

HOOVER INSTITUTION Newsletter

Fall 2005

SENIOR FELLOW KEVIN M. MURPHY NAMED MACARTHUR FELLOW

Hoover Institution senior fellow Kevin M. Murphy was named one of 25 MacArthur Fellows for 2005 by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation on September 20.

He also is the George J. Stigler Distinguished Service Professor at the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business.

Murphy is a wide-ranging economist with an aptitude for applying careful empirical analyses within rigorous theoretical frameworks to economic questions of immense social import. Early in his career, Murphy identified how



Courtesy MacArthur Foundation

Kevin M. Murphy

work experience, education, race, and gender but also highlighted the importance of within-group wage variability in understanding labor economics.

Murphy also considered the phenomenon of addiction from an economic

continued on page 10

trends in wage inequality reflect underlying changes in demand for labor. These studies not only considered such variables as



photo credit: Visual Art Services

Russian minister of foreign affairs Sergey Lavrov (left) and Hoover distinguished fellow George P. Shultz examine materials on international affairs before the September 20 dinner.

RUSSIAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS CITES PARTNERSHIP, SHARED CHALLENGES OF RUSSIA AND UNITED STATES IN TALK

Russian minister of foreign affairs Sergey Lavrov lauded the promising partnership between his country and the United States when he spoke at a dinner at the Hoover Institution on September 20.

“Moscow and Washington are tied together by so much,” Lavrov said. “We both have a special responsibility for the future of the world. This partnership needs to move now to positive action. Of immediate concern is international terrorism, drug trafficking, organized crime. It makes no sense to try to respond to these threats and challenges on a unilateral basis. An effective response to threats and chal-

lenges is only possible through collective efforts of the entire world community.”

Foreign Minister Lavrov was introduced by George P. Shultz, former U.S.

continued on page 13

• I N S I D E •	
DISTINGUISHED VISITING FELLOW DIANE RAVITCH HONORED WITH TWO AWARDS	3
UNCOMMON KNOWLEDGE™'S FINAL BOW CREATES TREASURE TROVE FOR SCHOLARS	6
HOOVER'S NOBEL LAUREATES DISCUSS CURRENT ECONOMIC CHALLENGES	11

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SOCIETY OF AMERICAN ARCHIVISTS PRESENTS 2005 FELLOWS' ERNST POSNER AWARD TO ELENA DANIELSON

The Society of American Archivists' 2005 Fellows' Ernst Posner Award was presented to the Hoover Institution's Elena Danielson for her article in the most recent volume of *The American Archivist*.

The award, established in 1982 by the Fellows of the Society of American Archivists (SAA) and named for former SAA president Ernst Posner, recognizes an outstanding essay dealing with some facet of archival administration, history, theory, and/or methodology published in SAA's semiannual journal.

The award was presented to Danielson on August 19, during SAA's 69th annual meeting in New Orleans.

Danielson, who was associate director of the Hoover Insti-

tion and director of its library and archives, retiring from that post on September 2 (see below), received the award for her essay "Privacy Rights and the Rights of Political Victims: Implications of the German Experience" in volume 67 of *The American Archivist*.



Elena Danielson

Founded in 1936, the Society of American Archivists is North America's oldest and largest national archival professional association. More information is available at www.archivists.org.

ELENA DANIELSON RETIRES AS ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR AND DIRECTOR OF LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES AFTER 27 YEARS

Elena S. Danielson, whose distinguished career with the Hoover Institution spanned 27 years and who was inspired to become an archivist at the age of 20, retired as associate director of the Hoover Institution and director of the Hoover Library and Archives on September 2.

"I had hoped, when I was 20, to retreat from the real world and into the archival world to study the lives and works of the hopeless romantics of history," Danielson told friends and coworkers who gathered on August 31 to wish her well. "However, I found myself on the cutting edge of history, not once but twice, here at Hoover," she said referring to the political changes that swept Eastern Europe beginning in 1989 and the current political ferment in Taiwan.

On September 2, Danielson's new title became archivist emerita. She will now begin pursuing her own research, focused on archives theory, building on her nearly three decades of hands-on experience.

Under her direction, the archives at Hoover grew and were augmented with collections that include correspondence of the Romanov family, the papers of poet and novelist Boris Pasternak, the papers of Soviet literary critic, dissident, and political prisoner Andrei Siniavskii, materials of Chiang Kai-shek and T. V. Soong in the T. V. Soong collection, and the papers of German steel industry executive Dieter Spethmann on the process of European unification.

She recently was awarded the Society of American Archivists' 2005 Fellows' Ernst Posner Award for her article

"Privacy Rights and the Rights of Political Victims: Implications of the German Experience" in the most recent volume, number 67, of *The American Archivist*. (See above.)

She also received many other important awards for outstanding work in her field. In 2004, Danielson was awarded the National Order of Merit (rank of commander) of Romania for her "important role in the preservation and development of the extensive Romanian collections of the Hoover Archives, for her special support to Romanian researchers, and for donating copies of I. G. Duca's and Nicolae Titulescu's archival collections to Romanian cultural institutions."

In 2001, she received the Laurel Award of the Polish Prime Minister for her work with the Polish State Archives. Her research has been supported by Woodrow Wilson, Fulbright, and Whiting Fellowships. She is a member of Alpha chapter of Phi Beta Kappa.

Danielson joined the internationally renowned Hoover Institution Archives in 1978, working in all areas of the organization: first in technical services, then reference, outreach, collection development, and then management.

After serving as acting archivist for one year, 1996-97, she was named archivist on September 1, 1997. She was made head of both the library and archives on September 1, 2001, and then associate director of the Hoover Institution on January 1, 2002.

Before her Hoover appointment, Danielson was an assistant professor at Santa Clara University and prior to that held a teaching fellowship at Stanford University. Danielson holds a Ph.D. and an A.M. degree in German studies from Stanford and a master's degree in library science and an undergraduate degree from the University of California, Berkeley.

DIANE RAVITCH RECEIVES 2004 UNCOMMON BOOK AWARD FOR *THE LANGUAGE POLICE*

The Language Police: How Pressure Groups Restrict What Students Learn, written by Hoover distinguished visiting fellow Diane Ravitch, was named by the Hoover Institution as the winner of its 2004 Uncommon Book Award.

The award was announced by Hoover Institution director John Raisian on September 8 during a meeting of the Koret Task Force on K-12 Education, of which Ravitch is also a member.

In *The Language Police* (Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), Ravitch maintains that America's students are compelled to read insipid texts that have been censored and bowdlerized, issued by publishers who willingly cut controversial material from their books—a case of the bland leading the bland.

The Language Police is the first full-scale exposé of this cultural and educational scandal written by a leading historian. It documents the existence of an elaborate and well-established protocol of beneficent censorship, quietly endorsed and implemented by test makers and textbook publishers, states, and the federal government. Ravitch offers a powerful political and economic analysis of the causes of censorship. Her practical and sensible solutions for ending it will improve the quality of books for students as well as liberating publishers, state boards of education, and schools from the grip of pressure groups.

Information about the book is available at www.language-police.com and at www.randomhouse.com/knopf/catalog/display.pperl?isbn=9780375414824.

BREUKELEIN INSTITUTE HONORS DIANE RAVITCH WITH GAUDIUM AWARD

The Breukelein Institute in New York has named Hoover distinguished visiting fellow Diane Ravitch a recipient of its 2005 Gaudium Award.

The awards are given annually to four men and women whose lives have “illuminated the horizon of human experience” through their extraordinary vocations in the arts and public service. The awards will be presented on November 7 in New York City.

The word *gaudium* is Latin for joy, which is what, the foundation notes, the recipients have shared with the work they do.

Ravitch is a member of the Hoover Institution's Koret Task Force and research professor of education at New York University. Ravitch also holds the Brown Chair in Education

Ravitch is a historian of education and research professor of education at New York University. In addition to her distinguished visiting fellowship and membership in the Koret Task Force at Hoover, she is a non-resident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. She was assistant secretary in charge of research in the U.S. Department of Education in the administration of



Diane Ravitch

President George H. W. Bush and was appointed to the National Assessment Governing Board by President Bill Clinton. The author of seven previous books on education, including the critically acclaimed *Left Back: A Century of Battles over School Reform*, she lives in Brooklyn, New York.

The W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell Uncommon Book Award is presented annually to an author affiliated with the Hoover Institution whose work is selected by a panel of Hoover fellows. The award is given for a published book or other significant work on a public policy issue that, in the panel's determination, meets the highest standards of scholarship at the Hoover Institution.

The \$10,000 honorarium that accompanies the Uncommon Book Award is underwritten by a gift from Hoover Institution senior fellow Rita Ricardo-Campbell and the late director emeritus Glenn Campbell. The award recognizes the work of a Hoover fellow, or other person associated with the Institution, whose writing and research reaches the highest standards of scholarship on public policy issues.

Policy at the Brookings Institution. From 1991 to 1993 she was assistant secretary of education in the administration of President George H.W. Bush. Among the eight books she has authored, her most recent titles include *The Language Police: How Pressure Groups Restrict What Students Learn* (2003) and *Left Back: A Century of Battles over School Reform* (2000).

Other recipients of the award, established in 1982, include author, historian, and jazz musician Dave Brubeck; author and historian Thomas Cahill; Notre Dame University president Rev. Theodore Hesburgh; producer Joseph Papp; author Walker Percy; and Nobel laureate Isaac Bashevis Singer.

The Breukelein Institute is a not-for profit, nonreligious entity established by the members of the Pontifical Congregation of St. Philip Neri in Brooklyn, New York, to raise money and originate programs and activities to affirm, improve, and reform the quality of life in the city of New York, particularly in Kings County.

CONFERENCE SHINES LIGHT ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN NORTH KOREA

North Korea, frequently in the news because of a looming crisis over its nuclear weapons program, has another, often overlooked, immediate crisis—the treatment of its citizens by the government. In “Human Rights Crisis in North Korea: Challenges and Opportunities,” a conference hosted by the Hoover Institution on September 16, leading scholars and human rights activists discussed how the human rights of North Koreans are suppressed and how to address the problem.

The issues, the dimensions, and the possible responses to this problem were examined in a series of sessions during the conference. In the final session of the day, “Summary Session: Human Rights in North Korea: Assessments and Solutions,” chaired by Hoover associate director David Brady, findings from earlier sessions were presented.

Carl Gershman, president of the National Endowment of Democracy, provided an overview of the issues and explained the difficulty in determining

the extent of the problem by saying that “North Korea is so closed off that people have not been able to gain access to it.” Gershman outlined several problems in understanding the issue, including how to determine the numbers affected, how to respond to the need, why is it happening, how to engage the government, how vulnerable the system is, and what North Koreans think.

Hoover senior fellow Henry Rowen offered an analysis of the North Korean government’s strategy in extracting resources from other countries. For example, he said, food donations help keep the regime in power. In negotiations, he said, the government requires payment for participating in those programs. Also, he reminded the audience that dwelling on North Korea’s nuclear weapons program diverts attention from North Korea’s human rights violations.



Carl Gershman

“It seems to me that any discussion of North Korea leaves one frustrated,” said Hoover senior fellow Michael Armacost. “It’s very daunting to deal with a country that has such a reprehensible government.” In the session Armacost chaired, he outlined the pros and cons of possible solutions but concluded

that no plausible solutions were at hand.

Other conference participants included Doug Anderson, Committee on International Relations and Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, United States Congress; Rabbi Abraham Cooper, Simon Wiesenthal Center; Chuck Downs, author; Nick Eberstadt, American Enterprise Institute; Stephan Haggard, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, University of California, San Diego; David Hawk, U.S. Committee for Human Rights in North Korea; Jongryn Mo, Hoover Institution; and Suzanne Scholte, Defense Forum Foundation.

CALIFORNIA’S SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION ALAN BERSIN ADDRESSES KORET TASK FORCE

Calling himself an “optimist about public education,” Secretary for Education of the State of California Alan Bersin said that “education won’t look the same in 50 years.” This generation, he added, needs to hand education over to the next in better shape.

Bersin, the featured speaker at a dinner hosted by the Koret Task Force on K–12 Education on September 8, offered an overview of what Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger is likely to present as an agenda for K–12 education over the next year. He outlined three areas that will be emphasized: accountability and transparency, innova-

tion and improvement, and competition.

On the subject of accountability he stated that there is a need to harmonize federal and state accountability systems. Another goal, Bersin said, is to develop a system that identifies schools that are not making progress and schools that are making some progress but are not yet performing satisfactorily. Along with this is the need to create an intervention framework to respond to these schools, he added.

Bersin also noted that 4 percent of



Alan Bersin

the school districts have 70 percent of the lowest performing students. He believes that there is a need for district reform and perhaps putting some schools in receivership. He cited the Oakland school district as a model of what can be done to improve schools.

In regard to competition, Bersin discussed the role of charter schools. Charter schools, he noted, promote competition and need to be strengthened.

Before Bersin spoke, the Hoover Institution’s annual Rita Ricardo-Campbell and W. Glenn Campbell Uncommon Book Award was presented to this year’s recipient, Diane Ravitch for her book *The Language Police* (Knopf).

HOOVER EXHIBIT 'REVOLUTIONARY EYE' SHOWCASES WORK OF ACTIVIST WOLFGANG JANISCH

The new exhibit "Revolutionary Eye: The Political Poster Art of Wolfgang Janisch: 1979–1999" looks at the work of an ordinary man transformed by political turmoil and his pursuit of justice. Through posters, photographs, and footage from the Hoover Institution Library and Archives, this exhibition in the Herbert Hoover Memorial Exhibit Pavilion documents the life and work of Janisch, an East German artist and activist.

Janisch began making collage posters, similar to the work of the Dadaist John Heartfield, as a protest against the policies of the communist dictatorship in East Germany during the 1970s and 1980s. His posters were a means of expressing his concerns about the repressive policies of the German Democratic Republic and a way to raise an alarm about the buildup of nuclear weapons on both sides of the Iron Curtain as well as environmental degradation within East Germany.

He chose photographs to work with, he said, because "if your intentions are honest, then photography is an honest

medium in which to work, representing things like the abuse of the environment, grievance, the threat of war, or other general grievances. You can reveal the bitter truth through photographs."



One of the many dramatic photos featured in 'Revolutionary Eye.'

The central theme in Janisch's work is his respect for the rights of the individual, especially the right to live in freedom and without fear of violence. He also believes in individual responsibility and feels strongly that each person has an obligation to stand up against injustice, in whatever form it takes. In speaking of the nonviolent protests that brought down the East German government, he said that "our strength was like that of soft water slowly breaking down hard stone." Change can happen, he said, "especially when people take the

upright path and do something against injustice."

The exhibit runs through December 16. The Herbert Hoover Memorial Exhibit Pavilion, located at the Hoover Institution on the Stanford University campus, adjacent to Hoover Tower, is open Tuesday through Saturday, 11 a.m. through 4 p.m. More than forty of Janisch's posters are included in the exhibition as well as a video interview of the artist and screenings of the 1993 documentary film *That Was the GDR* (licensed by the DEFA Film Library at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, www.umass.edu/defa).

'REVOLUTIONARY TIDES' EXHIBIT FEATURES EXCEPTIONAL POSTER ART FROM HOOVER COLLECTION; MOVES TO FLORIDA IN 2006 FOR DISPLAY

"Revolutionary Tides: The Art of the Political Poster, 1914–1989," a major exhibit open until December 31 at the Cantor Arts Center at Stanford University, brings together more than 100 of the most exceptional examples from the vast poster collections of the Hoover Institution at Stanford and the Wolfsonian–Florida International University in Miami Beach.

"Revolutionary Tides" presents posters from such diverse settings as New Deal America, the Soviet Union of Stalin's Five-Year Plans, China's Cultural Revolution, the protest movements of the 1960s, and Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran. The exhibition features work by world-renowned graphic artists such as John Heartfield, Gustav Klutis, and Xanti Schawinsky and includes art ranging from an illustration depicting "Freedom of Speech" by Norman Rockwell to silk-screened

portraits of communist leader Mao Tse-Tung by Andy Warhol.

Jeffrey T. Schnapp, director of the Stanford Humanities Lab and author/editor of 15 books and more than 100 essays, is the guest curator for the exhibition. The exhibition is accompanied by a catalog entitled *Revolutionary Tides*, published by Skira. An associated, multi-author book/website hybrid entitled *Crowds* (Stanford University Press) weaves together scholarly essays on topics extending from crowds in antiquity to contemporary "smart mobs," with testimonials, semantic histories, and reference materials on crowd psychology and crowd sociology.

"Revolutionary Tides" was organized by the Cantor Arts Center with the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, the Stanford Humanities Lab, and the Wolfsonian–Florida International University. Generous support for the project was provided by the Clumbeck Endowment Fund, the Bernard Osher Foundation, the Seaver Institute, the Mariposa Fund, Roger and Martha Mertz, and Cantor Arts Center members.

After January 1, "Revolutionary Tides" will move to the Wolfsonian-FIU, Miami Beach, where it will be open to the public from February 24 to June 25, 2006.

UNCOMMON KNOWLEDGE™ TAKES FINAL BOW, CREATORS REFLECT ON RICH LEGACY



Courtesy Karen Sutton/Stanford Video

The crew of the *Uncommon Knowledge*™ television program gather on the set. Host Peter Robinson is seated; standing and to his left wearing a tie is production director William Free.

The public affairs television program *Uncommon Knowledge*™, produced by the Hoover Institution in conjunction with KTEH-TV, San Jose, in June concluded a 10-year run with 300 episodes broadcast on the Public Broadcasting Service.

In this Q&A, host Peter Robinson, a Hoover research fellow, and production director William Free discuss the show's genesis, evolution, and solid historical record of the world's political and economic situation over a decade. That record remains available for public access at www.uncommonknowledge.org/ and through the Hoover Institution website. The videotapes of all shows will be held by the Hoover Institution Archives.

Q: How did the show *Uncommon Knowledge* originate and what were those early programs like?

Free: Director John Raisian was very interested in contributing to serious scholarship. There are many ways to do this, but use of the media is among the best. We faced isolation, with Hoover on the West Coast, and there was no good, existing vehicle by which

fellows could express their views and share their research. So the decision was to create a Hoover vehicle, which became *Uncommon Knowledge*.

The first season, in 1997, we did just 13 shows, but we grew, eventually, to do 39, which is a full season. At first, the program was carried only by KTEH, the PBS station in San Jose, California, and then it eventually went national and we were on more than 70 stations across the country.

Q: Early in the life of the program, shows were taped at a local restaurant, which was unique among public policy programs.

Robinson: It was a great idea, but it was noisy. A lot of time was spent setting up equipment and taking it down. So although the concept was good, it was a relief to move to a set on the Stanford campus after three years and have the setting and the freedom we needed to do the show well. I was also free during those early shows to make mistakes with confidence, but I figured there were not too many viewers. And the shows did just keep getting better and better.

Q: Speaking of the early life of the program, there were predecessors to *Uncommon Knowledge* and I know you both were quite honored to host and be recognized by one of the fathers of television talk shows, William F. Buckley

Robinson: William Buckley not only was on *Uncommon Knowledge*, which I do think was one of the best episodes, but in 1999, when he ended his legendary *Firing Line*, he endorsed *Uncommon Knowledge* as his successor. That meant a lot to us and it was very important to the program. The number of stations that carried *Uncommon Knowledge* just about doubled after that endorsement.

Q: Could you discuss other changes over the years?

Free: The program did keep getting better and better, and Peter really refined his presence and performance. Our guests were also better and better and we did move from discussions only among Hoover fellows to bringing in others from the outside who offered a great deal to the discussions.

We also worked to improve the visual dimension and distinguish *Uncommon Knowledge* from other public policy talk shows. Very early we hit on using a visual cue card, actual words on the screen, to punctuate one part of the program from another. Other programs would use stock footage to signal a shift in topic, for instance.

Robinson: As I remember it, we took the idea to use cue cards from the television show *Frasier*.

As for guests and their numbers, we always did some one-on-one interviews with either the very famous or the very fascinating. A few people in that group would be [author] Tom Wolfe, [Nobel laureate] Milton Friedman, or [jurist] Robert Bork. Those were terrific pro-

grams. But it is hard to sustain energy and interest with only two people on the set. So we tended to think of the show as needing and being best with two guests.

Free: Sometimes we would go in thinking that a show would be very difficult because of the guest or the topic and we'd be surprised. It'd turn out to be just great.

Robinson: It almost became a rule that if I thought it would be excruciatingly hard work, it turned out just fine.

Q: Could you share with us some of your experiences with those famous and fascinating guests?

Robinson: Milton Friedman was just so good, and he knows so much, and he could explain the complexity of economics so well. Tom Wolfe, whom I have always liked, was just fascinating. And Christopher Hitchens, well there's no other person with whom I so thoroughly disagree but truly enjoy.

Free: From a producer's and direc-

tor's perspective, I think George Shultz was amazing. There was something about the camera picking up so much that he did not say with words.

Robinson: You'd sit at the table on the set and think it was just another interview. And Bill and his crew would come out of the control room and say, "That was great!"

[U.S. secretary of state] Condoleezza Rice was another. It was a good show, focusing on Russia, and when it was all over, Bill walked out and said "Condi on TV is just magic!"

Q: And, yet, despite the magic, *Uncommon Knowledge* has ended its run. Why is that?

Free: The show had really run its course. Television changed over that time. Cable television really came in strong, news coverage on all the channels went 24/7. The time was right 10 years ago, but the medium changed.

Robinson: Television has a much larger appetite, a huge appetite, for en-

tertainment. The window for our kind of program was slowly shutting, and it was time to take our bows.

Free: I think in the end, the show succeeded beyond expectations and got Hoover and its fellows and its scholarship in the public eye, and that's a good thing.

Q: What of the legacy of *Uncommon Knowledge*?

Robinson: We have a great body of knowledge in the programs themselves. And, as a result of the program, Hoover did acquire the *Firing Line* footage, too.

The *Uncommon Knowledge* tapes all go to the Hoover Archives, and this will be an important record of what people were dealing with and discussing in America in the 1990s and in the aftermath of 9/11. It is a strong and enviable record of history. I'm happy that the show contributed something to the public conversation and will be preserved for scholars in the future.

NATIONAL FELLOWS AND NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS FELLOWS FOR 2005–6 ANNOUNCED

Hoover Institution director John Raisian has announced the recipients of the annual postdoctoral W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellows Program for the 2005–6 academic year.

Recognized as one of the preeminent fellowships in the United States, the program, now completing its 33rd year, provides scholars an opportunity to spend one year at the Hoover Institution conducting independent research on current or historical public policy issues.

The national fellows use the release time from teaching to advance their professional careers by completing an original

and significant research project at the Hoover Institution. The National Fellows Program has awarded nearly 400 fellowships to outstanding scholars from universities across the United States and Canada.

The program is administered by Hoover deputy director David Brady, serving as the program's executive secretary, assisted by Joy Kelley.

The 2005–6 fellows, academic affiliations, and topics are **Laura N. Beny**, University of Michigan Law School; "The Political Economy of Capital Account Liberalization"

Liran Einav, Department of Economics, Stanford University; "Estimating Risk and Risk Preferences in Insurance Markets"

continued on page 12

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www.hooverdigest.org	Quarterly <i>Hoover Digest</i> available online	
www.educationnext.org	Presents the facts about education reform, gives voice—without fear or favor—to worthy research, sound ideas, and responsible arguments.	
www.policyreview.org	Is the preeminent publication for new and serious thinking and writing about the issues of our day. At this site find select articles from the current issue as well as an archive of back issues, subscription information, and useful links to other websites.	
www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org	Seeks to inform the American foreign policy community about current trends in China's leadership politics and in its foreign and domestic policies.	

INSTITUTION'S ACHIEVEMENTS DISCUSSED, CRUCIAL POLICY ISSUES ADDRESSED AT BOARD OF OVERSEERS MEETING

Hoover Institution director John Raisian spoke of the institution's accomplishments and plans for growth in his overview at this year's Board of Overseers meeting July 13 and 14.

Raisian pointed to the remarkable success of the Koret Task Force on K-12 Education in developing the American Education Institutions initiative, an approach, according to Raisian, that could be a model for the other initiatives. In its first year the task force produced edited works and op-eds. Now going into its seventh year, in addition to those publications, task force members produce a quarterly magazine, *Education Next*, appear regularly on radio and television, advise state governments on education reform, and provide testimony to Congress.

This year's meeting also included talks by Hoover fellows and editors from the *Wall Street Journal*. Topics included the importance of the West's engagement in Iraq, the United States monetary policy and economic outlook, obstacles to public policy making, the work of the library and archives, children's literature, and the consequences of bad information.

"In the 1990s [the West] relaxed, we thought the challenges had been turned back," said Charles Hill, Hoover research fellow. "We thought we saw a peace dividend, and, in the course of this neglect, we let the international state system deteriorate." Hill and Hoover senior fellow Victor Davis Hanson presented their views on the United States involvement in Iraq in the first session, "What's Really at Stake in Iraq."

The coverage of recent acts by terrorists, which has many calling for withdrawal from the Middle East, suggests that the media do not understand what is going on, Hill said. He listed acts by terrorists going back to the early twentieth century. "Whatever is going on is not because we are in Iraq today." He attributes terrorism to the desire on the part of the perpetrators to oppose the international system of states. Hill stated that Islamic terrorists are trying to destroy the



Christopher Buckley



Daniel Henninger



John Raisian



Tunku Varadarajan

current system and replace it with their own system. He concluded by saying we have not had a religious war in centuries and "that our system is not designed to handle it, our laws are not designed to handle it, our minds are not designed to handle it, and the idea of religious war is so appalling that we do not want to talk about it openly."

Hanson outlined the wars that the United States and its allies have fought in the Middle East since the early 1990s. The first one, in 1991, referred to as the Gulf War, had the wrong objective, Hanson said; it should not have been solely about Saddam Hussein in Kuwait but rather who Saddam Hussein was. This first war was followed by the No-Fly-Zone-War or what then secretary of state Madeleine Albright called "keeping Saddam in his box." During March and April 2003 the United States and its allies returned to remove Saddam Hussein. This third conventional war, Hanson said, did not address the root causes that he identified as "a Soviet-style Baathist socialism imposed by force on a tribal society that had led to a failed state."

In his overview of "U.S. Monetary Policy and Economic Outlook" Robert Barro, Hoover senior fellow and Harvard economist, had a generally optimistic outlook marred only by what he sees as a lack of fiscal discipline, especially in regard to expenditures. He repeated a quote, circulating in Washington, D.C., "that Ronald Reagan proved budget deficits don't matter." Barro, however, believes that it's better if people think budget deficits are terrible because then they have a lot of incentive to hold down expenditures.

In "Why Washington Doesn't Work—and Why it Matters," Alan Murray, an assistant managing editor at the *Wall Street Journal*, said that during his 25 years in Washington, D.C., "the political culture of Washington has gone steadily downhill." The decline in civil relations among Washington leaders, Murray believes, hinders

continued from page 8

public policy development. “Some view gridlock as great,” Murray said, that “nothing bad can happen if nothing happens.” The obvious rebuttal to that he pointed out is September 11, but there are also business concerns. “Increasing reliance on markets,” Murray added, “requires increasing leadership coming out of Washington.”

Anatol Shmelev, a curator and Hoover research fellow, exhibited forged documents from the archives in his presentation “Imposters in the Archives: Unmasking Forged Documents and Political Intrigue.” The documents on display included falsified passports to establish identities for spies, photographs that were retouched to remove people to revise history, and textbooks based on lies to promote the racist views of government leaders. The materials are kept, Shmelev said, for researchers who can better understand the context and to uncover and expose these falsehoods.

In “Uncle Sam I Am: Dr. Seuss and the American Identity (a Not Entirely Frivolous Look at How Good Children’s Books Make Good Citizens),” Tunku Varadarajan, *Wall Street Journal* editorial features editor, discussed how American children’s books influence and reflect our national character.

The value of information we receive through media outlets was questioned by Daniel Henninger, *Wall Street Journal* deputy editor, in “A Gresham’s Law of Information: Is Bad Information Driving Out Good Information?” Beginning in the 1970s, Henninger said, newspapers added more analysis to their coverage in order to compete with television, which had eroded their readership. The result, he said, “is that there’s not much news on the news.”

The dinner speaker was Christopher Buckley, one of the country’s leading humorists and satirists. The author of eleven books, many of them national best sellers, Buckley is also the founding editor of *Forbes FYI*. Holding no target sacred, he entertained the audience with a perceptive and witty commentary on national politics and world affairs.



Victor Davis Hanson (right) with Charles Hill, at left



Alan Murray

NEW LEADERSHIP, MEMBERS ELECTED TO BOARD OF OVERSEERS

Peter Bedford was elected chairman of the Hoover Institution’s Board of Overseers and David Traitel was elected vice-chairman, effective September 1, when the board held its annual meeting on July 14 on the Stanford campus.

Peter B. Bedford is chairman and chief executive officer of Bedford Property Investors.

David Traitel is president of Traitel Holding Corporation. Also elected to the board were

- Esmail Amid-Hozour, chief executive officer and president of Etón Corporation
- Javier Arango, trustee of the Aramont Foundation
- William Blount, senior vice-president for UBS Financial Services
- James J. Bochnowski, founder and general partner of Delphi Ventures
- Harry A. Collins, chairman of Collins Development Company
- James Conley, chairman and president of Conley Publishing Group
- William F. Cronk, former president of Dreyer’s Grand Ice Cream, Inc.
- Cynthia Fry Gunn, former editor of *The Portable Stanford*
- Janice Ogden Lindus, charitable and civic leader



Robert Barro



Outgoing board chairman Kurt Hauser

- Donald L. Lucas, founder of Lucas Trust Ventures
- Harold M. Messmer Jr., chairman and chief executive officer of Robert Half International, Inc.
- Robert J. Oster, private venture investor
- Kathleen (“Cab”) Rogers, charitable and civic leader
- Thomas M. Siebel, chairman of Siebel Systems
- Robert D. Stuart Jr. of the Stuart Foundation and former U.S. ambassador to Norway
- Victor Ugolyn, president and chief executive officer of William D. Witter, Inc.

Senior Fellow **Thomas Henriksen** discussed North Korea's late-September announcement that it would halt its nuclear weapons program on Larry Mantle's *Air Talk* on KPCC radio (NPR), Los Angeles, on September 20.

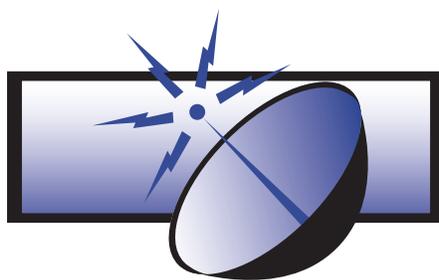


Senior Fellow **Abraham Sofaer** discussed the need for the United States to remain in Iraq on KPIX TV (CBS) San Francisco on August 24.

Sofaer also addressed the appointment of John Bolton as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations on *The Diane Rehm Show* (nationally syndicated) on August 2 and on *The News-hour with Jim Lehrer* (Public Broadcasting Service) on August 1.



Research Fellow **William Whalen** was interviewed about protests against businesses connected to California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger on KGO TV (ABC), San Francisco, on August 24. On August 14, he commented about initiatives on the No-



verember ballot in California on KNTV (NBC), San Francisco.

Whalen also discussed the fragmentation of the AFL-CIO union on KNTV-TV (NBC) on July 28.



Senior Fellow **Richard Epstein** addressed the lawsuit settlement involving Merck Pharmaceuticals and the drug Vioxx on *Kudlow & Company* on CNBC on August 23.



Research Fellow **Williamson Evers** discussed attempts to approve an Iraqi constitution on KNTV (NBC), San Francisco, on August 16 and KGO-TV (ABC), San Francisco, on August 22 and 23.



Research Fellow **Tod Lindberg** commented on forthcoming elections in Iraq and the Iraqi constitution on *All Things Considered* (National Public Radio) on August 9.



Research Fellow **Henry Miller** discussed controversial drugs and actions taken by the Federal Drug Administration with Neil Cavuto on *Your World with Neil Cavuto* on Fox News on August 9.



Senior Fellow **Gerald Dorfman** discussed terrorist bombings in London on KCBS radio (CBS), San Francisco, on July 28. Research Fellow Donald Abenheim discussed the same topic on KCBS radio on July 22.



The revaluation of China's currency was addressed by Senior Fellow **Ramon Myers** on KTVU-TV (Fox), San Francisco, on July 22.

KEVIN MURPHY

continued from page 1

perspective. Contrary to widely held beliefs that addiction distorts economic judgment, Murphy and his colleagues developed a model of "rational addiction," in which consumers anticipate the expected future consequences of their current actions; he developed empirical analyses supporting this model from data on cigarette consumption. Using his model in conjunction with a structural analysis of the industry, Murphy explained the counterintuitive observation of increasing profits for cigarette manufacturers despite decreasing demand for their products.

More recently, he has shown that, particularly for conditions such as

heart disease and cancer, investment in basic health research and care results in orders of magnitude returns in economic value. In these areas, and many others, Murphy challenges preconceived notions and attacks seemingly intractable economic questions, placing them on a sound empirical and theoretical footing.

Murphy received an A.B. degree (1981) from the University of California, Los Angeles, and a Ph.D. degree (1986) from the University of Chicago. He is the author of numerous articles, appearing in such publications as the *Journal of Law and Economics*, *Journal of Political Economy*, and *American Economic Review*. He is also the coauthor of *Social Economics: Market Behavior in a Social Environment* (2000) and coeditor of *Measuring the Gains from Medical Research: An Economic Approach* (2003).

He received the John Bates Clark Medal from the American Economic Association, which is given once every two years to the outstanding American economist under the age of 40. He also received a Sloan Foundation Fellowship and an Earhart Foundation Fellowship.

MacArthur Fellows, who each receive \$500,000 in "no strings attached" support over the next five years, are selected for their creativity, originality, and potential. By providing resources without stipulations or reporting requirements, the MacArthur Foundation offers the opportunity for fellows to accelerate their current activities or take their work in new directions. The unusual level of independence afforded to the fellows underscores the spirit of freedom intrinsic to creative endeavors, according to the foundation.

HOOVER'S NOBEL LAUREATES ADDRESS CLASSIC QUESTIONS OF ECONOMICS AT BREAKFAST BRIEFING

“What is needed to keep prices stable is the will to do so,” said Milton Friedman, Hoover fellow, in his remarks at a breakfast briefing hosted by the Hoover Institution on September 20.

Friedman, Gary Becker, and Michael Spence, all Hoover fellows who are also Nobel laureates, were featured speakers at the event.

“The Federal Reserve System, in existence since 1914, did a terrible job the first 70 years or so,” said Friedman. He said that the Federal Reserve has been doing much better over the past 20 years. As he explained, the main function of the Federal Reserve is to preserve price stability and during the past 20 years inflation has been almost horizontal. He attributes this, in part, to the Federal Reserve chairman, Alan Greenspan, but believes it is wrong to attribute the change to him alone because the same thing has happened elsewhere. What changed, Friedman believes, is that central banks became persuaded that they could be architects of inflation and, as long as they remain focused on this, that they can keep prices stable.

Friedman received the Nobel Prize in 1976 “for his achievements in the fields of consumption analysis, monetary history and theory and for his demonstration of the complexity of stabilization policy.” A senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution, he is also the Paul Snowden Russell Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of Economics at the University of Chicago, where he taught from 1946 to 1976, and was a member of the research staff of the National Bureau of Economic Research from 1937 to 1981.

Taking into consideration the rising cost of gasoline, Becker discussed the causes and solutions to this problem. Becker, who won the Nobel Prize in 1992, is the Rose-Marie and Jack R. Anderson Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and a professor at the University of Chicago. He received the



Nobel laureates (from left to right) Milton Friedman, Gary Becker, and Michael Spence discuss issues on September 20.

Nobel Prize in 1992 “for having extended the domain of microeconomic analysis to a wide range of human behavior and interaction, including non-market behavior.”

Becker noted three shocks that have occurred in the oil industry: the first in the 1970s when OPEC formed, the second in the 1980s during the Iran-Iraq war, and the one that is occurring now. The first two could be attributed to a reduction in supply, but this is not the case now, when the supply has actually increased. He suggested that this current problem is due to demand, not supply. He cautioned against proposed

continued on page 15

HOOVER HOSTS VISITS AND DISCUSSIONS BY FOREIGN DIGNITARIES



Romanian President

Romanian president Traian Basescu (right) listens as East European curator Maciej Siekierski describes Hoover's Romanian archival holdings. Basescu visited Hoover and Stanford University on September 15.



Latvian Foreign Minister

Latvian foreign minister Artis Pabriks discusses changes in the political and economic situation in his country during a visit on September 21. He also met with Stanford University faculty members.



The real problem is political. Charter schools are political orphans, whose founders lack the cash and clout of teachers unions. What's needed are more politicians with the backbone to stand up for the most vulnerable students against the union monopolists who want to deny poor kids a genuine charter choice.

■ **Chester E. Finn Jr.**, senior fellow, *Wall Street Journal*, August 29



Sixty years after its founding, let's give the United Nations high marks as an international forum. But the action bodies of the 21st century are coalitions of the willing, nations with common values who will join together to create courts,

enact treaties, stop genocide, and provide relief. All the high-minded reforms on the table will not—and should not—transform the United Nations from debating society to a fast-action team.

■ **David Davenport**, research fellow, *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 21



It is a scandal that our students leave high school with little or no knowledge of the most important events, ideas, institutions, and individuals in U.S. or world history. The legislature should be deeply concerned about this ignorance. As Thomas Jefferson wrote, "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be."

■ **Diane Ravitch**, distinguished visiting fellow, *New York Sun*, August 26



We need sweeping FDA [Food and Drug Administration] reform. First, we need to insulate policy-making and decisions on individual products from politics insofar as that is possible. Second, we need to make regulators' decisions more scientific and evidence-based. Third, we need to improve pharmaco-vigilance—the monitoring of the safety of already-marketed drugs—by enhancing regulators' access to more and better data. Finally, and most important, we need to redress the culture of excessive risk-aversion and defensiveness that pervades the FDA.

■ **Henry I. Miller**, research fellow, *San Diego Union-Tribune*, September 2

NATIONAL FELLOWS

continued from page 7

Anders Frederiksen, Aarhus School of Business; "Economic Incentives in Firms"

Cheryl Long, Department of Economics, Colgate University; "Stock Market, Corporate Governance, and Labor Market for Managerial Talents in China"

Petra Moser, Department of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; "What Do Inventors Patent?"

Heiner Schulz, Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania; "The Political Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment in Developing Countries"

Kenneth W. Shotts, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University; "Political Leadership"

J Alexander Thier, "Nation-Building in Afghanistan and Beyond"

The Susan Louise Dyer Peace Fellow for 2005–6 is **Ashley Leeds**, Department of Political Science, Rice University; "Reliable Allies: Treaty Compliance in Times of War"



Hoover director John Raisian also announced those who will participate in the National Security Affairs Fellows Program in the 2005–6 academic year.

That program offers representatives of the U.S. military and government agencies the opportunity to spend a year in

intensive study at Hoover. Since the program began in 1969, more than 100 people have participated in it.

The program is also administered by Hoover associate director David Brady, who serves as the program's executive secretary, assisted by Joy Kelley.

This year's participants are

Lieutenant Colonel Brian K. Buckles from the U. S. Marine Corps. The topic of his research is the evolution of Chinese national defense in the past decade.

Commander James E. Fanell from the Department of the Navy. His research will focus on China's increasing energy requirements, the effect this will have on its naval growth, and the subsequent impact on stability in the Asia Pacific region.

Colonel William C. Hix from the Department of the Army. His research will focus on the formulation and implementation of wartime strategies in the early twenty-first century.

Jonathan Moore from the Department of State. His research will focus on the practice of transformational diplomacy, with particular reference to the president's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief.

Lieutenant Colonel Scott F. Smith from the Department of the Air Force. His research will examine Department of Defense and Department of Homeland Security coordination and cooperation toward effective national defense, with an emphasis on domestic use of military assets.

RUSSIAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

continued from page 1

secretary of state and the Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow at the Hoover Institution.

“Due to the shock of September 11, the world has changed forever,” Lavrov told the group of 300 at his talk. “We have abandoned ideology in favor of common sense. The new [Russian] republic has found itself on the side of healthy conservative forces in the world community.

“There are no places now for Byzantine politics. Everyone understands that Russia in the post-Soviet era cannot be developed without transparency, mutual respect, and due regard between groups and parties.

“The ideological approach is an obstacle and we know that we need a great deal of tolerance and respect.

“We understand the United States has a legitimate interest in the post-Soviet Russia, and we, too, only want the methods to promote interests to be transparent.

“Democracy and the market economy have no alternative,” Lavrov said. “We made the [economic and po-

litical] changes on our own and only we can guarantee [these changes].”

Lavrov also paid tribute to the works of Alexis de Toqueville, whose writings and philosophy provide the foundation of much thinking around the world about democracy. He complimented the Hoover Institution for its large and renowned archival collection and preservation of Russian materials and artifacts.

Lavrov was in the Bay Area at the end of a United States tour, which started with attending the 60th session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York with Russian president Vladimir Putin.

JAMES STOCKDALE DIES AT 81

Retired Vice Admiral James Stockdale, a Hoover Institution fellow from 1981 to 1996, Ross Perot's 1992 presidential running mate, and a recipient of the Medal of Honor after enduring seven and a half years as a prisoner of war in North Vietnam, died Tuesday, July 5, at his home in Coronado, California. He was 81.

Shot down on September 9, 1965, while on a mission over North Vietnam, Stockdale was taken to Hoa Lo Prison, the “Hanoi Hilton.” His efforts to keep the enemy from using him for their purposes won him the Medal of Honor.

Born in Abingdon, Illinois, Stockdale graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1946 and married his wife, Sybil, the following year. In the early 1960s, the navy sent him to earn a master's degree at Stanford University, where he became enamored of the Greek stoic philosophers who helped sustain him in his ordeals later in life.

During the Vietnam War, he was a navy fighter pilot based on the USS *Oriskany* and flew 201 missions before he was shot down in his A4. He became the highest-ranking naval officer captured during the war, according to the navy.

Stockdale received 26 combat decorations, including the Medal of Honor, the nation's highest medal for valor, in 1976.

He had the distinction of being the only three-star officer in the history of the navy to wear both aviator wings and the Medal of Honor. Among his other combat decorations were two Distinguished Flying Crosses, three Distinguished Service Medals, four Silver Star Medals, and two Purple Hearts.

Stockdale retired from the military in 1979 to become president of the Citadel, a military college in South Carolina. He left in 1981 to become a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford.

At Hoover, he continued his work on the Greek philosophers and was the author of three works published by Hoover Institution Press: *Thoughts of a Philosophical Fighter Pilot* (1995), *A Vietnam Experience: Ten Years of Reflection* (1984), and *Courage under Fire: Testing Epictetus's Doctrines in a Laboratory of Human Behavior* (Hoover Institution Essays, No. 6, 1993).

A Vietnam Experience won the 1985 Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge Honor Prize for Books.

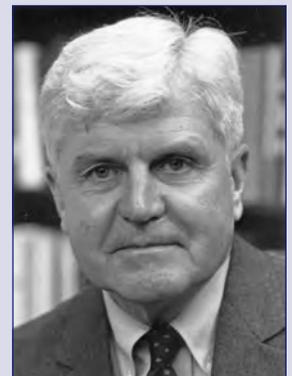
He also was the subject of *Stockdale Triumphs: A Return to Vietnam*, a television documentary about his first trip back to Vietnam in 1994.

He and his wife, Sybil, were the coauthors of *In Love and War* (Harper and Row, 1984; 2nd edition: Naval Institute Press, 1990). In early 1987, an NBC television movie version of the book was viewed by more than 45 million Americans.

Stockdale came to know Ross Perot through Sybil Stockdale's work establishing an organization on behalf of families of prisoners held during the Vietnam War. He said he decided to run as Perot's running mate to repay his debt to Perot, who had worked to help free POWs in Vietnam.

Survivors include his wife, four sons—James of Beaver, Pennsylvania; Sidney of Albuquerque; Stanford of Denver; and Taylor of Claremont, California—and eight grandchildren.

He and his life were honored July 16 aboard the carrier *Ronald Reagan* at North Island Naval Air Station in Coronado. He was buried at the Naval Academy on July 23.



James Stockdale



Drug War Deadlock: The Policy Battle Continues

Edited by Laura Huggins

ISBN: 0-8179-4652-7

Is it time to call a cease-fire in the war on drugs? In *Drug War Deadlock: The Policy Battle Continues* (Hoover Institution Press, 2005), edited by Hoover research fellow Laura E. Huggins, the history, moral implications, legal issues, and possibility of reforming current drug laws are examined.

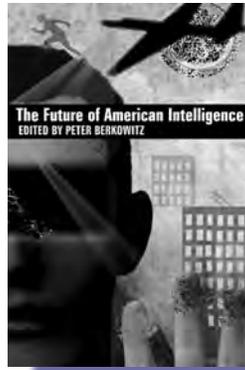
“This approach does not attempt to tackle every issue relating to illegal drugs,” Huggins writes. “Rather the aim is to offer the reader a concise view of divergent viewpoints pertaining to drug policy.”

Part one of the volume probes the history of America’s drug war from both sides of the battlefield and outlines the U.S. drug policy.

Part two delves into the significant divide over the moral implication of drug use. This section also investigates such questions as whether adults have a moral right to use drugs for recreational purposes.

The important question of the nature and limits of power that can be legitimately exercised by society over the individual is addressed in part three. In part four the arguments narrow in on three avenues for drug policy reform.

Part five explores the debate over marijuana prohibition. Part six explores the pros and cons of Europe’s more liberal drug policies and how they might be applied to the United States. The final part presents options on how to address the nation’s drug problems and end the war on drugs.



The Future of American Intelligence

Edited by Peter Berkowitz

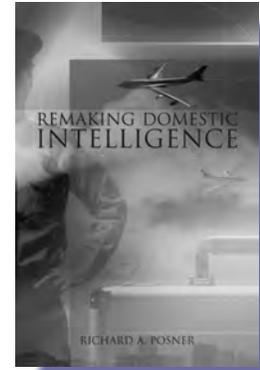
ISBN: 0-8179-4662-4

Since the surprise attacks of 9/11 the question of intelligence reform has galvanized public attention. The debate about the future of American intelligence has only just begun.

In *The Future of American Intelligence* (Hoover Institution Press, 2005), edited by Hoover research fellow Peter Berkowitz, the issues at the forefront of this debate are refined and advanced. The book features

- “The Era of Armed Groups,” by Richard Shultz of the Fletcher School of Law and Democracy
- “Truth to Power: Rethinking Intelligence Analysis,” by Gary Schmitt, executive director of the Project for the New American Century
- “Restructuring the Intelligence Community,” by Gordon Lederman, staff member of the 9/11 Commission
- “A New Clandestine Service: The Case for Creative Destruction,” by Reuel Gerecht, American Enterprise Institute fellow
- “The Role of Science and Technology in Transforming American Intelligence,” by Kevin O’Connell, director of the Center for Intelligence Research and Analysis.

Berkowitz also is the editor of *Terrorism, the Laws of War, and the Constitution: Debating the Enemy Combatant Cases* (Hoover Institution Press, 2005).



Remaking Domestic Intelligence

by Richard A. Posner

ISBN: 0-8179-4682-9

The author of *Preventing Surprise Attacks: Intelligence Reform in the Wake of 9/11* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2005) follows up that analysis with an equally compelling argument for reforming the FBI. In the monograph *Remaking Domestic Intelligence* (Hoover Institution Press, 2005), Richard Posner develops the case for reform and makes concrete proposals to improve the way in which the United States responds to outside threats.

“The danger of terrorist acts committed on the soil of the United States has not abated despite strenuous efforts to improve homeland security,” states Posner. He evaluates the performance of the FBI leading up to and following 9/11 and recommendations of the Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction and outlines his views on preventing terrorist attacks in this country.

He proposes to develop a domestic intelligence agency—modeled on the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, separate from the FBI and with no authority to engage in law enforcement—to focus on gathering information with which to identify terrorists.

Posner is a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago and a senior lecturer at the University of Chicago Law School.

He has authored hundreds of articles and nearly four dozen books on matters of public policy, including *Catastrophe: Risk and Response* (2004) and *Breaking the Deadlock: The 2000 Election, the Constitution, and the Courts* (2001).



A Wealth of Ideas: Revelations from the Hoover Institution Archives
by Bertrand M. Patenaude
ISBN: 0-8047-4727-X

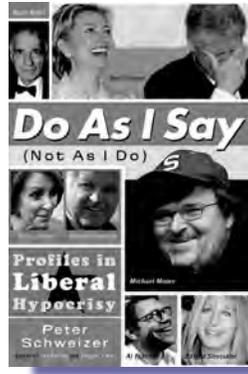
The remarkable documentary collections of the Hoover Institution Archives are for the first time showcased for the reading public, in the form of a large-format book of illustrations and accompanying text.

Drawing on the Institution's vast trove of rare historical documents and artifacts, *A Wealth of Ideas* (Stanford University Press, 2006) by Hoover Institution research fellow Bertrand Patenaude tells the story of the Institution and its treasures and of its evolving role in the history of Stanford University. The result is a visually attractive, engagingly written, and altogether thought-provoking book that also stands as a work of quality scholarship.

The subject matter is epic in scale, covering the great wars, revolutions, political and intellectual movements, and personalities of the twentieth century.

The impressive cast of characters includes many of the most influential figures of the age, among them Woodrow Wilson and Lev Trotsky, Friedrich von Hayek and Jane Addams, Karl Popper and Teddy Roosevelt, Chiang Kai-shek and Boris Pasternak, and Werner Heisenberg and John Maynard Keynes.

The book includes nearly 300 illustrations, including political posters, photographs, film stills, original artwork, and typed and holograph public and private manuscripts, letters, and diaries.



Do As I Say (Not As I Do): Profiles in Liberal Hypocrisy (hardcover)
by Peter Schweizer
ISBN: 0-3855-1349-6

"I don't own a single share of stock."
—Michael Moore

Members of the liberal left exude an air of moral certitude, writes Peter Schweizer in *Do As I Say (Not as I Do)* (Doubleday, 2005). They pride themselves on being selflessly committed to the highest ideals and seem particularly confident of the purity of their motives and the evil nature of their opponents.

To correct economic and social injustice, liberals support a whole litany of policies and principles: progressive taxes, affirmative action, greater regulation of corporations, raising the inheritance tax, strict environmental regulations, children's rights, consumer rights, and much, much more, he says.

But do they actually live by these beliefs? Schweizer investigated in depth the private lives of some prominent liberals: politicians such as the Clintons, the Kennedys, and Ralph Nader; commentators such as Michael Moore, Al Franken, Noam Chomsky, and Cornel West; and entertainers and philanthropists such as Barbra Streisand and George Soros.

Using public statements and public records, he sought to examine whether they really live by the principles they so confidently advocate.

Schweizer's finding: liberalism in the end forces its adherents to become hypocrites. And he exposes what he believes is the contradiction at the core of liberalism: If these ideas don't work for the very individuals who promote them, how can they work for the rest of us?

NOBEL LAUREATES ADDRESS CLASSIC QUESTIONS

continued from page 11

actions such as rationing or regulating the price of gasoline. "The right way is to allow the consequences of the price to affect the quantity used," Becker said.

In his remarks, Spence assessed the future of China in light of its recent explosive growth. Displaying a chart of China's economic activity during the past 25 years, Spence noted that the country has shown tremendous growth. He attributed the growth, in part, to market reforms in agriculture starting in 1978, the opening up of manufacturing and foreign direct investment in the mid-1980s that came to full force in the 1990s, and skillful policy navigation in a transitional economy. These changes, he said, have been characterized by pragmatism and gradualism. The next set of challenges for the country, Spence said, will include maintaining high growth, expanding capital markets, managing the exchange rate, diversifying the sources of growth, and coping with environmental problems. "There are a lot of things to do in a complex market," he concluded. He does not expect the Chinese government to do anything dramatic or do anything under pressure.

Spence is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and the Philip H. Knight Professor Emeritus of Management in the Graduate School of Business at Stanford University. The Nobel Prize was awarded to him in 2001 for their "analyses of markets with asymmetric information."

The event was cosponsored by the consulates general of Norway and Sweden in connection with the Nobel Prize Exhibition, which was open to the public at the Exploratorium in San Francisco through October 2.

MEDIA FELLOWS PROGRAM RENAMED IN HONOR OF WILLIAM C. AND BARBARA H. EDWARDS

In recognition of the generous support provided by William C. and Barbara H. Edwards to the Hoover Institution's Media Fellows Program, that program has been named in their honor.

"To recognize the Edwardses' efforts, and to acknowledge the significant funding arrangements they have made, I am pleased to announce that the program will now be known as the William C. and Barbara H. Edwards Media Fellows Program at the Hoover Institution," said John Raisian, director. "Ongoing expendable gifts will be required to sustain the program, but the Edwardses' support will provide a permanent nucleus of funding."

The program, Raisian said, has become a significant part of the culture of the Hoover Institution, wherein the Institution brings together Hoover "idea generators" and professional communicators who have a common interest in pursuing a public policy dialogue.

"The involvement of media professionals was revived about 10 years ago through the leadership of key overseers," Raisian said, noting the contributions of Bill

Bowes, Charlie Johnson, and Tad and Cici Williamson in addition to the Edwardses.

The William C. and Barbara H. Edwards Media Fellows Program invites 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. Since its inception, the program has hosted 275 journalists from print, television, and radio.

Further, among the 70 or so media fellows engaged each year, about a third are "alumni," which enhances continuing relationships with these distinguished journalists. Previous media fellows include Pulitzer Prize-winning author and *Washington Post* columnist Anne Applebaum, Norah O'Donnell, chief White House correspondent for MSNBC News, and author and columnist David Brooks, with the *New York Times*.

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