

HOOVER INSTITUTION

WINTER 2004

NEWSLETTER

FALL RETREAT TAKES ON TIMELY TOPICS WITH SPEAKERS, PRESENTATIONS

Constitutional law, education, racial quotas, nuclear weapons, tax policy, and the future of California were among the many timely topics addressed during the Hoover Institution's Fall Director's Retreat, October 26–28, 2003.

Hoover senior fellow Victor Davis Hanson discussed "The War on Terrorism in a Classical Context," and, in the course of his talk, examined mythologies surrounding war, their causes and how they are resolved.

"Wars are hard to start," said Hanson, a noted classicist and author, "Most states know exactly what they're doing and they take these precipitous steps because they think the risks are not as great as advantages accrued...and if one side perceives that the other has lost deterrence."

Also addressing international issues was Hoover senior fellow Niall Ferguson, who

discussed the strengths and weakness of U.S. leadership. In his talk, Ferguson explored how far the Anglo-American ideals of free markets, rule of law, and representative government can be maintained and how far they can be exported or glob-

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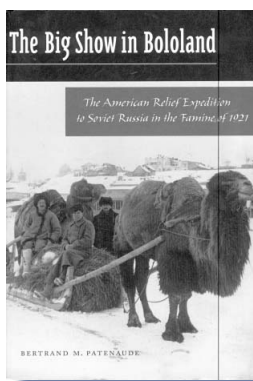


Victor Davis Hanson

THE BIG SHOW IN BOLOLAND IS COWINNER OF PRESTIGIOUS 2003 MARSHALL SHULMAN BOOK PRIZE

The Big Show in Bololand: The American Relief Expedition to Soviet Russia in the Famine of 1921, written by Hoover research fellow Bertrand M. Patenaude, was named co-winner of the 2003 Marshall Shulman Book Prize.

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PRESIDENT BUSH NOMINATES KORET TASK FORCE MEMBERS TO NATIONAL BOARD FOR EDUCATION SCIENCES

Three members of the Hoover Institution's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education were nominated by President George W. Bush to the National Board for Education Sciences.

Nominated were Eric A. Hanushek, Caroline Hoxby, and Herbert Walberg.

Hanushek, who was nominated to a two-year term, is the Paul and Jean Hanna Senior Fellow in Education at Hoover.

Hoxby, who was nominated to a four-year term, is a professor of economics at Harvard University and director of the Economics of Education Program for the National Bureau of Economic Research.

Walberg, who was nominated to a three-year term, is a professor emeritus in education at the University of Illinois-Chicago.

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KORET TASK FORCE ON K-12 EDUCATION

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The nominations were announced on November 19 by the White House.

The National Board for Education Sciences, which was established in 2002 under the Education Sciences Reform Act, is charged with overseeing the work of the Institute of Education Sciences.

This act overhauled the Office of Educational Research and Improvement and replaced it with the new Institute of Education Sciences, which is designed to develop and coordinate high-quality research, gather statistics, evaluate programs, and disseminate information.

The Institute of Education Sciences is within the Department of Education but functions as a separate office under the direction of the newly established National Board for Education Sciences. The National Board for Education Sciences is composed of fifteen members appointed by the president.

The Koret Task Force on K-12 Education is the centerpiece of the Hoover Institution's Initiative on American Public Education. Supported by the Koret Foundation, the task force consists of a group of national educational experts with established careers in systematic and scientific

analysis of education policy. Task force activities have focused on and produced ideas and materials concerning school reforms that are likely to succeed.

Task force members also serve as editors, contributors, and members of the editorial board of *Education Next: A Journal of Opinion and Research*, published by the Hoover Institution.

The full text of the press release on the nominations may be viewed at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/11/20031119-3.html>

BOLOLAND IS COWINNER OF 2003 MARSHALL SHULMAN BOOK PRIZE

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The award was made by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS), in conjunction with the Harriman Institute at Columbia University, on November 22 in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. At that time, AAASS presented its annual awards for distinguished contributions to Slavic studies and five book prizes.

The AAASS is the leading private, nonprofit organization dedicated to the advancement of knowledge about Russia, Central Eurasia, and Eastern and Central Europe.

The Big Show in Bololand is based on materials in the Hoover Institution Archives and was published by Stanford University Press. It portrays an American relief expedition to Soviet Russia in 1921 to mitigate the impact of the famine that killed millions. The award committee praised Patenaude's work for being "an outstanding example of lively and engaging prose, impressive historical research, and persuasive analysis of the diplomatic



Bertrand M. Patenaude

underpinnings and consequences of the rescue mission."

Information about the book is available on the Hoover Institution web site at [\[fairs/newsletter/02091/bololand.html\]\(http://www-hoover.stanford.edu/pubafairs/newsletter/02091/bololand.html\) and at the Stanford University Press web site at \[http://www.sup.org/cgi-bin/search/book_desc.cgi?book_id=4467%204493\]\(http://www.sup.org/cgi-bin/search/book_desc.cgi?book_id=4467%204493\).](http://www-hoover.stanford.edu/pubaf-</p></div><div data-bbox=)

Also winning the Marshall Shulman Book Prize was Ted Hopf, associate professor of political science at the Ohio State University for his monograph on the international behavior of the countries of the former Communist bloc, *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities & Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 & 1999*, published by Cornell University Press.

Founded in 1948, the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, scholarly society, brings together over 3,000 scholars interested in the culture, history, and languages of the region's peoples, and their economic and political systems, and gives coherence to a field that covers a multitude of academic disciplines and diverse interests.

ERIC HANUSHEK AWARDED FORDHAM FOUNDATION PRIZE FOR DISTINGUISHED SCHOLARSHIP

Eric A. Hanushek, Paul and Jean Hanna Senior Fellow, has been awarded the Fordham Foundation's 2004 Prize for Distinguished Scholarship. The announcement was made on January 26.

Hanushek, a member of the Hoover Institution Koret Task Force on K-12 Education, was cited for his passion to improve the education of disadvantaged and minority children, beliefs about the K-12 education system, challenge of conventional wisdom about schooling, and deep commitment to the cause of public schools.

The Thomas B. Fordham Prize for Distinguished Scholarship is awarded to a

scholar who has made major contributions to education reform via research, **Eric A. Hanushek** analysis, and successful engagement in the war of ideas.

In 2003, the first Thomas B. Fordham Prize for Distinguished Scholarship was awarded to Paul Peterson, a member of the Koret Task Force for K-12 Education and a professor of education at Harvard University.

The recipient of the first Fordham Prize for Valor in 2003 was E.D. Hirsch Jr., also a



member of the Koret Task Force on K-12 Education and a professor emeritus at the University of Virginia. The Thomas B. Fordham Prize for Valor is awarded to a leader who has made major contributions to education reform via noteworthy accomplishments at the national, state, local, and/or school level.

The press release on the award may be viewed at the Fordham Foundation site <http://www.edexcellence.net/foundation/global/page.cfm?id=199>.

At <http://www.edexcellence.net/doc/FordhamEducationPrizes2004.pdf> is a full profile of Hanushek, his work, and his life, along with that of the winner of the Foundation's 2004 Prize for Valor, Howard L. Fuller, distinguished professor of education and founder/director of the Institute for the Transformation of Learning at Marquette University.

AUTHOR, ACTIVIST PHILIP HOWARD CALLS FOR RETURN TO COMMON SENSE IN USE OF LAW DURING TALK AT KORET TASK FORCE DINNER

Education reform has come to be viewed as a legal problem, a perspective that encourages frivolous lawsuits that breed distrust of the law and the U.S. education system, according to Philip Howard, attorney, author, and activist with the organization Common Good.

"We have lost the ability to make good choices," said Howard, who spoke to a dinner audience gathered on January 15 during meetings of the Koret Task Force on K-12 Education.

"The use of the law to 'improve' schools is one of the reasons schools are failing," he said. "This is not to say that the law isn't important, as in desegregation and special education. But when the law moves from helping set goals, as in desegregation, to daily negotiation, it suffocates positive changes and improvements.

"My premise is that the most important aspect in an institution, such as the schools, is the people in it. The human aspect is critical, but the law kills it," he said. "Frankly,

the law is rigid, when we have too many rules the law is overarching, and so-called due process—to protect individuals against government power—is being misused.

"If you are running a school, you need to have authority and discretion. We need to restore this authority to have good schools and not misuse the law," he added.

Howard, the chairman of the groundbreaking bipartisan legal reform organization Common Good, is also the author of *The Death of Common Sense: How Law Is Suffocating America* (Random House, 1995) and *The Collapse of the Common Good: How America's Lawsuit Culture Undermines Our Freedom* (Ballantine, 2002). He is vice-chairman of the law firm Covington & Burling.

The Koret Task Force on K-12 Education met during January 14-16 to take stock of its projects and programs and plan for the future. The task force is an elite team of scholars specializing in education reform who have been brought together by Hoover

director John Raisian and Hoover overseer Tad Taube, president of the Koret Foundation, 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 are Hoover fellows Williamson M. Evers, Chester Finn, 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.

The task force's first joint work, *A Primer on America's Schools*, was published by the Hoover Institution Press in 2001. Other books include *Choice with Equity* (2002) and *School Accountability* (2002). In 2003, the task force released *Our Schools and Our Future ... Are We Still at Risk? An Assessment by the Koret Task Force on K-12 Education*, also published by Hoover Institution Press.

POLITICS, GOVERNANCE IN CHANGING IRAN FOCUS OF NOVEMBER CONFERENCE

“Iran is of enormous promise and importance, not only for the Middle East and Southeast Asia but for the entire world,” according to Hoover senior fellow Larry Diamond, who opened “The Politics and Governance in a Changing Iran,” conference conducted November 21 at Hoover’s Stauffer Auditorium. The purpose of the conference, organized by Diamond and Hoover fellow Abbas Milani, was to look at the prospects and conditions for peaceful political reform in Iran.



Larry Diamond



Abbas Milani

studies foreign policy in the fields of security, trade and commerce, and the rule of law.

In the first panel of the day, The Current Political Landscape in Iran, Ali M. Ansari, of the

University of Durham, discussed how Iranian intellectuals view the revolutions that brought about changes in Iran’s government. Hoover research fellow Abbas Milani chaired the panel.

Discussants included Haleh Esfandiari of the Woodrow Wilson International Center, Guity Nashat of the Hoover Institution, and Nayereh Tohidi of California State University, Northridge.

Religious intellectualism was the topic of the second morning panel, Religion and Politics. Forough Jahanbakhsh of Queen’s University discussed The Role of Islamic Intellectuals. Discussants on the panel that was chaired by Diamond included Donald Emmerson of Stanford University; Alireza Hagigi, a journalist residing in Canada; and Milani.

The afternoon session opened with a reception to view the exhibit Creating an Islamic Republic: Iranian Collections from the Hoover Library and Archives.

Abdulkarim Lahiji, a human rights lawyer, discussed his views of religion and government in Iran in the panel Judicial System and the Rule of Law in Iran. Hoover fellow Michael McFaul

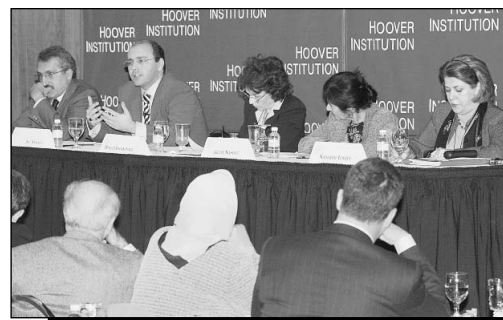


Guity Nashat

chaired the panel. Discussants included Erik Jensen, of Stanford University and Mehrangiz Kar, of the University of Virginia.

For the last panel of the day, The Nuclear Question, Mohsen Masserat of the University of Osnabruek presented his paper, Iran’s Energy Policy: Current Dilemmas and Perspective for a Sustainable Energy Policy. Najmeddin Meshkati of the University of Southern California, a discussant on the panel, voiced concerns about Iran’s intentions of developing a nuclear energy program.

The conference concluded with a roundtable discussion on relations between the United States and Iran. Participants in the discussion included Hormoz Hekmat, editor of *Irannameh*, and McFaul, Milani, and Diamond, all of the Hoover Institution.



Iran panel

HOOVER ESSAYS

MAKING AND REMAKING AMERICA: IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES

by Philip Martin and Peter Duignan

Continued immigration constantly reshapes the demography, economy, and society of the United States.

As a country of immigrants, write Philip Martin and Peter Duignan in the new Hoover Institution Essay *Making and Remaking America: Immigration into the United States*, America must respond to three fundamental immigration questions:

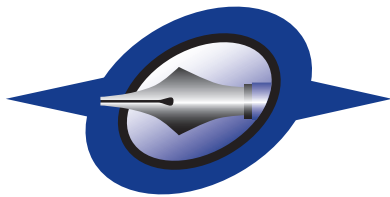
- How many migrants should be admitted?
- From where and with what status should they arrive?
- How should the rules governing the system be enforced?

During the 1980s and 1990s, the U.S. Congress responded to growing gaps between immigration policy and immigra-

tion reality by making major changes in immigration laws and how they were administered.

In 1986, the United States enacted the world’s largest legalization program for unauthorized foreigners and introduced sanctions on employers who knowingly hired illegal foreign workers. Instead of slowing illegal immigration, however, this program allowed more foreigners to arrive legally and illegally, which prompted another round of reforms in 1996 aimed at ensuring that new arrivals would not receive welfare payments.

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Do achievement test scores really predict objective indicators of individual and national success? The OECD study showed that, in a dozen economically advanced countries, achievement test scores accurately predict per-capita gross domestic product and individual earnings, life expectancy and participation in civic and community activities. Literacy still matters. The United States has clearly lost its lead in educating workers for an ever-changing knowledge economy, with potentially devastating implications for our economy, but also for our political and civic institutions. The need to improve the nation's public schools has never been greater.

■ **Herbert Walberg**, distinguished visiting fellow and member of the Koret Task Force on K-12 Education, and Joseph Bast, president of the Heartland Institute, coauthors of *Education and Capitalism* (Hoover Institution Press, 2003), *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 13



The part of the war that combat forces perform is brief. But the operations in which reservists specialize—the war after the war—can take 10 times as long. Because we are likely to see this pattern repeated, we need to rethink our force structure. We may need to add more active-duty forces in noncombatant specialties or use more reservists in combat. Or we may need to spend more on

defense. Those are the costs of leading a war on terrorists and rogue states. The alternative is to rely on other countries or the United Nations, both of which have been unwilling to act decisively. Or we could hunker down and risk another attack like 9/11.

Today's debates over military reserve policy are really debates over America's role in the world.

■ **Bruce Berkowitz**, senior fellow, *Pasadena Star-News*, November 24



We are not in a war with a crook in Haiti. This is no Grenada or Panama—or even a Kosovo or Bosnia. No, we are in a worldwide struggle the likes of which we have not seen since World War II. The quicker we understand the awful truth, and take measures to defeat rather than ignore or appease our enemies, the quicker we will win. In a war such as this, the alternative to victory is not a brokered peace, but abject Western suicide and all that it entails—a revelation of which we saw on September 11.

■ **Victor Davis Hanson**, senior fellow, *National Review Online*, December 5



The White House had specifically told my colleagues [in Iraq working with the Iraq Education Ministry] and me to concentrate on getting the children, teachers and textbooks back in the classrooms. We were wisely admonished by White House officials to offer our best advice when asked by Iraqis, but to avoid directly imposing extensive reforms on the Iraqi schools. We followed this suggested course. Thus, we helped remove totalitarian teachings from the classrooms, helped the schools and ministry resume operations, and kept our advisory office small. Now Iraqis

themselves are restructuring the ministry organization, considering decentralization plans, and holding forums on curriculum reform and the future of Iraq's school system.

■ **Williamson Evers**, research fellow, *Wall Street Journal*, January 15



Part of President Bush's appeal to many Americans is that he combines a moral certainty about ends with a ruthlessness about means. To achieve these ends, the president has no compunction about exploiting the nation's fiscal and monetary strengths—to the max. No question, the policy of having both guns and butter postpones difficult decisions about the future of the welfare system, principally Medicare and Social Security. But it also ensures the continuation of the nation's "full spectrum dominance" in warfare.

■ **Niall Ferguson**, senior fellow, *New York Times*, December 7



It surprises many that there is resistance to openness in [school] funding, to providing clear information on student performance and to rewarding results. The resistance is easily seen by remembering that [California] recently had large bonuses for school performance, only to have them dropped even before the current round of cuts related to budget problems. The simple fact is that many currently in the system do not want any focus on performance. The underlying philosophy here points toward the fundamental elements of the currently broken system and away from fixating just on budgetary allocations.

■ **Eric A. Hanushek**, senior fellow, *San Jose Mercury News*, November 23

HOOVER ESSAYS

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On September 11, 2001, foreigners in the United States hijacked four commercial planes. Two were flown into the World Trade Center towers in New York City, bringing them down and killing 3,000 people. President George W. Bush declared war on terrorists and the countries that

harbor them, and Congress enacted legislation to fight terrorism.

This includes new measures for tightening procedures for issuing visas to foreign visitors, tracking foreign students and visitors while they are in the United States, and giving immigration authorities new power to arrest and detain foreigners suspected of ties to terrorism. The Immigration and Naturalization Service was abolished, and its functions of preventing illegal immigra-

tion and providing services to foreign visitors and immigrants were awarded to the new Department of Homeland Security.

However, antiterrorism measures have not slowed immigration to the United States. America is poised to remain the world's major destination for immigrants, and as patterns in U.S. history suggest, most of the newcomers will soon become Americans.

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GOING BACK TO SCHOOL IN IRAQ



FELLOW	Williamson M. Evers
TITLE	Research Fellow; member of Hoover's Koret Task Force on K-12 Education
RESEARCH	Education policy, especially as it pertains to curriculum, teaching, testing, and accountability from kindergarten through high school. Senior adviser for education to Ambassador L. Paul Bremer of the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq, July–December 2003.
PUBLICATIONS	Chapter on curriculum in <i>Our Schools and Our Future</i> ; <i>Teacher Quality</i> (coeditor, 2002); <i>School Accountability</i> (coeditor and cocontributor, 2002); <i>School Reform: The Critical Issues</i> (coeditor, 2001); chapter on standards and accountability in <i>A Primer on America's Schools</i> ; <i>What's Gone Wrong in America's Classrooms</i> (editor and contributor, 1998). Contributor, <i>Education Week</i> , <i>New York Times</i> , <i>Wall Street Journal</i> , <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , and <i>Christian Science Monitor</i> . Member, editorial boards, <i>Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics</i> , <i>Texas Education Review</i> , and <i>Education Next</i> .
AFFILIATIONS	Education policy adviser to President George W. Bush, 2000 campaign, and member, education advisory committee during transition. Member, White House Commission on Presidential Scholars. Member, California state standardized testing and reporting system's content review panels for history and mathematics. Member, policy board of the California History–Social Science Project. President, the board of directors of the East Palo Alto Charter School, and member of the board since 1997. Former member, National Educational Research Policy and Priorities Board. Member, California State Commission for the Establishment of Academic Content and Performance Standards, 1996–98.
DEGREES	B.A. (1972), M.A. (1978), and Ph.D. (1987) degrees in political science, Stanford University.

Q: July through December 2003, you were in Iraq as an adviser for education to Ambassador Paul Bremer, with the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA). During that time, you lived in Baghdad, worked with CPA colleagues and Iraqi education officials, visited schools and met with teachers and children, and helped get schools open again at the beginning of October. Please share with us some of your experiences and reflections on this effort.

A: The Office of the Secretary of Defense first asked me at the beginning of May 2003 to be a senior adviser for education. When you do this, you are appointed by the president and approved by Ambassador Paul Bremer, who heads the CPA in Baghdad. This takes some time. I went on leave from Hoover and spent from late June through late July working in an office in the Pentagon: getting a top secret secu-

rity clearance, recruiting other people to go to Baghdad to work on the schools, learning more about the situation in Iraq, and talking to people in the White House about priorities.

Q: How do you actually get there?

A: First, you spend at least a day in a hotel near Kuwait City. Then, you fly out of a military airfield in Kuwait on a military cargo plane. Your plane comes down steeply from the sky (to avoid Saddamist rocketeers) to the military side of the international airport in Baghdad.

Q: What's it like?

A: •*It's gratifying.* The Iraqi children and grown-ups smile, always say "Welcome" and wave. The teachers and administrators are friendly and dedicated to academic success. You could enter a classroom in the Kurdish north, in rural parts of the Sunni triangle, or in Shiite sections of urban

Baghdad, and sense that students are eager to learn. Iraqi parents love the country's national testing program and were fervently concerned not to let either the war in March and April, or the subsequent guerrilla skirmishes, interfere with the testing of their children.

• *It's busy.* The education advisory office is in Saddam's main palace in the protected Green Zone, which is like a college campus (with bombed-out ruins) situated in the middle of Baghdad. The senior advisers for all the ministries have a meeting every morning (except Friday) at 7:30. It is usual for senior advisers and their top staff to still be working at 10:30 at night. People in Mr. Bremer's office start even earlier and work later.

• *It's not as scary as it looks on TV.* But you do have to exercise reasonable prudence. I traveled in Baghdad and around

the country more than most civilians who worked in the Baghdad palace. Usually I traveled with guards armed with assault rifles. I personally found it a bit nerve-racking whenever I was stuck in a traffic jam. But in five months I never saw a fire-fight, a bleeding wound, or a dead body. I felt and heard explosions, but none were closer than several football fields away. Watching TV coverage of Iraq is much scarier than being there.

Q: What was the overall mission of the group with which you worked?

A: In a sense, much of my and my colleagues' efforts were to help a multitude of coalition civilian agencies, military units, and international agencies talk to each other and coordinate work in the field of education.

We didn't, for example, want Japan and the U.S. Agency for International Development both trying to repair the same school. We also tried to create conditions for normal schoolwork by children and teachers. When American or international agencies wanted to impose Progressive Education (learn-through-play) in Iraqi schools, we reminded representatives of these agencies that Iraqis had to decide what they wanted to be taught in the schools and how it would be taught.

Q: What did you experience regarding the actual schools, say, those outside Baghdad?

A: While there, my colleagues in education and I met with school officials from the provinces, who since the war had been largely cut off from Baghdad (in a country that has lately had no postal system, no telephone system, and little Internet access).

We helped reestablish communication with Kurdish officials who had functioned independently of Baghdad for 12 years. The coalition military working with civilian advisers made sure that hundreds of thousands of teachers scattered around the country were paid regularly, in the absence of a working banking system.

We monitored efforts by the Bechtel Corporation, the coalition military, and charities to rehabilitate run-down schools. A few schools were hit with shells or sus-



tained some other war damage in March and April; substantial numbers (2,753 schools, according to UNICEF) were looted. About 80 percent of schools had seriously deteriorated after more than a decade of neglect by Saddam Hussein.

Q: How was religion handled in the schools? What do children learn?

A: Religion is taught in Iraqi schools as a subject now and was taught under Saddam. If you are a Muslim, you take classes in Islam. If you are a Christian, you are excused from taking Islamic classes. If there are enough Christians in a school, a Christian teacher teaches them classes in Christianity.

The Saddam-era textbooks on Islam are not carbon copies of al Qaeda proclamations. But they do present a Sunni interpretation on such matters as ritual ablutions and the early caliphate. Shiite students were forced under Saddam to learn the Sunni interpretation, which was the only interpretation of Islam allowed in the schools. With the exception of a school for the diplomatic community, there were no private primary and secondary schools. Saddam nationalized independent schools in the 1970s. Currently, the Ministry of Education has a task force drafting a measure that would once again legalize private schools.

Q: What about education for girls and the quality of education?

A: I saw girls in school all over Iraq. It's not like Afghanistan under the Taliban. In primary school, 45 percent of students are girls; in secondary school, 40 percent. All statistics about Iraq (including these from U.N. agencies) are shaky. But these per-

centages are consistent with what I myself observed.

Iraq has a tradition of valuing education and a reputation for having produced, in the pre-Saddam era, some of the best architects, doctors, and engineers in the Arab Middle East.

Q: In the United States, the news media carried some reports about the textbooks, their content, and the fact that mentions of Saddam Hussein were being removed.

A: Under Saddam, propaganda was in all the textbooks, even those for physics and foreign-language instruction in English. The most egregious propaganda was in history and civics books. A history book published under Saddam would say, for example, that the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s was merely an instance of the warlike nature of the Persians (who were called "yellow snakes") and their eternal hostility toward the Arabs.

During the summer of 2003, Iraqi schoolteachers decided that Saddam's civics textbooks were so full of propaganda that they were not salvageable. So civics courses were removed from the curriculum for 2003–4.

After Iraqi schoolteachers removed pictures of Saddam, quotations from him, and other Saddam propaganda from the textbooks, we CPA advisers monitored efforts by UNESCO and UNICEF to print the de-Saddamized books. We worked with Iraqis to remove senior Baathists from teaching and administrative positions, while ensuring that those removed had a process for appeals.

We also helped Iraqis launch a new program for training teachers in effective classroom practices.

Q: What steps were taken in regard to the school system and its governance?

A: From the end of the fighting until early September 2003, the CPA advisers ran the country's school system. Then, my colleagues and I handed authority over the school system to Alādin Alwan, the minister of education appointed by the Iraqi Governing Council. Since September, he's been in charge. We continued to offer

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FALL RETREAT MEETING

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alized. “America stands at a crossroads to an empire,” Ferguson said.

Ferguson is the Herzog Professor of Financial History at the Stern Business School, New York University, a noted author, and a senior research fellow at Jesus College, Oxford University, where he is a visiting professor of history.

The judicial scope of the Supreme Court and the process by which the power of the Court was established was addressed at dinner on October 27 by Robert George, a professor of jurisprudence and director of the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University

In his talk “Judicial Supremacy? Lessons from Lincoln,” George examined President Abraham Lincoln’s response to Supreme Court rulings on the *Dred Scott* case and how it acted as part of the growth and change in judiciary power.

He began by reviewing the 1954 case of *Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education*, which abolished segregation. This ruling was challenged in a subsequent case but upheld by the Supreme Court. “In a unanimous decision, the justices asserted that the ‘federal judiciary is supreme in the exposition of the law of the Constitution,’” George said. “Now the idea of judicial supremacy...has come to be very widely held, so widely held not only by the legal profession, but the public at large that it has come to be seen as unremarkable. But it was not always so.”

In *Marbury vs. Madison* (1803) the Supreme Court, under Chief Justice John Marshall, established a broader scope of judicial review. With *Marbury* the Court assumed greater powers and determined



Kurt Hauser



John Raisian

that it had the duty to invalidate laws that were in conflict with the Constitution. President Thomas Jefferson objected to this change in judicial review, fearing that the powers of the judiciary would be unchecked.

Then in 1857, in the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* case, the Supreme Court inserted itself into the political fray, not only finding in favor of slaveowners and refusing to recognize slaves as citizens but stating that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional. President Lincoln objected to this ruling because the Supreme Court claimed authority to interpret the Constitution, placing other branches of government in a subservient position to the Court, the same despotism that concerned President Jefferson.

George noted that the Supreme Court is seen as a higher authority, not subject to politics, but reminded the audience not to forget other landmark rulings where the Supreme Court acted on political issues. “Unchecked power to do good,” George said, “is unchecked power to do evil.” He cited *Lochner v. New York* (1905), a case that ushered in decades of judicial hostility toward state and local social welfare laws, and *Roe v. Wade* (1973) as other examples.

In addition to his position at Princeton, George is a member of President George W. Bush’s Council on Bioethics. His most recent books include *The Clash of Orthodoxies* and *Great Cases in Constitutional Law*.

Domestic and International Issues

Richard Epstein, the Peter and Kirsten Bedford Senior Fellow at Hoover, began the plenary session on October 27 with a talk on “The Role of Skepticism in Constitutional Law.”

“One of the reasons we put together a constitution, the reason we don’t have a general system of popular democracy and majority rules at the drop of a hat, is because the thing we are skeptical about are the motives, purposes, and activities of our various government agencies,” he said.

Epstein, who also is the James Parker Hall Distinguished Service Professor at the University of Chicago, is known for his research and writing in a broad range of constitutional, economic, historical, and philosophical subjects.

In the next session, “After Michigan: Ending the War over Race Preferences,” Hoover research fellow Robert Zelnick asked the



Niall Ferguson



Retreat panel on California politics

question, where do we go from here? “Most interesting development that I’ve seen,” Zelnick said, “is a rising up of scholars who have supported affirmative action in the past but who say diversity is basically a lie.”

Zelnick is also an Emmy Award-winning journalist and chairman of the Department of Journalism at Boston University.

Ken Jowitt, the Pres and Maurine Hotchkis Senior Fellow, in his talk titled “The American Empire: Papal, Evangelical, or Ecumenical?” spoke on U. S. efforts to globalize America and rebuild Iraq. “To the extent to

which the United States pursues this utopian goal of regime change, what we are going to see on the basis of the two goals that the Bush administration now has—namely, military invulnerability for the United States



Dennis Prager

and global democracy,” Jowitt said, “will create a world in which America is more militarized and the world is less democratized.”

Following the morning plenary speakers, Hoover fellows presented retreat guests attending afternoon sessions with an array of conversations on

- Economics
- Japan
- “Never a Matter of Indifference: Sustaining Virtue in a Free Republic”
- Nuclear weapons
- Rebuilding Iraq and Afghanistan
- Ronald Reagan

A tour of the exhibit *Creating an Islamic Republic: Iranian Posters from the Hoover Collection*, was presented by Hoover exhibits coordinator Cecile Hill.

Global and Local Economies, Past and Present Presidents, and U.S. Leadership

On October 28, Robert Glenn Hubbard, a professor of economics and finance at Columbia University’s Graduate School of Business, gave an analysis of the economy in his talk “Are We in a Global Recovery,” saying that the economy has shown amazing resilience. “The economy has weathered setbacks,” Hubbard said, “and many sectors are thriving.”

Following Hubbard, John Podhoretz, a columnist for the *New York Post*, reviewed the successes of George W. Bush’s as president in his talk “Driving Liberals Insane: The George W. Bush Presidency.”



Hoover **Robert George** research fellow

Peter Robinson’s talk “How Ronald Reagan Changed My Life” was drawn from his recently released book by the same title. He reviewed two lessons he learned as a speechwriter for President Ronald Reagan, one, that words matter, and two, that individuals matter.

Afternoon sessions covered issues that included

- Education
- Tax policy
- U.S.-Iranian relations

Dennis Prager, the well-known syndicated radio talk-show host and writer, spoke on October 26 and by sharing with dinner guests what he believes are the seven ways in which America is different.

“These are the features that set America apart, that enable it to go it alone in the world,” he said. “However, we are not very aggressive in articulating this and sharing it in a way that convinces other of their value.”

The features are

- Secular government—the United States has created a unique secular government with a religious body politic.
- Religiosity—the religiosity of America is unique. It is a distinctly Judeo-Christian country but has never been confused with European Christianity in that there were no pogroms directed toward the Jews or any inquisition conducted in America.

It is the only religious country in the world that is also tolerant.

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FALL RETREAT MEETING

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“American Christianity created something that has never been duplicated: massive tolerance,” he said.

■ Sense of mission—alone among other countries in Western society, the United States has a sense of mission toward humanity. The expression of this mission can be documented in the writings of major figures including Abraham Lincoln and John F. Kennedy.

■ Consciousness of good and evil—The United States talks about good and evil. “Why did we fight in Korea? It was for liberty,” Prager said. “And when it came to Vietnam, we did not fight to acquire raw materials.”

■ Pragmatism—pragmatism is a unique American value. “I never confuse art with moral excellence; I know that art is art and goodness is goodness.”

■ Liberty over equality—we prefer liberty to equality, having decided that freedom is better than everyone being equal.

■ Merit—lineage is of no importance. “Bloodline means nothing. The question is ‘Can you do the job?’ and we are a people who trust people we are not related to.”

“My fear,” Prager said, “is that we have a gem in the United States and we don’t know it and we don’t know how to sell it to the next generation. We could realize that we have lost the greatest force for goodness. We could lose it and we need to know how different it is [from all the other political systems in the world]. We need to celebrate it.”

Prager thanked Hoover director John Raisian for the opportunity to speak before the Hoover audience and recalled that he had discussed the future of the Soviet Union with Hoover fellows while in graduate school. “I have a deeply felt love for Hoover and being

speaker here tonight is like a dream come true,” he said.

The retreat ended with a panel discussion on California issues. The panelists were Hoover fellows Morris Fiorina, Thomas MaCurdy, and Pete Wilson. Hoover senior fellow David Brady moderated.

During “California Politics 2003: The Recall, the Budget and Beyond,” they commented on the recall of Governor Gray Davis, the election of Arnold Schwarzenegger, the budget debacle of 2003, and challenges facing the state.

Morris Fiorina discussed the innovative statewide voter survey using the Internet and a facsimile of the proposed ballot that he and David Brady, along with Stanford professor Shanto Iyengar, undertook during the lead-up to the October 7 election. The poll, administered by Knowledge Networks of Menlo Park, California, showed that from the very first of the three surveys in the series, Schwarzenegger had solid support.

Thomas MaCurdy challenged solving the California budget gap with the sale of bonds, noting that “bonds are borrowing from the future and debt service is ignored.”

He pointed out that the legislature, with the approval of the governor, spent funds that weren’t in state coffers and that state revenues are too dependent on taxes paid by high-income families.

Former California governor Pete Wilson said he believed the legislature, as well as Governor Davis, were culpable in the economic mess the state faces. “This was an election about anger. I think that if the names of the legislators were on the October 7 ballot, the voters would have recalled all of them,” he said. Wilson also said he felt that solving the budget crisis with bonds was illegal.

Regarding other issues of concern to California’s future, he said he would recommend an independent commission to reapportion the state’s voting districts and return the legislature to a part-time schedule.

Q & A

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advice and counsel when the minister requested it, and we provided liaison between Iraqi educational officials and people in the CPA.

The White House had specifically told my colleagues and me to concentrate on getting the children, teachers, and textbooks back in the classrooms. We were wisely admonished by White House officials to offer our best advice when asked by Iraqis but to avoid directly imposing extensive reforms on the Iraqi schools. We followed this suggested course.

Q: How, then, would you judge the work you did?

A: As a success. And I’d call it a success because we helped remove totalitarian teachings from the classrooms, helped the schools and ministry resume operations, and kept our advisory office small. Now Iraqis themselves are restructuring the ministry organization, considering decentralization plans, and holding forums on curriculum reform and the future of Iraq’s school system.

We almost always handed on responsibilities that were handed to us, as soon as possible, to Iraqis. The big exceptions were monitoring money and progress. Natu-

rally, with so much American taxpayers’ money going into Iraqi schools, the advisers had to watch where the money was going. The Ministry of Education has its problems, including the need for a replacement for a headquarters building that was looted and burned. But because Iraqis have assumed responsibility in the schools and the ministry, Iraqis themselves are now charting the future course of education in their country.

As the Coalition Provisional Authority turns over civilian and military responsibilities to the Iraqis between now and the end of June, I hope the process goes as well in other fields as it has in education.

The Hoover Institution presents a wide range of opinions, expert research, and commentary in four recognized and acclaimed publications.

Hoover Digest

www.hooverdigest.org

- “The War on Terror: Ripples of Battle.” The continuing aftershocks of September 11. By Senior Fellow **Victor Davis Hanson**.
- “Iraq: We Got Him: How We Ran Saddam to Ground.” By Research Fellow **Bruce Berkowitz**.
- “Foreign Aid and the National Interest: How Should the United States Approach Foreign Aid?” Andrew Natsios and Hoover senior fellow **Larry Diamond** recommend tough love.
- “Asia: The Outlook.” Former secretary of state and Hoover distinguished fellow **George P. Shultz** surveys the current Asian political and economic landscape.
- “Taxes: The Double Benefit of Tax Cuts.” How tax cuts keep government spending in check and prompt the development of a skilled, productive workforce. By Hoover senior fellows **Gary S. Becker**, **Edward P. Lazear**, and **Kevin Murphy**.

Education Next

www.educationnext.org

- “Fiscal Indiscipline: Why School Districts Can’t Downsize.” “Mounting Debt.” By Jon Fullerton. “Academic Freedom.” By William G. Ouchi.
- “Competing Visions: Head Start Gets a Makeover.” By Ron Haskins.

- “Recycling Reforms: The Department of Education Enters the Innovation Business.” By **Diane Ravitch**, member, Koret Task Force on K–12 Education.
- “The Knowledge Guild: The Tension between Unions and Professionals.” By Denis P. Doyle.
- “Why Choice Is Good for Teachers: Ending the Pedagogical Holy Wars.” By David J. Ferrero.
- “Money and Motivation: Michigan Links College Scholarships to High School Results.” By John H. Bishop.
- “To Catch a Cheat: How to Stop Testing Fraud.” By Brian J. Jacob and Steven D. Levitt.
- “The Revolving Door: Why Teachers Leave.” By **Eric A. Hanushek**, Paul and Jean Hanna Senior Fellow and member, Koret Task Force on K–12 Education; John F. Kain; and Steven G. Rivkin.
- “The American Dream and the Public Schools.” By Jennifer Hochschild and Nathan Scovronick. Reviewed by William A. Galston.
- “All Else Equal: Are Public and Private Schools Different?” By Luis Benveniste, Martin Carnoy, and Richard Rothstein. Reviewed by **Paul T. Hill**, member, Koret Task Force on K–12 Education.

Policy Review

www.policyreview.org

- “Sovereignty and Democracy: Self-Government Needs the Nation-State.” By Marc F. Plattner.

- “Keeping the Information Edge: Reforming Intelligence for the Age of Terror.” By Kevin O’Connell and Robert R. Tomes.
- “European Union, Properly Construed: Americans Need to take Europe More Seriously.” By Reginald Dale.
- “Down on the Biopharm: Missing Out on the Latest Benefits of Pharmacology.” By Research Fellow **Henry I. Miller** and David Longtin.
- “Representation without Taxation: The Colonial Roots of American Taxation, 1700–1754.” By Senior Fellow **Alvin Rabushka**.

China Leadership Monitor

www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org

- Foreign policy: “China’s Foreign Policy Leadership: Testing Time.” By Robert L. Suettinger.
- Military affairs: “The Mystery of the Missing Godfather: Civil-Military Relations and the Shenzhou-5 Manned Space Mission.” By James Mulvenon.
- Economic policy: “An Economic Bubble? Chinese Policy Adapts to Rapidly Changing Conditions.” By Barry Naughton.
- Political reform: “The Third Plenary Session of the 16th Central Committee.” By Joseph Fewsmith.
- Party affairs: “Hu Jintao and the Party Politburo.” By Senior Fellow **H. Lyman Miller**.
- The provinces: “China’s Northeast: From Largest Rust Belt to Fourth Economic Engine.” By Li Cheng.

HOOVER ESSAYS

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However, past success does not guarantee that integrating newcomers will be easy or automatic. As immigrants continue to make and remake the country, the United States must develop an immigration policy for the twenty-first century.

Philip Martin is professor of agricultural and resource economics at the University of California, Davis, chair of the University of California’s Comparative Immigration and Integration Program, and editor of *Migrant News* and *Rural Migration News*.

<http://migration.ucdavis.edu>.

Peter Duignan is the Lillick Curator and senior fellow emeritus at the Hoover Institution and has written or edited more than forty books and monographs.



HOOVER ESSAY

RUSSIA’S OIL IN AMERICA’S FUTURE: POLICY, PIPELINES, AND PROSPECTS

by **William Ratliff**

Russia may be the largest oil exporter in the world, but very little has yet to come to the United States, according to Hoover

research fellow William Ratliff.

Writing in *Russia’s Oil in America’s Future*, Ratliff addresses the many problems arising in Russia’s oil industry, which is dominated by rich and aggressive young private companies. Generally, they are eager to deal with foreigners, but despite significant state reforms they often are still inhibited by a dilapidated, state-controlled delivery system and a residue of traditional thinking and institutions.

Many of Russia’s as-yet-unresolved post-Soviet problems exploded in mid-2003 when the prosecutor general’s office attacked Yukos, the country’s most mod-

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MEDIA FELLOW JOAN BISKUPIC DISCUSSES JUSTICE SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR'S APPOINTMENT TO SUPREME COURT

“The fateful meeting on July 1, 1981, between Sandra Day O'Connor and President Reagan had been long in the making,” according to Joan Biskupic, of *USA Today*, who discussed “Reagan's Choice: How Sandra Day O'Connor Became the First Woman Justice” on November 12.

Biskupic, a Hoover media fellow from November 10 to November 14, said, for his part, President Reagan had promised in his presidential campaign to appoint the first woman justice. O'Connor was one of the few women in the state and federal court systems at the time. She was politically connected as well; before serving as a judge O'Connor had been in the Arizona legislature. In 1971, Chief Justice Warren Burger had threatened to quit if Nixon named a woman but in 1981 quietly planted O'Connor's name with White House officials even before there was a vacancy.

“O'Connor in some ways seems like she was plucked from nowhere,” Biskupic said, “but Burger was very instrumental in getting her name before the right people.”

After the meeting between O'Connor and Reagan took place, he said he didn't want to meet with anyone else. O'Connor was nominated and approved by a vote in the Senate of 99 to 0, with one senator abstaining.

Biskupic has covered the Supreme Court since 1989: first as a writer for *Congressional Quarterly's* weekly magazine, then as the Supreme Court reporter for the *Washington Post*, and now as a writer for *USA Today*. Since joining *USA Today* in 2000, she has written in-depth profiles of several of the justices, including William Rehnquist, Sandra Day O'Connor, and Antonin Scalia. She is currently working on a book focused on O'Connor to be published by the Ecco Press division of HarperCollins.



The Media Fellows Program allows print and broadcast media professionals to spend time in residence at the Hoover Institution. Media fellows have the opportunity to exchange information and perspectives with Hoover scholars through seminars and informal meetings and with the Hoover and Stanford communities in public lectures. As fellows, they have the full range of research tools Hoover offers available to them. More than 100 of the nation's top journalists have visited the Hoover Institution recently and interacted with Hoover fellows on key public policy issues, including

Philip Terzian, *Providence Journal* (February 9–13)
Stephen Goode, *Insight Magazine* (February 3–7)
David Isaac, *Investor's Business Daily* (February 3–7)
Stan Crock, *Business Week* (January 26–31)
Terry Eastland, *Weekly Standard* (January 26–31)
Eric Schmit, *New York Times* (January 26–31)
Jacob Heilbrunn, *Los Angeles Times* (January 19–23)
Reid Sams, *San Francisco Chronicle* (January 19–23)
Tunku Varadarajan, *Wall Street Journal* (January 16–18)
Kathy Kiely, *USA Today* (December 8–12)
Carla Marinucci, *San Francisco Chronicle* (December 8–12)
Rosemary Goudreau, *Tampa Tribune* (December 8–12)
Carl Hulse, *New York Times* (December 8–12)
Helle Bering-Dale, Heritage Foundation (December 1–5)
Reginald Dale, *European Affairs* (December 1–5)
Carla Robbins, *Wall Street Journal* (December 1–5)
Thomas Edsall, *Washington Post* (November 24–28)
Matthew Miller, syndicated journalist and author (November 17–21)
Par Ridder, *San Luis Obispo Tribune* (November 10–14)

HOOVER ESSAYS

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ernized, productive, and pro-American private oil company. Thus, even as Washington and American oil industry leaders actively sought alternatives to unstable sources in the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America, basic questions reemerged in Russia about the privatizations of the 1990s, the security of private property, the

mixing of law and politics, and the exercise of power in the Kremlin.

Today Russians, with the support of American and European allies, must create conditions that will welcome the foreign funds, technology, and expertise needed to develop the critical oil industry and to lay foundations of law and infrastructure that will help make Russia a stable member of the world community.

Americans must decide how much involvement Russia can constructively absorb to promote not only short-term oil

supplies but also long-term Russian development and broader U.S. foreign policy goals. Finally, the critical long-term lesson of 9/11 and other recent experiences for Americans is that even as we cultivate Russia as an ally and major source of oil, we must actively develop alternative sources of energy. In an unstable world, the United States must not forever be held hostage by other nations with their often very different cultures, institutions, and interests.

DIRECTOR'S SEMINAR ON HEALTH CARE

A Hoover Institution Director's Seminar, "Time for Fundamental Change," tackled the issues of health care and the cost of coverage on November 10. The seminar included pre-

sentations by Mark V. Pauly, of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania; Senior Fellow Scott Atlas, who also is a professor at the Stanford University Medical School; and Research

Fellow Daniel Kessler, who also is a professor at the Stanford Graduate School of Business and Stanford School of Law.

UNCOMMON KNOWLEDGE

continued from back page

Prize winner in economics, and professor of economics and law, George Mason University

Prophets and Losses: The Rise and Decline of Islamic Civilization

Guests: John Esposito, professor of Islamic studies, Georgetown University; Azim Nanji,

director of the Institute of Ismaili Studies; and Vali Nasr, professor of national security affairs, Naval Postgraduate School

Of Burkhas and Ballots: The Future of Democracy in the Arab World

Guests: John Esposito, professor of Islamic studies, Georgetown University; Azim Nanji,

director of the Institute of Ismaili Studies; and Vali Nasr, professor of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School

Putin the Terrible? Vladimir Putin and Russian Democracy

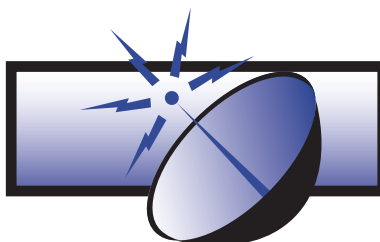
Guests: Steven Fish, professor of political science, University of California, Berkeley, and Michael McFaul, professor of political science, Stanford University, and senior fellow, Hoover Institution

HOOVER ON THE AIR

Research Fellow **Williamson Evers**, who spent five months in Iraq working to revive that country's education system, discussed the project on CNN-TV on January 15.



The anniversary of the Supreme Court decision on *Brown v. Board of Education* was discussed by Research Fellow **Shelby Steele** on December 30 on KXTV-TV (ABC, Sacramento/Stockton/Modesto).



Relations with Russia were addressed by Senior Fellow **Michael McFaul** on December 26, on *All Things Considered* on National Public Radio.



Saddam Hussein and Iraq were the topics discussed by Research Fellow **Donald Abenheim** and Senior Fellow **Larry**

Diamond on December 15 on KCBS-AM radio (CBS, San Francisco). **Larry Diamond** was featured on the topic on December 1 on KCBS-AM.



Senior Fellow **Terry Moe** discussed teacher unions and their effect on education on *Big Story/Weekend Edition*, Fox News Channel on November 30.



The economy in the twenty-first century was the subject of discussion by Senior Fellow **Robert Barro**, November 26, on *Odyssey*, on WBEZ-FM (NPR) radio, Chicago.

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.

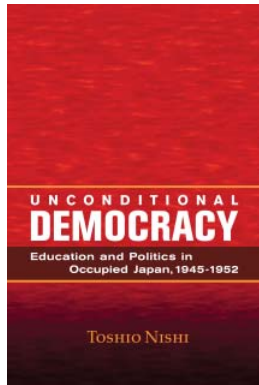
www.policyreview.org The preeminent publication for new and serious thinking and writing about the issues of our day. At this site find select articles from the current issue as well as an archive of back issues, subscription information, and useful links to other web sites.

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.



***Unconditional Democracy*
by Toshio Nishi**

(ISBN: 0-8179-7442-3)

In his book *Unconditional Democracy: Education and Politics in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952* (Hoover Institution Press, originally published 1982), Toshio Nishi, a Hoover research fellow, documents the efforts of American occupation forces to transform the basic values and behavior of the Japanese after Japan's defeat in World War II.

General MacArthur knew the value of compulsory education in political indoctrination. Aided by the Japanese passion for learning and veneration for the conquerors, MacArthur directed the "political reorientation of Japan."

Unconditional Democracy was originally published as part of a series titled Education and Society, a research project of the Hoover Institution, which addressed issues of education's role in social, economic, and political affairs. The intent was to provide insight into the relationship between inculcated values and behavior and a society's approach to revolution and development that will contribute to more effective education for the establishment and preservation of justice and peace.

In this reissue Nishi reiterates this view in the preface, where he states that it is his hope the book will illustrate the difficult mission of a regime change, of a successful metamorphosis that amalgamates incompatible cultures and reli-

gions, conflicting memories of hopes and disappointments, and then gives birth to something greater than the past.

Four years old when the war ended, Nishi began school as new policies were being implemented. In *Unconditional Democracy*, Nishi captures not only the practices, but also the feel of Japanese culture as he relates how changes brought about by educational and political reform of the new government affected the Japanese.

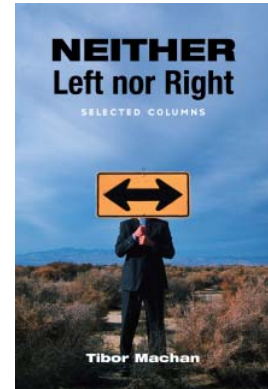
After graduating from Kwansei Gakuin University in Japan, Nishi earned his Ph.D. in political studies of education at the University of Washington in Seattle. He was the first recipient of the Jean and Paul Hanna Endowment Fellowship at the Hoover Institution, with which the present book was written. For this book, Nishi undertook extensive archival research at the U.S. National Archives, the Harry S. Truman Library, the Douglas MacArthur Memorial Library, the National Institute for Educational Research in Tokyo, and the Hoover Institution. He also teaches at Reitaku University in Japan and is the chairman of the editorial board, and columnist, for *Kokkai News*, Japan's oldest monthly magazine on politics.

***Neither Left nor Right:
Selected Columns*
by Tibor Machan**

(ISBN: 0-8179-3982-2)

Social commentator and critic Tibor Machan has brought together a collection of his columns that span the past four decades in his most recent book, *Neither Left nor Right: Selected Columns* (Hoover Institution Press, 2004). This retrospective of his work, published by Freedom Communications, covers his views on a variety of topics.

In the book, his columns are separated into ten sections: Foundations,



How to Think, The Independent Self, Sex and Politics in America, Capitalism and Its Critics, The Individual versus the State, People and Encounters, America under Attack, Endings, and Life Is Good, that capture his thoughts on the title subject of each section.

Throughout this collection, Machan repeatedly seizes the intellectual offensive against those who seem to believe that only laws and bureaucrats can make life better—and provides a rigorous moral case for natural rights, individuals, and capitalism. Whether he is discussing what he terms a fatal political disease, that of espousing conflicting political views depending on the situation, in one of his earlier columns, "Freedom: Local and National," published in 1966, to a more recent column published in early 2003 titled "Why Islamists Detest America" wherein he examines the political economy of American society, Machan provides timely commentary on the rights of the individual.

Machan is a Hoover Institution research fellow and Freedom Communications Professor of Business Ethics and Free Enterprise in the Leatherby Center for Entrepreneurship & Business Ethics at the Argyros School of Business and Economics, Chapman University, in Orange, California. He is also professor emeritus in the Department of Philosophy at Auburn University, Alabama, and an adviser on public policy for Freedom Communications, a privately owned media corporation in Irvine, California.

EXHIBIT VIEWERS ENJOY DIVERSE SHOWINGS OF TROUBLED IMAGES AND ISAAC BABEL: A WRITER'S LIFE

The Herbert Hoover Memorial Exhibit Pavilion has played host to two unique shows this year with *Troubled Images: Posters and Images of the Northern Ireland Conflict*, in collaboration with Belfast's historic Linen Hall Library, which will be up until late April, and, earlier, *Isaac Babel: A Writer's Life*.

West Belfast Festival (Liles), 1993

The West Belfast Festival was a Sinn Féin initiative established in 1988 to provide an alternative to the rioting that had habitually marked the August 9 anniversary of the internment of 1971 and to foster pride and self-development in the cultural life of the area. The artist, Robert Ballagh, uses traditional Republican symbolism—the Easter lily, which represented the Easter Rising of 1916—and turns it into a dove of peace, cracking the concrete roadblock, a contemporary symbol of Belfast.



Troubled Images broke new ground when it was first shown in October 2001 in Belfast, reflecting as it does the emotions and hopes of a deeply divided, conflict-ridden society. Explaining the purpose of the exhibition, Linen Hall librarian John Gray stated that "our first intention was to open doors to understanding in an accessible way for our own community. In doing so we are also suggesting a way of acting that may have a wider international resonance. After more than thirty years of conflict we need to lift the blanket of silence."

The 70 posters on view at Hoover until April 19 were part of the collection of more than 3,000 acquired by the library from 1969 to the present. They represent a wide range of opinions on major events and individuals involved in the arduous years of struggle and the burgeoning peace process.

The Linen Hall Library is the unique repository for the Northern Ireland Political Collection, which contains more than a quarter of a million items—books, documents, cards, pamphlets, photographs, and other printed materials—relating to the thirty-year conflict and the ongoing peace process.

The *Troubled Images* project, which includes the exhibition, catalog, and CD-ROM, won the prestigious Christopher Ewart Biggs Literary Prize for 2003. The prize is awarded every two years to individuals and/or organizations that promote peace and reconciliation in Ireland, a greater understanding between the peoples of Britain and Ireland, or closer cooperation between partners of the European Community.

The Hoover Institution Archives, which has collected political posters since 1919, encourages research on the iconography of political struggles. The Linen Hall Library sent its curator, Yvonne Murphy, to the Hoover Archives twice over the past ten years to consult with Hoover staff about the preservation and use of posters as an educational tool.



A series of public events commemorating the life and art of Isaac Babel, including an exhibition at Hoover, were held on the Stanford campus in February and early March. Also offered were a stage production of Babel's play *Maria* and an international conference, *The Enigma of Isaac Babel*.

Writing and violence, seduction and revolution, humanity and raw power were at the core of the spare and brilliant legacy of Isaac Babel, a Russian Jewish master of the short story, who began his career with the blessing of Maxim Gorky in 1916, rose to international renown with the publication of his *Red Cavalry* in 1926, and perished after Stalin waved his executioner's wand in 1940.

He has also been the most translated Soviet author of his generation and the most influential among Russia's modern writers in the United States. American authors from Ernest Hemingway to Grace Paley, Phillip Roth, Cynthia Ozick, and John Updike have all paid tribute to him.

The exhibition *Isaac Babel: A Writer's Life* (1894–1940) was on display at the

Herbert Hoover Memorial Exhibit Pavilion. The exhibition was designed and organized by Professor of Slavic Cultures Gregory Freidin in collaboration with Elif Batuman, Amelia Glazer (Department of Comparative Literature), Joshua Walker (Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures), with assistance from Hoover director of library and archives Elena Danielson, Cissie Hill, Linda Bernard, and other staff members of the Hoover Institution Library and Archives. The exhibition was based on the Irwin T. and Shirley Holtzman Collection at the Hoover Institution Archives as well as other Hoover Institution holdings and private collections.

The United States premiere of Babel's play *Maria*, in late February at Stanford University, was produced by the Stanford Drama Department under the direction of Professor Carl Weber, a famous German-born American director, who early in his



Isaac Babel, 1933

career collaborated with Berthold Brecht. Written in 1933, *Maria's* action unfolds during the Russian Civil War (1918–1921) in Petrograd, the moribund but still beautiful former imperial capital, where the Bolshevik revolution and the suffering wrought by the Civil War have obliterated class and status distinctions and erased the line between savagery and civilization.



The international conference *The Enigma of Isaac Babel*, February 29 to March 2, was the scholarly centerpiece of the Babel events at Stanford University. The conference featured speakers from several universities in the United States, Russia, Hungary, Israel, and China.

That event was sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures; Taube Center for Jewish Studies; Center for Russian, East-European, and Eurasian Studies; Division of Literatures, Cultures, and Languages; Drama Department; Hoover Institution and Archives; Institute of International Relations; Stanford Humanities Center; Irwin T. and Shirley Holtzman; and the Leytes Foundation.

NORTH KOREA, ELECTRICITY REFORM, DEMOCRACY IN ARAB WORLD AMONG TOPICS OF NEW *UNCOMMON KNOWLEDGE* PROGRAMS

Uncommon Knowledge™, the weekly public affairs television program coproduced by the Hoover Institution and KTEH in San Jose, presents a wide array of issues and guests in new segments for 2004 now available on the Public Broadcasting Service.

The program is hosted by Emmy-nominee and Hoover research fellow Peter Robinson. It is broadcast by more than 50 PBS stations across the United States.

Details about each segment are available at the Hoover Institution web site, www.hoover.org. The new programs this season include

Korean Beef: North Korea's Nuclear Weapons

Guests: Peter Hayes, executive director, Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustain-

ability, and James Woolsey, former director, Central Intelligence Agency

Patriot Games: The Patriot Act in Review

Guests: Dorothy Ehrlich, executive director, American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California, and Edwin Meese, former attorney general of the United States and distinguished visiting fellow, Hoover Institution

The Reluctant Empire: Is America an Imperial Power?

Guests: Niall Ferguson, professor of political and financial history, Oxford University, and author, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order*; and David Kennedy, professor of history, Stanford University, and Pulitzer Prize-winning author, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War*

Bush Almighty: Two Views of George W. Bush

Guests: John Podhoretz, author, *Bush Country: How Dubya Became a Great President While Driving Liberals Insane*, and Ron Reagan, journalist and television commentator

The High (and Mighty) Court: Judicial Supremacy

Guests: Lawrence Alexander, professor of law, University of San Diego, and Robert George, professor of jurisprudence and politics, Princeton University

High Wire Act: Reforming the Electricity Industry

Guests: Ralph Cavanagh, energy program director, Natural Resources Defense Council, and Vernon Smith, 2002 Nobel
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