.”

McManus, who has been with the *Los Angeles Times* since 1978, has reported on national and international issues for more than 25 years from Washington, the Middle East, Europe, and Latin America. He is a three-time winner of the National Press Club’s Edwin M. Hood Award for reporting on U.S. foreign policy. McManus has also won Georgetown University’s Weintal Prize and New York University’s Olive Branch. He is a frequent panelist on news programs such as *Washington Week*, *Face the Nation*, and *Weekend Edition Sunday*. Among his three books the best seller *Landslide: The Unmaking of the President 1984–1988* was listed by the *New York Times* as one of the most notable books of 1988.



The Supreme Court’s role in the 2000 presidential election was criticized by David Kaplan, senior editor of *Newsweek* magazine in his talk, “Does Anyone Remember Bush vs. Gore?” on April 21. After the election process was concluded there was a lot of talk about its legitimacy until 9/11. “Then, whatever questions were being asked disappeared,” said Kaplan.

Referring to his book *The Accidental President: How 413 Lawyers, 9 Supreme Court Justices, and 5,963,110 Floridians (Give or Take a Few) Landed George W. Bush in the White House* (William Morrow, 2001) Kaplan said the title is not about George W. Bush as president but “a comment on remarkable convergences that

came together—a political perfect storm.” However, he believes that the role played by the Supreme Court will come to be seen as foolhardy. The Supreme Court did not have to become involved, Kaplan said, because a legislative process exists that is perfectly suited to handle the situation that arose.

Kaplan, a senior editor, runs *Newsweek*’s Enterprise section as well as its annual College Guide and occasionally still writes for the magazine. In addition to *The Accidental President*, he wrote *The Silicon Boys: And Their Valley of Dreams* (Perennial, 2000), a chronicle of Silicon Valley during the high-tech boom. He is currently at work on another book, about baseball. Before his journalism career, Kaplan was a lawyer on Wall Street.



The Media Fellows Program allows print and broadcast media professionals to spend time in residence at the Hoover Institution. Media fellows have the opportunity to exchange information and perspectives with Hoover scholars through seminars and informal meetings and with the Hoover and Stanford communities in public lectures. As fellows, they have the full range of research tools Hoover offers available to them. More than 100 of the nation’s top journalists have visited the Hoover Institution recently and interacted with Hoover fellows on key public policy issues.



Other media fellows who recently participated include
Lou Cannon, Freelance, June 7–11, 2004
Lee Walczak, *Business Week*, June 14–18, 2004
Debra Saunders, *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 14–18, 2004
Howard Mortman, *MSNBC*, June 21–25, 2004

Senior Fellow **Larry Diamond** offered testimony on the future of Iraq before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 24; the meeting of high-placed and well-known panelists from government and academe was carried on CSPAN.



Senior Fellow **William Perry** was featured on *The NewsHour* with Jim Lehrer on May 27 (PBS); he discussed the speech the Democratic presidential candidate presumptive John Kerry gave that day.



KNTV TV (NBC, San Francisco) interviewed Senior Fellow **Abraham Sofaer** on May 27 about warnings issued that day on potential terror threats through the summer. Research Fellow **Donald Abenheim** discussed the warnings on KCBS radio (CBS, San Francisco) on May 25.



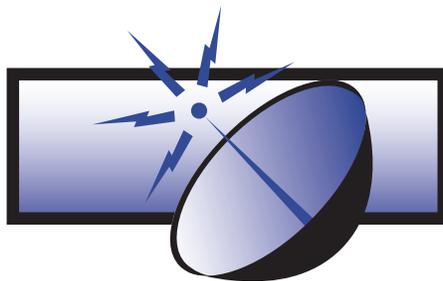
Senior Fellow **Michael McFaul** addressed covert aid to extremists on May 27 on KPIX-TV (CBS, San Francisco). McFaul was also a guest on *Lou Dobbs Tonight* (CNN) on a panel discussing European troops in Iraq on May 25.



Research Fellow **Kiron Skinner** discussed the appointment of Iraqi government officials in the lead-up to the June 30 transition from U.S. leadership on the *Paula Zahn Show* on CNN on May 25. Senior Fellow **Larry Diamond** discussed the transition on *Wolf Blitzer Reports* on CNN and KRON-TV (Ind., San Francisco) on May 20 and on KGO-TV (ABC, San Francisco) and KCBS radio (CBS, San Francisco) on May 17.



A number of Hoover Institution fellows were interviewed about abuse charges filed against the U.S. military stationed at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. Among the fellows were Distinguished Fellow **George P. Shultz** on KPIX-TV (CBS, San Francisco) May 21, and Senior Fellow **Larry Diamond** on WUSA-TV (CBS, Washington, D.C.) and CNNfn (National) May 21.



Abraham Sofaer was interviewed on the subject on KNTV-TV (NBC, San Francisco) on May 7.



Diamond also discussed overall military strategy in Iraq on *The NewsHour* with Jim Lehrer (PBS) on May 10. He was featured on KGO-TV (ABC, San Francisco) on efforts by private organizations and charities to rebuild Iraq on April 27. KPIX-TV (CBS, San Francisco) interviewed him on violence in Iraq, and he was featured on a segment on applying political science theories and knowledge to the situation on KRON-TV (Ind., San Francisco) and on *Lou Dobbs Tonight* (CNN), all on April 26. On April 20, he was featured on *Day to Day* on NPR as guests discussed violence against foreign contractors in Iraq.



Testimony given by National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice was analyzed by Hoover senior fellow **Michael McFaul** on KCBS radio (CBS, San Francisco) on April 8. Research Fellow **Kiron Skinner** discussed Rice's testimony on *The Flipside* on CNNfn on April 8, KGO-TV (ABC, San Francisco), and KPIX-TV (CBS, San Francisco) on April 7. Research Fellow William Whalen offered his perspective on KRON-TV (Ind., San Francisco) on April 7.



Research Fellow **William Whalen** was interviewed about presidential campaign strategy on KRON-TV (Ind., San Francisco) on May 13. Whalen was a guest on *The Dennis Miller Show* (CNBC) on May 6 as part of a panel on Iraq.



Research Fellow **Williamson Evers** discussed the execution of American civilian

Nicholas Berg in an interview on KGO-TV (ABC, San Francisco) on May 11.



Changes in the issue of stock options as part of high-tech pay packages were addressed by Senior Fellow **David Brady** on KQED radio (NPR, San Francisco) on May 10.



The death of U.S. army cpl. Patrick Tillman was discussed by Research Fellow Donald Abenheim on *Morning Edition* (NPR) on May 4.



Research Fellow **Peter Schweizer** was interviewed about his new volume *Bush Family Dynasty* on *The Ronn Owens Show* on KGO radio (ABC, San Francisco) on May 3. Schweizer discussed the book on *TXCN Prime* (Texas Cable News Network, Dallas/Fort Worth) on April 22. He was a guest on *Morning Edition* (NPR) on May 8 to discuss the book, as well as appearing on the *CBS Early Show* (CBS TV) on April 7.



Senior Fellow **Thomas Sowell** was a guest on the *Kojo Nnamdi Show* on WAMU-FM radio (NPR, Washington, D.C.) discussing the minimum wage on April 22.



National Fellow **Jeremi Suri** discussed patriotism, military service, and U.S. history on *Odyssey* on WBEZ-FM (NPR, Chicago) on April 21.



Senior Fellow **Shelby Steele** was interviewed on *Dateline* (NBC) on the issue of racial profiling on April 9. A preview of the show that featured Steele was shown on television stations across the country including KARE-TV (NBC, Minneapolis-St. Paul) and WLWT-TV (NBC, Cincinnati).



The use of preemption strategy in foreign affairs was discussed by Research Fellow **Charles Hill** on CSPAN; he was also a member of a panel that discussed the future of the United Nations on April 5.

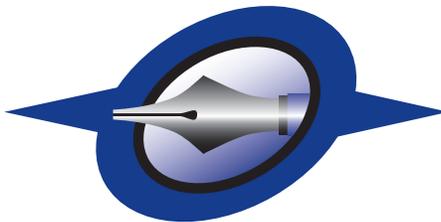
America's health care policy stands at the crossroads. Either we are going to continue the slow march toward a government-driven system, or we are going to choose a free-market solution that puts consumers in charge. The governmental system ultimately will lead to less choice and a stifling of innovation. The free-market solution will enable America to solve its health care cost problem and capture the promise of 21st century medicine; a promise of new cures for disease and longer lives made possible by the mapping of the human genome, and nanotechnology.

- Senior Fellows **John F. Cogan**, **Daniel Kessler**, and R. Glenn Hubbard, *Wall Street Journal*, May 4

Despite all the upheavals and dislocations caused by two world wars and a Great Depression, globalization today is not terribly different from globalization a century ago. Just as was true in the days of J. P. Morgan, the biggest players in the world economy are the providers of financial services and energy, partly because credit and power are the indispensable factors for any kind of economic activity and partly because economies of scale are so compelling in those sectors. Big business isn't just big. It turns out to have longevity going for it, too.

- Senior Fellow **Niall Ferguson**, *Forbes* magazine, April 12

With a wealth of materials available, it should be as easy for a teacher to obtain multiple appraisals of textbooks and instructional materials as it is to find novels to take the beach or movies to view on weekends. If we are serious about improving the historical literacy of America's stu-



dents, we must pay as close attention to the curricular junk making its way into our schools' textbooks as we do the junk food in their cafeterias.

- Senior Fellow **Chester E. Finn**, *USA Today*, March 25

If America has a powerful engine of insourcing, it will create so many good jobs that — as it has in the past — few will even notice the jobs that are moving to foreign lands. If, however, we focus only on slowing down the loss of old jobs by becoming protectionists, we can be certain that in the long run we as a nation will be poorer, will have more unemployed and will have far fewer opportunities for our children, while our seniors will have to subsist on much smaller retirement benefits.

- Distinguished Visiting Fellow **Newt Gingrich**, *Washington Post*, March 25

We wish to save Europe by leaving it, to strengthen the Atlantic Alliance by altering it, and to encourage maturity and responsibility by ending dependency. Begging miffed Europeans to help in Iraq or Afghanistan in real numbers while tens of thousands of Americans are stationed in Europe is the stuff of fairy tales. The sham should end now, for the well-being of everyone involved.

- Senior Fellow **Victor Davis Hanson**, *National Review Online*, April 2

As someone who spent most of his life as a police officer, I think the government should be spending its resources and our money finding bin Laden and destroying al Qaeda, instead of launching investigations into which jocks are using molecules determined to be immoral by the federal government.

- Research Fellow **Joseph McNamara**, *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 15

September 11 forced us to comprehend the extent and danger of the challenge. We began to act before our enemy was able to extend and consolidate his network. If we put this in terms of World War II, we are now sometime around 1937. In the 1930s, the world failed to do what it needed to do to head off a world war. Appeasement never works. Today we are in action. We must not flinch. With a powerful interplay of strength and diplomacy, we can win this war.

- Distinguished Fellow **George P. Shultz**, *Wall Street Journal*, March 29

Both the Bush administration and the Putin administration have apparently made the decision that they can achieve their goals without broad international support. Both governments have erred in that judgment. But it is not too late to correct the judgment, and I fervently hope that both governments will do so. The most important step in that process is reviving cooperation between the United States and Russia.

- Senior Fellow **William J. Perry**, *Moscow Times*, May 7

R. RICHARD GEDDES APPOINTED STAFF ECONOMIST ON PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

Richard Geddes, Hoover Institution research fellow and associate professor of policy analysis and management at Cornell University, has been appointed a senior staff economist on President George W. Bush's Council of Economic Advisers (CEA).

Geddes was appointed to a one-year term on the council in mid-March. He will be one of 10 senior economists working with the three-member CEA, which analyzes and interprets economic developments, appraises the programs and activities of the government, and advises the president on national economic policy.

Geddes is an expert in electricity deregulation, regulation and corporate

governance, public utilities, the economics of postal delivery, infrastructure development in emerging markets, and the economics of women's property rights.

The editor of the new volume *Competing with the Government: Anticompetitive Behavior and Public Enterprises* (Hoover Institution Press, 2004), he also is the author of *Saving the Mail: How to Solve the Problems of the U.S. Postal Service* (2003) and coeditor of *Private Power in the Pacific* (1994). He has published numerous articles in scholarly journals, including the *American Economic Review*, *Encyclopedia of Law and Economics*, *Journal of Law and*



R. Richard Geddes

Economics, *Journal of Legal Studies*, *Journal of Regulatory Economics*, *Journal of Statistical Planning and Inference*, *Regulation*, *Resources and Energy*, and *Review of Industrial Organization*.

Geddes was a national fellow at the Hoover Institution in 1999–2000, was previously an associate professor of economics at Fordham University, director of the

Visiting Fellows Program at the Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University, and a visiting faculty fellow at Yale University Law School. He earned Ph.D. and M.A. degrees in economics from the University of Chicago and a B.S. degree in economics and finance from Towson University.

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