

# HOOVER INSTITUTION Newsletter

Spring 2005

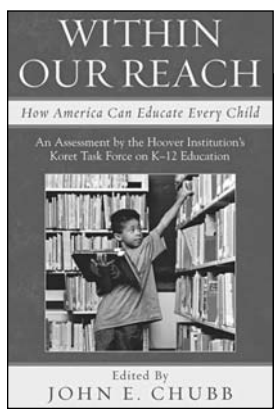


United States attorney general Alberto Gonzales outlined priorities for the U.S. Department of Justice when he addressed the Hoover Institution Board of Overseers and guests in Washington, D.C., on February 28. See page 6 for full coverage of his talk and presentations during the overseers' meeting. Goodman/Van Riper Photography

## WITHIN OUR REACH DEBUTS, KORET TASK FORCE TAKES CASE FOR NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND ACT TO WASHINGTON

The compelling—and urgent—case for revising the No Child Left Behind Act and protecting its ambitious goals for America's children was addressed by members of Hoover's Koret Task Force on April 21 in Washington, D.C.

The task force presented a midterm assessment of NCLB for Washington policymakers, their staffs, and the national media as its members unveiled their new book *Within Our Reach: How America Can Educate Every Child*.



In the book, the task force examined the core elements of NCLB and offered recommendations for practical reforms to save the law and strengthen some of its key principles—high standards, results-based accountability, parental options, and research-based practices.

*Within Our Reach* is copublished by the Hoover Institution and Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. It is available from Rowman & Littlefield. A 30-page *continued on page 7*

## MODERN CHINA ARCHIVES UNVEILED AND CELEBRATED WITH PRESENTATIONS

The Hoover Institution recently unveiled its new Modern China Archives and Special Collections and honored donors of materials to that new initiative.

The new initiative was celebrated on February 16 with presentations about the new archives, China's political and economic evolution, and public remarks by Chinese donors. The project enhances and continues the important collecting efforts started by Herbert Hoover in the early part of the twentieth century.

Representatives of the Hoover Institution and donors to it also announced a historic agreement to microfilm official records of the Kuomintang Party in Taipei. In addition, it was announced that the diaries of Chiang Kai-shek and of his son Chiang Ching-kuo will be on loan to the Hoover Institution for 50 years or until a *continued on page 8*

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www.hoover.org to see *What's New*, a guide to the very latest news, features, and events of the Hoover Institution, updated daily.

## IRAN'S POLITICAL PROSPECTS ARE FOCUS OF DEMOCRACY PROJECT'S SYMPOSIUM

“Will Iran Be the Next Iraq?” a symposium on the prospects for democracy in Iran, was held March 15 in Washington, D.C.

The symposium, which was a part of the Iran Democracy Project at the Hoover Institution, attracted some 100 attendees, including policymakers, Middle East experts, the media, and members of the Iranian community.

Examining aspects of the democratic process in Iran were Larry Diamond, Hoover senior fellow; Ellen Laipson, president of the Henry L. Stimson Center; Michael McFaul, Hoover senior fellow; and Abbas Milani, Hoover research fellow.

Diamond, McFaul, and Milani constitute the Iran Democracy Project's organizers.

Larry Diamond, who moderated the presentation, said he believed that to encourage democracy in Iran, “when in doubt, do the right thing, and ask how can we assist, inspire, and inform democrats within Iran.

“Are we doing enough in terms of international broadcasting? Are we doing enough to encourage credible Iranian voices? Are we doing enough to support civil organizations?” he asked.



Speakers at the symposium were, from left, Michael McFaul, Ellen Laipson, Abbas Milani, and Larry Diamond.  
Goodman/Van Riper Photography

Ellen Laipson addressed the U.S. options and roles in Iranian democratic development. “Keep in mind that Iran is profoundly different from Iraq,” she said. “There, people are more capable of taking things into their own hands; there’s more openness and capacity in civil society to effect change.”

Michael McFaul, Hoover senior fellow, examined the prospects for democratic transition in Iran through comparison with the democratic revolutions in Eastern Europe. As factors favoring a successful democratic transition in Iran, he cited the country’s status as a middle-income society with relatively high levels of education and information, well-defined borders, a rather homogeneous population, and a semi-autocratic regime that is considered illegitimate. McFaul said there might be several false starts on

the way to democracy, as there were in Serbia, Poland, and Ukraine. “A failed attempt at reform may actually be a precondition for success,” he said.

Abbas Milani, in his segment, “Iran’s Democratic Movement: Dead or Alive?” told the group, “The democracy movement is extremely vibrant. It is very much alive. Iran is a country of many paradoxes, one in which women have been oppressed, but they are a major part of the relentless drive for democracy.

“We also see that Iran possibly has the most religious government in the region next to Saudi Arabia. But it has a very evolved civil society, a large population of young people, and a Diaspora that is very successful. These are all factors that offer a great deal of hope.”

## HOOVER STUDIES SERIES LEADS WITH CRITIQUE OF 9/11 COMMISSION REPORT

Federal Appeals Court judge Richard A. Posner leads off a new Hoover Institution book series with *Preventing Surprise Attacks: Intelligence Reform in the Wake of 9/11*. Judge Posner offers a searching critique of the 9/11 Commission’s report and recommendations as well as the intelligence reform legislation recently enacted by Congress.

Writes Posner: “In a misguided quest for unanimity, a determination to use the political calendar, and a public relations campaign to force precipitate action on weakly supported proposals for far-reaching organizational change, the 9/11 Commission, abetted by a stampeded Congress, a politically cornered President, and a press that failed to subject the Commission’s recommendations to the searching scrutiny

that the modern press reserves for scandals, disserved the cause of national security in a dangerous era. It did so by successfully promoting a bureaucratic reorganization that is more likely to be a recipe for bureaucratic infighting, impacted communication, diminished performance, tangled lines of command, and lowered morale than an improvement on the previous system.”

*Preventing Surprise Attacks*, published in April, is the first volume of Hoover Studies in Politics, Economics, and Society, published in association with Rowman & Littlefield and edited by Hoover fellows Peter Berkowitz and Tod Lindberg. The series is dedicated to the timely publication of important, concise books on policy, politics, and social criticism from leading scholars and thinkers.

The Hoover Studies series will produce four volumes in its first year and four more in its second.

## U.S. ENERGY SECRETARY SPENCER ABRAHAM APPOINTED DISTINGUISHED VISITING FELLOW

Spencer Abraham, the outgoing U.S. secretary of energy, is joining the Hoover Institution as a distinguished visiting fellow.

The appointment was announced on February 1 by Hoover director John Raisian.

“We’re delighted to have Secretary Abraham affiliate with us as a colleague based in Washington, confident and pleased that he will continue to contribute excellent ideas on energy and nonproliferation issues and challenges following his extensive experience,” Raisian said.

Abraham was sworn in as the tenth secretary of energy on January 20, 2001, following his confirmation by the U.S. Senate.

Before becoming energy secretary, he represented Michigan in the United States Senate from 1995 to 2001. Elected in 1994, he served on the Budget, Commerce, Science and Transportation, Judiciary, and Small Business Committees. He also chaired two important subcommittees: Manufacturing and Competitiveness, and Immigration.

As a U.S. senator, he was known as a forceful voice for the business community and free enterprise, endorsing policies and practices that promote and enhance America’s competitiveness and global leadership. He was a leader in the Senate in support of free trade, legal and regulatory reform, tax reform, and high-tech issues.



Spencer Abraham

Before his election to the Senate, Abraham served as cochairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee from 1991 to 1993. He was also chairman of the Michigan Republican Party from 1983 to 1990 and deputy chief of staff to Vice President Dan Quayle from 1990 to 1991.

He holds a law degree from Harvard University and is a native of East Lansing, Michigan.

Research Fellow Kiron K. Skinner has been appointed to the 13-member National Security Education Board by President George W. Bush.

The U.S. Senate confirmed her appointment on March 17. She will serve a four-year term on the board, which endeavors to educate United States citizens to become more knowledgeable about foreign cultures, become more proficient in critical foreign languages, and become more aware of ways to strengthen U.S. economic competitiveness and enhance international cooperation and security.

The National Security Education Board is made up of six senior nonfederal officials, such as Skinner, appointed by the president and confirmed by the U.S. Senate, and seven senior federal officials, most of cabinet rank.

The board determines the criteria for scholarship and fellowship awards to students made by the National Security



Kiron K. Skinner

Education Program and recommends critical areas that the program should address. A broad-based group of advisers, composed of distinguished Americans in the field of higher education who have international expertise, also advises the program.

In December 1991, the president signed the National Security Education Act. The act provides for the establishment of the National Security Education Program, the National Security Education Board, and the National Security Education Trust.

Kiron K. Skinner is an assistant professor of history and political science at Carnegie Mellon University.

She specializes in the study of Amer-

ican foreign policy, international relations theory, and international security.

Along with Hoover fellows Annelise Anderson and Martin Anderson, Skinner coedited the *New York Times* best sellers *Reagan, In His Own Hand: The Writings of Ronald Reagan That Reveal His Revolutionary Vision for America*; *Reagan, a Life in Letters*; *Stories in His Own Hand: The Everyday Wisdom of Ronald Reagan*; *Reagan in His Own Voice*; and *Reagan’s Path to Victory: The Shaping of Ronald Reagan’s Vision, Selected Writings*. These books include selections from the 670 handwritten radio commentaries the president delivered between 1975 and 1979.

Skinner earned AM and PhD degrees in political science and international relations from Harvard University.

Senior Fellow **Richard Epstein** was featured on February 22 on the nationally syndicated *Kudlow & Company* (CNBC) show, discussing the issue of eminent domain in recent lawsuits across the United States.



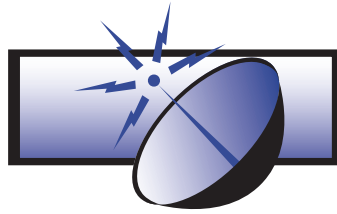
Senior Fellow **Larry Diamond** was a guest on *Talk of the Nation* (National Public Radio) on February 14, along with other panelists who addressed the state of Iraq after the January elections.



**Abbas Milani**, research fellow, was interviewed about Iranian immigrants considered to be terror risks on *Day to Day*, a nationally syndicated program on National Public Radio on February 23.



Research Fellow **Donald Abenheim** discussed the status of the war in Iraq on



its second anniversary on KNTV-TV (NBC) news, San Francisco, on March 14.



**Tod Lindberg**, research fellow and editor of *Policy Review*, discussed the relationship between the United States and Europe on the nationally syndicated *Diane Rehm* radio show on March 14.



Research Fellow **William Whalen** discussed the California state budget on *The O'Reilly Factor* (Fox News Channel) and the performance of Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, along

with other panelists and commentators, on KPFA radio (Ind.), San Francisco on February 21.



Research Fellow **Joseph McNamara** addressed the use of taser guns by police officers on KGO-TV (ABC), San Francisco, on January 23 and on KCBS radio (CBS), San Francisco, on January 24.



Senior Fellow **John Dunlop** was interviewed about President George W. Bush's interactions with Russian president Vladimir Putin on February 20 on KPIX-TV (CBS) news, San Francisco.



Research Fellow **Dinesh D'Souza** discussed Social Security reform on *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* (PBS) on February 16.

## UNCOMMON KNOWLEDGE™

*Uncommon Knowledge*™, the weekly public affairs program coproduced by the Hoover Institution and KTEH-TV (PBS) in San Jose, will present a wide array of issues and guests in segments for spring 2005.

Hosted by Peter Robinson, Hoover research fellow and Emmy nominee, the program 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 website, [www.hoover.org](http://www.hoover.org). New programs this season include

◆ “The Electoral College’s Excellent Adventure: Should We Abolish the Electoral College?”

**Guests:** Jack Rakove, professor of history and political science, Stanford University; Tara Ross, author, *Enlightened Democracy: The Case for the Electoral College*

◆ “Monkey Business: Evolution and Intelligent Design”

**Guests:** Massimo Pigliucci, professor of life sciences, State University of New York, Stony Brook; Jonathan Wells, senior fellow, Center for Science and Culture, Discovery Institute

◆ “Making the Grade: The No Child Left Behind Act”

**Guests:** Martin Carnoy, professor of education and economics, Stanford University; John Chubb, chief education officer, Edison Schools, distinguished visiting fellow, Hoover Institution

◆ “A Healthy Debate: Health-Care Reform”

**Guests:** John Cogan, senior fellow, Hoover Institution and professor of public policy, Stanford University; Alain Enthoven, professor emeritus, Stanford Graduate School of Business

◆ “Land of Lincoln: Abraham Lincoln and American History”

**Guest:** Andrew Ferguson, senior editor, *Weekly Standard*, and author, *Land of Lincoln* (forthcoming)

◆ “The French Kiss-Off: The History of French and American Relations”

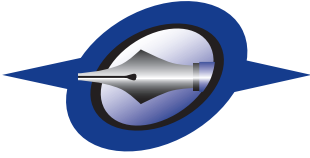
**Guests:** John Miller, national political reporter, *National Review*, coauthor, *Our Oldest Enemy*; Robert Paxton, professor emeritus of social sciences, Columbia University

◆ “The Bottomless Well? Are We Running Out of Energy?”

**Guests:** Peter Huber, senior fellow, Manhattan Institute, and coauthor, *The Bottomless Well*; Jonathan Koomey, scientist, Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory

◆ “Give Me Civil Liberties or Give Me ... Safety? Should the Patriot Act Be Renewed?”

**Guests:** Jenny Martinez, professor of law, Stanford University; John Yoo, professor of law, University of California, Berkeley



The really strong arguments for privatization [of social security] are that they reduce the role of government in determining retirement ages and incomes, and improve government accounting of revenues and spending obligations. All the other issues are really diversions, because neither advocates nor opponents of privatizing social security generally answer the most meaningful question: Is there as strong a political economy case for eliminating government management of the retirement industry as there is for eliminating its management of most other industries? My answer is “yes.”

- Gary S. Becker, Rose-Marie and Jack R. Anderson Senior Fellow, *Wall Street Journal*, February 15

President Bush’s proposal [for social security] places a simple choice before Congress and the public. Should we continue social security as a pay-as-you-go program? Or, should we instead create a more modern social security system that both saves and invests?

Personal retirement accounts, as the president has often said, will not by themselves fix social security’s financial shortfall. Congress must take additional action to bring promised benefits in line with social security revenues. But personal accounts are an essential part of any fix.

- John F. Cogan, Leonard and Shirley Ely Senior Fellow, *Wall Street Journal*, February 28

If we wait and make large tax increases or benefit cuts abruptly, wrenching adjustments will be required for beneficiaries, taxpayers,

and the economy. Thus, reform really is urgent. Enacting these sensible reforms now will strengthen the economy, spare future retirees and taxpayers severe disruption in their personal finances and ensure Social Security plays an important and appropriate role in future retirement income security.

- Michael J. Boskin, senior fellow, *Wall Street Journal*, March 30

The Bush administration has taken a hands-off approach to the government-formation crisis in Iraq that is in one sense admirable. But the prolonged political drift in Baghdad has revealed the need for a creative U.S. ambassador who can help facilitate political consensus. That is the kind of ambassador to Iraq that Zalmay Khalilzad—just nominated to the post—can be, and it is vitally important that the Senate confirm his nomination as soon as possible. To support Mr. Khalilzad’s efforts, international mediation will also be needed. ... A new U.N. envoy of this stature is urgently needed to engage Iraq’s Sunni communities, encourage them to coalesce, and mediate the formation of a broader consensus that can begin to put an end to the insurgency.

- Larry Diamond, senior fellow, *Wall Street Journal*, April 14

If Bush’s democratic gambit succeeds, the world will be a far better place. But until then, as we work on reform in Iraq, let us also conserve, develop new sources and wean ourselves from foreign oil. Promoting democracy also means keeping astronomical profits out of the hands of both failed autocrats and killers. By reducing world demand to weaken the cartel, we will both help poorer nations and restore the financial integrity of the United States. Those who scream “no blood for oil” would do better to

chant “no oil money for bloody terrorists and dictators.”

- Victor Davis Hanson, Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellow, *San Jose Mercury News*, March 3

Our officials should be lauded for their concern about high school graduation rates. But the governors should scrutinize with great care the popular reforms of the day before imposing them on their states’ schools. Just because Bill Gates is ready to pour millions of dollars into a big new idea doesn’t make it a good one.

- Diane Ravitch, distinguished visiting fellow, *New York Times*, March 15

Rather than taking credit for the democratic changes under way in the Arab world, Bush and his supporters would do well to devote greater attention to developing a comprehensive and sophisticated strategy for supporting newly invigorated Arab democrats—standing behind them, rather than in front of them, in the long battle for true democracy in the region.

- Michael McFaul, Helen and Peter Bing Senior Fellow, with Amr Hamzawy, *San Jose Mercury News*, March 20

In crafting the new, punitive conflict-of-interest rules [at the National Institutes of Health], federal officials have acted like bureaucrats instead of problem-solvers. The moral of this saga is that if our governmental institutions are to operate effectively, the people who are part of the policy-making apparatus must zealously represent the public interest, wherever it lies. If they are placed in the position of having to defend the indefensible, resignation is an honorable option.

- Henry I. Miller, research fellow, *Los Angeles Times*, March 14

## ALBERTO GONZALES, U.S. ATTORNEY GENERAL, DISCUSSES VISION FOR U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AT BOARD OF OVERSEERS MEETING

U.S. attorney general Alberto Gonzales discussed his vision for the United States Department of Justice and outlined some of his priorities when he spoke on February 28 to the Hoover Institution Board of Overseers, which met in Washington, D.C.

Gonzales's speech to the group was his first since he was sworn in as attorney general. The talk was covered by more than two dozen representatives of the media.

"The top priority of the United States government remains protecting our citizens from an unfamiliar type of enemy, one that does not share our values or cherish life or respect the rule of law," Gonzales said. "These foes are quite willing to pursue the mass murder of innocent Americans and the destruction of our way of life in order to achieve their goals. For this reason, they must be defeated. Without security, there can be no real freedom, and we cannot relent in fulfilling this most basic obligation of government."

"Great progress has been made during the last three years in making us safer here at home, thanks to the hard work of millions of men and women in federal, state, and local law enforce-



Paul Wolfowitz



Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney



Paul Gigot

ment, in our intelligence community, and in the military.

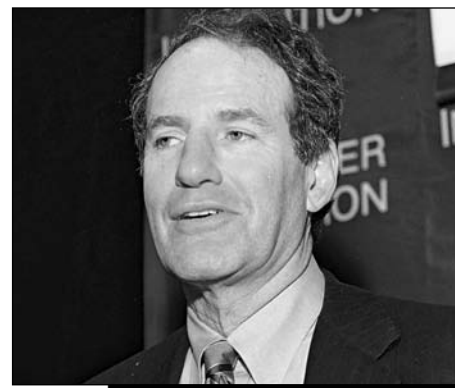
"But this very success confronts us with a new challenge: As the months and years since September 11 pass, complacency becomes our enemy. It is all too human to want to put out of our mind the horror perpetrated on thousands of our fellow citizens and their families," Gonzales said.

The attorney general pledged support for reauthorizing the Patriot Act in an effort to prevent another terrorist attack on the United States. He also said he will "move aggressively" to support the president's Project Safe Neighborhoods Initiative, victims' rights, immigration reform, obscenity prosecutions, human trafficking, and the approval of qualified judges.

In his comments, Gonzales praised Distinguished Visiting Fellow Edwin Meese III, who served as the 75th attorney general of the



Karl Rove



Allan B. Hubbard



Columnist Charles Krauthammer, left, with Hoover director John Raisian, center, and Board of Overseers chairman Kurt Hauser, right

*continued from page 6*

United States from February 1985 to August 1988. Meese introduced Gonzales to the overseers.

Gonzales also lauded the Hoover Institution, noting, “For decades, the men and women of the Hoover Institution have had a positive and lasting impact on our nation—from their role in spreading the ideals that won the cold war to developing the policies that continue to expand freedom and transform our society.”



George F. Will

The text of the speech may be viewed at [www.usdoj.gov/ag/speeches/2005/02282005\\_agremarkshov.htm](http://www.usdoj.gov/ag/speeches/2005/02282005_agremarkshov.htm).

Other speakers on Monday were Kenneth Jowitt, the Pres and Maurine Hotchkis Senior Fellow; syndicated columnist George F. Will; John F. Cogan, the Leonard and Shirley Ely Senior Fellow; Victor Davis Hanson, the Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellow; and Edward P. Lazear, the Morris Arnold Cox Senior Fellow. Paul Wolfowitz, U.S. deputy secretary of defense, addressed overseers and guests in a predinner talk that night. After-dinner remarks were given by Paul Gigot, editorial page editor at the *Wall Street Journal*.

On Tuesday, March 1, speakers were Karl Rove, deputy chief of staff and senior adviser to the president; Mitt Romney, Republican governor of Massachusetts; Allan B. Hubbard, assistant to the president for economic policy and director of the National Economic Council; and syndicated columnist Charles Krauthammer.

## WITHIN OUR REACH

*continued from page 1*

executive summary booklet is available without charge from the Hoover Institution.

NCLB is bolder than all previous federal education laws, setting ambitious goals for universal student achievement and authorizing severe remedies for schools not reaching them. In a nation where most youngsters are far from proficient in reading and mathematics and where innumerable efforts to boost learning levels have fallen short, NCLB makes a huge policy wager: that failing schools and school districts can be set right and that all children can master reading and math.

Today, however, it seems the law’s implementation will fall far short of its potential.

The research, assessment, and recommendations are the work of the nationally recognized and highly respected Koret Task Force on K–12 Education.

The contributors are among the nation’s most respected education scholars.

In their latest work, the members of the Koret Task Force again demonstrate the unmatched wealth of experience and expertise they bring to meeting current challenges in public education.

Contributors include Hoover research fellow Williamson M. Evers; Hoover senior fellow Eric A. Hanushek; Harvard economist Caroline M. Hoxby; Lance T. Izumi, director of Education Studies for the Pacific Research Institute; Hoover senior fellow Terry M. Moe; Harvard professor Paul E. Peterson; New York University professor Diane Ravitch, author of the *Language Police*; and Herbert J. Walberg, University Scholar at the University of Illinois.

The editor, John Chubb, is a distinguished visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution. He is the chief education officer and one of the founders of Edison Schools, a private manager of public schools, including many charter schools. Chubb is also a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. He is the coauthor of *A Lesson in School Reform from Great Britain* and the author of *Politics, Markets, and America’s Schools*.

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<a href="http://www.hooverdigest.org">www.hooverdigest.org</a>	Quarterly <i>Hoover Digest</i> available online		
<a href="http://www.educationnext.org">www.educationnext.org</a>	Presents the facts about education reform, gives voice—without fear or favor—to worthy research, sound ideas, and responsible arguments.		
<a href="http://www.policyreview.org">www.policyreview.org</a>	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.	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.	
<a href="http://www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org">www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org</a>	Seeks to inform the American foreign policy community about current trends in China’s leadership politics and in its foreign and domestic policies.		

## MODERN CHINA ARCHIVES UNVEILED

*continued from page 1*

permanent repository is found on the territory of China.

Speakers included Kurt Hauser, chairman of the Hoover Institution Board of Overseers; Elena Danielson, director of the Hoover Library and Archives, who discussed the archival expansion; Ramon Myers, senior fellow, on the political changes in China; and representatives of the Kuomintang Party, the National Women's League of the Republic of China, the Soong family, and the Chiang family.

In 2003 the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace signed an agreement with the Chinese Kuomintang (KMT), or Nationalist Party of the Republic of China (ROC), to help preserve the vast historical records held in that party's archives in Taipei, Taiwan.

As the longest-enduring political party in Asia, the KMT was China's premier revolutionary party until it was defeated in 1949 by Chinese Communist Party forces and forced to relocate in Taiwan. The historic Hoover agreement provides for microfilming the official party records, which will stay in Taiwan, along with a preservation copy. A use copy will be made available in the Hoover Archives.

More recently, the Chiang family agreed to deposit the diaries of two presidents, Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-Kuo, at Hoover pending the creation of a suitable repository or presidential library system on the territory of China.

The National Women's League in Taipei also agreed to have its materials preserved in the archives. Those materials include many documents pertaining to and collected by Madame Chiang Kai-shek (Mayling Soong Chiang), the founder of the Women's League.

The T. V. Soong family began donating its materials to the Hoover Institution Archives in 1973, followed by additional papers in April 1980 and again in the spring of 2004. The papers of T. V. Soong are one of many preeminent



Representatives of the media from Taiwan and the United States interview Elizabeth Chiang, daughter-in-law of Chiang Ching-Kuo, son of Chiang Kai-Shek.

John LeSchofs/Visual Art Services/Stanford University

collections in the new initiative. Americans involved in China, such as General Albert Wedemeyer and General Joseph Stilwell, also donated their papers to the Hoover Archives.

These donations, as well as agreements for future archival materials not yet finalized, will help create the Modern China Archives and Special Collections. These special collections are now being integrated with the China-related material accumulated since 1919. (Trade press materials, such as published vernacular Chinese books and serials, were transferred from the Hoover Archives to the Stanford University Libraries in 2002.)

In 1899, twenty-five-year-old Herbert Hoover and his wife, Lou Henry, were living in Tientsin, China, where he was the comanager of the Kaiping mines. It was there that Hoover first began to study Chinese language and history.

In 1907 Hoover helped Stanford University historian Payson Treat buy books about China, especially its history; in 1913 Hoover donated 600 such books, some very rare, to Stanford University.

In 1919 Hoover's interest in foreign affairs inspired him to establish the Hoover War Collection (as the Hoover Institution Library and Archives was

then called). After World War II, with luck and good timing, Chinese and non-Chinese public servants, military officers, engineers, journalists, scholars, and the like began donating their private papers and other materials to the Hoover Institution, where they were to be preserved and made available to interested readers.

The Hoover Archives collections are global in scope, with notable holdings on the Americas, Russia, Europe, Latin America, and Asia. About 400 of the 5,470 collections relate to China.

The February 16 presentation and celebration also marked the opening of a new exhibit in the Herbert Hoover Memorial Exhibit Pavilion. A number of the materials from the new collections were on display, including original diaries of Chiang Kai-Shek and Chiang Ching-Kuo, illuminating their views of various incidents of modern Chinese history.



## MEDIA FELLOW MARC GUNTHER DISCUSSES COMPASSIONATE CAPITALISM

Although the businesses Southwest Airlines, UPS, Starbucks, Timberland, and Herman Miller may not seem to have much in common on the surface, Hoover media fellow Marc Gunther sees them as part of a revolution in the business world.

In his March 9 presentation “Compassionate Capitalism: How Moral Values Are Reforming American Business,” Gunther discussed the business models these companies practice—part of a change in business practices that he terms “compassionate capitalism.” From Gunther’s point of view, the old industrial-based business model that exploited workers is now being replaced by a revolutionary, relationship-based business model. Although acknowledging the recent scandals and controversies many companies have experienced, Gunther said that “business in America is changing for the better.”

Gunther, a senior writer at *Fortune Magazine*, has written cover stories for *Fortune* about Rupert Murdoch, Steve Case, Time Warner, and spirituality in

the workplace. In 2001 he wrote an article titled “God and Business: The Surprising Quest for Spiritual Renewal in the American Workplace.” Soon afterward he began writing *Faith and Fortune: The Quiet Revolution to Reform American Business* (Crown Business, 2004), in which he examines companies and their leaders who promote socially conscious ideals.

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, including

- Paul Greenberg, *Arkansas Democrat Gazette*, February 21–25
- Thomas Donlan, *Barron’s Magazine*, February 28–March 4
- Mike Pride, *New Hampshire Monitor*, February 28–March 4

- Mary O’Grady, *Wall Street Journal*, March 7–11
- Dana Milbank, *Washington Post*, March 7–11
- Carolyn Lochhead, *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 14–18
- Jim Puzzanghera, *San Jose Mercury News*, March 14–18
- Andy Revkin, *New York Times*, March 21–25
- Michael Abramowitz, *Washington Post*, March 21–25
- Mark Sandalow, *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 28–April 1
- Jonathan Kaplan, *The Hill*, March 28–April 1
- Andrew Napolitano, FOX News Channel, March 29–30
- Ben Wildavsky, *U.S. News and World Report*, April 4–8
- Joyce Murdoch, *National Journal*, April 4–8
- Terry Eastland, *Weekly Standard*, April 10–15
- Steve Goldstein, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 11–15
- Paul Kane, *Roll Call*, April 18–22
- Shailagh Murray, *Wall Street Journal*, April 18–22
- Steve Weisman, *New York Times*, April 24–29
- John Diamond, *USA Today*, April 25–29

Four recognized and acclaimed publications under the aegis of the Hoover Institution present a wide range of opinions, expert research, and commentary: *Hoover Digest*, *Education Next*, *Policy Review*, and *China Leadership Monitor*. Following are highlights from the three of the publications’ spring 2005 releases:

### *Education Next*

[www.educationnext.org](http://www.educationnext.org)

- “Do We Need to Repair the Monument? Debating the Future of No Child Left Behind,” by John Chubb, Robert Linn, Kati Haycock, and Ross Wiener
- “Good? Bad? or None of the Above? The Unavoidable Mandate to Teach Character,” by William Damon
- “An A-Maze-ing Approach to Math: A Mathematician with Child Learns Some Politics,” by Barry Garelick

### *Policy Review*

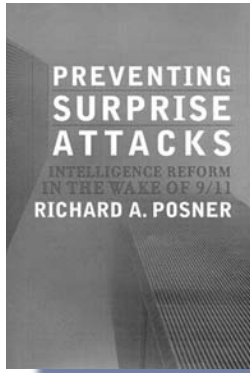
[www.policyreview.org](http://www.policyreview.org)

- “Idealism at the U.N.: The High-Level Panel’s High-Minded Errors,” by Michael J. Glennon
- “Understanding Jihad: An Authentic Islamic Tradition,” by Mark Gould
- “Demographics and the Culture War: The Implications of Population Decline,” by Stanley Kurtz

### *China Leadership Monitor*

[www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org](http://www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org)

- Foreign Policy: “Taiwan’s Legislative Yuan Elections and Cross-Strait Security Relations: Reduced Tensions and Remaining Challenges,” by Thomas Christensen
- Military Affairs: “The King Is Dead! Long Live the King! The CMC Leadership Transition from Jiang to Hu,” by James Mulvenon
- Party Affairs: “With Hu in Charge, Jiang’s at Ease,” by H. Lyman Miller



***Preventing Surprise Attacks:  
Intelligence Reform in the Wake of  
9/11***

By Richard A. Posner

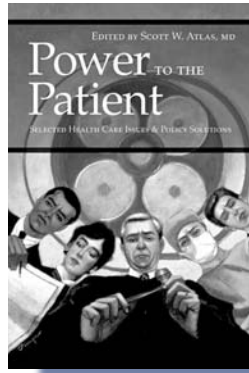
ISBN: 0-7425-4947-X

In *Preventing Surprise Attacks: Intelligence Reform in the Wake of 9/11* (Hoover Institution Press and Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), Richard A. Posner scrutinizes the new law that governs our national intelligence system, the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, and finds it wanting.

“My main concerns are with the 9/11 Commission’s analysis, the only analysis on which the implementing legislation is based; with the commission’s recommendations, so many of which ran the legislative gauntlet successfully; and, of course, with the Intelligence Reform Act itself,” writes Posner. His investigation, however, is not merely an academic exercise. Posner points out that “the President has great latitude in translating its provisions into concrete rules and practices. The act is just the first stage in the reconstitution of the intelligence structure.”

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.

*Preventing Surprise Attacks* is part of a series of books edited by Hoover research fellows Peter Berkowitz and Tod Lindberg and published in cooperation with the Hoover Institution.



***Power to the Patient:  
Selected Health Care Issues and  
Policy Solutions***

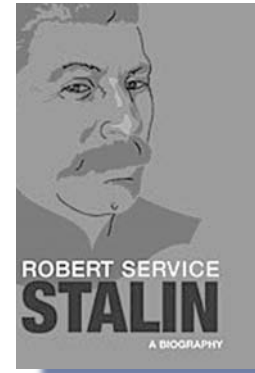
Edited by Scott W. Atlas, MD

ISBN: 0-8179-4592-X

When calculated on a per capita basis, the United States has the costliest health care system in the world. The debate rages on over how to cope with the rising costs of medical care, with proposed solutions ranging from single-payer systems with broad government control to loosely defined market-driven plans.

In *Power to the Patient: Selected Health Care Issues and Policy Solutions* (Hoover Institution Press, 2005), edited by Hoover senior fellow Scott W. Atlas, the contributors look at three key elements of health care costs—third-party payment, the growth in medical spending, and the medical liability system—and offer thoughtful, realistic suggestions to help stem the tide of rising expenses for everyone.

Atlas, a professor of radiology and chief of neuroradiology at Stanford University Medical School, opens by proposing to change the nature of health care insurance so that patients make direct payments to their health care providers. The critical focus, he says, should be on empowering the patient by putting consumers in charge of their money and letting them make cost-conscious decisions about spending health care dollars.



***Stalin: A Biography***

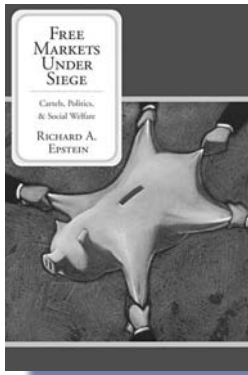
By Robert Service

ISBN: 0-674-01697-1

In *Stalin: A Biography* (Harvard University Press, 2004) Robert Service, a Hoover distinguished visiting fellow, moves beyond the conventional views of previous biographers. As the author Simon Sebag Montefiore states in his review of the book: “Service revises every dimension of this multi-dimensional titan. His book emphasizes the importance of Marxist ideology, economics and Bolshevik culture. But it also rightly presents a human Stalin.”

Service explores the contradictions that Stalin exhibited, arguing that Stalin was more than the ruthless bureaucrat that many have labeled him. “If the likes of Stalin, Hitler, Mao Tse-Tung and Pol Pot are represented as having been ‘animals,’ ‘monsters’ or ‘killing machines,’ we shall never be able to discern their successors,” says Service. “Stalin in many ways behaved as a ‘normal’ human being. In fact he was very far from being ‘normal.’” Going back to the Russian ruler’s childhood, Service draws on previously uncovered archives and personal testimonies to explain the man Stalin became. He then scrutinizes the leader that Stalin became and the legacy he left behind.

Service is a fellow of the British Academy and St. Anthony’s College at Oxford University. He is the author of the acclaimed *Lenin: A Biography* and *A History of Modern Russia* (both from Harvard University Press).

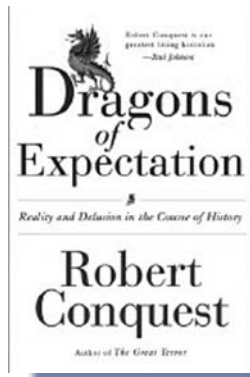


***Free Markets under Siege:  
Cartels, Politics, and Social Welfare***  
Edited by Richard Epstein  
ISBN: 0-8179-4612-8

One great challenge faced by liberal democracies is how best to regulate the interface between market choice and government behavior. Drawing on his extensive knowledge of history, law, and economics, Hoover senior fellow Richard Epstein examines this critical issue and discusses the need to find a middle way between socialism and libertarianism. In *Free Markets under Siege: Cartels, Politics, and Social Welfare* (Hoover Institution Press, 2005), with clarity, force, and wit, Epstein shows

- How the truly great social catastrophes come from a wholesale disrespect for individual liberty and a total contempt for private property
- How special interest groups, with the help of sympathetic politicians, manipulate free markets in their favor
- Why losses incurred through the operation of competitive markets should not be compensated
- Why even unilateral reform of trade barriers would reap great benefits for the United States

Richard Epstein is the Peter and Kirsten Bedford Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and the James Parker Hall Distinguished Service Professor at the University of Chicago. He currently serves as interim dean of the Law School at the University of Chicago.



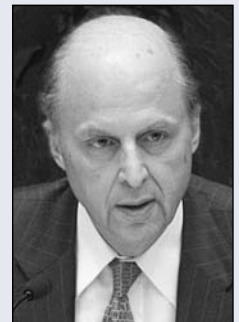
***The Dragons of Expectation:  
Reality and Delusion in the Course of History***  
By Robert Conquest  
ISBN: 0-393-05933-2

From the author of *The Great Terror* and *The Harvest of Sorrow* and one of the world's most respected humanists comes this long-awaited work of history and philosophy. Robert Conquest's *The Dragons of Expectation*—in the tradition of Isaiah Berlin's *The Crooked Timber of Humanity* and George Orwell's *Essays*—brilliantly traces how seductive ideas have come to corrupt modern minds, with often disastrous results.

From the onset of the Enlightenment to the excesses of democracy, Stalinism, and liberalism, Conquest, a Hoover research fellow, masterfully examines how false nostrums have infected academia, politicians, and the public, showing how their reliance on “isms” and the destructive concepts of “People, Nation, and Masses” have resulted in a ruinous cycle of turbulence and war. Including analyses of Russia's October Revolution, World War II, and the cold war that challenge common historical views, *The Dragons of Expectation* (W. W. Norton, 2005) is one of the most important contributions to modern thought in recent years.

## FORMER NATIONAL FELLOW JOHN NEGROPONTE NAMED FIRST U.S. INTELLIGENCE DIRECTOR

President Bush named John Negroponte, the U.S. ambassador to Iraq and a former Hoover Institution national fellow,



**John Negroponte**

as the government's first national intelligence director on February 17.

Bush chose Negroponte for the job of implementing the most sweeping intelligence overhaul in 50 years.

Negroponte, 65, is tasked with bringing together 15 highly competitive spy agencies, working with Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld, CIA director Porter Goss, and other intelligence leaders. He oversees a covert intelligence budget estimated at \$40 billion.

Negroponte, a former ambassador to the United Nations and a number of countries, called the job his “most challenging assignment” in more than 40 years of government work. He was also ambassador to Honduras from 1981 to 1985.

Negroponte will have coveted time with the president during daily intelligence briefings and will have authority over the spy community's intelligence collection priorities. Bush also made clear that Negroponte will set budgets for the national intelligence agencies.

## SENIOR FELLOW EDWARD P. LAZEAR APPOINTED TO PRESIDENT'S ADVISORY PANEL ON FEDERAL TAX REFORM

Hoover senior fellow Edward P. Lazear has been appointed to the president's Advisory Panel on Federal Tax Reform.

The bipartisan panel, which was established on January 7, 2005, is charged with recommending reforms to the tax code that will make the U.S. tax system simpler, fairer, and more growth oriented.

Chairman of the nine-member panel is former U.S. senator Connie Mack III, and vice-chairman is former U.S. senator John Breaux. Members also include, in addition to Lazear, Charles Rossotti, former commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service; noted academics; and investment firm representatives.

On March 31, the panel met in San Francisco to hear testimony on how the tax system influences economic growth and international competitiveness. At that meeting, testimony was offered by Hoover fellows Michael J. Boskin and Milton Friedman.



Edward P. Lazear

Brown Professor of Urban and Labor Economics.

Lazear was awarded the 1998 Leo Melamed Biennial Prize for outstanding research and the 2003 Adam Smith Prize from the European Association of Labor Economists. In the fall of 2004, he was awarded the 2004 Prize in Labor Economics from the Institute for the Study of Labor, Bonn.

He received his AB and AM degrees from the University of California at Los Angeles and his PhD in economics from Harvard University.

Edward Lazear is the Morris Arnold Cox Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and the Jack Steele Parker Professor of Human Resources, Management and Economics (1995) at Stanford University's Graduate School of Business, where he has taught since 1992. He taught previously at the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business, where he was the

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