

# HOOVER INSTITUTION

## Newsletter

Fall 2004



Distinguished Fellow George P. Shultz, right, introduces California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger at the Board of Overseers dinner. Steve Gladfelter/Visual Art Services

### GOVERNOR SCHWARZENEGGER JOINS HOOVER BOARD OF OVERSEERS FOR DINNER, SPEECH

"I see a great future for the state of California," said Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger on July 14 when he spoke to the Hoover Institution's Board of Overseers and guests during a gala dinner on the Stanford Quad. In his remarks, Governor Schwarzenegger spoke about his dreams of coming to America: "I wanted to be part of this winning country"; of the success he has enjoyed here; and of giving back. As he said, "Everything I have I owe to California," which motivated him to run for office. He also shared humorous anecdotes about working with the legislators in Sacramento to pass a budget, such as state senator John Burton's plying him with Austrian treats to entice him into spending. He ended with a trademark phrase from

his role in the Terminator movies: "I'll be back."

Earlier in the day, Hoover fellows compared the leadership of Presidents Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush, discussed the outcome of the 2004 presidential elections, and analyzed the political climate of the United States. Pulitzer Prize-winner Anne Applebaum then discussed her book *The Gulag: What We Know Now and Why It Matters*.

Michael McFaul, Hoover senior fellow, outlined two schools of thought on relations between governments. One school, the realists or power balancers, wants to preserve the balance of power, whereas the other, idealists or regime transformers, champions the formation of democratic states.

continued on page 8

### GEN. JOHN ABIZAID, FORMER NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS FELLOW, ADDRESSES WAR IN IRAQ

General John Abizaid, commander of the U.S. Central Command in Iraq and a former national security affairs fellow, gave an insightful first-person account of the war in Iraq to the Board of Overseers meeting when he spoke on the second day of the meeting.

Abizaid said he was perplexed by the view that the war in Iraq is going badly but believes that it is due to the manipulations of perceptions by terrorists.

"We're winning," he said, "not in the same way as World War II, but more slowly, in smaller ways that allow local governments to grow."

Abizaid added that "we will win, because more people in the region value freedom than not."

He said that although many people view the action by the United States and its allies as a war against not only terrorism but also Iraq and

continued on page 9

#### • I N S I D E •

NATIONAL FELLOWS  
FOR 2004-5 ARRIVE . . . . . 5

LEGENDARY ECONOMIST  
AARON DIRECTOR DIES  
AT AGE 102 . . . . . 7

Q&A: CHARLES HILL  
ON THE 9/11 COMMISSION . . . 10

## *CULTURE WAR?* BY MORRIS FIORINA DEBUNKS COMMON MYTHS ABOUT POLITICS

From the shouting and the vilifying that permeates the airwaves of America today, one would think that bitter and entrenched political divisions among Americans are ripping the country apart at the seams.

Research suggests otherwise.

According to a groundbreaking new book *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America* (Pearson Longman, ISBN: 0-321-27640), 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. It is the political parties and the media that have ignored this fact and distorted public perceptions.

The book is the work of highly respected researcher and author Morris P. Fiorina, senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and professor of political science at Stanford University, along with Samuel J. Abrams, Harvard University, and Jeremy C. Pope, Stanford University.

According to Fiorina, who specializes in elections, public opinion, and Congress, "Increasingly, we hear politicians, interest group leaders, and assorted 'activists' speak half-truths to the American people. They tell us that the United States is split right down the middle, bitterly and deeply divided about national issues, when the truth is more nearly the opposite."

In *Culture War?* the authors explore the role of the political class—officeholders, activists, and pundits—in shaping the public face of American politics. Through data analysis, they show how the political class has distorted the reality of most Americans' actual views about the social, political, and economic issues of the past 30 years.

Fiorina and the book received a great deal of attention upon its release in mid July. A reference to both on July 13 in the New York Times on the front of the Sunday Perspective section, and an op-ed on July 14 in the Wall Street Journal, kicked off widespread coverage. Following were appearances on CNN on July 13, on The Dolan Report on CNNFinancial on July 15, on In the Money on CNN on July 17, and on USA Tonight on WUSA-TV, Washington, D.C., on July 21.

Articles about the book appeared in publications including the San Francisco Chronicle on July 18, Rocky Mountain News on July 22, Sarasota (Fla.) Herald-Tribune on July 25, Chicago Tribune on July 29, Baltimore Sun and Houston



Morris Fiorina

Chronicle on July 30, as well as a citation in Joel Klein's column in Time magazine on August 8 and the New Yorker magazine on August 30.

Abortion, homosexuality, gender, and religion are examined, and the authors' analysis of these controversial subjects leads to the surprising, contrarian conclusion that, "on the whole, the views of the American citizenry look moderate, centrist, nuanced, ambivalent—choose your term—rather than extreme, polarized, unconditional [and] dogmatic."

Fiorina, Abrams, and Pope challenge the foundation upon which the American political machine is built, and they may very likely change the way everyone thinks about the voting public.

"The late Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan used to say that we all were entitled to our own opinions, but not to our own facts," said Fiorina. "This book uses simple facts to confront a distorted political debate in this country." Not satisfied with merely exposing the misconceptions, Fiorina also suggests possible solutions for reconciling the obvious discrepancy between what is and what is perceived to be. The final chapter of *Culture War?* titled, "How Did It Come to This and Where Do We Go from Here?" offers insights on how to move forward with this knowledge and possibly improve the political machine.

With *Culture War?* Fiorina has painted for his fellow citizens "a picture of American politics that is very different from the one they see portrayed on their televisions and described in their newspapers and magazines," one that he hopes will be recognized by Americans as a more accurate reflection of their preferences and beliefs.

---

## HOOVER FELLOW CLINT BOLICK RECEIVES LYSANDER SPOONER AWARD FOR *LEVIATHAN*

*Leviathan* (Hoover Institution Press, 2004), the latest book by Hoover fellow Clint Bolick, was awarded the Lysander Spooner Award for Advancing the Literature of Liberty in August 2004.

Other Hoover fellows who have received a Lysander Spooner Award include Thomas Sowell for his books *Applied Economics* in January 2004 and *Affirmative Action around the World* in April 2004 and Tibor Machan for his book *Putting Humans First* in May 2004.

The Lysander Spooner Awards are presented by Laissez Faire Books to honor those who continue to advocate freedom. This honor is awarded monthly to the most important contributions to the literature of liberty, followed by an annual award to the author of the best book on liberty for the year.

## HOOVER HOSTS ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSIONS FOR U.S. SECRETARIES OF ENERGY AND COMMERCE



In honor of U.S. energy secretary Spencer Abraham

During his July 8 visit to California, Spencer Abraham, United States secretary of the Department of Energy, met with Hoover fellows for a roundtable luncheon discussion. Topics discussed included educating America's youth in mathematics and the sciences, developing alternative energy sources, and competing with private business for employees.



In honor of U.S. secretary of commerce Don Evans

United States secretary of commerce Don Evans visited the Hoover Institution on July 22. He was the guest of honor at a roundtable discussion with Hoover fellows.

## LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES HOST EXHIBIT VOICES OF HOPE: THE STORY OF RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

During the cold war, for millions of people behind the Iron Curtain, the uncensored broadcasts of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty provided news within and about their countries that wasn't covered by government-controlled outlets.

Today, millions more in Afghanistan, Iran, Serbia, and other countries continue to rely on the Radios for news about what is happening in their countries, unfettered by local government controls. Thomas Dine, president of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL), spoke recently of its importance: "RFE/RL is not a cold war relic, but a modern media organization communicating to the world's most unstable hotspots."

In *Voices of Hope: The Story of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty*, the Hoover Library and Archives cover this often controversial effort by the United States government to reach listeners with news about their countries and promote democracy from its beginnings to today.

For the exhibit, the Hoover Library and Archives drew on their stored 80,000 radio broadcasts to bring history alive. Listening stations are set up for visitors to hear sound bites from notable events from history, such as

- John Steinbeck remembering John F. Kennedy
- Appeals made to other nations at the UN while Soviet tanks invaded Prague
- Ronald Reagan's broadcast to the Soviets after they shot down a Korean jet liner

In addition, photographs, papers, and other documents revealing how RFE/RL was able to reach its listeners and the efforts made to disrupt its broadcasts, from jamming transmissions to murder, are on display.

## DANISH AMBASSADOR VISITS HOOVER INSTITUTION



Ulrik Federspiel, Denmark's ambassador to the United States, visited the Hoover Institution on June 23. He was the guest of honor at a luncheon where he gave a speech titled "The Atlantic Alliance from the Danish Perspective." As part of his visit Ambassador Federspiel (left) was given a tour of the library and archives by Thomas H. Henriksen, Hoover senior fellow (center), and Elena Danielson, Hoover associate director and library and archives director (right).

The 20,000 boxes of RFE/RL records in the archives are being mined by an international team of scholars. As expected, their research is resulting in a more accurate picture of the cold war. In addition they are determining from the documentation just which techniques succeeded in creating essentially a surrogate free press in repressive regimes.

The exhibit will be in the Herbert Hoover Memorial Exhibit Pavilion until December 17. The Exhibit Pavilion, located at the Hoover Institution on the Stanford University campus, adjacent to Hoover Tower, is open Tuesday through Saturday, 11 AM through 4 PM. For additional information, please contact the Hoover Institution Archives, 650-723-3563 or [www.hoover.org/hila](http://www.hoover.org/hila). Group tours are available.

## KORET TASK FORCE VISITS SPECIALIST SCHOOLS IN LONDON

At the invitation of Sir Cyril Taylor, chairman of the Specialist Schools Trust (SST), the Koret Task Force (KTF) on K-12 Education traveled to London September 8-11 to examine England's specialist school system and other contemporary developments in British education policy.

STT's mission is to build a network of high-performing public secondary schools in partnership with businesses, government, and the wider community. Two-thirds of all secondary schools in England now have "specialist" status of various kinds.

The schools teach the full national curriculum—and administer England's national exams—giving special attention to a particular subject or technical field, often through an extended school day. Currently, there are ten types of specialist schools, including technology colleges, science colleges, and language, engineering, sports, and music colleges. Specialist schools receive extra funding from both private and government sources, and some of them receive greater operating autonomy, akin to American charter schools.

At the SST welcome dinner on September 8, David Miliband, minister of state for school standards in the cabinet of Tony Blair, discussed standards and accountability and the role

of the Specialist Schools Trust in reforming the English educational landscape.

Earlier in the day, KTF members took part in a roundtable discussion on education at the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA). In that conversation, IEA director general John Blundell was joined by the Right Honorable Lord Baker of Dorking, minister of education in the Thatcher government, and representatives from British university research centers.

On September 9, the KTF toured four specialist schools in London to get a firsthand look at the program. Task force members met with school leaders, teachers, and students at Harris City Technology College, Sir John Cass Language College, John Kelly Girls' and Boys' Technology Colleges, and the Bexley Business Academy.

Following their school visits, KTF members met with Andrew Adonis, the prime minister's education adviser, at 10 Downing Street to discuss UK education policy. The group then traveled to the Department for Education and Skills for a briefing by Peter Housden, director general of schools.

On September 10, the KTF participated in an education seminar hosted by the Social Market Foundation

(SMF). Chairman Chester E. Finn Jr. joined Sir Cyril Taylor and SMF director Philip Collins in discussing education reform efforts in the United States and Britain. In a lively Q & A following the discussion, KTF members fielded audience and media questions about their recent book *Our Schools and Our Future...Are We Still at Risk?*

The SST visit not only provided the task force with opportunities to observe education practices in England but also gave KTF members a chance to draw comparisons to reforms in the United States. The observations and insight of the KTF will be presented in a forthcoming article authored by task force member Paul T. Hill.

The Koret Task Force on K-12 Education is a top-rate team of education experts brought together by the Hoover Institution, with the support of the Koret Foundation, to work on education reform. The primary objectives of the task force are to gather, evaluate, and disseminate existing evidence in an analytic context and analyze reform measures that will enhance the quality and productivity of K-12 education. Members of the task force are John E. Chubb, Williamson M. Evers, Chester E. Finn Jr., Eric A. Hanushek, E. D. Hirsch Jr., Paul T. Hill, Caroline M. Hoxby, Terry M. Moe, Paul E. Peterson, Diane Ravitch, and Herbert J. Walberg.

## HOOVER DIGEST WINS FOUR GOLD INK AWARDS

The Hoover Institution's quarterly journal, the Hoover Digest, has been awarded four Gold Ink Awards by PrintMedia and Printing Impressions magazines, the competition's cosponsors, for editions printed in 2003 and 2004.

The awards were a gold award for

Digest number 4, 2003; a silver award for Digest number 3, 2003; a bronze award for Digest number 1, 2004; and a pewter award for Digest number 2, 2004. All were in the category of scientific and technical journals.

Winners were honored at the Gold Ink Awards and Hall of Fame Banquet

on October 11, 2004, during Graph Expo and Converting Expo in Chicago.

This year's Gold Ink Award winners were chosen from nearly 1,600 entries submitted in 40 categories. Winning pieces were chosen for their print quality, quality of color separations, technical difficulty, and overall visual effect.



## HOOVER INSTITUTION NATIONAL FELLOWS, NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS FELLOWS FOR 2004–5 ANNOUNCED

Hoover Institution director John Raisian has announced the recipients of the annual postdoctoral W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellows Program for the 2004–5 academic year.

Recognized as one of the preeminent fellowships in the United States, the program, now completing its 32nd year, provides scholars an opportunity to spend one year at the Hoover Institution conducting independent research on current or historical public policy issues.

The national fellows use the release time from teaching to advance their professional careers by completing an original and significant research project at the Hoover Institution. The National Fellows Program has awarded nearly 400 fellowships to outstanding scholars from universities across the United States and Canada.

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

The 2004–5 fellows, academic affiliations, and topics are

**Professor Patrick Chamorel**

Department of Government, Claremont McKenna College  
"The New Visions and Politics of European Integration in the United States"

**Professor Steven F. Hayward**

American Enterprise Institute  
"The Age of Reagan (vol. 2): The Lion at the Gate, 1980–1989"

**Professor Xiaobo Hu**

Political Science Department, Clemson University  
"How China's Property Rights Have Been Privatized: Can China Establish a Productive Market Economy?"

**Professor F. Scott Kieff**

School of Law, Washington University in St. Louis  
"The Law and Economics of Patents"

**Professor Gary Libecap**

School of Law and Department of Economics, University of Arizona  
"Transaction Costs and Institutional Change: An Analysis of Western Water Law and Institutions regarding Transfers from Agriculture to Urban and Environmental Uses"

**Professor Emmanuel Saez**

Department of Economics, UC Berkeley  
"Income and Wealth Concentration in a Historical and International Perspective: The Role of Tax Policy"

**Professor Sergei Severinov**

Fuqua School of Business, Duke University  
"The Value and Benefits of Legal Representation"

**Mr. J Alexander Thier**

"Numerous Scattered Villages: Nation-Building in Afghanistan and Beyond"

**Professor Amir Weiner**

Department of History, Stanford University  
"Wild West, Window to the West: Russia's Western Frontier, 1939 to Present"

**Susan Louise Dyer Peace Fellowship**

**Professor Page Fortna**

Political Science Department, Columbia University  
"Peacekeeping in Civil Wars: A Theoretical and Empirical Assessment"

Also announced were the participants in the 2004–5 National Security Affairs Fellows Program.

The program offers representatives of the U.S. military and government agencies the opportunity to spend a year in intensive study at Hoover. Since the program began in 1969, more than 100 people have participated in it.

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

This year's participants are

**Mary Draper** from the Department of State. Since joining the Department of State in 1986, Ms. Draper has served as a consular officer in a variety of overseas postings, including the Dominican Republic (1986–88), Australia (1988–90), Albania (1993–95), Ireland (1995–98), and Tunisia (1998–2000). She was most recently the head of the consular section in Jerusalem (2000–2004). While in Washington from 1990 to 1993, she served in the state department's Operations Center, the White House Situation Room, and the state department's Executive Secretariat. Her research will focus on the relationship between the state department's Bureau of Consular Affairs and the Department of Homeland Security.

**Lieutenant Colonel Tucker Mansager** from the Department of the Army. He has served in numerous positions in infantry units in the United States, Germany, Italy, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq. Lt. Col. Mansager served as the assistant army attaché in Warsaw, Poland, and most recently as the political-military chief for Combined Forces Command-Afghanistan, in Kabul. A 1985 graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, with a concentration in Soviet studies, he received his master's degree in Russian and East European studies from Stanford in 1996. His research topic will focus on his recent experiences in Afghanistan.

**Lieutenant Commander Scott Tait** from the Department of the Navy. Scott is a surface warfare officer (ship driver), with operational experience in the Pacific, Indian Ocean, Arabian Gulf / Red Sea, Mediterranean, and Atlantic. His operational tours include assignments in cruiser and destroyer platforms and at the U.S. European Command

Nat'l Fellows continued from page 5

Joint Analysis Center. His research at Hoover will focus on productive military, political, and economic engagement and influence strategies for U.S.-China relations as China gains increasing power and influence in Asia.

**Lieutenant Colonel Kevin Wooton** from the Department of the Air Force. He is a career intelligence officer with experience in the Pacific and Southwest Asia theaters. He most recently commanded the 25th Information Operations Squadron at Hurlburt Field, Florida. His tenure included commanding the squadron during its deployment for Operation Iraqi Freedom. While at Hoover, his research will focus

on the relationship of airpower and special operations in the war on terrorism.

**Lieutenant Colonel Daniel D. Yoo** from the U. S. Marine Corps. He was commissioned a second lieutenant following completion of Officer Candidate School in March 1985. As an infantry officer, he has commanded at the platoon, company, and battalion level in infantry and reconnaissance units. As a staff officer, he has served in operational and planning billets at the Marine Expeditionary Unit, Brigade, and Force levels. The topic of his research will be the impact of 21st-century asymmetric strategies on future DoD transformation initiatives.

## MEDIA FELLOW HOWARD MORTMAN DISCUSSES PROGRAMMING, COVERAGE

How do cable news programs decide what to cover? Howard Mortman, producer for *Hardball* with Chris Matthews on MSNBC, columnist, and editor, examined this issue and others, when he spoke during a media fellows luncheon on June 24.

He addressed concerns of liberal bias in the media, stating that he views those who cover the news as a "hardworking, driven lot who are too busy to be biased." He went on to say that "the problem is that we are reducing our voices due to the consolidation of media."

On the subject of what determines the programming and why some topics receive more coverage than others, the short answer, he said, is ratings. As an example of what draws viewers, Mortman mentioned the public's fascination with the Laci Peterson case. By contrast, he said, although widely watched and heavily produced, the coverage of Ronald Reagan and his funeral drew smaller ratings numbers for all the cable news networks.

In addition to producing *Hardball*, Mortman writes a weekly political column for the MSNBC web site. He joined MSNBC in 2002 after six and a half years at the National Journal, where he edited the daily political briefing "The Hotline" and wrote a column that ran three times a week.

The Media Fellows Program allows print and broadcast

media professionals to spend time in residence at the Hoover Institution. Media fellows have the opportunity to exchange information and perspectives with Hoover scholars through seminars and informal meetings and with the Hoover and Stanford communities in public lectures. As fellows, they have the full range of research tools the Hoover offers available to them.

Other recent media fellows include

Renata Adler, *Vanity Fair*, July 8–15, 2004

Tom Bethell, *American Spectator*, August 10–September 10, 2004

Kevin Merida, *Washington Post*, September 13–17, 2004

Deroy Murdock, *Scripps Howard News Service*, September 20–24, 2004

John Shaw, *Market News International*, September 27–October 1, 2004

Sander Vanocur, freelance, September 27–October 1, 2004

Delia Rios, *Newhouse News*, October 4–8, 2004

Jonathan Decker, *Reuters Television*, October 4–8, 2004

Joan Biskupic, *USA Today*, October 11–15, 2004

Jeffrey Dvorkin, *National Public Radio*, October 18–22, 2004

Neil King, *Wall Street Journal*, November 1–5, 2004

Michael Isikoff, *Newsweek*, November 8–12, 2004

Leslie Wayne, *New York Times*, November 15–19, 2004

Jim VandeHei, *Washington Post*, November 15–19, 2004

Philip Terzian, *Providence Journal*, December 13–17, 2004

### HOOVER INSTITUTION WEB SITES

[www.hoover.org](http://www.hoover.org) Comprehensive information about the Institution, its fellows, work, scholarly output, and outreach

[www.hooverdigest.org](http://www.hooverdigest.org) Quarterly Hoover Digest available online

[www.educationnext.org](http://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](http://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 web sites.

[www.chinaladershipmonitor.org](http://www.chinaladershipmonitor.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

The Hoover Institution Newsletter is published quarterly and distributed by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-6010, 650/723-0603, fax, 650/725-8611. ©2003 by the Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University. Send comments and requests for information to Newsletter Editor Michele M. Horaney, APR, Manager of Public Affairs. Staff: Public Affairs Writer: LaNor Maune, Newsletter Production: Wm Freeman, Stanford Design Group. The Hoover Institution Home Page is on the World Wide Web at [www.hoover.org](http://www.hoover.org).

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.

## AARON DIRECTOR, FOUNDER OF THE FIELD OF LAW AND ECONOMICS, HOOVER INSTITUTION DISTINGUISHED FELLOW, AND UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ECONOMIST



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 Saturday, September

11, at his home in Los Altos Hills, California, 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 upon his retirement from the University of Chicago.

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. With fellow faculty member Henry Simons, Director first began to apply the principles of economics to legal reasoning, eventually training generations of law students and even his colleagues on the faculty in this then new way of thinking about the law.

Law and economics as a field attempts to apply the scientific methods of economics—including statistics and price theory—

to behaviors that in the past had been analyzed solely by appeal to the history and intuitions of the law. With coherent theory, precise hypotheses, and a willingness to subject those hypotheses to empirical tests, the field has transformed legal thinking in the United States and in many nations around the world.

In 1965, Director retired from the University of Chicago and moved to California, where he built a home in Los Altos Hills. He accepted a position at the Hoover Institution; for several years he returned to Chicago to coteach the antitrust course.

Aaron Director was born in 1901 in Charterisk, which was then in Russia and is now in Ukraine. He immigrated with his family to Portland, Oregon, in 1913. At Lincoln High School, he was editor of the yearbook, which predicted that he “will eventually become a newspaper editor.” After graduating from Yale University in 1924 after only three years, he took his then “progressive” politics on a journey traveling around the world or “at least those aspects of the world of interest to a young radical,” as Ronald Coase wrote in a biography of Director in the *Palgrave Dictionary of Economics and the Law*. Director worked at times in a coal mine, as a migrant farm worker, and in a textile factory. He returned to Portland and taught labor history for two years at Portland Labor College, before coming to Chicago as a graduate student in 1927.

He stayed at Chicago for several years as an instructor, also bringing his younger sister Rose to the university. There, she finished her undergraduate work and entered graduate school in economics, where she would meet her future husband, Milton Friedman, a Hoover Institution senior research fellow.

Director is survived by his sister, Rose Director Friedman, of San Francisco, California. Services are pending at the University of Chicago. Contributions may be made to the Law and Economics Program at the University of Chicago Law School.

**T**he Hoover Institution presents a wide range of opinions, expert research, and commentary in four recognized and acclaimed publications: Hoover Digest, Education Next, Policy Review, and China Leadership Monitor. Below are highlights of the latest issues of each publication:

### Hoover Digest

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

- Cuba: “After Fidel,” by Research Fellow **William Ratliff**
- Kuwait: “Kuwaiti Complexities,” by Research Fellow **Peter Berkowitz**
- “Congress—Still in the Balance?” by Senior Fellow **David W. Brady** and Jeremy C. Pope

### Education Next

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

- “Technology in Education: Will It Be More Than Just a Promise?”
- “The Human Touch,” by Lowell Monke and “Technical Difficulties,” by Frederick M. Hess
- “Five Decades Later: An Unsettling Look at the Legacy of Brown v. Board of Education”

### Policy Review

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

- “Outline of a Doctrine of French Policy: The First English Translation of the Philosopher’s 1945 Memo,” by Alexandre Kojève
- “Kojève’s Latin Empire: From the ‘End of History’ to the ‘Epoch of Empires,’” by Robert Howse

- “The Terrorism to Come: Rules of Law and Warfare Do Not Apply,” by Walter Laqueur

### China Leadership Monitor

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

- Foreign Policy: “Leadership Policy toward Taiwan and the United States in the Wake of Chen Shui-bian’s Reelection,” by Robert L. Suettinger
- Military Affairs: “Your Guess Is as Good as Mine: PLA Budgets, Proposals, and Discussions at the Second Session of the 10th National People’s Congress,” by James Mulvenon
- Economic Policy: “Hunkering Down: The Wen Jiabao Administration and Macroeconomic Recontrol,” by Barry Naughton



continued from page 1

McFaul sees Presidents Reagan and Bush as regime transformers—Reagan with communism and Bush with Islamic fundamentalism—but Bush has a different approach to promoting democracy from Reagan based on how they've arrived at their views. For instance, Reagan developed his ideas over decades whereas Bush adopted his after 9/11; Reagan knew his enemy well whereas Bush does not; and so on. McFaul also stated that more needs to be done to aid the development of democratic states.

The 2004 presidential election, said Hoover deputy director David Brady, “will be decided by events we don’t know about yet.” In his presentation he said that the campaigns for George W. Bush and John Kerry will be very different. Bush will campaign on his record while Kerry must show he’s an acceptable alternative. “That he [Kerry] is not Bush is fine with the Democratic base,” Brady said, “but others need more.” Discussing how voter concerns influence who is in the lead, he said surveys show that, when the economy is important to voters, Kerry



Hoover director John Raisian



Anne Applebaum



Michael McFaul

leads in the polls but that, when the economy improves and the war in Iraq and terrorism become more important to the voters, then Bush takes the lead.

Hoover senior fellow Morris P. Fiorina questioned the view that the United States is a culturally divided country, torn between the morally progressive and morally conservative. As he wrote in his book *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America*, Fiorina believes Americans are more in the middle than to the left or right.

The importance of understanding the gulag was discussed by Anne Applebaum. The first gulag was built by Vladimir Lenin in 1918, but Stalin expanded them for economic reasons as well as to terrorize and subjugate the Russian people. The full horrors of the gulag were kept from people in the West, however, by reporters, most notably New York Times reporter Walter Duranty, who, she said, misrepresented the conditions and the number of people who died in them because of their own political agendas. Applebaum stated her concern that “our views in the U.S. of the Soviet Union are shaped by politics.” She ended by saying that “if we forget about the gulag we will forget our own history.”

On July 15 an exhibit and short talk on “Treasures from the Chinese Collections” was presented



Kurt Hauser



David Brady



William Edwards



# BOARD OF OVERSEERS

by Cecile Dore Hill, Hoover exhibits coordinator. The collection recently acquired the financial papers of T.V. Soong, donated by his family. Soong was the foreign minister of China during World War II. He worked closely with United States president Franklin D. Roosevelt to defeat Japan, negotiated with Moscow to reestablish Chinese sovereignty over Manchuria, and represented China at the founding of the United Nations. These papers, along with papers donated by



George P. Shultz, left, with New York Times columnist David Brooks

his family in the 1970s to the Hoover Library and Archives, provide an extensive view of Chinese history during a critical period.

The meeting closed with a presentation by General John Abizaid (see page 1) and a discussion between George P. Shultz and columnist David Brooks.

Former secretary of state Shultz, now a Hoover distinguished fellow, and Brooks, a New York Times columnist



Shultz presents a sculpture to governor Schwarzenegger at the overseers dinner

and Weekly Standard editor, addressed the war in Iraq in a question-and-answer format. In his comments on the war, Shultz said, "Set the problem up right, then the solutions follow. This is a war, not a crime problem. Do not wait for something to happen, then respond; war has an offense and a defense."

## GEN. JOHN ABIZAID ADDRESSES OVERSEERS

continued from page 1

Afghanistan, he believes the action is really "a war against ideological views of extreme fundamentalism." And he compared the extremists to Bolsheviks and fascists.

"Terrorism is a franchise operation," he said. "Osama bin Laden does not exert total control, as many think, but he does move quickly, he has an education system, a finishing system."

Therefore, he continued, it is important to stabilize Iraq and Afghanistan, to schedule and hold elections, so that

terrorists can see that they cannot shape those countries or impose their own ideology.

Before his talk at the board meeting, he also met with Hoover Institution fellows to discuss the situation in the Middle East.

Abizaid, who was a Hoover Institution national security affairs fellow from 1992 to 1993, focused his research on "the design and structure of peacekeeping operations for U.S. military forces in the New World Order."



John Abizaid

Abizaid earned a master of arts degree in area studies at Harvard University and was an Olmsted Scholar at the University of Jordan in Amman. He served in peacekeeping operations in Kurdistan in northern Iraq after the Persian Gulf War, was an assistant commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a commander in Kosovo, and an operations officer for Observer Group Lebanon during a tour with the United Nations.

## ANOTHER LOOK AT THE 9/11 REPORT



FELLOW	Charles Hill
TITLE	Research Fellow
RESEARCH	International political affairs
PUBLICATIONS	Collaborator with former UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali on <i>Egypt's Road to Jerusalem</i> , a memoir of the Middle East peace negotiations, and <i>Unvanquished</i> , about U.S. relations with the UN in the post-cold war period (both published by Random House). Editor, three-volume <i>Papers of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali</i> (Yale University Press).
AFFILIATIONS, BACKGROUND	Diplomat in residence and lecturer in international studies, Yale University. Career minister in the U.S. Foreign Service, executive aide to former U.S. secretary of state George P. Shultz, 1985–89, and special consultant on policy to the secretary-general of the United Nations, 1992–96.
DEGREES	A.B. degree, Brown University, 1957; J.D. degree, University of Pennsylvania, 1960; and M.A. degree, University of Pennsylvania, 1961.

**Q: The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (also known as the 9/11 Commission) released its public report on July 22, 2004. There immediately followed a cascade of commentary from analysts around the world. You noted in some of the writing you did about the panel that it was a prime example of what you called “commissionism.” What is commissionism and why is this an example of it?**

**A:** “Commissionism” has become an established form of governance in the United States since just after the Second World War, when the commission to investigate the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor produced its conclusions in 40 volumes.

Since that time almost every major crisis in the nation’s life has had its own commission. These commissions’ most immediate value has been to give the American public the sense that serious and responsible people have been mandated to find out what went wrong, and why, and to recommend ways to fix the problem.

Against this background, the 9/11 commission, under former New Jersey governor Thomas Kean and former member of Congress Lee Hamilton, has produced the most widely praised report in the history of commissionism.

**Q: But you believe there are deep flaws in this commission’s report.**

**A:** At the heart of the report—its recommendations on the intelligence community—the commission ignores basic principles of intelligence work and misses opportunities to set it right. Many second-level recommendations of the “we must do better” sort in the report deserve respectful attention. The four big recommendations, however, contain serious flaws.

**Q: What are those?**

**A:** First, the commission recommends that the director of central intelligence be replaced by a “national intelligence director” who would have unprecedented powers over the entire intelligence community. The holder of this new position would rule the

budgets, hire and fire agency heads, and be “the principal intelligence adviser to the president.”

It sounds sensible, but the first principle of managing intelligence is that analysis and policymaking must be kept separate. When an intelligence analyst becomes an adviser, the intelligence swiftly becomes skewed toward the favored policy objective of either the analyst or the policymaker. This is not a matter of Machiavellian guile; it’s just a fact of human nature.

**Q: How would you recommend this work in practice?**

**A:** The chief analyst, who under the present system is the CIA’s director, should present his intelligence findings to the president and his team and then scram, before the decision process starts. But the 9/11 commission would have him dwelling right there in the West Wing or seated at the cabinet table.

The duties of the new “national intelligence director” would lead to the creation of a new bureaucratic layer above the present all-too-bureaucratized intelligence community. The 9/11 commissioners protest that this is not their intention, but such vast budgeting, coordinating, and personnel-managing responsibilities as they describe would keep the federal pork barrel bulging.

A certain illogic in the phenomenon of commissionism is vividly in play here. Most self-respecting commissions recommend some major institutional changes, even though the real issues are often matters of inadequate leadership or dysfunctional agency cultures. Without a big structural change, a commission risks being called toothless or charged with whitewashing the problem.

In the 9/11 case, the illogic unfolds. A new national position is recommended. The 9/11 families clamor for implementation. In this presidential election year, politics will make it nearly impossible for the president to examine the recommendations carefully. Sen. John Kerry has already declared that, if he were president now, he would instantly accept all the recommendations. So we are likely to see this ill-designed concept put into effect and at some future point reworked or dismantled.

**Q: Looking back in U.S. intelligence history, what else would be appropriate? What could we learn or on what could officials build a new concept for intelligence?**

**A:** The reality is that the National Intelligence Act of 1947 that set up the CIA was designed with care, giving the director of central intelligence the job of coordinating and managing, but not controlling, the intelligence community as a whole, in order to keep a healthy competition among agencies alive. If the director has not done this job well, it is a problem of leadership, not of structure—and the proposed new structure would be worse than the one we have now.

**Q: And the second issue with the commission's recommendations?**

**A:** The next major 9/11 recommendation deals with collection and analysis: improving analytic capabilities, language skills, and financial incentives and ensuring a “seamless relationship” between human and technical collection.

But the commission misses what has really gone wrong in recent decades. The conventional wisdom—that collection is expensive while analysis is cheap—needs rethinking. An increasing amount of the information and intelligence that we need can be gained from open sources. Collection from open sources is cheap and needs new emphasis.

**Q: What are some examples of open sources? And how could they be enhanced?**

**A:** The commission might have urged that Congress and the State Department reverse the trend of closing American consulates around the world. Opening small, inexpensive, three- or four-person offices staffed by foreign service officers with excellent language and cultural skills, operating wholly in the open, could give us a much better sense of what is really going on in vast parts of the world where terrorists have taken up residence.

Analysis can't be considered cheap when a “failure to connect the dots” has proved costly beyond our worst nightmares. Such failures come when analysts do not fully understand what they are looking at.

**Q: There seems to be a plethora of information and data. The issue of excellent hindsight has been discussed at length in the wake of the commission report release. But what are your thoughts on how important information could be missed?**

**A:** Over the decades the quality of personnel in analyst work has changed, not because those hired are not smart or able but because the quality and availability of education in world history and politics (not “political science”) have declined in American higher education. The courses needed for understanding the international scene are most likely to be found in elite private colleges and universities, but the government's stress on diversity has created a prejudice against graduates from these institutions. To improve analysis, the intelligence community must return to the abandoned tradition of recruiting the best-educated people it can find.

**Q: The commission also dealt with paramilitary operations. What did you think about that area?**

**A:** The commission's third major recommendation is “Lead responsibility for directing and executing paramilitary operations, whether clandestine or covert, should shift to the Defense Depart-

ment.”

The commission justifies this by noting that “before 9/11, the CIA did not invest in developing a robust capability to conduct paramilitary operations with U.S. personnel. It relied on proxies instead, organized by CIA operatives without the requisite military training. The results were unsatisfactory.”

The commission fails to note why such problems have arisen. For decades, such operations have been portrayed by the media and many in Congress as products of a rogue CIA that must be reined in. So the agency has put those operations at arm's length and drastically reduced their practice.

**Q: And regarding the enhancement of the Defense Department's role?**

**A:** To move paramilitary operations to the Defense Department would violate a fundamental principle of the world we are fighting to defend. Today the established international system as a whole is under deadly attack by a revolutionary Islamist ideology, which seeks to destroy it and replace it with a Muslim caliphate.

The international system, now some three centuries old, has been accepted on every continent as the way in which the world's nations have agreed to work with one another. Its elements are the sovereign state, international law, the United Nations, accepted norms such as women's rights, and, not least, the commitment to use professional uniformed military services.

Today, when our system is being warred upon, we must not undermine it from within. That means our armed forces must not be ordered to carry out operations that are fundamentally alien to their principles. Here again, the 9/11 commission pronounces on a function without understanding the concept that should guide it.

**Q: The commission also had recommendations on budgeting and information about the funding.**

**A:** Finally, the commission declares that the overall budget amounts appropriated for national intelligence should be made public, along with explanations of how the money has been allocated.

This would be immensely harmful to America's national security. The changes in such numbers over time would provide our enemies with a guide to U.S. security concerns and the direction and emphasis of our intelligence efforts. The 9/11 report noted that “opponents of declassification argue that America's enemies could learn about intelligence capabilities by tracking the top-line appropriation figure.”

You bet they could. It is hard to understand why the commission could make such a dangerous recommendation were it not for its conclusion that “congressional oversight for intelligence—and counterterrorism—is dysfunctional.” Yes it is, and the report makes useful points about how Congress might reform itself. Doing so would remove the reason for the commission's reckless recommendation that we reveal to our enemies the overall direction and resources of our intelligence effort.

The 9/11 commission has produced an impressive report, filled with insights and important proposals. But at the heart of the matter—its recommendations on intelligence—it doesn't know what it is talking about.



# H O O V E R O N T H E A I R

Senior Fellow **Abraham Sofaer** discussed the movement of U.S. troops from Europe and Asia to the United States during the next decade on KTVU-TV (Fox), San Francisco, on August 16.



Research Fellow **Joseph McNamara**, former chief of police in San Jose, California, addressed the issue of demonstrations in New York during the Republican National Convention on KGO-TV (ABC), San Francisco, on August 16.



Talk of the Nation (National Public Radio) featured Senior Fellow **Eric Hanushek** on a panel on school funding on August 16.



Senior Fellow **Larry Diamond** was interviewed about Iraq and its future on The Charlie Rose Show (PBS) on August 25. He is the author of "What Went Wrong in Iraq" in the August/September issue of Foreign Affairs.

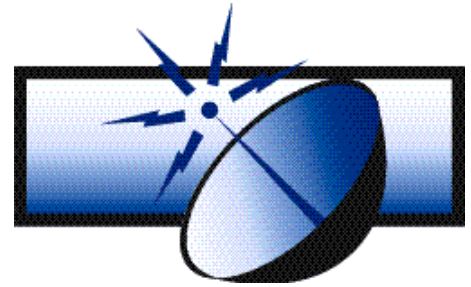
Diamond also talked with Lou Dobbs on Lou Dobbs Tonight (CNN) on August 12 about the threat of Iran developing nuclear weapons. He also was on The Newshour with Jim Lehrer (PBS) on August 9 to discuss Iraq.



Research fellow **Bill Whalen** was interviewed on August 6 about the California Republican Convention held August 9–12 on KQED-FM radio (NPR), San Francisco. He also discussed the national presidential election on KNVT-TV (NBC), San Francisco, on July 30 and 31, and KPIX-TV (CBS), San Francisco, on July 29, and MSNBC on July 23. On KNBC-TV (NBC), San Francisco, on July 18, he discussed the donation of funds to the Ralph Nader campaign by Republicans.



Research Fellow **Kiron Skinner** addressed the Bush administration's response to terrorism on MSNBC News Live on August 4.



Research Fellow **Tod Lindberg**, editor of Policy Review, was part of a panel on the evolution of American political parties on Talk of the Nation (NPR), on July 28.



Hoover fellows discussed the 9/11 commission report on a wide number of media outlets in July. Senior Fellow **Abraham Sofaer** was interviewed by KRON (Independent), San Francisco, on July 22. Research Fellow **Charles Hill** was interviewed by KCBS-AM radio (CBS), San Francisco, on July 22.

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

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

Details about each segment are available at the Hoover Institution web site, [www.hoover.org](http://www.hoover.org). New programs this season include

- "Red and Blue All Over: The Political Divide in America"

**Guests:** David Brooks, columnist, New York Times; Morris Fiorina, senior fellow, Hoover Institution; Daron Shaw, professor of political science, University of Texas, Austin

- "Around the World in 80 Ways: Affirmative Action around the World"

**Guest:** Thomas Sowell, senior fellow, Hoover Institution, author, Affirmative Action around the World

- "Helter Swelter: The Debate over Global Warming"

**Guests:** Carl Pope, executive director, Sierra Club; Fred Smith, president and founder, Competitive Enterprise Institute

- "Mind the Gap: The Racial Gap in Education"

**Guests:** Bernard Gifford, professor of education, University of California, Berkeley; Abigail Thernstrom, senior fellow, Man-

hattan Institute, coauthor, No Excuses: Closing the Racial Gap in Learning; Stephen Thernstrom, professor of history, Harvard University, coauthor, No Excuses: Closing the Racial Gap in Learning

- "The Right Nation: The Conservative Ascendancy"

**Guests:** Clark Judge, managing director, White House Writers Group, former speechwriter for President Ronald Reagan; John Micklethwait, U.S. editor, The Economist, coauthor, The Right Nation: Conservative Power in America

- "Is the New Left History? The Past, Present and Future of the Left"

**Guests:** Anne Applebaum, columnist, the Washington Post, Pulitzer Prize-winning author, Gulag: A History; Christopher Hitchens, contributor, the Atlantic Monthly and Vanity Fair

- "A Space Case: The Future of NASA"

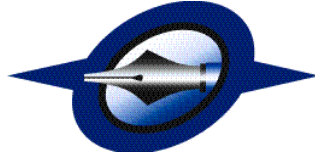
**Guest:** Sean O'Keefe, NASA administrator

- "The Next Great Leap: China and Democracy"

**Guests:** William McGurn, chief editorial writer, the Wall Street Journal; Orville Schell, dean, graduate school of journalism, University of California, Berkeley

- "Sleeping with the Enemy: The Global AIDS Crisis"

**Guests:** Carol Adelman, senior fellow, Hudson Institute; Greg Behrma, author, The Invisible People: How the U.S. Slept through the Global AIDS Pandemic, the Greatest Humanitarian Catastrophe of Our Time



Government at the local level has grown far beyond its original purposes of providing for schools, fire protection, and police services. Now you find government in the business of providing utility services and garbage collection and even running waterslide parks. The trajectory is for ever increasing government at the local level, and, increasingly, power will be exercised not by elected officials but by faceless bureaucrats. So the trend is very worrisome, and it's one that is almost entirely unremarked upon.

■ Clint Bolick, research fellow,  
Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel,  
July 27

Until poverty alleviating is moved out of the government's domain and into the hands of caring citizens, and until government aid is constrained to go as directly as possible to those who need the money the most, aid will continue to serve as a means to achieve policy goals (a good thing), to prolong despotism (a bad thing), and to lead recipients to engage in policies that are against the interests of their own citizens (a very bad thing).

■ Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, senior fellow, Orlando Sentinel, July 27

The prospect of an apolar world should frighten us today a great deal more than it frightened the heirs of Charlemagne. If the United States retreats from global hegemony—its fragile self-image dented by minor setbacks on the imperial frontier—its critics at home and abroad must not pretend that they are ushering in a new era of multipolar harmony, or even a return to the good old balance of power. Be careful what you wish for. The alternative to unipolarity would not be multipolarity at all. It would be apolarity—a global vacuum of power. And far more dangerous forces than rival great powers would benefit from such a not-so-new world disorder.

■ Niall Ferguson, senior fellow,  
Foreign Policy, July

American hyperpower, by contrast with the one-dimensional superpower of the

Soviet Union, has always depended on having all three dimensions: military, economic, and "soft." The soft power of a country is more difficult to measure than its military or economic power, but one yardstick is what I call the "Statue of Liberty test." In this test, countries are rated by the number of people outside them, divided by the number of people inside who want to get out. Thus, during the cold war, many people wanted to emigrate from the Soviet Union, while very few wanted to go and live there; whereas hundreds of millions wanted to enter America and very few wanted to leave it. By this rough measure, America still has bags of soft power.

■ Timothy Garton Ash,  
The Guardian, July 22

Indeed, if our dead could rise out of their graves they would surely rebuke us for our present blasphemy—shaking their fingers and remonstrating that bin Laden and his followers, both active and passive, are no different from Hitler and the other evil killers of their own age, who deserve to be defeated, not reasoned with or apologized to, and not understood. The voice of our dead abroad murmur to us, the deaf, that a nation is liked not by being good and weak or bad and strong, but only by proving both principled and resolute.

■ Victor Davis Hanson, senior fellow, National Review, July 30

Future strategies to nip terrorist plots in the bud might include surgical airstrikes, cloak-and-dagger operations, and even smash-and-dash commando raids to take out nuclear facilities or eliminate terrorist camps. The old cold war business as usual is over and so should be the analogous thinking.

■ Thomas H. Henriksen,  
senior fellow, Jewish World  
Review, August 10

Within its mandate, the [9/11] commission has performed well. But a lack of the larger international context is troubling. The commission's performance in microcosm reveals basic fallacies that have characterized the national security discourse for years, especially since the attacks of September 11, 2001: structuralism, perfectionism, solipsism, and "presentism."

■ Charles Hill, research fellow,  
Wall Street Journal, July 23

Agbiotech's potential is not just theoretical. A decade ago, an epidemic of papaya ringspot virus had virtually destroyed Hawaii's \$64-million-a-year papaya crop, but by 1998 biotech researchers had provided virus-resistant varieties that have preserved the industry. California is just beginning to reap the bitter harvest that activists and regulators have sown. Their antisocial agenda should be exposed, and they should be held accountable.

■ Henry I. Miller, research fellow,  
San Jose Mercury News, August 6

To know whether charter schools are doing better, careful analyses are essential. For all of the reasons outlined, the Department of Education is well advised to prepare its report on charter schools carefully, taking as much information into account as possible. If this explains the official report's delay, this can hardly be called a cover-up. The limited information currently available prevents anyone, including the American Federation of Teachers, from taking even the most modest steps toward addressing these issues. In short, the AFT's report tells us hardly anything about the relative effectiveness of charter schools. But one thing is sure: Charter schools do not appear to be bastions of privilege. What remains unclear is how much they can do for the underprivileged. Sadly, the AFT report tells us nothing about that.

■ Paul Peterson, senior fellow,  
with William G. Howell  
and Martin R. West, Wall Street  
Journal, August 18



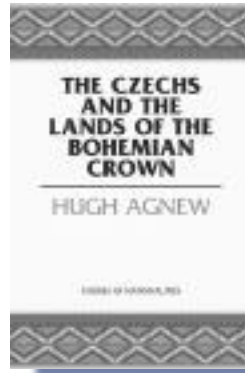
**Free World: America, Europe and the Surprising Future of the West**  
by Timothy Garton Ash ISBN 1-4000-6219-5

At the start of the twenty-first century, the West has plunged into crisis. Europe tries to define itself in opposition to America; America increasingly regards Europe as troublesome and irrelevant; and Britain is split down the middle. What's to become of what used to be called "the free world"?

In *Free World* (Random House, 2004), Hoover senior fellow Timothy Garton Ash draws on an extraordinary range of sources: from unique, personal conversations with Bush, Blair, and Schröder to encounters with farmers in Kansas and British soldiers in rural England; from history, memoirs, opinion polls, and sociological research to personal observations based on a quarter century of traveling in Europe and the United States.

The result is a book that explains why Washington can never rule today's interconnected world alone, why the new enlarged 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.

No other contemporary thinker writes with the passion, historical insight, or reportorial brilliance of Timothy Garton Ash. Defying conventional wisdom and eschewing easy answers, this incisive book should be read not just by all those who purport to lead and inform us but by everyone who wishes to be a citizen of a free world.



**The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown**  
by Hugh Agnew ISBN: 0-8179-4491-5

In *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Hoover Institution Press, 2004), Hugh Agnew chronicles the history of the Czech people. Agnew, recognized as an expert in Eastern European history, provides a readable guide to the geographic and historic developments that have continually forced the Czechs to answer questions about their position in Europe, figuratively and literally.

*The Czechs* provides a single-volume introduction to the land and its people that is both scholarly and accessible. Tracing the course of Czech history from the tenth century to the eve of the Czech Republic's entrance into the European Union, *The Czechs* illuminates the tangled destinies of a people at one of Europe's strategic crossroads.

Agnew, an associate professor of history and international affairs and associate dean of Academic Programs at the Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, teaches and publishes on Eastern Europe, especially on the Czech Republic. Among Agnew's publications are *Origins of the Czech National Renaissance* (1993) and numerous articles and chapters on aspects of Czech nationalism and national identity.

*The Czechs* is part of the Hoover Institution Press's acclaimed *Studies of Nationalities* series. The series examines the histories of the principal nationalities in Central Asia and Eastern Europe.



**The Paradox of American Unionism: Why Americans Like Unions More Than Canadians Do but Join Much Less**  
by Seymour Martin Lipset and Noah M. Meltz,

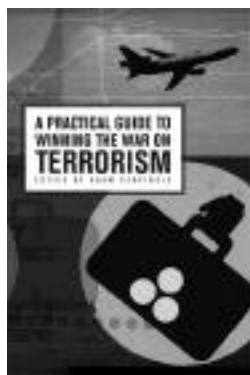
with Raphael Gomez and Ivan Katchanovski;  
foreword by Thomas A. Kochan  
ISBN: 0-8014-4200-1

In *The Paradox of American Unionism: Why Americans Like Unions More Than Canadians Do but Join Much Less* (Cornell University Press, 2004), Hoover senior fellow Seymour Martin Lipset and Noah Meltz explore why Americans, who by a clear majority approve of unions, have been joining them in smaller numbers than ever before.

The authors compare the American experience with that of Canada, two outwardly similar countries where attitudes toward and membership in unions have diverged in recent years. Paradoxically, in Canada approval for unions is significantly lower than in the United States, but since the mid-1960s Canadian workers have joined organized labor in higher numbers. Lipset and his coauthors explain that the relative reluctance of employees in the United States to join unions, compared with those in Canada, is rooted less in their attitudes toward unions than in the United States' deep-seated tradition of individualism and laissez-faire economic values.

Seymour Martin Lipset is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University; senior scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; and Hazel Professor Emeritus of Public Policy and Sociology at George Mason University. The late Noah M. Meltz was principal of Woodsworth College and professor emeritus at the University of Toronto.





## **A Practical Guide to Winning the War on Terrorism**

**Edited by Adam Garfinkle**

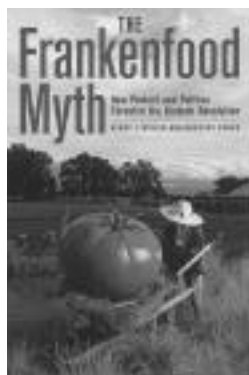
ISBN: 0-8179-4542-3

In *A Practical Guide to Winning the War on Terrorism* (Hoover Institution Press, 2004), Adam Garfinkle, a Hoover research fellow in 2003, has assembled a collection of essays that recommend methods that go beyond the use of force to win the war against terrorism. Garfinkle acknowledges the need for power, but believes that “much of what is required to win the war against terrorist recruiting and support cannot usefully be thought of as a spin-off of military efforts.” The book provides not only general ideas but also practical steps on how to defeat terrorism.

In the introduction Garfinkle notes that there are short, mid-, and long-term aspects to bringing about change. He notes that, at each stage, the contributors include in their discussion how to (1) stigmatize civilian murders, (2) prevent the financial support of terrorism, (3) refute anti-American sentiments, and (4) assist in social, economic, and political reform in Muslim countries.

Topics covered range from diplomacy to media and information management to educational and religious aspects of the problem.

Adam Garfinkle has written widely on U.S. foreign policy and Middle Eastern subjects. He has served as editor of *The National Interest* and as a staff member of the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century (Hart-Rudman Commission).



## **The Frankenfood Myth—How Protest and Politics Threaten the Biotech Revolution**

**by Henry I. Miller and Gregory Conko**

ISBN: 0-275-97879-6

For thousands of years, farmers have bred crops for their resistance to disease, productivity, and nutritional value; and over the past century, scientists have used increasingly more sophisticated methods for modifying them at the genetic level. But only since the 1970s have advances in biotechnology (or gene-splicing to be more precise) upped the ante, with the promise of dramatically improved agricultural products—and public resistance far out of synch with the potential risks.

In *The Frankenfood Myth: How Protest and Politics Threaten the Biotech Revolution*, Hoover research fellow Henry Miller and Gregory Conko trace the origins of gene-splicing, its applications, and the backlash from consumer groups and government agencies against so-called Frankenfoods—from America to Zimbabwe.

The authors suggest a way to emerge from this morass, proposing a variety of business and policy reforms that can unlock the potential of this cutting-edge science, while ensuring appropriate safeguards and moving environmentally friendly products into the hands of farmers and consumers.

Henry I. Miller was the founding director of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration's Office of Biotechnology in 1989. Trained as a medical doctor, he served the FDA from 1979 to 1994, at which time he joined the Hoover Institution. Gregory Conko is a senior fellow and director of food safety policy with the Competitive Enterprise Institute, in Washington, D.C.



## **Leviathan: The Growth of Local Government and the Erosion of Liberty**

**by Clint Bolick**

ISBN: 0-8179-4522-0

Can you name the president of the United States? Can you name the president of your local school board? If you're like most people, the second question is the one that will stump you.

In *Leviathan: The Growth of Local Government and the Erosion of Liberty* (Hoover Institution Press, 2004), Clint Bolick, a Hoover research fellow, examines the tremendous growth of local government and how it affects the ordinary citizen. Although much attention is focused on the size and leadership of the federal government, Bolick argues it is the size of local government that should be of concern.

As Bolick states in his introduction, “on essential matters of vital importance to every American—the quality of our children's school; the capabilities of police and fire departments; the provision of water, electricity, and sewage services; the amount of sales and property taxes—those local officials whose names and faces we don't even know are far more consequential to the intimate aspects of our everyday lives than the president.”

Bolick is president of and general counsel for the Alliance for School Choice, the nation's foremost organization advocating school choice programs for economically and otherwise disadvantaged children. Bolick also cofounded the Institute for Justice, a public interest law firm based in Washington, D.C., that litigates in support of economic liberty, private property rights, school choice, and freedom of speech.

## RESEARCH FELLOW DAVID DAVENPORT APPOINTED TO CALIFORNIA PERFORMANCE REVIEW COMMISSION

Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger has appointed Hoover research fellow David Davenport to the California Performance Review (CPR) Commission.

In February 2004, the governor created the commission to conduct a comprehensive examination of the methods and practices of government. The panel's goal is to increase efficiency while reducing costs to create the first twenty-first-century government in the United States. After the review is completed, the commission members will submit their recommendations to the governor.

The ultimate goal of the CPR is to restructure, reorganize, and reform state government to make it more responsive to the needs of its citizens and the business community.

David Davenport, a distinguished professor of public policy and law, served as Pepperdine University's chief executive for 15 years. He continues to teach courses in

Pepperdine's School of Law and the university's School of Public Policy. He was the sixth president of Pepperdine, serving from 1985 to 2000. Before that, he held positions as professor of law, general counsel, and executive vice president of the university. Davenport was instrumental in the founding of Pepperdine's School of Public Policy; the Davenport Institute within the school is named in his honor.



David Davenport

Davenport also has extensive involvement in various public programs. He is a director of the National Legal Center for the Public Interest in Washington, D.C., was director of the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, and is a founder of the National School Safety Center, a partnership of the U.S. Department of Education, the Department of Justice, and Pepperdine University.

HOOVER INSTITUTION  
STANFORD UNIVERSITY  
STANFORD, CA 94305-6010

NON-PROFIT ORG.  
U.S. POSTAGE  
PAID  
PERMIT NO. 114  
PALO ALTO, CA