

HOOVER INSTITUTION

FALL 2002

NEWSLETTER

KORET TASK FORCE CONVENES; FORMER UK CHIEF INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS SPEAKS

As part of the Hoover Institution's Initiative on American Public Education, the Koret Task Force on K-12 Education convened for its semi-annual meeting at the Hoover Institution during September 12-13, 2002. At the Koret Task Force dinner, Christopher Woodhead, former British chief inspector of schools, spoke on new challenges in education in a predinner talk. According to Woodhead, schools on the K-12 level in both the United States and the United Kingdom have a lot in common. Unfortunately, that is not a good thing, he told guests and members of the Koret Task Force at the Thursday dinner.

"Through the 1960s and into the 1970s, we were in a state of complacent delusion that our education system in the UK was world-class," Woodhead said. "It didn't seem to matter that our children weren't learning."

As that realization dawned, some educators and politicians in the United Kingdom

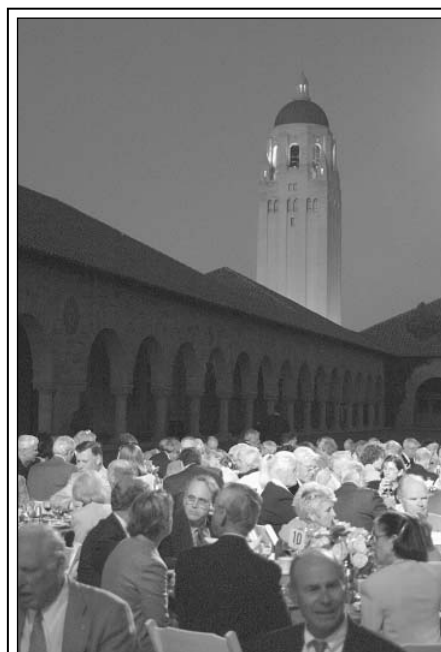
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SUMMER BOARD OF OVERSEERS MEETING CELEBRATES WITH CARILLON REDEDICATION CEREMONY

Hoover Institution overseers and their guests were treated to an evening of celebration as the bells of the Hoover Tower carillon rang again after a two-year absence.

Pulitzer Prize-winning author Daniel Yergin spoke on the global economy before the Board of Overseers dinner on July 17, drawing on themes from his new book, coauthored with Joseph A. Stanislaw, *The Commanding Heights: The Battle between Government and the Marketplace That Is Remaking the Modern World*.

"Think about the world at hand," said Yergin. "Will it be an increasingly integrated, well-functioning, global economy, providing benefits to billions of people



Hoover Institution Board of Overseers and guests enjoy dinner on the Quad and the music of the Hoover Tower carillon on July 17.

around the world, or will it be a fractured world as new barriers go up—some that

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DAVID BRADY NAMED ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, CHESTER FINN IS SENIOR FELLOW

Two new appointments have been announced by Hoover Institution director John Raisian. Senior Fellow David Brady has been appointed associate director for research and Chester E. Finn Jr. has been appointed a senior fellow.

David Brady is the Bowen H. and Janice Arthur McCoy Professor of Political Science and Ethics in the Stanford Univer-

sity Graduate School of Business and a professor of political science in the School of Humanities and Sciences at the university. His research focuses on the U.S. Congress, legislative decision making, and general public policy processes.

Brady's recent publications include, with John Cogan, "Out of Step, Out of Office," *American Political Science Review*,

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March 2001; with John Cogan and Morris Fiorina, *Change and Continuity in House Elections* (Stanford University Press, 2000); and, with John Cogan and Doug Rivers, *Revolving Gridlock: Politics and Policy from Carter to Clinton* (Westview Press, 1999).

Brady has been on continuing appointment at Stanford University since 1987. He was associate dean from 1997 to 2001 at Stanford University's Graduate School of Business and a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences from 1985 to 1986 and again in 2001-2. From 1980 to 1987, Brady was the Autrey Professor at Rice University, and from 1972 to 1979 he was an associate professor and professor at the University of Houston.

Brady has won several awards for his writing and teaching. In 1995 and 2000 he received the *Congressional Quarterly* Prize for the "best paper on a legislative topic." He also received the Richard F. Fenno Award of the American Political Science Association for the "best book on legislative studies" published in 1988-89. In 1992 he received the Dinkelspiel Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching from Stanford University, and in 1993 he received the Phi Beta Kappa Award for best teacher at Stanford University. While at



David Brady

Rice University, Brady was honored with the George Brown Award for Superior Teaching.

Brady has been a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution since 1997 and will continue as a senior fellow while assuming his role as associate director.

Brady is a presidential appointee to the National Historical Records and Publications Commission and a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Iowa.

Chester E. Finn Jr.'s work centers on education reform. He is a member of Hoover's Koret Task Force on K-12 Education, a group commissioned by Hoover director John Raisian to study American public education. He is also president of the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation for education reform.

Finn is the author of *Charter Schools in Action: Renewing Public Education*, with Bruno V. Manno and Gregg Vanourek (2001), and *The Educated Child: A Parent's Guide from Preschool through Eighth Grade*, cowritten with William J. Bennett and John Cribb (1999). His other works include *The New Promise of American Life*, coedited with Lamar Alexander (1995); *Radical Education Reforms*, coedited with Herbert J. Walberg (1994); *We Must Take Charge:*

Our Schools and Our Future (reprinted in 1993); *Education Reform in the '90s*, coedited with Theodor Rebarber (1992); and *What Do Our 17-Year-Olds Know?* (1988), written with Hoover Institution distinguished visiting fellow and fellow Koret Task Force member Diane Ravitch.

Finn has served on the boards of several organizations, including the Center for Education Reform, the Foundation for Teaching Economics, the Colorado League of Charter Schools, the National Association of Scholars, the Center of the American Experiment, and the National Assessment Governing Board, which he chaired for two years.

Finn has been a fellow at the Manhattan Institute and the Hudson Institute. He was a founding partner and senior scholar with the Edison Project from 1992 to 1994 and assistant secretary for research and improvement and counselor to the secretary of the U.S. Department of Education from 1985 to 1988. Finn has also

worked as staff assistant to the president of the United States; special assistant to the governor of Massachusetts; counsel to the American ambassador to India; and research associate in governmental studies at the Brookings Institution.

Finn is on leave from Vanderbilt University, where he has been a professor of education and public policy since 1981.



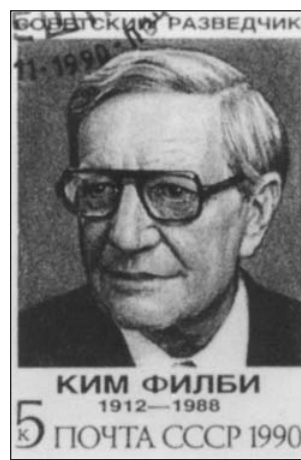
Chester E. Finn Jr.

BOOKS OWNED BY SOVIET SPY "KIM" PHILBY ACQUIRED BY HOOVER INSTITUTION LIBRARY

Books from the library of British intelligence officer and Soviet spy Harold Adrian Russell "Kim" Philby have recently been placed in the Hoover Institution Library.

Philby (1912-1988) was responsible for passing British and U.S. state secrets to the Soviet Union during World War II and the cold war until his defection to Moscow in 1963.

Guy Burgess, another member of the same spy ring, defected to Moscow in 1951. The books contain annotations in pencil by Burgess as well as Philby's bookplate. The collection includes such volumes as the English translation of Lenin's writings and U.S. ambassador Joseph Davies's book *Mission to Moscow*.



Philby's portrait on a postage stamp issued by the Soviet government shortly before its collapse.

Photograph from the collection of Anthony Cave Brown.

SCOTT W. ATLAS JOINS THE HOOVER INSTITUTION

Scott W. Atlas—long recognized as a leader in both education and clinical research in the medical field—has been appointed a Hoover senior fellow (by courtesy). Currently, he is studying the impact of the changing health care marketplace on technology-based innovations in medicine. His latest research looks at the effects of managed care on expensive technologies involved in emerging medical applications.

Atlas is the editor of the leading textbook in the field, the best-selling *Magnetic Resonance Imaging of the Brain and Spine*, currently in its third edition. He is also editor of the journal *Topics in MRI* and has been associate editor of the jour-

nals *Radiology*, *Journal of Magnetic Resonance Imaging* and a member of the editorial boards of the *American Journal of Neuroradiology*, *Magnetic Resonance Imaging*, and *International Journal of Neuroradiology*. He is an adviser to major industry leaders in medical technology and author of more than 100 scientific publications in leading journals.

Atlas has been on several national committees and a board member of many major scientific societies over the past decade. He has received numerous awards and honors in recognition of his leadership in the medical field.

Before his appointments at Stanford University and the Hoover Institution,



Scott W. Atlas

Atlas was on the faculty of the University of California, San Francisco, the University of Pennsylvania, and Mount Sinai Medical Center in New York City.

KORET TASK FORCE ON K-12 EDUCATION

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found themselves grappling with many of the same issues that have plagued the United States and arriving at similar conclusions as their American counterparts: that a national educational curriculum, educational bureaucracy reform, and accountability are needed.

As in the United States, education reformists in the United Kingdom face huge resistance from teachers' unions, which have a stake in maintaining the status quo. And parents who are concerned about their children often have their ears and opinions bent most easily by the teachers.

"The teachers who go to the school yard gate to talk to the mums get their message across much easier than a politician or an educator in his office," Woodhead said.

Woodhead said he believes the challenge of education for the twenty-first century is reforming "problematized pedagogy," the corruption of fundamental education, learning techniques, and content. As in the United States, grade inflation is rampant. When reforms are instituted, they have often been diluted to appease the teachers' unions.

Parents do want choice, but that is lacking in the system, he said.

Unlike the U.S. system, the office of chief inspector of schools, which he headed, dispatches teams into the schools to do a full evaluation of the schools' effectiveness. He recommended this as another tool to help improve education in the United States.

On Friday, Woodhead met with the task force to continue their discussion of the state of K-12 education in the United States and the United Kingdom.

Woodhead holds the Sir Stanley Kalms Chair in Education at the University of Buckingham and writes for the *Sunday Times of London* on educational and political issues in Great Britain. He is the author of the new volume *Class War: The State of British Education*.

The Koret Task Force on K-12 Education is an elite team of scholars specializing in education reform who have been brought together by Hoover director John Raisian and Koret Foundation president and Hoover overseer Tad Taube to address the national debate over public education. The task force is a joint endeavor of the Hoover Institution and the Koret Foundation of San Francisco, its primary sponsor. Task force members include Hoover fellows Williamson M. Evers,



Christopher Woodhead, former British chief inspector of schools, speaks on education reform in Great Britain at the Koret Task Force dinner.

Chester E. Finn Jr., Eric Hanushek, Terry Moe, and Paul E. Peterson and Hoover distinguished visiting fellows John E. Chubb, Paul Hill, E. D. Hirsch Jr., Caroline Hoxby, Diane Ravitch, and Herbert J. Walberg.

The Koret Task Force forms the centerpiece of the Hoover Institution's Initiative on American Public Education, a five-year commitment to the production of research and writing on education reform that citizens of the United States should consider as a matter of public policy. The primary objectives of this team are to gather, evaluate, and disseminate the existing evidence in an analytic context and analyze reform measures that

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NATIONAL FELLOWS PROGRAM BEGINS FOURTH DECADE

The Hoover Institution's premier fellowship program, the W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellows Program, enters its fourth decade of operation this year. The program was established to expand the Institution's studies on current policy and contemporary historical issues in both the domestic and the international arena.

The National Fellows Program allows outstanding junior scholars at colleges and universities within the United States to devote a year to unrestricted, creative research and writing at the Hoover Institution. The fellowships afford scholars a unique opportunity to advance their professional careers by completing an original and significant research project.

In fall 1971, the first group of thirteen National Fellows took up a year's residency to pursue individual research projects. Each September since, about a dozen post-

doctoral scholars have come to undertake their respective studies. These junior academicians research and write in such areas as contemporary history, economics, education, international relations, law, political philosophy, and sociology.

At the conclusion of thirty years, 390 fellowships have been awarded, with 16 percent of the recipients coming from Stanford University.

Distinguished alumni of the program include Condoleezza Rice, the current national security adviser to President George W. Bush; Gale Norton, current secretary of the interior for President Bush; Laura D'Andrea Tyson, chair of the Council of Economic Advisers to former president William J. Clinton; and David Kennedy, recipient of the Pulitzer Prize in 2000 for his book *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945*.

The National Security Affairs Fellows Program brings midcareer officers from the U.S. Army, Air Force, and Navy and an official from the U.S. Department of State each year. This fall the U.S. Marine Corps also dispatched an officer.

Earlier in his career, Ambassador John D. Negroponte, the current U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, came to Hoover under the auspices of this program.

Director John Raisian in 1998 renamed the fellowship the W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellows Program to commemorate the legacy of former director Campbell and Senior Fellow Ricardo-Campbell.

Associate Director and Senior Fellow Thomas H. Henriksen, who was a National Fellow, has overseen the program since 1984. He is assisted by Joy Taylor. Prior to Henriksen's tenure, Senior Fellow Dennis L. Bark served as the program's executive secretary.



Joseph McNamara

JOSEPH MCNAMARA NAMED TO CALIFORNIA COMMISSION ON POLICE CONDUCT, PARTICIPATES IN DRUG POLICY MEETING IN SACRAMENTO

Research Fellow Joseph McNamara was named to California State Assembly Speaker Herb

Wesson's Commission on Police Conduct on August 12. Wesson formed the commission after an Inglewood police officer was videotaped beating a teenaged suspect during an arrest in July.

The commission, which will ultimately consist of 18 members, will monitor assembly subcommittee hearings on police issues. It will also recommend legislation to assembly members.

The other five members appointed with McNamara are activist Earl Ofari

Hutchinson, University of Southern California law professor Erwin Chemerinsky, Justice Training Institute head Tom Anderson, Pasadena city attorney Maribel Medina, and Santa Clara County sheriff Laurie Smith.

On September 26, McNamara was a panelist at a public hearing on alcohol and drug abuse treatment policies in California. The hearing was sponsored by the Little Hoover Commission and conducted in Sacramento.

Joining McNamara on the panel were Martin Iguchi, director of RAND's Drug Policy Research Center, Rosalie Pacula, an economist with RAND's Drug Policy Research Center, and James P. Gray, superior court judge of Orange County, California.

The hearing looked at the costs of current drug control policies, their effec-

tiveness, and their impact on communities and law enforcement. Other panels at the hearing discussed methods of expanding treatment using existing resources and the possibility of financing treatment programs by increasing taxes on alcohol.

McNamara served as the police chief of San Jose from 1976 to 1991. Before that, he worked as the police chief of Kansas City, Missouri, and the deputy inspector in charge of crime analysis for New York City. He began his 35-year law enforcement career walking a patrol beat in Harlem.

Over the past decade, McNamara has organized four conferences at the Hoover Institution, attended by police chiefs and command officers, focusing on U.S. drug control policies.

GEORGE P. SHULTZ SPEAKS TO FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE MEMBERS

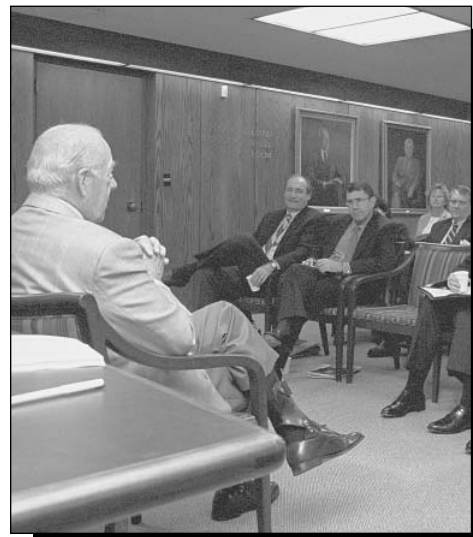
Hoover distinguished fellow George P. Shultz discussed leading and managing the U.S. Department of State with members of the 45th class of the senior seminar from the state department's Foreign Service Institute on September 12.

The institute class is based at the George P. Shultz National Foreign Affairs Training Center in Washington, D.C. The center was renamed in honor of former U.S. secretary of state Shultz in May.

Senior seminar members were from the branches of the armed services, as well as

government departments such as state and commerce and agencies such as the USAID, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Central Intelligence Agency. Accompanying the group was Ambassador Katherine Peterson, director of the George P. Shultz National Foreign Affairs Training Center.

At Hoover, Shultz is the Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow. He was U.S. secretary of state from 1982 to 1989 under President Ronald Reagan, who is a Hoover Institution honorary fellow.



George P. Shultz speaks to members of the Foreign Service Institute's senior seminar.

EDUCATION NEXT: STUDY SHOWS HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION RATES FALLING, ESL PROGRAMS MORE SUCCESSFUL THAN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

High school graduation rates have been steadily declining over the last twenty years, a new study in the fall issue of *Education Next: A Journal of Opinion and Research* shows.

The "degree ratio"—an estimate of the high school graduation rate—hit a peak of 77 percent in 1969 and has been slipping ever since, says Duncan Chaplin, a senior research methodologist at the Urban Institute in an article called "Tassels on the Cheap." Using data collected by the Department of Education on the number of high school diplomas awarded each year, Chaplin found that the degree ratio dropped to 70 percent in 2000 despite the National Education Goals Panel's setting a much-heralded goal of a 90 percent graduation rate for that year.

"The falling graduation rate would have become a national scandal by now were it not disguised by the choice of a faulty measuring tool," Chaplin writes.

The National Education Goals Panel chose an alternative measure to estimate the nation's high school graduation rate using the Current Population Survey of 50,000 households, which does not distin-

guish between high school diplomas and GEDs.

"The head of each of these households is asked whether anyone aged 18 to 24 in the household is a high school graduate or has received an equivalent degree (the most common equivalent being the GED certificate)," Chaplin writes.

By this yardstick, the decline in graduation rates is not so apparent. However, it is impossible to conclude from the survey how many people are receiving a GED as opposed to a high school diploma.

The difference between high school diplomas and GEDs has important implications, says Chaplin. Although recipients may see a GED as equivalent to a high school diploma, employers do not. Chaplin cites a 1993 study that estimated that high school diploma recipients earn 11 percent more than GED recipients.

"Students and their counselors should not operate under the fiction that a GED is equivalent to a high school degree," Chaplin warns.

Also in the fall issue of *Education Next*, Joseph M. Guzman shows that Hispanic students placed in English as a second lan-

guage (ESL) programs succeed more than those who are placed in bilingual education programs. Guzman's research, presented in an article titled "Learning English," is groundbreaking because it separates the effect of being in a bilingual education program from the effect of living in a bilingual household, which has educational benefits of its own.

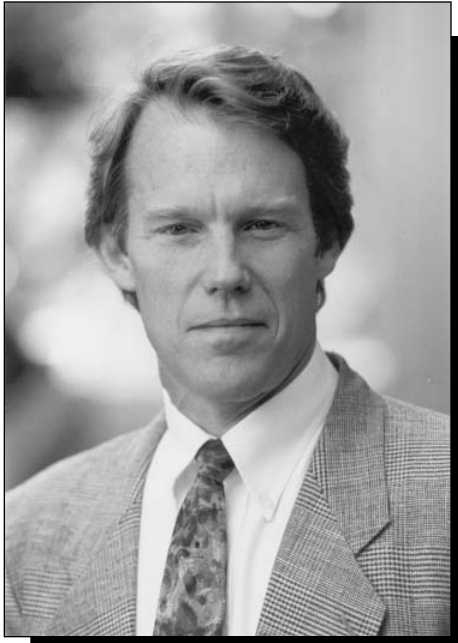
Teaching students who do not know English follows one of two models. ESL programs immerse the children in English until they master the language, with the risk that they will fall behind in other subjects. Bilingual education programs teach English in only a couple of classes per day, letting students study other subjects in their native language.

"The optimal choice of language acquisition program depends on a trade-off between acquiring curricular skills on the one hand and accumulating language deficits on the other," Guzman writes.

Guzman finds that Hispanic students in ESL programs obtained 0.75 years more education and were nearly twice as likely to enter a high-skill profession as those who were placed in bilingual education programs. Interestingly, Guzman also finds that Hispanic students from bilingual homes obtained 0.6 years more of education and entered high-skill occupations at

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TERRY M. MOE ON VOUCHERS: CONSTITUTIONAL AND INEVITABLE



| | |
|--------------|--|
| FELLOW | Terry M. Moe |
| TITLE | Senior fellow at the Hoover Institution |
| RESEARCH | School choice, public bureaucracy, and the presidency |
| AFFILIATIONS | Member, Koret Task Force on K-12 Education, Hoover Institution Professor of political science, Stanford University |
| PUBLICATIONS | <i>A Primer on America's Schools</i> (ed.) (Hoover Institution Press, 2001); <i>Schools, Vouchers and the American Public</i> (Brookings Institution, 2001); <i>Private Vouchers</i> (Hoover Institution Press, 1995), <i>Politics, Markets, and America's Schools</i> , (coauthor, with John Chubb) (Brookings Institution, 1990) |
| DEGREES | Ph.D., political science, University of Minnesota, and bachelor of arts, economics, University of California, San Diego |

Q: The Supreme Court ruled in July that vouchers are constitutional. But what happens now? Are vouchers destined to transform American education? Or are they doomed to a future of political defeat and irrelevance?

A: The Court's decision will surely bring vouchers greater legitimacy and attention. But the brute fact is that politics is a game of power and that the basic power alignment is the same as before.

The teachers' unions are by far the most powerful force in education politics. They are absolutely opposed to vouchers, and on this issue—which threatens their fundamental interests in jobs and resources—they have almost all the Democrats in their hip pockets. As we look to the future, then, we learn little by knowing that vouchers are constitutional.

Q: Is the key question, then, can vouchers ever succeed in the face of such powerful opposition?

A: The answer has its roots in the inner city—where schools are often abysmally

bad, and where disadvantaged children are systematically denied the education they need to have productive lives. This is the great tragedy of American education, and everyone agrees that major reforms are called for.

The unions and their allies offer the usual array of don't-rock-the-boat reforms—more money, more training, smaller classes—and insist that disadvantaged kids stay in their bad public schools while the reforms work their wonders.

But research suggests that such reforms will never have much impact. And even if they do, it will take many years for their effects to be felt. Meantime, whole generations of kids are being lost.

Q: What about immediate remedies?

A: Something must be done now. This is an outrage, and many families are reacting against it. They want new opportunities for their children—now—and vouchers give them that, empowering them to make educational choices that better-off people simply take for granted.

Q: Are there other benefits?

A: There are and one is profound: When families choose their own schools—and abandon bad ones—all schools know that they need to perform if they want to attract students and resources. And this gives schools new and powerful incentives to improve.

It is little wonder, then, that disadvantaged parents are the strongest supporters of vouchers in the nation and that the country's first voucher programs—in Milwaukee, Cleveland, and Florida—are designed to provide new choices for the poor. It is the plight of inner-city children, and the utter failure of the existing system to serve them, that is driving the politics of vouchers.

Q: What is your assessment of the opposition to vouchers at this point?

A: Well, opponents may find themselves in an odd spot. The teachers' unions can only defeat vouchers by fighting against the poor and by getting their key allies—the Democrats and the civil rights groups—to

do the same. So far the alliance has held. The Democrats are scared to death of the teachers' unions, and they kowtow to them on vouchers. The civil rights groups are led by an older generation that has long associated choice with segregation and discrimination—and opposed it.

Yet this alliance is inherently flawed, and it won't last. The teachers' unions are representing their own constituents—teachers—by opposing vouchers. But both the civil rights groups and the Democrats have the poor as prime constituents, and on the voucher issue—unlike any other area of public policy—they are refusing to represent their own people and give them what they want. This will change.

Q: What about other groups such as the civil rights organizations?

A: The civil rights groups already face internal dissension over vouchers, as well as competitors—notably, the Black Alliance for Educational Options—willing to represent their people.



If they don't switch sides in the near future, they will do so eventually as the older generation gives way to a younger one that is much more favorable toward choice.

The Democrats, meantime, are already seeing defections to vouchers among the liberal intelligentsia—the *Washington Post* and *The New Republic*, to name but a few. And once the civil rights groups begin to move, many other Democrats will find it politically sensible to move as well, despite the unions' clout. Eventually, the teachers' unions will be isolated in their opposition—powerful, but not powerful enough to stop vouchers from taking root.

Q: Can you predict how long all of this might take and how this will evolve?

A: This process will take many years to work itself out, but it will gradually transform American education.

The result will not be a full-blown voucher system. It will simply be an evolutionary—and better—version of what we have today: a system that retains a strong role for government but that uses choice and competition to empower the powerless, to breathe new life into moribund schools, and to bring quality education to everyone regardless of status or class.

This Q and A is based on an op-ed Terry M. Moe wrote for the *Christian Science Monitor*, which was published on July 2, 2002.

MOE RECEIVES AWARD FOR RESEARCH ON SCHOOL CHOICE

Children First America presented Hoover senior fellow Terry M. Moe with its award for excellence in research on school choice at its annual conference, August 8–10, in Jackson Hole, Wyoming. Moe is the first recipient of the award that will be named in his honor.

Children First America, an influential school choice group based in Arkansas, has helped establish privately funded school choice programs throughout the nation. The group provides public policy informa-

tion, data, statistics, and research on school choice issues to government leaders and their staffs at the local, state, and federal levels.

Moe, a member of the Hoover Institution's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education and professor of political science at Stanford University, has written extensively on educational issues.

His book (with John E. Chubb) *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools* is considered to be among the most influential and

controversial works on education to be published during the last decade and has been a major force in the movement for school choice in America and abroad.

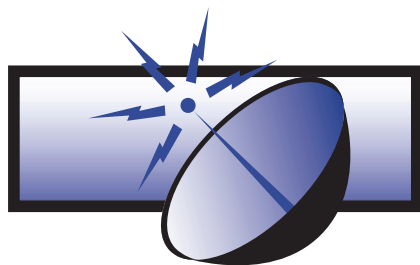
He is also the author of *Schools, Vouchers, and the American Public*, the first detailed analysis of public opinion on the voucher issue. In addition, he is editor of *A Primer on America's Schools* (Hoover Press, 2001), which provides a critical assessment of the current state of American education, and *Private Vouchers* (Hoover Press, 1995), the first book to be published on the growing movement among private-sector foundations to provide vouchers for low-income children.

The Hoover Institution and members of the Defense Policy Board, eight of whom are Hoover fellows, were featured on the nationally syndicated *Rush Limbaugh* radio show on September 16. The Hoover Institution and the Hoover fellows on the policy board—Richard Allen, Martin Anderson, Gary S. Becker, Newt Gingrich, Henry Rowen, George P. Shultz, Kiron Skinner, and Pete Wilson—were the subject of a column the day before in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, which was picked up and discussed by Limbaugh.

KPIX TV (CBS, San Francisco) also focused on Hoover and the Defense Policy Board in a news feature on September 16. Hoover director **John Raisian** and **George P. Shultz**, the Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow, were interviewed.

George P. Shultz also was featured on the *Kudlow & Cramer* show on CNBC on August 6, discussing the situation in Iraq and the Middle East.

Associate Director and Senior Fellow **Thomas H. Henriksen** was interviewed by KTVU TV (Fox, San Francisco) on September 16 on Iraq's decision that day to allow United Nations weapons inspectors into the country again.



The same day, Visiting Fellow **Donald Abenheim** spoke with KCBS radio (CBS, San Francisco) about the return of weapons inspectors to Iraq.

Research Fellow **James Noyes** discussed the situation involving Iraq on the program *Forum* on KQED-FM radio (NPR, San Francisco) on September 20.

Abraham Sofaer, the George P. Shultz Senior Fellow, was interviewed frequently by Bay Area news outlets about developments in U.S.-Iraq relations, including KPIX TV (CBS, San Francisco) on September 3 and 4, KRON-TV (Indep., San Francisco) on September 1, and KGO TV (ABC, San Francisco) on August 3, 5, and 6. He also discussed the issue on August 2 on KCBS radio (CBS, San Francisco).

Senior Fellow **Larry Diamond** addressed the Iraq situation on September 3 on the program *Forum* on KQED-FM radio (NPR, San Francisco).

Research Fellow **Tibor Machan** was a guest on the program *Odyssey* on WBEZ-FM radio (NPR, Chicago) on September 10 as he discussed the management of common resources around the globe. He is the editor of the volume *The Common, Its Tragedy and Other Follies* (Hoover Institution Press, 2002).

Dinesh D'Souza, the Robert and Karen Rishwain Research Fellow, was a guest on the program *All Things Considered* on National Public Radio on August 19 as he discussed the issue of reparations to American blacks. D'Souza argued that he does not believe in reparations as the descendants of nineteenth-century slaves are much better off today.

Also on August 19, Research Fellow **David Henderson** was a panelist on the National Public Radio program *Talk of the Nation*. He joined academics, editors, and fellows from other public policy centers in discussing Iraq after Saddam Hussein.

Senior Fellow **James Sweeney** discussed his book *The California Electricity Crisis* (Hoover Institution Press, 2002) on the program *Forum with Michael Krasny* on KQED-FM radio (NPR, San Francisco) on September 16.

HOOVER FELLOWS PARTICIPATE IN PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC FORUM

Hoover senior fellows Michael Boskin, Eric Hanushek, and John Shoven and former Hoover national fellow Mark McClellan participated in President George W. Bush's economic forum at Baylor University in Waco, Texas, on August 13.

Convened by the president, the forum allowed Bush and members of the administration to join leaders in business and government in discussions about current economic issues facing the nation.

Michael Boskin participated in the panel on economic recovery and job creation. The panel, chaired by Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill, discussed ways to sustain economic recovery and create new jobs.

John Shoven participated in the panel on small investors and retirement security. The panel discussed ways to protect pensions, help Americans protect and grow their retirement savings, and protect Social Security for seniors.

Eric Hanushek participated in the panel on education and workers. The panel, chaired by Labor Secretary Elaine Chao and Education Secretary Rod Paige, discussed the importance of education, job training, and job flexibility to the future prosperity of individuals and the nation.

Mark McClellan, a member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, participated in the panel on health care security. The panel was chaired by Health and Human Services Secretary Tommy Thompson and focused on rising health care costs and new approaches to make high-quality health care affordable.

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twice the rate of Hispanic students who live in English-only homes. This result agrees with linguistic theory, which contends that knowing multiple languages leads to greater mental acuity.

According to Guzman, his research shows why previous studies comparing the types of bilingual education have been inconclusive. Many students in any bilingual education program live in a bilingual household, so the two effects negate each other. In his research, Guzman controlled for this effect by comparing results of bilingual students to those of Hispanic students who speak only English.

"The best performance is found among students from Spanish-speaking households who make a rapid transition to English, either through English as a second language programs or through English

immersion," Guzman writes. "The clear indication is that any positive returns owing to bilingual instruction are outweighed by the associated costs of delaying transition to English."

Guzman recommends policy steps for designing programs for limited-English students. "Not attending to deficiencies in English by the critical age of five or six makes catching up much more costly," he cautions. "It is imperative that the English deficiencies of these children be fully addressed sooner rather than later."

Guzman is a visiting assistant professor at the McDonough School of Business at Georgetown University.

Education Next is a scholarly journal published by the Hoover Institution that is committed to looking at hard facts about school reform. Other sponsoring institutions are the Harvard Program on Education Policy and Governance, the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, and the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research. The editors of *Education Next* include Hoover fellows Paul

E. Peterson, editor in chief, and Chester E. Finn Jr.; Frederick M. Hess, University of Virginia; Marci Kanstoroom, research director, Thomas B. Fordham Foundation; and Martin West, Harvard University.

Members of the Hoover Institution's Koret Task Force make up the editorial board of the journal. In addition to Peterson and Finn, task force members include Hoover fellows Williamson M. Evers, Eric Hanushek, and Terry Moe and Hoover distinguished visiting fellows John E. Chubb, Paul Hill, E. D. Hirsch Jr., Caroline Hoxby, Diane Ravitch, and Herbert J. Walberg.

The Koret Task Force is an elite team of scholars specializing in education reform who have been brought together by Hoover director John Raisian to address the national debate over public education. As part of Hoover's American Public Education Initiative, members of the Koret Task Force have been charged with analyzing the current state of public education and finding possibilities for meaningful reform.

NEW EXHIBIT PROFILES CHINA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The exhibit *Enter the Dragon: The History of China in the Twentieth Century*, featuring some of the many unique art objects in the Hoover Archives, is open through February 22, 2003, in the Herbert Hoover Memorial Exhibit Pavilion.

The exhibit is based on documents, posters, and photographs from the Hoover Institution Library and Archives and includes landscapes, jewelry, porcelain, and bronze mirrors.

Among the rare documents in the exhibition are original letters from Sun Yat-sen, original artwork produced on the Long March, and posters from the cultural revolution, the latter a recent acquisition of the archives. In addition, materials on the Republic of China (Taiwan) and the history of Hong Kong will be included.

The Herbert Hoover Memorial Exhibit is open Tuesday through Saturday, 11 a.m. through 4 p.m. For additional information or to schedule group tours, please contact the Hoover Institution Archives, 650-723-3563.



Sun Yat-sen, the father of the revolution, on his way to Beijing for talks on national unification, stands with his young wife, Song Qingling (Soong Ch'ing-ling), whose sister married Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek).

HOOVER INSTITUTION WEB SITES

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

www.hooverdigest.org Quarterly *Hoover Digest* available online

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

www.policyreview.org The preeminent publication for new and serious thinking and writing about the issues of our day. At this site find select articles from the current issue as well as an archive of back issues, subscription information, and useful links to other websites.

www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org Seeks to inform the American foreign policy community about current trends in China's leadership politics and in its foreign and domestic policies

HOOVER INSTITUTION NEWSLETTER

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

SUMMER BOARD OF OVERSEERS

continued from page 1

we can imagine and some that we can't imagine? I think that the answers will be found in part in the cumulative judgment of experience. The market-oriented world will be judged by the quality of its rules and the way the rules are implemented. [This] takes us back to what is central to the mission of the Hoover Institution—the battle of ideas.

"For decades we thought the battle of ideas was over.

We thought everyone wanted to be like us and we had an exaggerated confidence about security. But now I think we've recognized that the battle of ideas has entered a new phase in the world and here at home in the United States."

Following dinner, Stanford University carillonneur Timothy Zerlang gave a concert to honor the rededication of the Hoover Tower carillon. The ceremony celebrated the much-anticipated completion of the carillon restoration project undertaken by the Hoover Institution in 2000.

In remarks before the concert, Hoover Institution director John Raisian spoke about the rich history behind Hoover's carillon and praised the efforts of all those involved in the restoration project.

"Almost everything about the 63-year-old carillon was improved through the restoration process," Raisian said.

"The largest of the original bells bears an inscription in Latin that translates in part, 'For Peace Alone Do I Ring,'" he said. "Two of the new bells are inscribed 'Ring for Freedom' and 'Ring for Joy and Peace.' I hope the rededication and ringing of these treasured bells will encourage all of us to reflect on the importance of peace in the post-September 11 world and give even deeper meaning to those familiar words 'let freedom ring.'"



Hoover Institution Board of Overseers chairman Peyton Lake addresses Board of Overseers members and guests before dinner on July 17.

Earlier in the day, overseers and their guests attended talks by four Hoover fellows on foreign policy, terrorism, and national security issues.

Dinesh D'Souza, the Robert and Karen Rishwain Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution and author of the *New York Times* best-seller *What's So Great about America*, discussed the fundamental differences between Islam and the West that have given rise to modern animosities.

"We must recognize that the clash of civilizations is not us versus them," D'Souza said. "Instead, it's liberal versus radical Islam." He suggested U.S. policy strengthen liberal, pro-Western forces. At the same time, America must assert its moral superiority through intellectual arguments.

Hoover fellow Bruce Berkowitz, a senior consultant in the Office of the Secretary of Defense and a scholar in residence at the Central Intelligence Agency's Sherman Kent School for Intelligence, gave perspective to the failures in U.S. intelligence that contributed to the September 11 tragedy.

Berkowitz said the most important intelligence failure was the failure to recognize earlier attacks, specifically the bombings of the U.S. embassies and the USS *Cole*, as warnings. Because politicians treated intelligence as a nonpartisan issue during the 1990s, "the net result [was] a bipartisan policy of the status quo," he said. As a solution, he urged a shakeup of the intelligence bureaucracy and a push for increased accountability of top intelligence leaders.

"Aggressive reform is essential if we want to deal with the threats that lie ahead," he said.

In "The Future of 'History,'" Hoover fellow Stanley Kurtz, a contributing editor at *National Review Online*, discussed the debate between the ideas in Francis Fukuyama's book *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992) and the ideas in Samuel Huntington's book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (1996).

Huntington argues that humans seek an identity built around hostility, an identity usually found in culture and religion. As a



Daniel Yergin addresses overseers and guests of the Hoover Institution at the Board of Overseers dinner.



Hoover Institution director John Raisian celebrates the rededication of the Hoover Tower carillon.



Bells of the Hoover Tower carillon

result, fighting often breaks out when the United States promotes democracy abroad. Fukuyama, on the other hand, argues that liberal democracies are the final step in human evolution, satisfying the innate human desire for recognition and dignity. Fukuyama advocates American intervention to achieve this.

As Kurtz pointed out, Huntington's book predicted an event like September 11 from the Islamic world. However, U.S. policy must reconcile the ideas in each thesis.

"We will always be suspended between tradition and modernity, neither of which will quite do," Kurtz said.

Hoover fellow Charles Hill, diplomat in residence and lecturer in international studies at Yale University, discussed "The Axis of Evil."

Hill said that North Korea, Iraq, and Iran all "violently [oppose] and [wish] to replace the international system of states."

Several factors weakened this system during the 1990s and enabled terrorists to infiltrate it, Hill explained. First, no attempt was made to adapt it after the cold war ended. Second, globalization enabled the rapid movement of ideas, technology, and money across borders and weakened government control. Finally, intellectuals supported the development of supranational organizations such as the European Union.

The following day, Hoover distinguished visiting fellow and former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich discussed the transformation in national security since September 11.

"We have to recognize that we are moving into a period where the kinds of attacks on us have changed dramatically," said Gingrich. "We've never before seen the very strengths of a high civilization become its weaknesses. That is going to require a continual thinking through of how we are going to survive."

Gingrich also pointed out the need for a "grand strategy for defeating reactionary Islam."

"We need to understand that it is a worldwide movement, that it is an ideological religious movement, and that it's a movement that we have to have a strategy for just as we had a strategy for defeating communism," said Gingrich.

Zerlang, associate director Elena Danielson, and Exhibits Coordinator Cissie Hill offered overseers and their guests several tours of the Hoover Tower carillon over the two days of the Board of Overseers meeting. During lunch on both Wednesday and Thursday, the bells of the carillon rang above the Hoover Institution courtyard as Zerlang performed for all to hear.

HOOVER FELLOW KIRON SKINNER APPOINTED TO EISENHOWER LEGACY COMMITTEE

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Memorial Commission has appointed Hoover fellow Kiron Skinner to serve on the Eisenhower Legacy Committee.

Skinner was selected to serve on the committee because of her "important research and writing on the history and political development of the United States in the twentieth century," said commission acting Executive Director Carl W. Reddel, a retired brigadier general with the United States Air Force.

The committee, chaired by Professor Louis Galambos of John Hopkins University, coeditor of *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower*, is charged with producing a report identifying Eisenhower's military achievements, his presidential contributions, and his role as a public figure epitomizing American values. The report is to be publicly released in January 2003.

"We're working now to finish the report well before the end of the year," said Skinner.

The mandate of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Memorial Commission is to consider and formulate plans for a permanent national memorial to Dwight D. Eisenhower, who served as supreme commander of the Allied forces in Europe in World War II and as 34th president of the United States.

Commission Chairman Rocco C. Siciliano said Skinner's "scholarship, expertise, and experience with American public life" would "enhance the commission's ability to appropriately memorialize one of America's greatest public servants."

"I anticipate that the prestige of the Legacy Committee members and the expert nature of their findings will serve as a beacon for the public's understanding of the purpose and value of a memorial to President Eisenhower," said Siciliano.

Kiron Skinner is the W. Glenn Campbell Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution. She specializes in the study of American foreign policy, international relations

theory, and international security.

In addition to her Hoover appointment, Skinner is an assistant professor of history, political science, and public policy at Carnegie Mellon University,

director of Carnegie Mellon's International Relations Program, and an adjunct fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City. She is also a member of the U.S. Defense Policy Board.

Skinner is currently writing two books on U.S.-Soviet relations near the end of the cold war. She is also coediting *Reagan: A Portrait in Letters* with Hoover fellows Annelise Anderson and Martin Anderson, with whom she also coedited *Reagan, In His Own Hand* (2001).



Kiron Skinner

This is a defining moment in international affairs. Authorization for action is clear. We have made endless efforts to bring Saddam Hussein into line with the duly considered judgments of a unanimous U.N. Security Council.

Let us go to the Security Council and assert this case with the care of a country determined to take decisive action. And this powerful case for acting now must be made promptly to Congress. Its members will have to stand up and be counted. Then let's get on with the job.

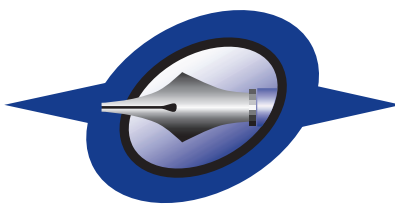
■ **George P. Shultz**, Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow, *Washington Post*, September 6

[Stock] options are a valuable business instrument when they only reward unusually good management and punish bad management. And option values should be added to accounting costs when they are granted instead of when they are exercised, so that the stockholders could see immediately if management is being excessively compensated relative to their performance.

■ **Gary S. Becker**, Rose-Marie and Jack R. Anderson Senior Fellow, *BusinessWeek*, August 5

There are good reasons to want to alleviate poverty, especially in the wake of September 11. But poverty is not exclusively an economic problem; it is a problem of political economy. Until this fact is squarely faced, no amount of aid will come remotely close to solving the problems that breed the hopelessness and despair the President wants to alleviate. To be frank, much U.S. economic aid during the Cold War was motivated by a desire to keep certain strategically situated autocrats on our side during that conflict. How well or how poorly they used our money was a secondary concern. This is no longer the case. Our aims remain political, as well they should, but now those political aims can be served only by getting positive results from the aid effort.

■ **Bruce Bueno de Mesquita**, senior fellow, with former Hoover fellow Hilton Root, *National Interest*, July–September



By offering incentives to industry in the form of enlightened economic and regulatory policy, the federal government can make vaccine development more attractive. First, reciprocity of vaccine regulatory approvals between the U.S. and the European Union would cut development costs significantly. Second, public sector agencies should also stop using their purchasing clout to obtain heavily discounted prices for vaccines. Third, extend patent terms or marketing exclusivity to make vaccine development more lucrative. Fourth, rein in the legal sharks.

■ **Henry I. Miller**, research fellow, *Wall Street Journal*, August 19

When diplomatic historians look back on the 1990s, they should describe it as the era of European integration. They will do so, however, only if the project is completed. As the Bush administration begins the process of promoting democratic regime change along a new frontier in the Muslim world, it must also finish the job on the European frontier.

■ **Michael McFaul**, the Peter and Helen Bing Research Fellow, *Washington Post*, September 23, 2002

Our response to this long-term, serious national security problem should be organized around two broad programs. First, we should substantially strengthen our homeland security programs and focus them on dealing with catastrophic terror attacks. Second, we should engage all nations as a coalition against catastrophic terrorism. While the United States is a prime target of Al-Qaida, all industrial nations are vulnerable to such attacks, and all should cooperate in dealing with this threat.

The Bush administration has made this case relative to G-8 support for the Nunn-Lugar program, but generally has shown too much of a tendency to act alone.

Without a doubt, we should provide leadership to the world in the war on terrorism. But we should not try to go it alone.

The terrible events of Sept. 11 and the subsequent anthrax incident have fully alerted Americans to the great danger we face from terrorists. As a result, we are now awake to that danger, and we know what actions we need to take to protect ourselves. We should take those actions now, and not wait for the next attack.

■ **William Perry**, senior fellow, *San Jose Mercury News*, September 8

It may be, in fact, that Bush's best prospect for securing the support he needs is to shift to those whose support he must obtain at least some of the responsibility for deciding what should be done. A recent poll showed that Americans approve of the removal of Saddam [Hussein]. Perhaps they, like the president, do not want to regret having allowed another, perhaps even more grievous attack on the United States. Congress may well enable, if not authorize, the president to act, thereby avoiding responsibility for allowing the threat from Saddam to continue to develop unchecked.

■ **Abraham D. Sofaer**, George P. Shultz Senior Fellow, *San Jose Mercury News*, August 25

I am optimistic about the American economy and hence the stock market. In the short run, market psychology tends to overshoot.

It gets overly excited about good news and exciting new developments (for example, the Internet) and it gets overly down about bad news such as accounting scandals and corporate malfeasance. My general investment approach is to follow a steady and consistent policy of diversification, but if forced to choose a market timing strategy, I certainly would be a contrarian.

The time to buy stocks is when everyone is afraid of them—like now. The fears will subside and prices are likely to recover.

Investors are amply rewarded for taking risks when most people are scared.

■ **John Shoven**, senior fellow, *San Jose Mercury News*, July 28

Wisconsin Republican congressman James Sensenbrenner met with Hoover fellows at the Hoover Institution on August 22.

Hoover distinguished fellow **George P. Shultz**, Hoover senior fellows **Martin Anderson**, **David Brady**, **John Ferejohn**, **Morris Fiorina**, and **Kenneth Judd** and **Larry Horton**, director of the Office of Government and Community Relations at Stanford University, joined Congressman Sensenbrenner and his son, Robert, for a discussion that covered a broad range of topics including congressional elections, immigration issues, and foreign policy, particularly Iraq and the war on terrorism.



More than 20 members of the Youth Think Tank from the American Muslim Alliance chapter in Newark, California, met with representatives of the Hoover Institution on August 28 to learn about the structure and operation of a public policy research center.

The high school students met with Associate Director **Thomas Henriksen**, who discussed the history of the Institution and its fellows, programs, and initiatives.

This summer the students also met with representatives of government and policy institutions in the Bay Area. The American Muslim Alliance is an organization dedicated to civic education and integrating Muslims

into the mainstream of American political life.



Hoover senior fellow **Alex Inkeles** was awarded an honorary degree by the Universidade Candido Mendes in Brazil as part of the university's 100th anniversary celebration. Inkeles was recognized for his work as a sociologist and his past services to the university.

Inkeles was one of the first of a substantial cohort of American and European scholars invited to Brazil to discuss government reform and public policy issues at public lectures sponsored by the university. He was also instrumental in helping the university establish a social research program on conditions in Brazil, serving as the program's scientific adviser for more than a decade.

Located in Rio de Janeiro, the Universidade Candido Mendes is one of the largest private universities in Brazil.



Hoover research fellow **David R. Henderson**, associate professor of economics at the Naval Postgraduate School, has become an adviser to LifeSharers, a nonprofit network of organ and tissue donors.

LifeSharers was launched this year to help alleviate the shortage of human organs and tissue needed for transplant operations.



Hoover fellow **Richard Staar** delivered the inaugural address before more than 200 students and faculty members at the new Center for Eastern Studies at the University of Warsaw, on July 1.

A two-page interview with Staar appeared in the Polish-language edition of *Newsweek*. His article "Decision-Making in Russia" was published in the summer issue of *Mediterranean Quarterly*.



Prince Naef Ahmed Al Saud of Saudi Arabia visited the Hoover Archives on July 16 and was shown an array of archival materials, photographs, posters, and books relating to Saudi Arabia.

Among the documents displayed were letters written from Mecca in the 1930s by H. St. J. B. Philby, adviser to King Ibn Saud and father of the notorious British spy, and school manuals—including those of the military academy where Prince Naef studied—from the collection of Harry Roscoe Snyder, educational consultant to the Saudi Arabian government.

Of special interest to the prince were photographs of King Faisal (then prince) visiting the Hoover Institution in 1945, as well as photographs of the king's funeral thirty years later.

KORET TASK FORCE ON K-12 EDUCATION

continued from page 3

will enhance the quality and productivity of K-12 education.

"The task force embodies a new voice of reason in the critical debate for public school reform," said Taube, announcing the 2002 Koret Prize in April. "Its members are to be commended for their thoughtful scholarship, innovative approaches, and accessible writings on an emotionally and politically charged subject."

The task force's first joint work, *A Primer on America's Schools*, was published by the Hoover Institution Press in 2001. It provides a historical framework for the discussion of public education reform. Two recent books have expanded on key topics addressed in *A*

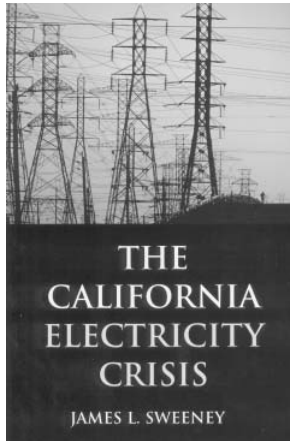
Primer on America's Schools. Choice with Equity (Hoover Institution Press, 2002), edited by Paul T. Hill, examines vouchers and other school choice systems, and *School Accountability* (Hoover Institution Press, 2002), edited by Williamson M. Evers and Herbert J. Walberg, analyzes standards-based testing and other accountability measures.

Members of the Hoover Institution's Koret Task Force also make up the editorial board of the Hoover Institution's education journal, *Education Next: A Journal of Opinion and Research*. *Education Next* is a scholarly journal published by the Hoover Institution that is committed to looking at hard facts about school reform. Other sponsoring institutions are the Harvard Program on Education Policy and Governance, the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, and the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research. The editors of



Hoover director John Raisian

Education Next include Hoover fellows Paul E. Peterson, editor in chief, and Chester E. Finn Jr.; Frederick M. Hess, University of Virginia; Marci Kanstoroom, Thomas B. Fordham Foundation; and Martin West, Harvard University.



The California Electricity Crisis
By James L. Sweeney

Amid the continuing power crisis on the West Coast and controversy regarding the responsibility of the many parties involved, James L. Sweeney's timely new book, *The California Electricity Crisis* (Hoover Institution Press, 2002), offers solutions to the state's energy dilemma.

Deregulation, which afforded an opportunity for California to restructure its electricity system, making it more flexible and responsive to changing economic conditions, ended up—through flawed implementation and failed political leadership—in the electricity crisis and the financial crisis of 2001. These dual crises continue to trouble the state.

"Since mid-year 2000, California's electricity problems have been a central concern in the state," writes Sweeney.

"Californians have faced blackouts, seen the state budgetary surplus decimated, and listened to state officials point fingers at myriad organizations and individuals for causing the crisis."

Could these crises have been avoided or, at least, anticipated? Did state and federal officials react appropriately? What realistic policies can help solve the blight California may now face?

The California Electricity Crisis answers these questions and offers some policy recommendations for improving California's electricity markets in the future.

"As a result of the fundamental policy mistakes made by the state's governor and other political leaders, the saga continues," writes Sweeney, "with California facing an electricity blight as it struggles to recover from its self-imposed wounds."

James L. Sweeney, a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research (SIEPR), is a professor of management science and engineering at Stanford University.



***Liberty and Research and Development:
Science Funding in a Free Society***
Edited by Tibor R. Machan

"Should government be funding much of the science in a free society?" asks Hoover fellow Tibor R. Machan in *Liberty and Research and Development: Science Funding in a Free Society* (Hoover Institution Press, 2002).

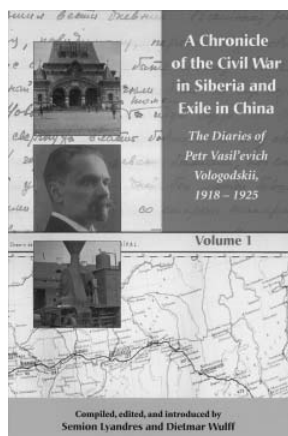
Editor Machan brings together a diverse group of contributors with backgrounds in science and medical academia to address the issues surrounding government involvement in funding current scientific research as regards social priorities.

Since World War II, it has become generally accepted that most advanced scientific research will be funded by the federal government. But despite the usefulness of some of these expenditures, there remains the question of whether the funds were necessarily deployed in the best way.

"We know how the money has been spent by the government, but we don't know how it might have been spent had it remained in private hands," writes Machan.

The contributors to this volume explore the implications of government funding of scientific research and offer alternatives to the heavy reliance on government support that research and development (R&D) currently enjoys. Not every author reaches the same conclusions, but each squarely confronts the problems arising from the idea that government funding of R&D is and ought to be the norm.

Tibor R. Machan is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and a professor at the Argyros School of Business and Economics at Chapman University. His writings have appeared in the *Humanist*, the *National Review*, *Barron's*, the *American Scholar*, and numerous daily newspapers throughout the country.



A Chronicle of the Civil War in Siberia and Exile in China: The Diaries of Petr Vasil'evich Vologodskii, 1918-1925

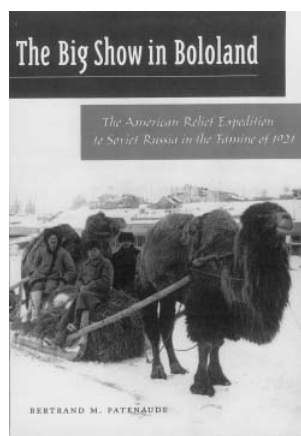
Edited by Semion Lyandres and Dietmar Wulff

A Chronicle of the Civil War in Siberia and Exile in China: The Diaries of Petr Vasil'evich Vologodskii, 1918-1925, edited by Semion Lyandres and Dietmar Wulff (Hoover Institution Press, 2002), is an insider's account of the politics, policies, and main personages of Siberia during the Russian Civil War.

Petr Vasil'evich Vologodskii was a prominent Siberian lawyer and chairman of the Council of Ministers in the Omsk government during the Civil War in Siberia. From May 1918, when he began his diary, until two months before his death in October 1925, Vologodskii maintained an unbroken record of his tenure in power and his years as a refugee in China. His diaries were acquired by the Hoover Institution from the Vologodskii family in 1933.

Based on the seven notebooks of the Vologodskii diaries, *A Chronicle of the Civil War in Siberia and Exile in China* presents the most complete record available of the Civil War in Siberia and of the formative years of Russia's Far Eastern Diaspora. The book offers unique glimpses into the life of the Russian communities in Shanghai, Tientsin, Peking, and Harbin in the early 1920s, as well as rare insights into Chinese domestic politics and military conflicts of the early 1920s.

A Chronicle of the Civil War in Siberia and Exile in China features detailed footnotes and biographical notes on individuals and events in the diaries. An English-language introduction to the Russian diaries provides additional insight into Vologodskii and the Provisional Government in Siberia.



***The Big Show in Bololand*
By Bertrand Patenaude**

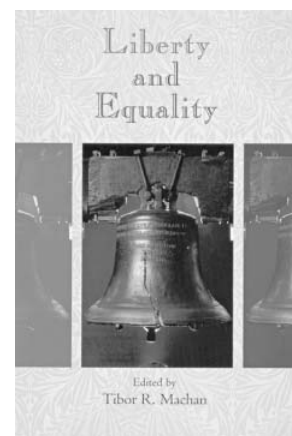
Hoover research fellow Bertrand Patenaude's new book, *The Big Show in Bololand* (Stanford University Press, 2002), explores one of the most interesting events in American-Russian relations in the early twentieth century.

The Big Show in Bololand tells the story of 300 Americans who traveled to Bolshevik Russia during that country's massive 1921 famine. The book is based on the American participants' letters, memoirs, and diaries, which are stored in the Hoover Archives.

The book begins with a general chronology of the relief mission and then recounts workers' personal stories. It details the struggles of feeding the starving people (an estimated 5.1 million of whom died during the famine). It also investigates the conflict between the American capitalist relief workers and the Bolshevik commissars, as well as the cultural clash between the young, adventurous American relief workers and the starving Russians, who ranged from poor peasants to disgraced former aristocrats.

The book is the first to explore the famine in such depth. It also chronicles the social and political aftermath of the Russian Revolution and explores the beginning of the epic U.S.-Russian rivalry.

Patenaude is an expert in Russian and modern European history. He has edited *The Russian Revolution and Stalin and Stalinism* and *Soviet Scholarship under Gorbachev*, among other books, and has worked on three documentary films that aired on national television.



***Liberty and Equality*
Edited by Tibor R. Machan**

"The Declaration of Independence asserts that 'all men are created equal,'" writes Hoover fellow Tibor R. Machan in *Liberty and Equality* (Hoover Press, 2002). "Ever since, critics of the idea of the free society have argued that this is nonsense because, in fact, we are quite evidently not all created equal."

Liberty and Equality takes an unflinching look at the difficult, often emotional issues that arise when egalitarianism collides with individual liberties. Personal autonomy, the contributors show, is sharply at odds with the "coercive egalitarianism" championed by many today. Through well-researched arguments, they offer their insightful views on the most important aspects of this often controversial issue. They examine the history of equality versus autonomy from ancient times through the present day, showing how it has become central to modern political and social debate, and explain why we all have a general right to liberty—but not a fundamental right to equality.

Machan and his contributors clearly illustrate why the kind of egalitarianism preached by socialists is ultimately not an option in a free society.

Tibor R. Machan is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and a professor at the Argyros School of Business and Economics at Chapman University.

UNDERSECRETARY OF COMMERCE MEETS WITH HOOVER FELLOWS

Undersecretary of Commerce Kenneth Juster met with Hoover fellows to discuss cooperative efforts between government and industry to aid national security at the Hoover Institution on Tuesday, September 17, 2002.

"In today's world U.S. industry and U.S. security are inextricably linked together," Juster said. "Government and security have never been more dependent on the private sector than today.

In his remarks, Juster focused on trade and export controls and cyberspace security issues. He stressed the need to build a partnership between government and industry "to ensure our security and our prosperity."

"In today's dynamic environment the line between military and commercial

application is blurring more than ever before," said Juster. "We have to start thinking about security in ways that we really haven't."

Juster was nominated by President Bush to be undersecretary of commerce in 2001. The undersecretary is the head of the Bureau of Industry and Security. Among its many duties, the Bureau of Industry and Security regulates the export of sensitive goods and technologies, works with industry to draft the national strategies for cyber security and homeland security, and leads the federal government's outreach efforts to industry on critical infrastructure protection and cyber security.

Juster served as the counselor (acting) of the U.S. Department of State from 1992 to 1993 and as the deputy and senior



Undersecretary of Commerce Kenneth Juster discusses national security issues with Hoover fellows.

adviser to Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger from 1989 to 1992. He was one of the key U.S. government officials involved in establishing and managing U.S. assistance programs to Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Upon completion of his tenure at the department, Juster received the Secretary of State's Distinguished Service Award and Medal, the state department's highest honor.

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