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Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace

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ideas defining a free society Hoover Institution, Stanford University

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introduction 1





John Raisian

W. Kurt Hauser

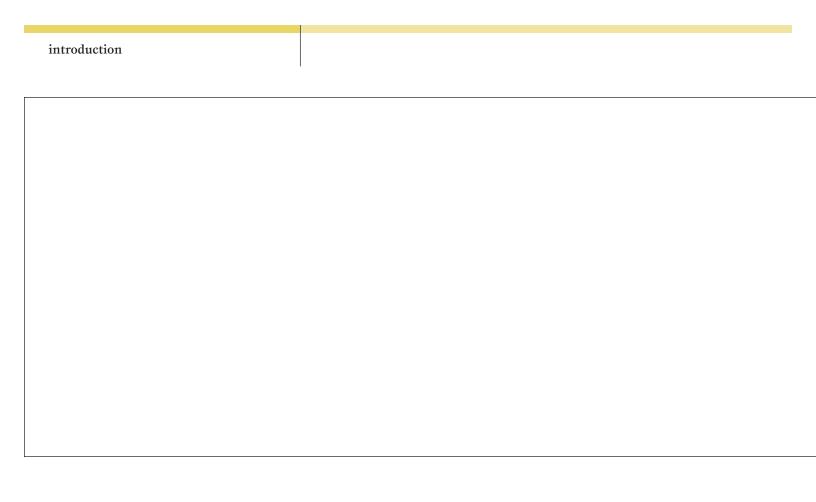
Introduction

Government institutions are the mechanisms that address how society approaches collective concerns while balancing freedom and order — economically, politically, and socially. The Hoover Institution's concentration is on generating, scrutinizing, and disseminating ideas defining a free society, focusing on seven Institutional Initiatives (described in detail within this Report):

- 1. Economic Prosperity and Fiscal Responsibility
- 2. American Educational Institutions and Academic Performance
- 3. Individual Freedom and the Rule of Law
- 4. Growth of Government and Accountability to Society
- 5. American Individualism and Societal Values
- 6. Diminishing Collectivism and Evolving Democratic Capitalism
- 7. National Priorities, International Rivalries, and Global Cooperation

These initiatives provide a framework for scholarly research pertaining to the Hoover Institution's mission, which emphasizes representative government, private enterprise, and personal freedom. Three principles expressed in the mission statement are explicit as part of our archival function, study of public policy, and participation in a national dialogue:

Limit government intrusion into the lives of individuals. The initiatives are inquisitive about the specific role and extent of government in addressing societal issues. Research evaluates the appropriate balance between the rule of law and individual freedom. Areas of inquiry include examining whether the growth of government has been productive and meaningful and whether government is sufficiently accountable to society; whether government programs for education, health care, and retirement



are the best available to society; whether government norms and attention to designated groups of people deflect attention from individual character and freedom; and whether the world at large is moving away from burdensome and all-encompassing governments to those that emphasize democratic capitalism.

Improve the human condition. The initiatives seek to study ways in which sustained economic prosperity, individual freedom with reasonable rules of order, and safeguards to the American way of life are accomplished. Inquiry focuses on potential trade-offs between unbridled economic growth and regulation of commerce in the public interest; between personal freedom and the appropriate rule of law; between private solutions to societal concerns and uniform public resolution; between efficient policies enacted for the public good and inefficient methods motivated in the name of equity and fairness; and between what is good for individuals irrespective of group identity and what is good for classes, ignoring individual characteristics.

Secure and safeguard peace. The initiatives reflect on an effective guarantee of society's freedoms and rights according to the Constitution, with an emphasis on the resolve to address any threat to peaceful coexistence nationally and internationally. National priorities are assessed and studied in a dynamic world of changing situations involving international rivalries and global cooperation. Whether the trend toward less-centralized government and disaggregated ways of solving a nation's economic and governance issues leads to improved prosperity, enhanced individual freedom, and a reduced threat of conflict is worthy of inquiry and addressed herein.

Our overarching purposes are to collect the requisite sources of knowledge as part of our library and archival function; to analyze the effects of government actions relating to public policy; to generate, publish, and disseminate ideas that encourage positive policy formation using reasoned arguments and intellectual rigor, converting conceptual insights into practical initiatives judged to be beneficial to society; and to convey to the public, the media, lawmakers, and others an understanding of important public policy issues and to promote vigorous dialogue. We strive to accomplish these goals for each of the above seven initiatives.

John Raisian

Director, Hoover Institution

W. Kurt Hauser Chairman, Board of Overseers

founding principle: individual freedom

Reaffirming the tradition set by Herbert Hoover — steadfast opposition to totalitarian tyranny and spirited defense of individual, political, and economic liberties in the United States and elsewhere — many Hoover scholars over the years have questioned the limits of government in a free society. Some have taken a microapproach, focusing inward to assess the evolution of personal freedom, both political and economic, in the United States, whereas others have taken a macroapproach, considering issues related to freedom abroad. In the twenty-first century, the Hoover Institution will continue to formulate and

advocate public policy reforms that increase personal freedom as well as confront challenges to it.

(Items in montage identified on page 106.)



institutional and individual research

At the Hoover Institution's conference on "Politics, Society, and Economy in a Changing Iran," held in May 2004, the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize winner Shirin Ebadi gave the keynote address. She is shown here with Hoover Institution director John Raisian (right) and recently appointed research fellow Abbas Milani (left), a coordinator of the conference.



Institutional and Individual Research

The principles of individual, economic, and political freedom; private enterprise; and representative government were fundamental to the vision of Herbert Hoover, the Hoover Institution's founder. By collecting knowledge, generating ideas, and disseminating both, the Institution seeks to secure and safeguard peace, improve the human condition, and limit government intrusion into the lives of individuals, all of which are consistent with the three prominent values specified in the Hoover Institution mission statement: peace, personal freedom, and safeguarding the American system.

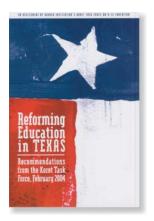
The Institution's overarching purposes are to collect requisite sources of knowledge pertaining to economic, political, and social changes in societies at home and abroad, as well as to understand their causes and consequences; to analyze the effects of government actions as they relate to public policy; to generate, publish, and disseminate ideas that encourage positive policy formation; to convey to the public, the media, lawmakers, and others an understanding of important policy issues; and to promote vigorous dialogue.

The strength of Hoover's research program lies in recruiting scholars of exceptional ability, typically within the traditional disciplines of economics, history, legal studies, and political science. Those scholars' distinction is exemplified by their having been elected to such academic honor societies as the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Academy of Education, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Academy of Sciences and by their receiving the Nobel Prize, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the National Medal of Science, and other prestigious awards.

institutional and individual research	

Resident fellows are the foundation of the research program; among the very best scholars and policy analysts in their fields, many also hold appointments to the Stanford faculty. Affiliated fellows — scholars from other research institutions and universities — offer expertise that complements, strengthens, and adds depth to that of the resident fellows. Visiting fellows include a wide variety of U.S. and foreign scholars, diplomats, government officials, and other distinguished visitors who bring with them a continual influx of expertise and ideas.

This remarkably varied and distinguished community of scholars strives to conceive and disseminate *ideas defining a free society* within the framework of *seven institutional initiatives*. Substantial financial and intellectual resources are directed to activities consistent with these seven multiyear projects, which complement Hoover fellows' individual research agendas and enable Hoover fellows and other scholars to concentrate on specific and important topics pertaining to the Institution's mission. The result is increased output in the form of institutional book projects, conferences, and forums that augment the scholarship originating from Hoover scholars' individual research.



At the invitation of Rick Perry, governor of Texas, and the cochairs of the Joint Select Committee on School Finance of the Texas Legislature, the Koret Task Force on K–12 Education presented a series of ten memoranda to the legislature as it was considering education policy issues in 2004. The recommendations, which are contained in the book *Reforming Education in Texas*, address, among other topics, school finance; improving accountability; rewards for schools, teachers, and principals; vouchers for students in urban districts with failing schools; and improving charter schools.

Described below are the seven initiatives currently under way. Included are examples of the product emanating from institutional projects as well as scholarship resulting from Hoover fellows' individual research agendas.

American Educational Institutions and Academic Performance

The purpose of this initiative is to address education policy related to government provision and oversight versus private solutions — both within and outside the U.S. public school system — that stresses choice, accountability, and transparency; to include systematic reform options such as vouchers, charter schools, and testing; and to weigh educational equity versus outcomes.

Numerous resident and affiliated fellows take part, including the Koret Task Force on K-12 Education, a group of nationally recognized education policy experts. The members of the task force are **John Chubb** (Edison Schools), **Williamson Evers** (Hoover Institution), **Chester Finn Jr.** (Hoover Institution and Fordham Foundation), **Eric Hanushek** (Hoover Institution), **Paul Hill** (University of Washington), **E. D. Hirsch Jr.** (University of Virginia), **Caroline Hoxby** (Harvard University), **Terry Moe** (Hoover Institution and

Stanford University), Paul Peterson (Hoover Institution and Harvard University), Diane Ravitch (New York University and Brookings Institution), and Herbert Walberg (University of Illinois at Chicago).

In its fifth year of operation, the task force has thus far produced six jointly authored books: A Primer on America's Schools; School Accountability; Choice with Equity; Our Schools and Our Future: Are We Still at Risk?; Reforming Education in Texas: Recommendations from the Koret Task Force (all published by the Hoover Press); and, most recently, Within Our Reach: How America Can Educate Every Child (published by Rowman and Littlefield).

A number of other books were also published under the auspices of this initiative. In one highly anticipated decision during its 2002 term, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the school voucher program in Cleveland, Ohio, did not violate the U.S. Constitution's ban on the establishment of religion. Opponents of vouchers were predictably disappointed but pledged to fight on. In *The Future of School Choice*, edited by Hoover fellow **Paul Peterson** and published by the Hoover Press in 2003, a group of distinguished authors examines the meaning of the Supreme Court decision and considers the new political and policy context it has created. Hoover

institutional and individual research

UNCOMMON BOOK AWARD

The W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell Uncommon Book Award recognizes the work of a Hoover fellow or other person associated with the Institution whose writing and research reach the highest standards of scholarship on public policy issues. Hoover fellow **Bertrand Patenaude** received the award in 2003 for *The Big Show in Bololand: The American Relief Expedition to Soviet Russia in the Famine of 1921*. Based on materials in the Hoover Institution Archives, the book portrays a crucial American expedition that helped mitigate the famine that killed millions. Hoover fellows **Annelise Anderson, Martin Anderson, Robert Conquest, Keith Eiler, Kiron Skinner**, and **Thomas Sowell** have received the award in previous years.

fellows **Peter Berkowitz** and **Terry Moe** contributed to the volume in addition to Peterson, as did Hoover fellow **Clint Bolick**.

Capitalism once did a superior job of providing kindergarten to twelfth-grade schooling in the United States and would do so again were schools to be "privatized" (moved from the public to the private sector), according to Hoover fellow Herbert Walberg and Joseph Bast, who authored Education and Capitalism: How Overcoming Our Fear of Markets and Economics Can Improve America's Schools. Drawing on insights and findings from history, psychology, sociology, political science, and economics, they examine the reasons past efforts at school reform have failed and show why capitalism can produce safe and effective schools. They also include specific design guidelines for voucher programs that protect the poorest and most vulnerable members of society. Their book was published by the Hoover Press in 2003.

School Figures: The Data behind the Debate, by Hoover fellow Richard Sousa and former Hoover fellow Hanna Skandera, presents statistics, analysis, historical trends, and cross-sectional comparisons that provide a clear, factual picture of today's educational landscape. Organized in a concise and understandable format, the propositions are accompanied by tables, charts, and graphs that clarify the issues and give readers the ability to make informed decisions. Described by Stanford University education professor Michael Kirst as "one-stop shopping for key data surrounding many current education debates," the book was published by the Hoover Press in 2003.

In Testing Student Learning, Evaluating Teaching Effectiveness, Hoover fellows Williamson Evers and Herbert Walberg compiled and edited a wealth of information not only on how to test but on why testing plays such an important role in education. The book also shows

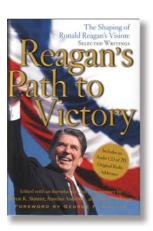
how defective tests and standards and a lack of accountability cause American students to fall behind those of other countries — despite our schools' receiving one of the world's highest levels of per-student spending. Confronting common objections to testing and revealing why they are false, the book demonstrates that test results can inform educators and students of progress or lack thereof, evaluate the degree to which programs and practices are working or not working, and ultimately play a vital role in improving American schools.

In College Choices: The Economics of Where to Go, When to Go, and How to Pay for It, Hoover fellow Caroline Hoxby and a distinguished group of economists examine how students and their families make college decisions — how they evaluate financial aid options, how peer relationships figure in the decision-making process, and whether to use mentoring to get through the admissions process. Students of all sorts are considered — from poor students who may struggle with applications and whether to continue on to college to high-aptitude students who are offered "free rides" at elite schools. The authors use the best methods and latest data to analyze the college decision-making process, as well as explaining how changes in aid and admissions practices inform those decisions. The book was edited by Hoxby and published by the University of Chicago Press in 2004.

Hoover fellow **Diane Ravitch's** informative and alarming new book *The Language Police: How Pressure Groups Restrict What Students Learn*, published by Alfred A. Knopf in 2003, describes how pressure groups from the political right and left have taken control of the language and content of textbooks and standardized exams in American classrooms, often at the expense of the truth (in the case of history), of literary quality (in the case of literature), and of education (in general). In this clear-eyed critique, Ravitch unapologetically challenges the ridiculous and damaging extremes to which bias guidelines and sensitivity training have been taken by the federal government, the states, and textbook publishers.

THE REAGAN LEGACY

A number of Hoover fellows have produced books, journal articles, commentary, and, now, a video defining President Ronald Reagan's place in history. The public's view of President Reagan (who was an honorary Hoover fellow) is being reassessed as a result of the efforts of Hoover fellows and others.



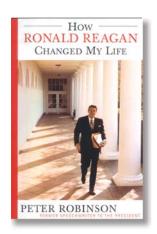
Reagan's Path to Victory: The Shaping of Ronald Reagan's Vision: Selected Writings

Completing a mission they began in their two previous volumes — the New York Times best sellers Reagan: A Life in Letters and Reagan, In His Own Hand — Hoover fellows **Kiron Skinner**, **Annelise Anderson**, and **Martin Anderson** offer in their third book the most important of President Reagan's unpublished writings. Rich in political insights, the book is also a personal tribute that reveals why Ronald Reagan inspired and continues to inspire such a devoted following.



In the Face of Evil: Reagan's War in Word and Deed

A feature-length video documentary based on Hoover fellow **Peter Schweizer's** book *Reagan's War* was recognized as the best documentary of 2004 at the Liberty Film Festival. Schweizer served as the film's executive producer; Hoover fellow **Edwin Meese** and **Schweizer** provided introductions and commentary. The film focuses on President Reagan's leadership and moral courage as he led the United States in its battle with totalitarianism at the end of the twentieth century.



How Ronald Reagan Changed My Life

At the core of Hoover fellow **Peter Robinson's** most recent book are ten life lessons he learned while working as a speechwriter in the Reagan White House — principles that have guided his life ever since. The book also offers a warm and unforgettable portrait of a great yet ordinary man who touched the lives of the individuals around him as surely as he did his millions of admirers around the world.

Hoover in Washington, a Washington, D.C.-based event at which Hoover fellows make presentations to a select group of opinion leaders, policymakers, and journalists, was launched in December 2004. At the pilot event, newly appointed Senior Fellow Victor Davis Hanson (pictured) and Hoover fellow Peter Berkowitz spoke about the role of the United States in Iraq and the Middle East.



National Priorities, International Rivalries, and Global Cooperation

This initiative represents an ongoing effort by Hoover fellows, other scholars, practitioners, and government officials to examine specific issues relating to domestic and foreign considerations of national and international security; trade and commerce; the rule of law among nations; and the role of international organizations, security unions, and multilateral trade agreements.

The thirty-nine essays in Hoover fellow Victor Davis Hanson's book Between War and Peace: Lessons from Afghanistan to Iraq, published by Random House in 2004, examine the world's ongoing war on terrorism, from the American continent to Iraq, from Europe to Israel, and beyond. In his book, Hanson portrays a United States making progress against Islamic fundamentalism but hampered by the self-hatred of elite academics at home and the cynical self-interest of allies abroad. He sees a new and urgent struggle of good against evil that can fail only if "we convince ourselves that our enemies fight because of something we, rather than they, did." Whether it is a denunciation of how the United Nations undermines the United States or a plea to drastically alter our alliance with Saudi Arabia, his arguments have the shock of candor and the fire of conviction.

In Free World: America, Europe, and the Surprising Future of the West, also published by Random House in 2004, Hoover fellow **Timothy Garton Ash** examines how, at the start of the twenty-first century, what used to be called "the free world" has plunged into crisis: Europe is trying to define itself in opposition to the United States; the United States increasingly regards Europe as troublesome and irrelevant; and Britain is split down the middle. Drawing on an extraordinary range of sources, including unique, personal conversations with George W. Bush, Tony Blair, and Gerhard Schröder, Garton Ash explains why Washington can never rule today's interconnected world alone, why the new, enlarged



Best-selling author and historian Niall Ferguson has been appointed a senior fellow.

Europe can realize its aspirations only in a larger transatlantic community, and how the torments of the Middle East and the world's poor can be addressed only by free people working together.

The controversial position taken by Hoover fellow Niall Ferguson in his 2004 Penguin Press book Colossus: The Price of America's Empire is that the United States today is an empire — but a peculiar kind of empire. Despite overwhelming military, economic, and cultural dominance, the United States has had a difficult time imposing its will on other nations, mostly because the country is uncomfortable with imperialism and thus unable to use its will most effectively and decisively. The origin of this attitude and its persistence are principal themes of this thoughtprovoking book, including how domestic politics affects foreign policy, whether it is politicians worried about the next election or citizens who "like Social Security more than national security." The provocative questions Ferguson poses merit considerable discussion: What role does the United States play in the world? What role should it play? How well and for how long is the United States willing to play a role as an empire?

In Anti-Americanism in Europe: A Cultural Problem, published by the Hoover Press in 2004, Hoover fellow Russell Berman delves into the reasons behind the strained relations between the United States and some of its traditional European allies since September 11, 2001. He shows how, as the process of post-cold war European unification has progressed, anti-Americanism has proven a useful ideology for defining a new European identity. He also details the elements — some cultural, others simply irrational — of the disturbing movement and why it is likely to remain a feature of relations between the United States and Europe for the foreseeable future. The book makes a major contribution to understanding the important ideological challenge presented by anti-Americanism in Western Europe — not just a friendly disagreement but a widening chasm.

Another book that examines the strained relationship between the United States and Europe is Beyond Paradise and Power: Europe, America and the Future of a Troubled Partnership, edited by Hoover fellow Tod Lindberg and published by Routledge in 2004. The question of what, if any, common ground Europe and the United States share is discussed, not only by Lindberg in the introduction but by the authors of the essays throughout the book, which is

organized in three sections titled "The Emerging Crisis," "The View from Europe," and "American Power and Its Discontents." Hoover fellows **Peter Berkowitz** and **Timothy Garton Ash** contributed to the volume in addition to Lindberg.

Former Hoover fellow Adam Garfinkle edited the 2004 Hoover Press book A Practical Guide to Winning the War on Terrorism, in which he and his contributors — all intimately familiar with Middle Eastern social settings and political cultures — discuss how the military side of the war on terrorism is a necessary but not sufficient aspect of the solution. They show how we can — and must — stigmatize the idea of murdering civilians for any political cause, identify and stop the flow of money and other resources to those who carry out terrorism, refute the distortions of U.S. motivations that are promulgated by Islamic propagandists, and work patiently at social, economic, and political reform in Muslim countries.

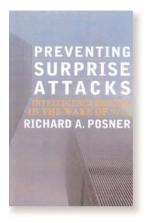
In *The Gravest Danger: Nuclear Weapons*, Hoover fellow **Sidney D. Drell** and James E. Goodby — each with more than twenty years' experience in national security issues in both public and private capacities — review the policy issues

CSPAN's Booknotes covered a symposium at which Media Fellow Philip Taubman (center) discussed the research that went into writing Secret Empire: Eisenhower, the CIA, and the Hidden Story of America's Space Espionage. Taubman told the audience that he benefited greatly from the accumulated knowledge of Hoover fellows Sidney Drell (right) and William Perry (at podium) during the writing of his book.



surrounding the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Aiming to stimulate public dialogue on this important subject, they address the specific actions that the community of nations — with American leadership — should take to confront and turn back the nuclear danger that imperils humanity.

During the early and most dangerous years of the cold war, a handful of Americans, led by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, revolutionized spying and warfare. In great secrecy and beyond the prying eyes of Congress and the press, they built exotic new machines that opened up the Soviet Union to surveillance and protected the United States from surprise nuclear attack. Secret Empire: Eisenhower, the CIA, and the Hidden Story of America's Space Espionage, written by Hoover media fellow Philip Taubman and published by Simon and Schuster in 2003, is the dramatic story of these men and their inventions, told in full for the first time. Taubman discussed the book at a special event hosted by the Hoover Institution in March 2003. He was joined by Hoover fellows Sidney Drell and William Perry, who offered their insights on the technological legacy that defined the Eisenhower presidency.



HOOVER STUDIES IN POLITICS, ECONOMICS, AND SOCIETY

Endeavoring to fill a niche by publishing monographs longer than journal articles, yet shorter than typical policy books, the Hoover Institution is launching the Hoover Studies in Politics, Economics, and Society. The series will provide authors a vehicle with which to publish important, concise books on policy, politics, and social criticism. The first book in the series, *Preventing Surprise Attacks*, by Richard A. Posner, provides an in-depth study of the post-9/11 movement for intelligence reform. In the book, Posner exposes the pitfalls created by the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, identifies the issues overlooked by the 9/11 commission and Congress, and suggests directions for real reform. Topics under consideration for the series include the roots of religious extremism, problems facing the 109th Congress, and the growth and success of new democracies.

Power and Purpose: U.S. Policy toward Russia after the Cold War, by Hoover fellow Michael McFaul and James Goldgeier, traces the evolution of U.S. foreign policy toward the Soviet Union, and later Russia, during the tumultuous and uncertain period following the end of the cold war. Drawing on extensive interviews with senior U.S. and Russian officials, the authors examine how American policymakers — particularly in the executive branch — coped with the opportunities and challenges presented by the new Russia. Throughout, the book focuses on the benefits and perils of U.S. efforts to promote democracy and markets in Russia as well as reorient Russia from security threat to security ally. The book was published by the Brookings Institution Press in 2003.

Many similarities exist between U.S. alliances with Japan and South Korea, both of which have yielded numerous mutual benefits for more than fifty years. Yet today, whereas U.S.-Japan defense cooperation is flourishing, conflicting perceptions in Washington and Seoul of Kim Jong Il's North Korean regime — and how to deal with it — have generated deep concerns about the future of the U.S.-ROK alliance. Contributors to *The Future of America's Alliance in Northeast Asia*, edited by Hoover fellow **Michael Armacost** and Daniel Okimoto, examine this challenge and offer thoughtful suggestions to help policymakers achieve the goal of regaining relevance and promise in the U.S. alliance with South Korea.

Diminishing Collectivism and Evolving Democratic Capitalism

This initiative integrates the archival and research functions of the Hoover Institution. Through archival acquisition, research, and publication, Hoover fellows, archivists, and

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HOOVER FELLOW RECEIVES HEWETT BOOK AWARD

Research Fellow **Paul Gregory** hit the mother lode when he mined the Hoover Archives for materials and documentation relating to the creation and operation of the Soviet administrative-command system. *The Political Economy of Stalinism: Evidence from the Soviet Secret Archives* earned for Gregory the Ed A. Hewett Book Prize, which is awarded annually to an outstanding publication on the political economy of the centrally planned economies of the former Soviet Union, East Central Europe, and their transitional successors. In conducting his research, Gregory relied heavily on the microfilms of the files of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which were collected in the 1990s and are housed in the Hoover Archives.

other scholars study and analyze the end and aftermath of communism, in addition to analyzing and documenting how collectivist societies make the transition to free and representative government and private enterprise. As such, their work serves to establish a true and lasting record of the failures of collectivism.

Using the formerly secret Soviet State and Communist Party Archives in Moscow and at the Hoover Institution, Hoover fellow **Paul Gregory** wrote the landmark volume *The Political Economy of Stalinism: Evidence from the Soviet Secret Archives*, published by Cambridge University Press in 2004. In it, Gregory describes the creation and operation of the Soviet administrative-command system, whose prime architect was Stalin, and pinpoints the reason for the failure of the system. He notes that, once Gorbachev gave enterprises their freedom, the system had no direction from either a plan or a market and that the system imploded. Gregory believes that, if repeated today, this same "experiment" would retain its basic contradictions and inherent flaws and that the economic results would again prove inferior.

Much has been written about the Gulag as an institution of penal slavery inflicted on millions and as the ultimate symbol of Soviet terror, but until the Hoover Press published in 2003 *The Economics of Forced Labor: The Soviet Gulag*, there had been little scholarly analysis of the Soviet Gulag as an economic, social, and political institution, primarily owing to a lack of data. Edited by Hoover fellows **Paul Gregory** and **Valery Lazarev**, this collection presents the results of years of research by Western and Russian scholars and paints an extraordinary portrait of a major aspect of the Soviet approach to economic achievement. Hoover fellow **Robert Conquest** contributed to the volume in addition to Gregory and Lazarev.

CAMPBELL NATIONAL FELLOWS

The Glenn and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellows Program brings outstanding faculty from universities around the country to devote up to a year to advanced research and writing in their fields. *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* was written by Campbell National Fellow **Jeremi Suri** and published by Harvard University Press in 2003. The first study to examine the connections between great-power diplomacy and global social protest, it puts the 1960s in an international perspective. The book received the 2003 Phi Alpha Theta Best First Book Prize.

Anticipating a new dawn of freedom and democracy after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Russians could hardly have foreseen the reality of their future a decade later: a country impoverished and controlled at every level by criminals. Darkness at Dawn: The Rise of the Russian Criminal State, written by Hoover fellow David Satter and published by Yale University Press in 2003, tells the story of the 1990s reform period in Russia using the experiences of individual citizens. With insights derived from more than twenty years of writing and reporting on Russia, Satter considers why individuals there have historically counted for so little and offers an illuminating analysis of how Russia's post-Soviet fate was decided in the vast moral vacuum that communism left in its wake.

In Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform, Hoover fellow Michael McFaul, Nikolai Petrov, Andrei Ryabov, and their collaborators examine the current government of Russia in an effort to answer fundamental questions about the nature of Russian politics. For example, they discuss whether the series of reforms launched by Russian leaders in the past two decades — purportedly aimed at moving the country toward democracy — have taken hold and, if not, the kind of political regime that will be sustained in post-Soviet Russia. They also examine how Vladimir Putin's rise to

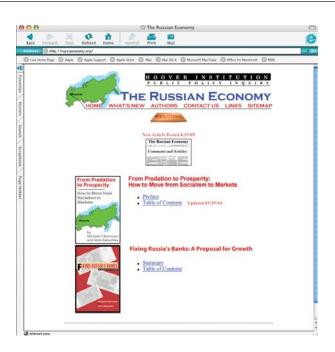
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power influenced the country's course. The book was published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 2004.

Michael McFaul also wrote, with Timothy Colton, Popular Choice and Managed Democracy: The Russian Elections of 1999 and 2000, published by the Brookings Institution Press in 2003. The book is a tale of two elections — one for the 450-seat Duma, the other for president — in which, twice in one winter, citizens of the Russian Federation flocked to their neighborhood voting stations and marked their ballots in an atmosphere of uncertainty, rancor, and fear. Considered by many the best analysis to date on Vladimir Putin's politics, the book demonstrates key trends in an extinct superpower, a troubled country in whose stability, modernization, and openness to the international community the West still has a huge stake.

In From Predation to Prosperity: How to Move from Socialism to Markets, Hoover fellows Michael Bernstam and Alvin Rabushka examine three issues central to the Russian economy: Why did the purported market reforms, arguably the boldest in history, end up in one of the greatest peacetime contractions? Why, in addition, has Russia lived from

From Predation to Prosperity: How to Move from Socialism to Markets, by Michael Bernstam and Alvin Rabushka, is being published as an online book. As written, each chapter is released on a website, www.russiaeconomy.org. In addition to this book, the website provides scholarly critiques and analyses of Russia's economy and sets forth policy proposals for economic growth in Russia.



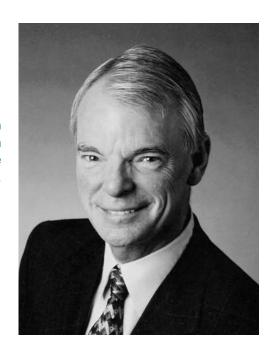
one default to another — in fact, has lived off defaults? And how can Russia be uplifted from contraction and defaults to economic growth and prosperity? The authors answer these questions and propose policy recommendations designed to lead Russia out of its economic woes. As each chapter is written, it is released on a special topical website, www.russiaeconomy.org.

Under the auspices of its Iran Democracy Project, the Hoover Institution has hosted three conferences, all of which were organized by Hoover fellows Larry Diamond and Abbas Milani. The first, "The Politics and Governance in a Changing Iran," took place in November 2003. The focus was an examination of the prospects and conditions for peaceful political reform in Iran. Hoover fellows Michael McFaul and Guity Nashat participated in addition to Diamond and Milani.

The second occurred in May 2004. Entitled "Politics, Society, and Economy in a Changing Iran," it addressed whether Iran is ready to become a democracy. In addition to Diamond, Milani, and McFaul, Hoover fellow **George Shultz** was a conference participant. Nobel Peace Prize winner Shirin Ebadi was the keynote speaker.

The most recent conference took place in November 2004. Entitled "Iran's Nuclear Program: International Implications and U.S. Foreign Policy Options," panelists addressed Iran's technical nuclear capabilities, the domestic politics of Iran's nuclear program, and the international political implications of Iran's nuclear quest. Hoover fellow **Sidney Drell** participated in addition to Diamond, McFaul, and Milani.

A. Michael Spence was appointed as a senior fellow in 2004. A Nobel laureate, he joins Gary Becker, Milton Friedman, and Douglass North as Hoover fellows who are also Nobel laureates in economic sciences.



Abbas Milani is also the author of two recent books on Iran. The Persian Sphinx: Amir Abbas Hoveyda and the Riddle of the Iranian Revolution is the biography of a central figure in the historic struggle between modernity and tradition in Iran. Lost Wisdom: Rethinking Modernity in Iran challenges the hitherto accepted theory that modernity and its related concepts of democracy and freedom are Western in essence. The books were published by Mage Publications in 2003 and 2004, respectively.

Combining scholarship from a range of disciplines, the collection of essays in *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800*, edited by Hoover fellow **Guity Nashat** and Lois Beck, provides a comprehensive examination of the role of women in Iranian society and culture, from pre-Islamic times to 1800. Sweeping away modern myths and challenging common assumptions about women in Iran and Islam, the contributors show that women have had significant influence in almost every area of Iranian life. The book was published by the University of Illinois Press in 2004.

Growth of Government and Accountability to Society

An important premise of this initiative is that government should work for society, not the reverse. Therefore, the Hoover fellows and other involved scholars examine government's performance on behalf of individuals, including issues of accountability, efficiency, and representation. They also address the appropriate scope of government's involvement when providing public services and regulating private enterprise in areas such as education, health care, and the environment.

Those who declare the era of big government over are dead wrong according to Hoover fellow Clint Bolick, who wrote Leviathan: The Growth of Local Government and the Erosion of Liberty, published by the Hoover Press in 2004. Drawing from his experience as an attorney, Bolick uses illuminating cases from the litigation trenches to show how powerful local governments have infringed on freedom of speech, freedom of commerce and enterprise, private property rights, and even the simple right to be left alone. He reveals that, although the rules are often rigged in favor of local governments, ordinary citizens can take action to rein in out-of-control bureaucracies.

NEW HOOVER FELLOWS

The following individuals were named fellows at the Hoover Institution during the period covered by this report.

Niall Ferguson is a professor of history at Harvard University and a senior research fellow of Jesus College, Oxford University, in addition to being a Hoover fellow. A specialist in political and financial history whose work provides important insight into the complex interaction among politics, war, and national economies, his most recent book is *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire*.

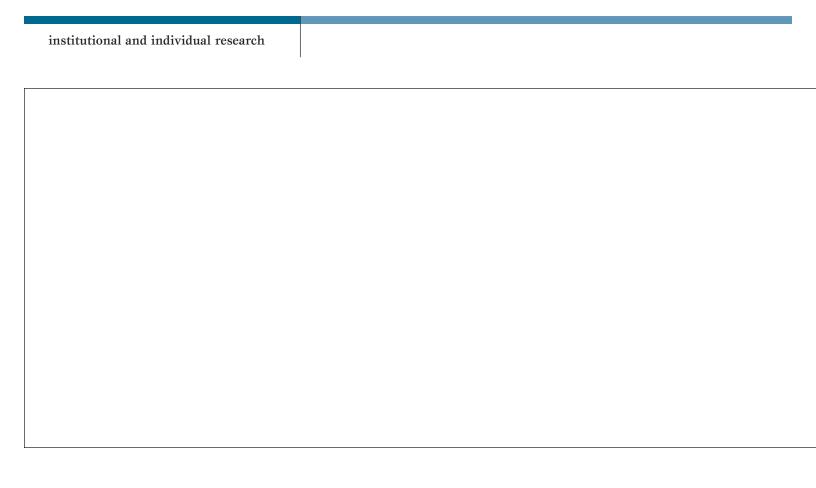
Victor Davis Hanson is a classicist and an authority on the history of war. He is the author or editor of fifteen books, including the *New York Times* best seller *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power*. His most recent book is *Between War and Peace: Lessons from Afghanistan and Iraq*. He holds the Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellowship.

Herbert Klein is a member of the faculty in the Departments of History at Columbia University and Stanford University, in addition to his Hoover appointment. He is the author of numerous books and articles on Latin American history and on comparative themes in social and economic history. He teaches methodology classes on quantitative methods in historical research and demographic history.

Stephen Krasner specializes in international relations and international political economy. In addition to being a Hoover fellow, he is a professor in the Department of Political Science at Stanford University and deputy director of the Stanford Institute for International Studies, where he also directs the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. He is currently serving as director for policy planning at the U.S. Department of State.

Abbas Milani is a visiting professor in the Department of Political Science and director of the Iranian Studies Program at Stanford University, in addition to being a Hoover fellow. Raised in Iran and educated in the United States, he has written and published extensively on Iran's experience with modernity and relations with the West.

A. Michael Spence is an emeritus professor of management and former dean of the Stanford Graduate School of Business, in addition to being a Hoover fellow. Before joining the Stanford faculty in 1990, he served as the dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard, where he taught economics and business administration. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences in 2001.



Government-owned and government-subsidized firms compete with private firms in a variety of activities but are often endowed with privileges and immunities not enjoyed by their private rivals. *Competing with the Government: Anticompetitive Behavior and Public Enterprises*, published by the Hoover Press in 2004, reveals how these privileges give government firms an artificial competitive advantage that fosters a wide range of potentially harmful effects. Examining a variety of instances in which government and private firms compete, the authors raise fundamental questions about the relationship between business and government in a market economy and underline the need for significant policy changes. Hoover fellow **Richard Geddes** edited and contributed to the volume.

In The Frankenfood Myth: How Protest and Politics Threaten the Biotech Revolution, Hoover fellow Henry Miller and Gregory Conko trace the origins of gene-splicing, its applications, and the backlash from consumer groups and government agencies against the so-called Frankenfoods. Noting that, for thousands of years, farmers have bred crops for their disease resistance, productivity, and nutritional value, only since the 1970s have advances in biotechnology such as gene-splicing promised dramatically improved agricultural products — and stimulated public resistance far out of line with the potential risks. The authors propose a variety of

business and policy reforms that can unlock the potential of this cutting-edge science and ensure appropriate safeguards. The book was published by Praeger in 2004.

Contributors to *Population Puzzle: Boom or Bust?* discuss our planet's ability to support its growing population and other population-related issues, including the important question of who should decide what is best when it comes to population policy. Published by the Hoover Institution Press in 2005, the book was edited by Hoover fellow **Laura Huggins** and former Hoover fellow **Hanna Skandera**.

Saving Lives & Saving Money: Transforming Health and Health Care, by Hoover fellow Newt Gingrich, Dana Pavey, and Anne Woodbury, takes on the challenge of creating a better system of health and health care for the twenty-first century. It was published by the Alexis de Tocqueville Institution in 2003.

In *Politicizing Science: The Alchemy of Policymaking*, eleven leading scientists from a variety of disciplines examine the conflicts that arise when politics and science converge, offering insights on the dangers of manipulating science for political gain. Edited by Michael Gough and published in 2003, the essays show how the consequences of politicization

HOOVER FELLOWS WIN AWARDS

Over the years, numerous Hoover fellows have been recognized for their contributions to scholarship and society through election to prestigious honor societies and as the recipients of some of our country's highest honors. The following are some awards and honors that Hoover scholars received during the period covered by this report.

David Brady – 2004 Richard W. Lyman Award from the Stanford Alumni Association for faculty volunteer service to Stanford University and the Stanford Alumni Association

Robert Conquest - elected to American Academy of Arts and Sciences, April 2004

Eric Hanushek – 2004 Fordham Prize for Excellence in Education for distinguished scholarship

Edward Lazear - 2004 Prize in Labor Economics from the Institute for the Study of Labor in Bonn, Germany

Charles McLure – 2004 Daniel Holland Medal from the National Tax Association for distinguished lifetime contributions to the study and practice of public finance

Terry Moe - 2005 Fordham Prize for Excellence in Education for distinguished scholarship

Thomas Sowell - 2003 Bradley Prize for intellectual achievement

Shelby Steele – 2004 National Humanities Medal

Edward Teller (deceased) - 2003 Presidential Medal of Freedom

are inflicted on the public, including the diversion of money and research efforts from worthwhile scientific endeavors, the costs of unnecessary regulations, and the loss of useful products; meanwhile, increased power and prestige flow to those who manipulate science. Hoover fellow Henry Miller contributed a chapter to the volume, which was a joint publication of the Hoover Institution and the George C. Marshall Institute in Washington, D.C.

American Individualism and Societal Values

The scholars participating in this initiative examine societal behavior based on individualism rather than classes, thus confronting issues of, for example, race, gender, and ethnicity. They also study the role of culture and values in society and the interaction of wealth distribution policies, such as social welfare and Social Security, with demographic and cultural trends and individual responsibility.

The first book generated by this initiative is *Never a Matter of Indifference: Sustaining Virtue in a Free Republic*, edited by Hoover fellow **Peter Berkowitz** and published by the Hoover Press in 2003. In it, the authors reveal how, over the last several decades, public policy in the United States has weakened those institutions of civil society that play a



critical role in forming and sustaining the qualities of mind and character crucial to democratic self-government. Included are discussions of how Americans deal with the tension between liberty (doing what one wants) and virtue (doing what one should) and how the upheavals of the 1960s transformed liberalism into a "religion of rights," undermining individual freedom by demanding unbending fidelity to a political agenda. Hoover fellows who contributed to the book in addition to Berkowitz are **David Davenport**, **Chester Finn**, **Stanley Kurtz**, and former Hoover fellow **Hanna Skandera**.

Peter Berkowitz edited two other books associated with this initiative that were published by the Hoover Press in 2004. The first is *Varieties of Conservatism*, in which each contributor brings a distinctive voice to bear, illustrating the author's overarching argument that conservatism in America represents a family of opinions and ideas rather than a rigid doctrine or settled creed. At the same time, the authors, drawn from various professional backgrounds, clarify the moral underpinnings of the varieties of American conservatism (classical conservatism, libertarianism, and neoconservatism) and shed light on the political implications of each variety. Hoover fellows **Richard Epstein** and **Tod Lindberg** contributed to the volume in addition to Berkowitz.

The companion volume, Varieties of Progressivism in America, focuses on the debates within the Democratic Party about the means — the kinds of government and citizen action — for achieving the ends around which the party unites. Led by editor Peter Berkowitz, who also wrote the introduction, the contributors provide an array of perspectives on the Old Democrats, who arose in the New Deal and gave shape to the modern Democratic Party, on the Clinton-era New Democrats, who sought to moderate the party's message, and on the future of progressivism in America.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AROUND THE WORLD: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

In his new book, Hoover fellow **Thomas Sowell** moves the discussion of affirmative action beyond the United States to countries that have had similar, and often longer-lived, policies in place. It shifts the discussion away from the theories, principles, and laws to the actual consequences of affirmative action policies in the United States, India, Nigeria, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, and elsewhere. What emerges flatly contradicts much of what was expected from and much of what has been claimed for affirmative action.

According to a groundbreaking new book by Hoover fellow Morris Fiorina, Samuel Abrams, and Jeremy Pope, Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America, most Americans stand in the middle of the political landscape, preferring centrist candidates from either party to the extreme partisans who often emerge from the primary process, which is the opposite of what politicians, interest-group leaders, and many members of the media say, which is that the United States is deeply divided about national issues. Through solid research and thorough data analysis, the authors show how officeholders, activists, and pundits have distorted the reality of most Americans' actual views about the social, political, and economic issues of the past thirty years. The book was published by Pearson Longman in 2004.

Hoover fellow Mary Eberstadt's Home-Alone America: The Hidden Toll of Day Care, Behavioral Drugs, and Other Parent Substitutes, published by Sentinel in 2004, issues a radical challenge to the way American children are raised today and turns the spotlight on mental problems, obesity, rap music, and other troubling facts about American youth. Drawing on a wide range of medical and social science literature as well as popular culture, Eberstadt offers hard data proving that absent parents are the common denominators in many of the disturbing trends.

institutional and individual research

THE BUSHES: PORTRAIT OF A DYNASTY

Hoover fellow **Peter Schweizer** and Rochelle Schweizer's book on the Bush family, which is based on a series of exclusive, surprisingly candid interviews with members of the family and close friends, provides an open and insightful look at the inner workings of this very private family. Readers will find a wealth of information on the Bush family and the influence of its members on society, but, above all, they will see George W. Bush in the way his family does.

Hoover fellow Seymour Martin Lipset and Noah M. Meltz have written *The Paradox of American Unionism: Why Americans Like Unions More Than Canadians Do but Join Much Less*, which was published by Cornell University Press in 2004. The authors explore why Americans, who by a clear majority approve of labor unions, have been joining them in smaller numbers than ever before. Comparing the U.S. experience with that of Canada, they explain that the relative reluctance of employees in the United States to join unions is rooted less in their attitudes toward unions than in the deep-seated American traditions of individualism and laissez-faire economic values.

In the controversial 2003 University of Michigan affirmative action case, as in so many other cases, Supreme Court justice Sandra Day O'Connor provided the deciding swing vote between a four-justice bloc of liberals and a four-justice bloc of conservatives. In Swing Dance: Justice O'Connor and the Michigan Muddle, Hoover fellow Robert Zelnick examines O'Connor's voting history from her early days on the Supreme Court to its most important ruling to date. In addition to reviewing her earlier cases, he provides an intensive review of the University of Michigan case as it was argued. Finally, he discusses the repercussions of this case and how the university adapted its admissions

programs to fit the specific requirements of the Court's ruling. The book was published by the Hoover Press in 2004.

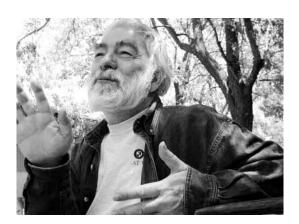
Economic Prosperity and Fiscal Responsibility

Hoover fellows and other scholars participating in this initiative study productivity growth; human, financial, and intellectual capital accumulation; and the impact of tax, monetary, and fiscal policies.

The application of economics to major contemporary real-world problems — housing, medical care, discrimination, the economic development of nations, and other issues — is the theme of Hoover fellow **Thomas Sowell's** *Applied Economics: Thinking beyond Stage One*, published by Basic Books in 2004. Writing in plain language devoid of jargon, Sowell examines economic policies not only in terms of their immediate effects but also in terms of their repercussions, which are often very different and longer lasting. The interplay of politics with economics is another theme of the book, whose examples are drawn from experiences around the world, showing how similar incentives and constraints tend to produce similar outcomes among very disparate peoples and cultures. *Applied Economics* is the ideal companion volume to Sowell's acclaimed *Basic Economics: A Citizen's Guide to the Economy*, a revised and expanded edition of which was also published by Basic Books in 2004.

A Population History of the United States, written by Hoover fellow Herbert Klein and published by Cambridge University Press in 2004, provides the first comprehensive, one-volume examination of demographics in the United States, beginning with the arrival of humans in the Western Hemisphere and continuing through to the current century. Maintaining a cogent connection to the broadest themes of social, economic, and political development,

Herbert S. Klein, the Gouverneur Morris
Professor of History at Columbia University,
was recently appointed as a research
fellow at Hoover.



Klein explains how trends in births, marriages, deaths, and migration — the key elements of population change — have shaped the United States, past and present, as well as how the size and structure of its population are intertwined with the supply of and demand for labor.

Individual Freedom and the Rule of Law

Scholars involved in this initiative assess the coexistence of well-defined intellectual and physical property rights, individual liberty, economic development, environmental issues, and the regulation of commerce and industry within the framework of the U.S. Constitution and, hence, of a free society.

In the 2004 Hoover Press book You Have to Admit It's Getting Better: From Economic Prosperity to Environmental Quality, the authors dispense with the idea of conserving finite resources as a way to sustain the environment. Instead they powerfully argue that, through such established institutions as property rights, the rule of law, and limited government, economic growth and environmental quality will both flourish. Although some consider their propositions controversial, throughout the book the authors repeatedly show that economic growth is not the antithesis

of environmental quality; rather, the two go hand in hand if the incentives are right. Hoover fellow **Terry Anderson** edited the volume and contributed to it.

Hoover fellow and social commentator **Tibor Machan** brings together a collection of his columns (first published by Freedom Communications) in *Neither Left nor Right: Selected Columns*, published by the Hoover Press in 2004. Spanning the past four decades, this retrospective of his work presents his views on a variety of topics, including the independent self, capitalism and its critics, and the individual versus the state. Throughout, he seizes the intellectual offensive against those who believe that only laws and bureaucrats can make life better — and provides a rigorous moral case for natural rights, individualism, and capitalism.

IN MEMORIAM

Three Hoover fellows, Aaron Director, Rodney Kennedy-Minott, and Edward Teller, recently passed away; each was a significant figure who played a role in shaping his respective field as well as history.

Aaron Director, a distinguished University of Chicago economist who greatly influenced the modern course of economics and legal thought through his founding of the field of law and economics and his mentoring of generations of scholars, died at the age of 102.

A thoughtful and gentle scholar, Director was a passionate defender of liberty and free markets. He joined the Hoover Institution as a fellow in 1965.

Director, who at his death held the title of professor emeritus in the University of Chicago Law School, was trained in economics at Yale and at Chicago, taught economics at Chicago, Northwestern University, and Howard University, and also held positions during World War II in the War Department and the Department of Commerce. But it was his appointment to the faculty of the University of Chicago Law School in 1946 that marked the beginning of his greatest influence. At the Law School, Director began to apply the principles of economics to legal reasoning, eventually training generations of law students and even his colleagues on the faculty in a new way of thinking about the law.

In 1958, he founded the *Journal of Law and Economics*, which has been fundamentally important in developing the field. In 1962, Director helped found the Committee on a Free Society at the University of Chicago.

Director was also intimately involved in a remarkable number of other important developments in modern economic thought. When *The Road to Serfdom*, by future Nobel laureate and Hoover fellow Friedrich von Hayek, could not find a publisher in the United States because of its then-unfashionable classical liberal ideas, it was Director who interceded, persuading the University of Chicago Press to publish the book in a first run of two thousand copies. It went on to sell a hundred times that number.

While an instructor at the University of Chicago, his younger sister Rose joined him and studied there as an undergraduate and graduate student in economics; it was at Chicago where she met her future husband and lifelong colleague, Milton Friedman.

institutional and individual research	
to Swe	ey Kennedy-Minott, a Hoover Institution research fellow and former U.S. ambassador eden, passed away at age seventy-six. Army veteran, Kennedy-Minott earned a bachelor's degree in 1953, a master's degree
in 195 history	56, and a doctorate in U.S. history in 1960, all from Stanford University. He was a y professor and director of the Stanford summer session program from 1960 to 1965.
State also to	University, Hayward (now known as California State University, East Bay). Kennedy-Minott aught at Portland State University, and, during the 1990s, he was an instructor at the Postgraduate School in Monterey, specializing in environmental and diplomatic issues.
admin enviro	stime Democrat, Kennedy-Minott served as ambassador to Sweden during the Carter istration. As ambassador, he focused his attention on mediating technology and nmental issues between the two countries and on improving relations between which were strained in the 1960s.
	edy-Minott was an author whose book topics included congressional campaigns and reterans. He also published numerous articles on Nordic security matters.

Edward Teller, a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution since 1975, specialized in international and national policies concerning defense and energy. He died at the age of ninety-five.

He was most widely known for his significant contributions to the first demonstration of thermonuclear energy, and he added greatly to the knowledge of quantum theory, molecular physics, and astrophysics. In 1942, Teller joined the Manhattan Project. His efforts during the war years included work on the first nuclear reactor, theoretical calculations of the far-reaching effects of a fission explosion, and research on a potential fusion reaction.

Teller received numerous honors, among them the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the Albert Einstein Award, the Enrico Fermi Award, the Harvey Prize from the Technion-Israel Institute, and the National Medal of Science. He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Physical Society, and the American Nuclear Society, and he was a member of the National Academy of Sciences.

He was director of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory from 1958 to 1960, at which time he accepted a joint appointment as a professor of physics at the University of California and as associate director of the laboratory. He held these positions until 1975.

founding principle: private enterprise

Since the collapse of communism, private enterprise has emerged as a dominant global philosophy, with the economies around the world shifting from central direction to greater reliance on free markets. This profound trend in international political economy is being documented and studied at the Hoover Institution through extensive collecting efforts and ambitious research initiatives.

Having observed the tendency of governments to grow and take on expanded responsibilities in an effort to "solve" more and more problems, Hoover scholars often question both the legitimacy and the competency of government solutions. Evaluating and advancing sensible market-based solutions to public policy problems underpin the philosophy of Hoover scholars, who will continue to advance the principles of free enterprise and economic freedom for decades to come.

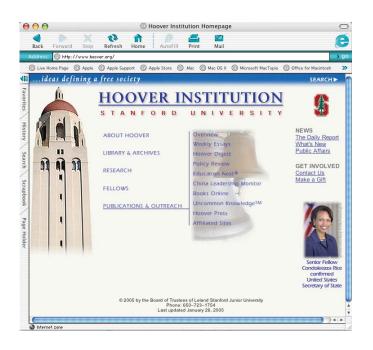
(Items in montage identified on page 106.)



communications and outreach

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In 2004, the Hoover Institution's web page was redesigned to improve navigation, providing better access to the more than ten thousand pages on the site, and to incorporate new design elements that use attractive images from throughout the Institution.



Manufacturing, in and of itself, is an empty undertaking unless the products of those efforts find users. The same is true of an "idea factory" (or think tank) such as the Hoover Institution, which depends not only on its fellows creating ideas but also on disseminating those ideas to end users.

The Hoover Institution continues to enunciate *ideas defining a free society*. Those ideas are Hoover's products, and for them to be more than just an intellectual exercise, they must be communicated to interested parties. Ideas relating to societal strategy (in Hoover's instance, *ideas defining a free society*) lead to a greater understanding of vital public policy issues and encourage meaningful and vigorous dialogue.

The Institution's communications and outreach functions advance the ideas and scholar-ship of Hoover fellows, publicize the library and archives' holdings, and promote events sponsored by the Institution. The communications and outreach team conducts ongoing efforts to connect with an interested public — which includes lawmakers, policy and opinion leaders, the news media, and peers in the world of universities and think tanks — using traditional methods of communication as well as innovative communication technology. To promulgate the ideas generated at the Hoover Institution to its end users, the intellectual products — the scholarship and the output of the Institution — must be configured into attractive and accessible formats that encourage the public to explore them.

"The Daily Report" keeps the media and friends of the Institution informed of the latest writings and media appearances of Hoover fellows. It is distributed via e-mail and may be found at www.hoover.org/pubaffairs/dailyreport on the Word Wide Web.



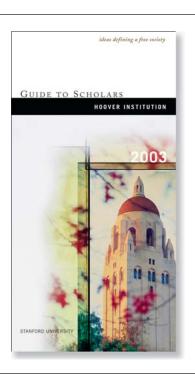
Hoover Reference Publications

An Introduction to the Hoover Institution, the Hoover Report, and Guide to Scholars, which comprise the informational publications produced by and about Hoover, provide readers with an understanding of the goals and accomplishments of the Institution and its fellows. In addition, the soon-to-be-released Hoover reference publication *Prospectus* represents a progress report on institutional strategic thinking.

Hoover News Dissemination

Key lawmakers, members of the news media, scholars, and Hoover supporters receive "The Daily Report," an e-mail collection of news clips with Internet links featuring news stories about or quoting Hoover fellows as well as op-ed articles by Hoover fellows. In addition, Hoover's Public Affairs Office publishes a twice-monthly electronic newsletter, "What's New at Hoover," featuring news about the Institution's fellows and special events and providing Internet links to related articles and additional details. A printed version is published and distributed quarterly.

The *Guide to Scholars*, published biannually, contains short biographies on the distinguished community at the Hoover Institution. The online version of fellows' biographies is regularly updated and may be found at www.hoover.org/bios.



Scholarly Essays

The highly regarded, informative, and accessible *Hoover Digest* appeals to a general audience interested in a wide variety of public policy issues. As Hoover's flagship publication, the *Digest* features selected writings of Hoover fellows, including original articles, *Weekly Essays*, previously printed opinion pieces, and adaptations and excerpts from lengthy articles and books. When it first appeared more than eight years ago, the *Digest* consisted almost entirely of reprinted material. Today, a majority of each issue consists of original material by Hoover fellows, adaptations and excerpts from Hoover Press books, and brief articles about various collections in the Hoover Archives.

The popularity of the *Digest's* web page is documented by the increasing number of visits to the site (www.hooverdigest.org), which contains virtually all the articles from the print version. Hoover fellow Peter Robinson continues as the editor of the *Digest*; Michael Walker is the managing editor.

Through Hoover's *Weekly Essay* series, fellows address a variety of timely issues, including national security, American public education, the promotion of democracy, environmental issues, financial markets, race and ethnicity,

and Social Security. Since its launch in 2000, more than two hundred essays written by Hoover fellows have been distributed on a weekly basis through the Knight Ridder/Tribune news wire. Syndicated to more than four hundred newspapers throughout the nation (with a total readership that surpasses forty million), essays have regularly appeared in newspapers in Dallas, Houston, Pittsburgh, San Diego, San Francisco, San Jose, Seattle, and Washington, D.C. Selected essays are then placed in several of the most relevant public affairs magazines: Commentary, National Review, New Republic, Reason, and Weekly Standard, the estimated readership of which, taken together, exceeds one million. Like other Hoover communication initiatives, the full text of the Weekly Essays can be found on the Institution's home web page at www.hoover.org. Hoover research fellow Laura Huggins, in consultation with other Institution fellows and staff members, edits the Weekly Essays.

Hoover fellows also regularly publish commentaries in leading newspapers throughout the nation and the world.

(continued on page 42)

communications and outreach

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS TO THE HOOVER INSTITUTION, 2003-2004

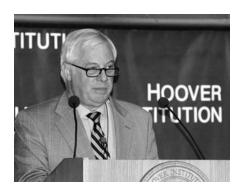
During the course of a year, the Institution hosts numerous visitors who meet with Hoover fellows in small venues; address larger audiences of fellows, supporters, and staff; conduct library and archival research and collaborative research with Hoover fellows; and tour the Hoover Archives. A selection of elected and appointed government officials, foreign dignitaries, ambassadors, and other distinguished visitors to Hoover is pictured here.



Arnold Schwarzenegger, governor of California



José Maria Aznar, former president of Spain



Christopher Patten, commissioner of external relations for the European Commission



Spencer Abraham, U.S. secretary of energy, now a Hoover fellow



General John Abizaid, commander of the U.S. Central Command in Iraq



Ulrik Federspiel, Denmark's ambassador to the United States



Don Evans, U.S. secretary of commerce



Vice Admiral Richard H. Carmona, M.D., U.S. surgeon general



H. E. Ravdan Bold, Mongolia's ambassador to the United States



Natan Sharansky, Israeli cabinet minister



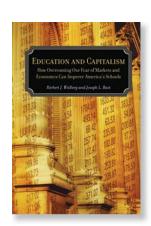
Lu Hsiu-Lien, vice president of the Republic of China on Taiwan



Daniel Ayalon, Israel's ambassador to the United States

Hoover Press, previously honored for print and design work on the Hoover Digest, was recognized with two awards given for "the highest standards of book design and manufacturing" in the prestigious Bookbuilders West competition. The publications, Competing with the Government: Anticompetitive Behavior and Public Enterprise, edited by R. Richard Geddes, and Education and Capitalism: How Overcoming Our Fear of Markets and Economics Can Improve America's Schools, edited by Herbert J. Walberg and Joseph L. Bast, won in the Reference and Scholarly Books category. The awards were given for the cover designs by Hoover Press designer Kathryn Nunes.

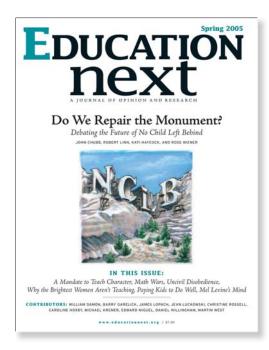




Scholarly Articles

Policy Review[®], Hoover's bimonthly public policy journal, continues to grow in circulation and stature. The journal, which has been a "must read" within the Washington Beltway for many years, provides in-depth analyses of politics, domestic policy, and foreign affairs, as well as incisive social criticism. The Washington Post has called Policy Review "fascinating"; the Los Angeles Times termed it "provocative"; the Washington Times has said it is "prophetic"; and the New Yorker magazine termed it a publication of "vogue and influence." It promises to continue its presence as an influential source of deep thinking on public policy matters. Policy Review is headed by Hoover fellow Tod Lindberg.

Another noteworthy publishing success for the Hoover Institution has been *Education Next* ®: A Journal of Opinion and Research. With Hoover's Koret Task Force on K-12 Education serving as the editorial board, the journal is devoted to education reform issues. Hoover fellow and task force member Paul Peterson is editor in chief, Hoover fellow and task force member Chester Finn serves as senior editor, and Hoover fellow Carol Peterson is managing editor. The complete text of the journal appears on Hoover's website at www.educationnext.org. On its web page, *Education Next* offers expanded articles with more-detailed data and the advanced statistics and methodology that support articles in the print version.



In addition to being recognized for its content, *Education Next*, published by the Hoover Press, is acknowledged for the artful and imaginative presentation of its articles, all of which address education reform, and for its thought-provoking covers.

Books

The Hoover Press, a mainstay of Hoover's communication efforts, provides general publication and editorial services to the Institution and publishes and markets books under the Hoover Press imprint. The press highlights the work of Hoover scholars as well as Hoover's seven institutional initiatives. The Hoover Press also publishes the highly acclaimed Studies of Nationalities series, which examines the history, culture, and peoples of Central Europe, the Baltics, and the republics of the former Soviet Union.

In a new outreach effort, the Hoover Press has begun publishing a series of single-author books, Hoover Studies in Economics, Politics and Society. Typically smaller than the large, edited volumes published during the past several years, these books aim to be timely and accessible.

With the expanding research activities of the Institution, the number of books published by the press has increased as well. In addition, the press maintains an extensive backlist of titles, which is available at its recently launched website, www.hooverpress.org, where buyers can now order and pay for books from the entire Hoover Press catalog online.



The Hoover Press offers online ordering from its full catalog of books through its secure server found at **www.hooverpress.org**.

Television

Since 1996, the Hoover Institution's television series, *Uncommon Knowledge*TM, has provided viewers with informed and civil discussion on vital public policy issues. Carried on Public Broadcasting System stations throughout the United States, the program is carried on radio — around the globe — by the Armed Forces Radio Network and National Public Radio Worldwide. The program, which brings together experts from across the nation to tackle policy issues, is also available via streaming video at the program's website, www.uncommonknowledge.org. The site offers full transcripts, streaming video, and downloadable MP3 files from its archive of broadcasts.

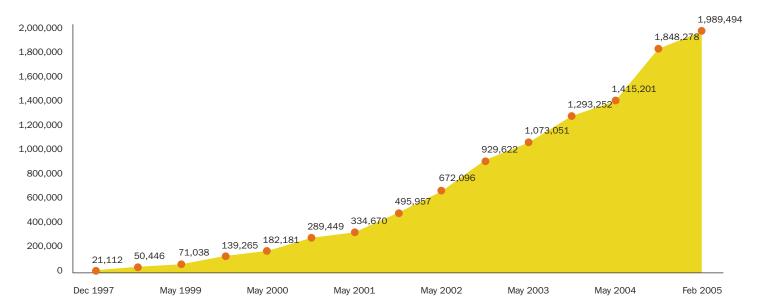
PBS broadcasts the thirty-nine-program series nationally, and viewers may also connect to the *Uncommon Knowledge* website, **www.uncommonknowledge.org**, to read transcripts of the programs and to view programs using streaming video technology, which allows access to the series on a 24/7 basis. Information about which PBS stations carry the series may also be found on the web page.

Radio

As the popularity of radio continues to skyrocket, the number of radio appearances by Hoover fellows has increased — particularly in debates and discussions of public policy issues. Fellows regularly appear as commentators or guests on some of the nation's most highly rated talk radio shows. Among the more notable venues are the National Public Radio Worldwide service and the Voice of America Radio News, both of which also broadcast *Uncommon Knowledge*.

Internet

Just a few short years ago, using the Internet as a communications tool was considered cutting edge and even experimental. Today, nearly all communications and outreach efforts focus on the growing number of users who derive their information from the Internet.



The family of Hoover Institution websites receives nearly two million hits per week — more than doubling its hit rate over a two-year period.

Hoover's website, www.hoover.org, continues to be sought out first for the latest on public policy matters. Its web pages have evolved from a handful of text-only pages that simply reproduced previously published, factual information about the Institution to a dynamic site consisting of more than twelve thousand unique web pages and links to the Institution's publications, video streaming, and high-resolution graphics.

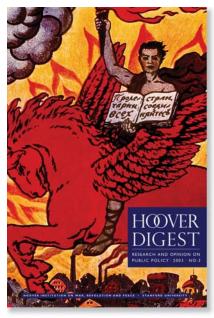
Once linked to the Hoover page, one can obtain information on the library and archives, research programs, and events; review "The Daily Report"; read the latest Weekly Essay; watch or listen to an episode of Uncommon Knowledge; browse the Hoover Digest; purchase books from the Hoover Press catalog; take a virtual tour of the current exhibition in the Herbert Hoover Exhibit Pavilion; or engage in an in-depth review of a public policy issue covered in one of the Institution's topical web pages. The site also offers an archive of the articles published in Policy Review, Education Next, and China Leadership Monitor.

(continued on page 48)

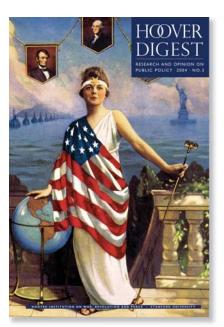
communications and outreach

HOOVER DIGEST

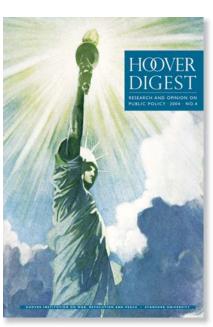
The quarterly *Digest*, which is the Institution's flagship publication, has received Gold Ink Awards from *PrintMedia* and *Printing Impressions* magazines every year since 1999. The competition is recognized as the leading one for periodicals' visual effect and print quality.



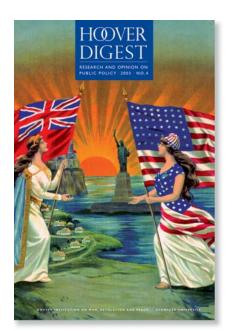
2003, No. 3



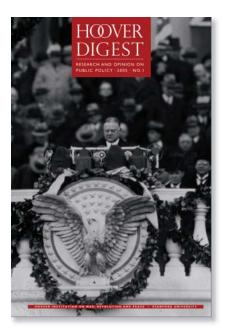
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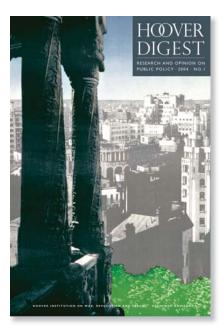
2004, No. 4







2005, No. 1



2004, No. 1



2005, No. 2



2004, No. 2

As part of their visit to the Hoover Institution, media fellows make presentations to Stanford students and friends of the Institution at media forums. Here, Doyle McManus, Washington bureau chief of the Los Angeles Times, makes a presentation to Hoover donors.



The Institution's pages now receive more than two million hits each week, growing at the rate of about 5 percent a month. In addition to the standard fare, the Hoover site offers streaming video of *Uncommon Knowledge*. As interest in the series continues to grow, streaming video is an effective way to maintain a video archive of the series for the public and news media.

Media Relations

One significant and successful aspect of Hoover's outreach to members of the news media has been its Media Fellows Program. Another means of disseminating Hoover scholarship, the program continues to create and solidify long-lasting relationships with media professionals. Offering print, broadcast, and Internet journalists the opportunity to spend time in residence at Hoover, the program has been remarkably successful in increasing the Institution's impact on public policy discussions through the media.

Building a bridge between those who generate public policy ideas, Hoover fellows, and those who present those ideas to the public, the program provides a forum in which they can all exchange ideas and viewpoints. Media fellows meet with their Hoover colleagues to pursue new and ongoing projects in an environment removed from their day-to-day work settings. They discuss the results of their research in small forums with Hoover colleagues and friends and in presentations open to the public. In addition to making presentations at the Institution, media fellows have contributed numerous articles to the *Hoover Digest*.

Approximately sixty journalists each year visit Hoover; this number has increased substantially in the past several years. The program continues to rise in popularity, as evidenced by increased requests of media fellow alumni wishing to return and of other journalists desiring to participate.

SOME MEDIA OUTLETS REPRESENTED IN THE MEDIA FELLOWS PROGRAM

New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Boston Globe, Washington Times, Houston Chronicle, USA Today, Investors Business Daily, Newsweek, Fortune, U.S. News & World Report, National Review Online, Time, Vanity Fair, Newsweek, Weekly Standard, NBC News, ABC Radio, BBC Radio, National Public Radio, and Reuters Television

HOOVER IN WASHINGTON

Through the years, the Institution has presented programs on public policy issues in the nation's capital. Often, these large-scale events were aimed at influential audiences inside the Washington Beltway: policymakers, opinion leaders, scholars, and members of the news media. In an attempt to reach these groups in a more efficient and focused manner, Hoover created its Hoover in Washington program in late 2004. Select members of those groups are invited to small gatherings to hear presentations from Hoover fellows. The response has been positive, and the results, including several stories in the media, have been promising.

Public Affairs

Typically, the news media's first contact with Hoover is through its Office of Public Affairs. Its primary areas of focus are on relations with the news media and providing Hoover Institution fellows and staff with relevant and timely information from the news media.

Public Affairs generates "The Daily Report," an e-mail summary of news stories by or about Hoover fellows and the Institution, with direct links to the articles. In addition, lists of experts willing to discuss and provide background on breaking news stories are distributed regularly to news media outlets around the world. Public Affairs also writes and publishes "What's New at Hoover," online and in print, and distributes press releases to more than twenty thousand news outlets.

With the assistance of the White House Writers Group in Washington, D.C., Public Affairs coordinates Hoover's op-ed program, which is considered among the best in its peer group. More than one thousand opinion pieces by Hoover scholars are placed in newspapers every year. Public Affairs and the White House Writers Group work closely with the members of editorial boards throughout the country to accomplish this remarkable record.

communications and outreach

BOARD OF OVERSEERS MEETINGS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Hoover Institution Board of Overseers meets every February in Washington, D.C. In addition to its business meetings, the board invites elected officials, Cabinet members, administration officials, and influential members of the media to address its convocation. A representative sample of those who recently met with the board in Washington, D.C., is presented here.

SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS



Karl Rove Special Adviser to the President

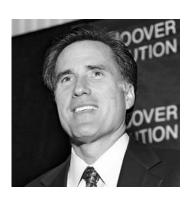


Paul Wolfowitz U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense



Allan B. Hubbard Assistant to the President for Economic Policy

ELECTED OFFICIAL



Mitt Romney Governor of Massachusetts

MEDIA



Tim Russert

Managing Editor and

Moderator of Meet the Press

CABINET MEMBERS



Alberto Gonzales
U.S. Attorney General



Colin Powell U.S. Secretary of State



John W. Snow U.S. Secretary of the Treasury



Stephen Friedman Assistant to the President for Economic Policy



Joshua B. Bolten Director of the Office of Management and Budget



Theodore B. Olson U.S. Solicitor General



George F. Will Syndicated Columnist



Paul Gigot
Editorial Page Editor of
the Wall Street Journal



Charles Krauthammer Syndicated Columnist



David Brooks New York Times *Columnist*

founding principle: representative government

The history of the Hoover Institution is virtually synonymous with the study of authoritarian and totalitarian regimes, which for much of the twentieth century deprived citizens of political rights, civil liberties, and economic freedom. Now that communism, in both its economic and its political manifestations, has demonstrably failed, former communist states and developing nations worldwide are turning to the democratic model for rebuilding their institutions and developing their societies. No research endeavor is more central to the strategic direction of the Hoover Institution than its continued exploration and promotion of

the movement toward greater political freedom in the United States and abroad.

(Items in montage identified on page 106.)



Financial Review

During the 2003-04 fiscal year (ending August 31, 2004), the Hoover Institution expended \$32.4 million on its programs and activities. Of these expenditures, \$30.7 million was allocated to the base budget and \$1.7 million was allocated for special and capital project outlays, which were funded by revenues specifically restricted to projects not within the base budget.

In 2003–04, funds amounting to \$32.1 million were available to support the base budget (see chart 1). This resulted in a \$1.4 million base budget surplus for the year. Of that surplus, \$1.0 million was designated for the Library and Archives Base Reserve Fund, available to the director of the Institution to assist in funding the Hoover Institution Library and Archives; the remaining \$400,000 was designated for the Institutional Reserve Fund, available to the director to assist in funding initiatives important to the Institution. At year-end the Institution had \$16.0 million cash on hand to support the base budget.

In addition to funds raised for the base budget, \$2.1 million in gifts, nongovernment grants, royalties, and university general funds were generated for special and capital projects. The Institution ended the fiscal year with \$14.6 million in reserves for such projects.

At year-end the Institution held more than \$30 million in cash reserves. A portion of these reserves was earmarked for use more than three years in the future. Hence, \$15 million of the cash reserves was transferred to the endowment, \$7.85 million from base budget funds and \$7.15 million from special and capital project funds.

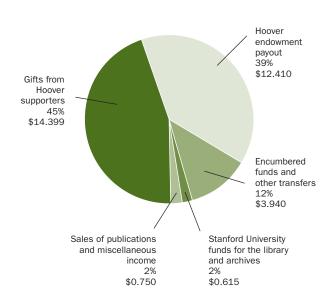
Base budget expenditures of \$30.7 million in 2003-04 represent a 2 percent increase over the previous year's expenditures. Research and library and archives activities account for 66 percent of the 2003-04 base budget expenditures. Outreach, development, and the communications program amount to 23 percent of expenditures (see chart 2).

Of the \$15.6 million in expendable gifts received in 2003-04, \$14.4 million was specifically allocated to support base budget activities. During the ten-year period from 1993-94 to 2003-04, the annual growth rate in base budget expendable gifts received was 13.8 percent (see chart 3).

The market value of Hoover's endowment as of August 31, 2004, was \$276 million, with an additional \$15 million of current reserves held in endowment. During the course of the fiscal year, new endowment gifts of \$3.1 million were contributed to the Institution and are included in the year-end endowment value. The value of living trusts as of August 31, 2004, was \$9.4 million.

Chart 1. Funding Sources — Base Budget, 2003–04 (in millions of dollars)

Chart 2. Budget Expenditures — Base Budget, 2003–04 (in millions of dollars)



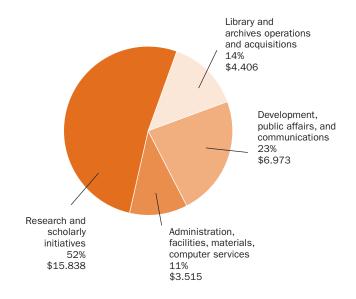
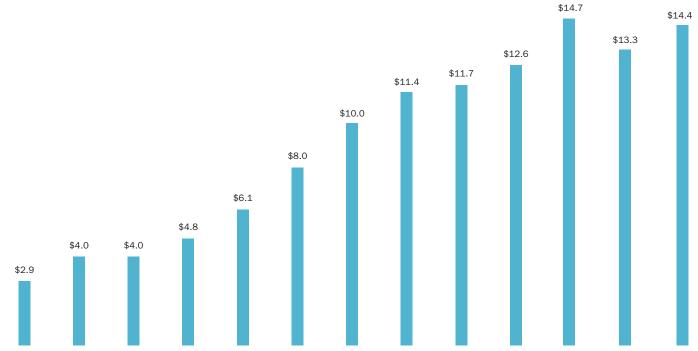


Chart 3. Expendable Gifts — Base Budget, 2003–04 (in millions of dollars)



1991-1992 1992-1993 1993-1994 1994-1995 1995-1996 1996-1997 1997-1998 1998-1999 1999-2000 2000-2001 2001-2002 2002-2003 2003-2004

founding principle: peace and prosperity

Hoover scholars operate under the premise that our national objectives are, in broad terms, peace and prosperity. Clearly, the country's economic performance directly affects the degree of prosperity attained and indirectly affects our prospects for peace.

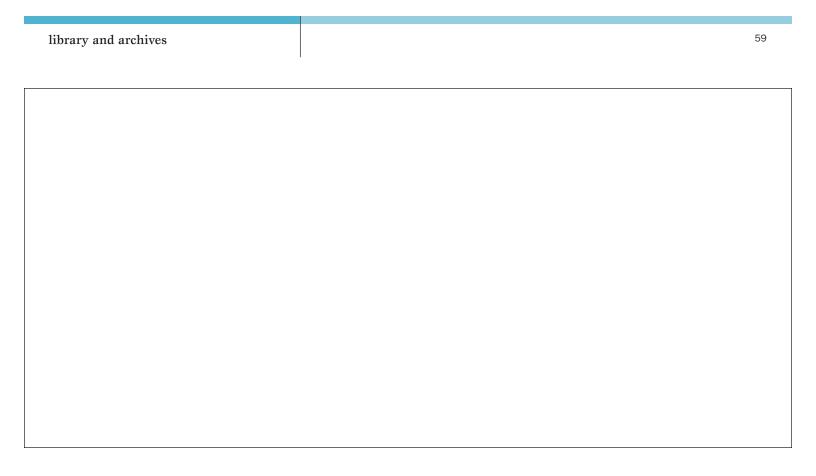
Hoover scholars articulate policy reforms that seek greater prosperity for Americans. They engage in research that documents the strengths and weaknesses of the U.S. economy, and they consider what would enable the economy to perform better, thereby providing an ever-higher quality of life, increased economic opportunity, and greater economic freedom for citizens.

Hoover scholars are also keenly interested in understanding the new era of international affairs brought about by the end of the cold war. Recognizing that there are unprecedented opportunities to bring the principles of representative government, individual liberty, and free enterprise to the fore, Hoover scholars are also acutely aware that the fundamental changes occurring in the world present significant uncertainties and threats to peace.

(Items in montage identified on page 106.)



library and archives



The Hoover Institution Library and Archives collect, preserve, and make accessible original documents of recent history. The library and archives thus serve as an international hub for a bustling enterprise that combines research, exhibitions, publishing, and broadcasting among a lively network of scholars, politicians, public figures, artists, filmmakers, and journalists. In recent years, Hoover fellows and visitors to the library and archives have mined the holdings for materials relevant to current public policy and twentieth- and twenty-first-century history to document war, revolution, and peace in the modern era.

Large numbers of new collections, totaling 4,801 manuscript boxes, have been added to the Hoover Institution Archives in the past two years. Notable new collections cover a wide range of viewpoints, from the diaries of Soviet diplomat and Russian ambassador A. L. Adamishin, to Trotskyist materials from the Anchor Foundation, to substantial materials from Edward Teller, and to the papers of the eminent *Wall Street Journal* editor and Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Robert Bartley.

Examples of some recent noteworthy additions to the collections are described below. (A complete list of donors is provided at the end of this section.)

International Collections Promoting Democracy

The holdings of the Hoover Archives document, on a global scale, a wide spectrum of political opinions. The development of democratic institutions throughout the world is a major theme emerging from these collections.

(continued on page 62)



From left to right and top to bottom: **1.** Excerpt from Chiang Kai-shek's diary, 1950 (on loan from Elizabeth Chiang) **2.** Chiang Kai-shek, November 1953 (Marvin Liebman papers) **3.** Chiang Kai-shek's grandson Chiang Hsiao-wu (characters read "to my grandfather"), circa 1950 (on loan from Elizabeth Chiang) **4.** Excerpt from Chiang Kai-shek's diary, 1950 (on loan from Elizabeth Chiang)

Chiang Kai-shek Diaries

Although most collections are donated to the Hoover Archives in perpetuity, certain items of great cultural importance are placed on loan until an appropriate repository is available. Such is the case with the diaries of Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Nationalist Party of China and president of the Republic of China, Taiwan. These personal diaries cover the tumultuous decades from 1919 to 1972, with detailed accounts of his rise to power, the Japanese occupation, World War II, the Chinese civil war, and the relocation of the Nationalists to Taiwan. The Chiang family also placed the handwritten diaries dating from 1941 to 1979 of Chiang's son and successor as president, Chiang

Ching-kuo, at Hoover. In addition to preservation microfilming, the diaries are being screened by the family so they can be made available for research. These documents provide deep insights into the personalities that shaped modern Chinese history, Sino-American relations, and the foundation of Taiwan's economic and political development.



As part of the conference on the impact of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Czech president Václav Havel delivered a videotaped message that reinforced the power of the media in the struggle against censorship, communism, and the police state.

The archives' largest acquisition to date is the records of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (RFE/RL), the U.S.-funded organization that provided a surrogate free press for Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union during half a century of communist domination. With some eighty thousand broadcast tapes, the collection is a rich resource on the cold war. These records have arrived at Hoover over a long period, with more files and broadcast tapes arriving each year.

The value and impact of this vast resource were highlighted at a Hoover conference that included scholars and veteran journalists from Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and the United States. They discussed the actual impact of these broadcasts and analyzed specific broadcasting techniques that influenced the population in hostile regimes. The October 2004 conference (cosponsored by the Cold War International History Project of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars) attracted more than one hundred participants from Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Romania, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Human rights activist Elena Bonner, the widow of Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov, gave a keynote address at the conference.

The conference was organized by Research Fellow Ross Johnson, and the participants included Hoover fellows Sidney Drell, John Dunlop, Kenneth Jowitt, Gregory Mitrovich, Norman Naimark, Anatol Shmelev, George Shultz, and Amir Weiner and associate director Elena Danielson.

A follow-on conference was held in February 2005 to analyze how lessons learned from RFE/RE can be applied to broadcasting in the Islamic world.

To bring the story of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty to an even wider audience, an interpretive exhibition, "Voices of Hope: The Story of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty," was installed in the Herbert Hoover Exhibit Pavilion. A virtual version of the historic documents from the collection may be found on the Hoover website (www.hoover.org/hila).

International in scope and essential for the study of emerging democratic institutions are the records of the **Center for Democracy** and the papers of its founder, historian **Allen Weinstein**. Weinstein's international public service began in 1985, when he founded the bipartisan Center for Democracy in Washington, D.C., which, since then, has monitored elections in Russia, Central America, and Asia. Consisting of more than one thousand boxes of documents and with more

materials arriving every year, this collection should prove to be a major source for historians and journalists alike.

Modern China Archives

The Hoover Institution's interest in China dates back to Herbert Hoover's work in Tientsin, China, where he served as a mining engineer in 1899 and was caught up in the Boxer Rebellion. During the early years of the twentieth century, Mr. Hoover collected books on Chinese history for Stanford University.

Owing to a dearth of open, official records, more researchers use the East Asian records than those from any other curatorial area. Compared with American and European historiography, writing modern Chinese history, according to historian Jonathan Spence, faces a particular obstacle because few original sources are available and accessible for research. Therefore, efforts to collect and open a vast resource on Chinese history, which will provide a basis for objective history writing on China, are imperative. Hoover fellows Kuo Tai-chun and Ramon Myers are spearheading the library and archives' efforts to collect materials and open a vast resource for studying modern Chinese history.

(continued on page 66)



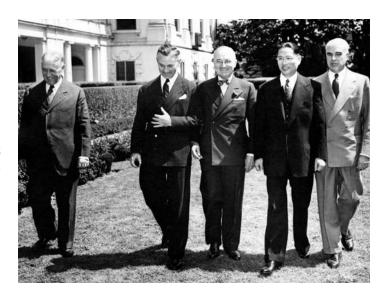
From left to right and top to bottom (all from the Leo Eloesser papers): **1.** Chinese opera makeup booklet, undated **2.** Detail of painting by Máximo Pacheco, undated **3.** Quote of Diego Rivera from unpublished autobiography, circa 1973 **4.** Brazilian chapbooks, 1950 **5.** Leo Eloesser, undated photograph by Edward Weston **6.** Mexican medal, undated **7.** United Nations Children's Fund letter appointing Eloesser as a consultant, 1950 **8.** Anti–Chiang Kai-shek color poster on rice paper, circa 1944–1949 **9.** Chinese opera program with handwritten dedication to Eloesser, undated

Leo Eloesser Papers

The papers of San Francisco physician Leo Eloesser (1881–1976) reflect his remarkable career, which took him on humanitarian missions to war-torn areas of Asia and Europe and impoverished regions of Latin America where his medical skills were in demand. He joined the University of California Medical School in 1909 and the Stanford Medical School faculty in 1911. Constantly traveling to areas of political turmoil, his unpublished diaries and memoirs (1904–1971) reveal the intersections of politics, medicine, and art. He describes German military hospitals in World War I, the ambulance corps in the Spanish civil war (1937–1938), and medical services to the poor in China following

World War II. An accomplished violinist and artist, his interest in the arts led to friendships with a wide variety of international cultural figures, such as the American photographer Edward Weston, musicians from Isaac Stern to opera singers in China, and artists such as Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo in Mexico. The papers were donated by his companion Joyce Campbell and include her writings.

T. V. Soong worked at the highest levels in Washington to marshal support for the Republic of China: left to right, Henry L. Stimson (U.S. secretary of war), James V. Forrestal (U.S. secretary of the navy), President Harry S. Truman, T. V. Soong, and Edward R. Stettinius (U.S. secretary of state).



Selections of the vast papers of **T. V. Soong**, finance minister of China and foreign minister in World War II, have been deposited at Hoover since the 1970s. Much of the Soong collection was restricted during the lifetime of Madame Chiang Kai-shek (Soong's sister) out of respect for her privacy. The collection was significantly enhanced in 2004, when the family of T. V. Soong not only opened up the restricted materials in the Hoover Archives but added substantial documentation from the family files. Those records document Soong's close relationship with President Roosevelt, Soong's role in marshaling U.S. support for China in World War II, and his family's role in gaining U.S. support for Taiwan during the cold war. The papers reveal the inside story (never before completely understood) of General Stilwell's removal from power in 1944. Another revelation is the exact status of the Soong family finances, long a subject of intense speculation.

In 1949, after the Communist Party came to power on the mainland, the **Kuomintang** (KMT), China's oldest political party, which traces its roots to Sun Yat-sen, relocated to Taiwan, taking along its records. These records are an invaluable resource for understanding China in the twentieth century, the economic miracle that occurred in Taiwan after World War II, and the peaceful transition to democracy that occurred in Taiwan when martial law was lifted in 1987.

Recently, three million documents, never before available to scholars, were declassified by KMT chairman Lien Chan so that they could be both preserved and made available for research. Although the original records will stay in Taiwan, the Hoover Institution is creating a preservation microfilm of these records. The microfilm will be digitized to ensure easy access by scholars and to preserve the records.



On August 12, 2003, Hoover director John Raisian (left) and Taiwan senator Alex Tsai signed a historic agreement with the Kuomintang to assist the party in preserving the history of modern China.

In addition to preserving official KMT records, the Hoover Institution is assisting in the preservation of the diaries of Chiang Kai-shek (from 1919 to 1972) and his son Chiang Ching-kuo (from 1941 to 1979). On loan to the Hoover Institution, it is expected that these private family papers will be made be available to historians to provide further documentation for China's history. In addition, Madame Chiang's papers, held by the National Women's League of the Republic of China in Taipei, Taiwan, will be microfilmed.

Significant collections in the Hoover Archives include the papers of General Joseph Stilwell, commanding general of the China-Burma-India theater of war, 1942–1944 (a well-known adversary of Chiang Kai-shek), and the papers of Chiang's great friend and ally, General Albert Wedemeyer. General Stilwell's diaries, a major source on China during World War II, have, up to now, been published in fragments. The Stilwell family and a team of editors have transcribed the diaries. Among other things, scholars can now compare Stilwell's transcribed diaries to the newly available papers of T. V. Soong and, in the near future, to the diaries of Chiang Kai-shek.

(continued on page 70)



Alexander Ginzburg Papers

Alexander Ginzburg (1936–2002) fearlessly championed human rights in the Soviet Union and in post-Soviet Russia. He was arrested several times by the KGB in the 1960s, first when still a student, for criticizing the Soviet regime. In 1967 he was sentenced to five years in a labor camp for publicizing the plight of dissident writer Andrei Siniavskii. Ginzburg worked with a network of dissidents, including Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Andrei Sakharov, Elena Bonner, Andrei Amalrik, Vladimir Bukovsky, and Andrei Siniavskii, to monitor compliance with the Helsinki accords on human rights. In addition, he raised funds to assist the families of dissidents,

whose economic welfare had been compromised for upholding their principles. After leaving the Soviet Union in a political prisoner exchange in 1979, he worked as an editor and political columnist for the weekly journal Russkaya mysl' in Paris. "He was the detonator of the democratic movement," according to his lawyer Boris Zolotukhin, who was arrested for defending Ginzburg. The Ginzburg papers, which document this long struggle, complement the other human rights collections in the Hoover Archives.



Soong Meiling (Madame Chiang Kai-shek) and Chiang Kai-shek; she was also the sister of Foreign Minister T. V. Soong.

Other major acquisitions include the papers of **Chang Kia-ngau** concerning China's negotiations with the Soviet Union over Manchuria.

Shortly before her death, writer and journalist Iris Chang donated her extensive materials to the Hoover Archives. They document her research on the history of the Chinese in America and the human rights violations in Nanking (1937–1938) and include the lengthy interviews she conducted with American military personnel who served in the Pacific during World War II.

Acquisitions and Publications on the Soviet Forced Labor System

The Hoover Institution Library and Archives have sponsored the microfilming of millions of documents in the files of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Hoover microfilm on the Soviet Gulag alone includes some twelve million documents. That documentation, which details the internal workings of the forced labor camps under Stalin, has been used by writers Anne Applebaum and Paul Gregory to produce prizewinning books that explore both the human and the economic tragedy of the Gulag.

Washington Post columnist Anne Applebaum's most recent book, Gulag: A History, published in April 2003 by Doubleday, won the 2004 Pulitzer Prize for nonfiction. In her research for the book, which chronicles the history of the Soviet concentration camps and depicts daily life in them, Applebaum made extensive use of recently opened Russian archives, including the files in the Hoover Archives.

Research fellow Paul R. Gregory received the 2004 Ed A. Hewett Book Prize (awarded by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies and the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research) for The Political Economy of Stalinism: Evidence from the Soviet Secret Archives (Cambridge University Press, 2003). This book examines the political economy of the centrally planned economies of the former Soviet Union and East Central Europe and their transitional successors. Gregory drew on formerly secret Soviet state and Communist Party archives — making extensive use of the microfilms of the Communist Party files in the Hoover Archives — to describe the Soviet administrative command system. That system's failure, Gregory concludes, was not strictly the fault of Stalin's leadership but also the result of internal contradictions in the economic system itself.

MAKING MATERIALS ACCESSIBLE

On a practical level, important documents can be difficult for researchers to use. For example, one new collection, the diaries of **Pierre Gamburg**, a Jewish French lieutenant, consists of smudged pages handwritten in pencil during his stay in a German prisoner-of-war camp in World War II. Protected by the Geneva convention, he was able to keep a daily account of his five years in captivity. Archives staff and a translator succeeded in transcribing the original French and translating it into English. This rare document is now accessible to a wide audience.

The Hoover Institution and the State Archives of the Russian Federation joined together to edit key documents on the Gulag, which have been published in seven volumes by the Rosspen publishing house in Moscow. Hoover fellows Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Robert Conquest both wrote introductions for this series, which was launched in December 2004.

Of particular note is the acquisition of the papers of Alexander Ginzburg, one of the leading Soviet dissidents of the 1960s and 1970s and a close friend and collaborator of Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Ginzburg compiled the "White Book" about the Siniavskii-Daniel trial in the mid-1960s and was one of the founders of the Soviet chapter of the Helsinki Group, which monitored human rights in the Soviet Union. He spent three different prison terms in the Gulag for his work as an underground samizdat publisher and human rights activist. He was released and exiled to the West in 1979.

(continued on page 74)



From left to right and top to bottom: **1.** Madame Chiang Kai-shek's Letter to Boys and Girls across the Ocean, 1940 (T. V. Soong papers) **2.** Chiang Kai-shek, February 15, 1945 (Albert C. Wedemeyer papers) **3.** Chiang Kai-shek, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and Joseph W. Stilwell, undated (Joseph W. Stilwell papers) **4.** Letter fragment (T. V. Soong papers) **5.** Order of the White Sun and Blue Sky Medal (Albert C. Wedemeyer papers) **6.** Letterhead of T. V. Soong as minister for foreign affairs, Republic of China (T. V. Soong papers) **7.** Madame Chiang Kai-shek in New York, 1943 (Henry S. Evans papers) **8.** T. V. Soong, undated (John McDonald papers) **9.** Telegram from Chiang Kai-shek to Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, January 31, 1943 (T. V. Soong papers)

T. V. Soong Papers

T. V. Soong (1894–1971) was a key figure in the history of modern China. He established the Central Bank of China in 1924. Working closely with Chiang Kai-shek, he served as minister of finance in the 1920s, foreign minister during World War II, head of the Chinese delegation to the United Nations Conference in 1945, and president of the Executive Yuan from 1945 to 1947. To preserve this remarkable legacy, the family of T. V. Soong selected the Hoover Institution Archives as the official repository for his papers in the 1970s. In 2004 the family added significantly to the existing collection. Those previously unknown documents provide fresh

insights into turning points of Chinese history, such as the abduction of Chiang Kai-shek in 1936, the dismissal of General Joseph Stilwell, the framing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1945, and the financial records of the Nationalist Party. The family also agreed to open the records of T. V. Soong's personal finances, long a subject of intense speculation, as well as the correspondence of T. V. Soong's sister, Madame Chiang Kai-shek.



The entry to the "American Friendship: Herbert Hoover and Poland" exhibition at the Polish Royal Castle is draped with a banner depicting a monument in honor of Mr. Hoover's child-feeding programs in Europe; the monument was destroyed in World War II.

Cultivating the Hoover Legacy

As an international mining engineer before World War I, Herbert Hoover's travels to Asia, Eastern Europe, and the Russian empire awakened a lifelong interest in global politics. His awareness of the ravages of war in the industrial age motivated him to organize a comprehensive American foreign aid program, the American Relief Administration (ARA), to save children and civilians in foreign war zones. Mr. Hoover saved the financial records for audits and had the children fed by those programs photographed to prove that the financial assistance reached the most needy and was not diverted to other uses.

A major exhibition, "American Friendship: Herbert Hoover and Poland," was installed in the Polish Royal Castle in Warsaw. A Hoover Institution delegation led by Director John Raisian, Associate Director Elena Danielson, Board of Overseers chairman Kurt Hauser, and Board of Overseers member Herbert Hoover III opened the exhibition on November 12, 2004. Victor Ashe, U.S. ambassador to Poland, and Lech Kaczyński, mayor of Warsaw, also participated in the opening ceremonies.

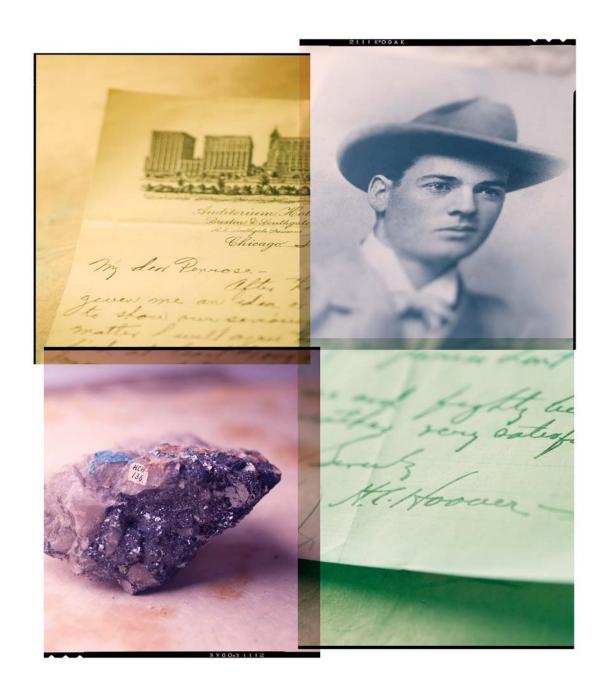


Guests to the exhibition are greeted by a small bronze statue of Tadeusz Kościuszko (of American Revolutionary War fame) that was given to Mr. Hoover in remembrance of his friendship with Poland.

From 1919 to 1921 Mr. Hoover helped feed orphans, impoverished Jews, and other destitute civilians devastated during the wartime struggles when Poland was reconstituted as a nation-state after a century of partition. The exhibition featured Polish ARA photographs from the Hoover Archives. In the course of the exhibition preparation, hundreds of old archival photographs and snapshots were scanned and restored, bringing back to life the image of Poland as it reemerged on the European stage. The exhibition was created by Maciej Siekierski, curator for the Institution's East/Central European Collection, and Zbigniew Stańczyk; the Taube Family Foundation provided funding for the installation of the exhibition and for the exhibition catalog.

Adventures of the ARA in Belarus, a book by Alexander Lukashuk, who was an Osher Fellow at the Hoover Institution, was released in 2004. An RFE/RL broadcast journalist from Belarus, Lukashuk conducted his research in the Hoover Archives and wrote of the ARA relief mission, headed by Herbert Hoover, in Lukashuk's native country. In surveying the Belarus collections, Lukashuk found letters addressed to Herbert Hoover from residents of the Brest-Pinsk region and discovered his family's name among the signatures. He began his research on the ARA in Belarus at Hoover and continued it in Belarusian archives and libraries.

(continued on page 78)



From left to right and top to bottom: **1.** Letter from Herbert Hoover to Richard Penrose, Chicago, July 20, 1902 (Richard A. F. Penrose letters) **2.** Herbert Hoover in Perth, Australia, 1898 (Herbert Hoover subject collection) **3.** Hematite ore sample (on loan from Stanford University, School of Earth Sciences) **4.** Letter from Herbert Hoover to Richard Penrose, Tientsin, China, January 20, 1900 (Richard A. F. Penrose letters)

Richard A. F. Penrose Letters

In 1899, four years after graduating from Stanford University, twenty-five-year-old Herbert Hoover traveled as a mining engineer to China. Although little is known about Hoover's early career, the Hoover Archives recently acquired letters that Hoover wrote during this period to Richard A. F. Penrose, a prominent American geologist and entrepreneur. After leaving a professorship at the University of Chicago, Penrose began investigating the gold-mining district of Cripple Creek, Colorado, in 1897 and offered Hoover a position as mine inspector. Hoover turned down the opportunity in order to pursue leads in Australia and then China but kept in touch with Penrose. In these detailed

letters Hoover describes the complex political situation he encountered in late imperial China, which was beset by competing foreign colonial interests. He explored the possibilities of making ancient, shallow mines profitable again using modern techniques. During this period Hoover also began to study the Chinese language and the history of the country. Before long he was purchasing books on China for Stanford University.

The heading for this thank-you note reads: "A salute to you, Great Man of America, Mr. Herbert Hoover, for help to the children of Podlasie." One of many in the Hoover Archives, this note is signed by schoolchildren of that Polish city.



Lukashuk's book documents ARA operations on the territory of present-day Belarus during the armistice and reconstruction period (1919–1922) and in three Belarusian districts that benefited from famine relief in Russia (1921–1923). He also reports the arrests of ARA employees in Belarus after its operations ended and the misleading characterizations of the ARA efforts by the Soviet and post-Soviet press.

In the spring of 2003, a series of thirty programs on the ARA was aired by RFE/RL, excerpts of which were published by the independent media. An interview with Herbert "Pete" Hoover III concluded the series, the final broadcast of which aired on the eightieth anniversary of the completion of the ARA's work in Belarus.

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founding principle: leadership and ingenuity

In the words of Herbert Hoover, "If we are to have leadership in government, in science, in education, in the professions and in the home, we must find and train some uncommon men and women." At the Hoover Institution, scholars and public policy practitioners of uncommon talent reflect on leadership issues in both the domestic and the international arenas, with special attention to the key role of the United States as a leader in the realm of international diplomacy.

Skillful leadership requires ingenuity and initiative, both of which are also driving forces toward economic prosperity. In thinking about

the economic environment in which we live, it is important to recognize that initiative and ingenuity thrive in systems based on free enterprise.

Economic freedom, private enterprise, and limited government, all of which promote leadership, initiative, and ingenuity, have been defining principles at the Hoover Institution since its founding in 1919 and will continue as such in the twenty-first century.

(Items in montage identified on page 106.)



The value of the public policy work of the Hoover Institution and its fellows and the importance of its collections have been recognized by an increasing number of concerned citizens. In addition to those donors wishing to remain anonymous, the Hoover Institution acknowledges with gratitude all those who have supported the Institution's research, archival, and communication efforts during the past two years. Special acknowledgment is given to those who have provided support at the Hoover Council level through gifts of \$10,000 or more and to all friends who have given \$1,000 or more.

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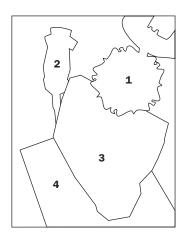
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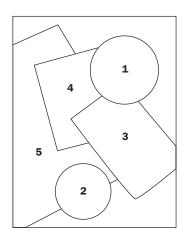
founding principle montages



INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

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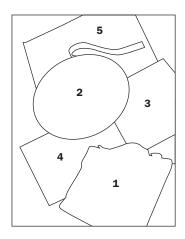
Presidential Medal of Freedom, 1983 (Eric Hoffer papers)
 Radio Liberty microphone (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty records)
 Piece of the Berlin wall (German subject collection)
 Andrei Sakharov Defense Campaign letterhead, 1980 (Scientists for Sakharov, Orlov and Shcharansky records)



PEACE AND PROSPERITY

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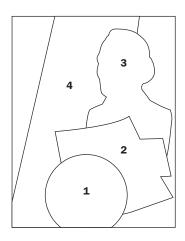
1–2. Peace buttons (Alice Park papers)
3. Olympic stadium pass for the 1932 Olympiad in Los
Angeles (memorabilia collection)
4. Jane Addams, undated (University of Hawaii pictorial collection)
5. Jane Addams's letter to David Starr Jordan,
December 8, 1914 (David Starr Jordan papers)



PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

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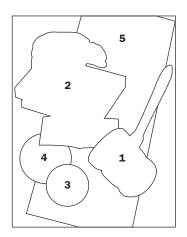
1. Document case (Petr Berngardovich Struve papers) 2–3. Videotape and flyer for William F. Buckley Jr.'s Firing Line television show: program entitled "Resolved: That Free Market Competitiveness Is Best for America," September 13, 1989 (Firing Line broadcasts) 4. Chinese banknotes (Daniel K. E. Ching collection) 5. Letterhead with photograph of the Mont Pèlerin Hotel, Vevey, Switzerland, May 5, 1947 (Mont Pèlerin Society records)



LEADERSHIP AND INGENUITY

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1. National Medal of Science, 1982 awarded in June 1983 (Edward Teller papers) 2. Letter to Ignace Jan Paderewski from Mahatma Gandhi, September 1939 (Ignace Jan Paderewski papers) 3. Bust of Ignace Jan Paderewski (Ignace Jan Paderewski papers) 4. Scroll with facsimile of Sun Yat-sen's portrait and Confucius quotation in calligraphy, undated (Payson J. Treat papers)



REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

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1. Gavel presented to Herbert Hoover for his role in creating a system of canals in the Ohio River, 1929 (Herbert Hoover subject collection) 2. Gold bear containing Electoral College of California ballots "for president of the United States of America — Herbert C. Hoover," presented to Herbert Hoover in 1929 (Herbert Hoover subject collection) 3-4. Hoover campaign buttons, 1928 and 1932 (Ray Lyman Wilbur papers) 5. South African 1994 election ballot with the parties' logos and candidate photos (poster collection)