

talk of the tower

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION OF THE HOOVER INSTITUTION, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Fall 2011

Hoover Institution welcomes Senior Fellow Amy Zegart

Award-winning author and national security affairs expert Amy Zegart calls her Hoover appointment a return to her intellectual home

by Amy Hellman

Google “Amy Zegart” and it’s easy to see why Hoover sought her out to join its distinguished cadre of fellows. She’s a leading expert on the organizational deficiencies of national security agencies—one of the nation’s ten most influential experts in intelligence reform. She has served on the National Security Council, testified before the US Congress, provided intelligence training to the US Marine Corps, and advised local, state, and federal officials on intelligence and homeland security matters.

With a tenured faculty position at UCLA and academic suitors aplenty knocking at her door, what made Amy decide to pack up her family and head for Hoover?

In many ways Amy says, her move back to Stanford, where she earned



Courtesy of The Strauss Center

her MA and PhD in political science, brings her full circle. At Hoover, she will take her place alongside the same Hoover scholars who advised her as part of her dissertation committee: David Brady, Stephen Krasner, Terry Moe, and Condoleezza Rice. Stanford also holds personal significance: it was here that she met the law student who would become her husband.

Amy views the move to Hoover as a return to her intellectual home, one that allows her to be part of a vibrant community and recharge her intellectual batteries. Coming to Hoover not only offers stimulating water cooler conversation with some of the best and brightest minds of the day, Amy says, it allows her to refocus her energies—away from teaching responsibilities and toward her scholarly interests, affording her the coveted time and space to think deeply and concentrate on her research.

Since arriving in July, she has hit the ground running, generating many new project ideas. The author of two award-winning books, she has already begun writing her next book and is collaborating on two projects—*(continued on page 8)*

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FROM THE

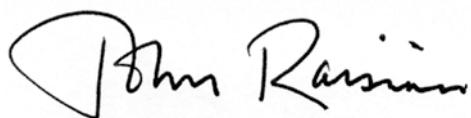
director's desk

I'm pleased to present the inaugural issue of *Talk of the Tower*, a quarterly newsletter designed to bring you news from inside the Hoover Institution. Conceived as a vehicle for our inner circle—the fellows who make this place what it is, the staff who execute the vision, and our friends who support the effort—the publication will include, in broad strokes, updates on Hoover exhibitions, acquisitions, and publishing efforts; news of our media and leadership outreach efforts; and highlights of Hoover scholarship and research initiatives.

Our aim is to build community, commitment, and engagement with Hoover, its people, and its purposes by providing regular, frequent, and inviting material to help you connect in positive and meaningful ways.

Your feedback is welcome as we work to make this publication as effective as possible. Please let us know what you think!

Sincerely,



John Raisian,
Tad and Dianne Taube Director



IN THE EXHIBITION PAVILION A Century of Change: China

Showcasing the Hoover Institution's rich East Asian holdings, a new exhibition commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the Chinese revolution of 1911 is on display through the end of the year at the Herbert Hoover Memorial Exhibit Pavilion adjacent to Hoover Tower.

The outbreak of the Wuchang Uprising on October 10, 1911, ushered in an age of transformation in China by overthrowing 268 years of Manchu autocracy, ending more than two thousand years of feudal monarchy and establishing a republic. Key events, leading figures, and social and geopolitical repercussions of the revolution are illustrated with documents, photographs,

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What they're reading, what they're writing

Hoover fellows are among the most well read—in terms of what they're reading—and among the best read—in terms of what they're writing—in public policy circles. *What they're reading, what they're writing* presents a sampling of both what's on the bedside tables and what's on the hard drives of our eminent scholars.

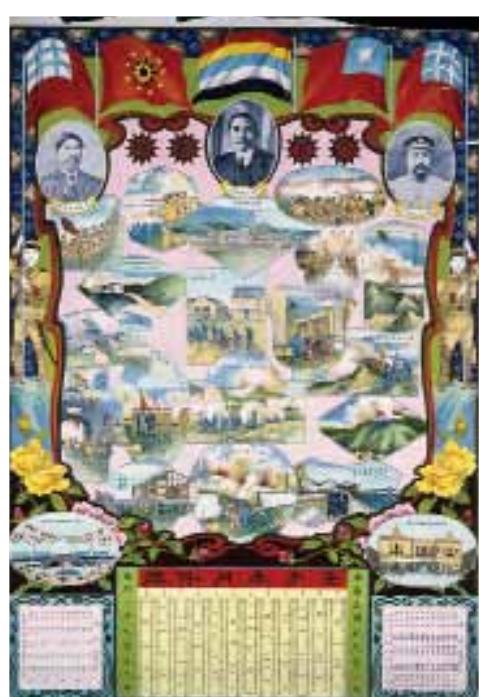
Peter Berkowitz, Tad and Dianne Taube Senior Fellow

**Chair, Koret-Taube Task Force
on National Security and Law**

**Cochair, Boyd and Jill Smith Task Force
on Virtues of a Free Society**



1911–2011



In the past few months I've read two excellent books, both of which I'll be reviewing for *Policy Review*. One is *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us*, by political scientists Robert Putnam and David Campbell. It represents social science at its best. By means of sophisticated empirical research into public opinion and contemporary religious practice, it shows that, despite the polarization of our politics, men and women of faith tend to be tolerant, good neighbors, unusually charitable, and among the nation's most civically minded citizens. The other is *The Idea of America: Reflections on the Birth of the United States*, by Pulitzer Prize-winner Gordon Wood. In it a master historian brings to life the array of personalities, ideas, and social and political forces that gave birth to America's great experiment in liberty, democracy, and self-government.

I'm planning to complete by the end of the year two short books that grow out of my work on Hoover task forces. *Constitutional Conservatism* originated in discussions with the Virtues of a Free Society Task Force, which I cochair with (Deputy Director) Dave Brady. It argues that in our era the essential conservative task consists in recovering and securing the moral and political principles and presuppositions embodied in the Constitution, and that such a task is one around which both social conservatives and fiscal conservatives can and should unite. *Israel and the Struggle over the International Law of War* grapples with issues that are the focus of the National Security and Law Task Force, which I chair. This book analyzes the abuses of the international law of war by which Israel was attacked in the *Goldstone Report* and the Gaza flotilla controversy. It explains why all liberal democracies, and the United States in particular, have an interest in conserving the law of war's original commitment to balancing military necessity and humanitarian responsibility in the face of a concerted effort by international lawyers and professors of international law to disparage or obscure the claims of military necessity.

In addition, in September, before the formal beginning of the academic year, I taught a short, intensive program in political studies—political philosophy, public policy, and the foundations of the state—for outstanding Israeli undergraduates at the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya, Israel.

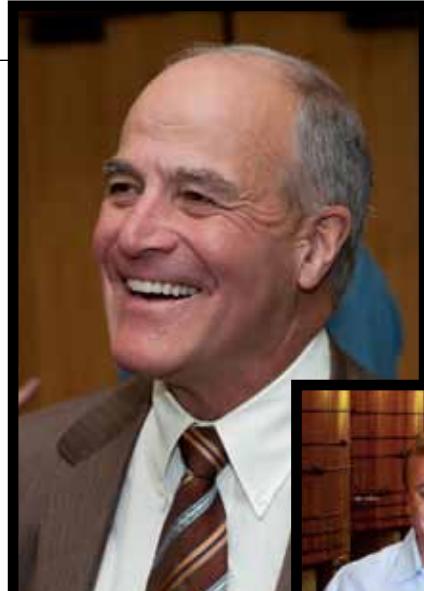
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MEET THE CLASS OF 2011

Hoover appoints eight to Board of Overseers

Hoover is pleased to welcome eight new overseers to its governing body. Bringing a wealth of business and philanthropic experience to the responsibility of overseeing the Institution's strategic direction and financial health, the overseers are also charged with preserving institutional independence within the Stanford University framework.

Each overseer serves on one or more standing committees of the board, including the Executive Committee, Research Initiatives, Library & Archives, Communications, Development, and Finance. Overseers review strategic planning documents and budgets and promote and enhance the reputation of the Institution.



Clockwise from top:
Victor Trione, John Jordan,
Craig McCaw, Paul Wick,
Christopher Redlich Jr.



This year's new overseers are

Barbara M. Barrett, Paradise Valley, AZ

Walter E. Blessey Jr., Mandeville, LA

Michael W. Gleba, Edgewood, PA

John Jordan, Healdsburg, CA

Craig O. McCaw, Santa Barbara, CA

Christopher R. Redlich Jr., Hillsborough, CA

Victor S. Trione, Santa Rosa, CA

Paul H. Wick, Portola Valley, CA

(See biographical sketches on pages 10–11)



Bruce and Patricia Bastl with
Shelby Steele



Bradley Foundation CEO
Michael Grebe

SPLENDOR IN THE glass

Nearly 200 people gathered in Napa for a spring conference showcasing five Hoover fellows and a guest dinner speaker, all winners of the prestigious Bradley Prize, awarded for strengthening American democratic capitalism and the institutions, principles, and values that sustain and nurture it. With us were the Bradley Foundation's president and CEO, Michael Grebe; Program Vice President Daniel Schmidt; and Dianne Sehler, director of Academic, International, and Cultural Programs. Thanks to our generous friends in the wine industry for recommending and contributing the perfect libations to accompany our program. Those friends include Diane and Rick DuNah, Judith and Dennis Groth, Tom and John Jordan, Carolyn Martini, N. Gary Merkel and Heather Patz, George Myers, Chris Peacock, and W. Clarke Swanson.



Victor Davis Hanson and
Jane Ann Blessey



Director John Raisian and Board Chair
Herbert Dwight



Standing: Senior Fellows John Taylor, Gary Becker, Victor Davis Hanson, and Shelby Steele, Professor Alan Charles Kors of the University of Pennsylvania, and Senior Fellow Fouad Ajami. Seated: Bradley Foundation president and CEO Michael Grebe and Hoover Institution director John Raisian.



Jane Dwight and Bill Henderson



Dixon and Sara Browder flank
Sally Herrick



Michael Grebe and Dianne Sehler of
the Bradley Foundation



Shelby Steele with Susie and
George Fugelsang

SPOTLIGHT

National Security Affairs Fellows

Intellectual curiosity and self-motivation characterize the National Security Affairs Fellows that Hoover is privileged to host annually from each branch of the United States military and the Department of State.

Pursuing programs of study that broaden their perspectives in their respective military services and in their understanding of societal issues and foreign policy arenas, the National Security Affairs Fellows contribute substantially to the life of the Hoover Institution, studying alongside Hoover fellows, presenting data gleaned from years of military service, and participating generally in the daily activities of the Institution and the broader university.

By design, the research focus for the year is selected by the individual fellows in consultation with their respective service coordinators, allowing them the freedom to select topics of relevance to contemporary military and international concerns. The fellows are encouraged to read, think, and conduct research beyond the level required in their previous operational and technical experience, to produce a research paper, and, if asked, to present their research findings to Hoover scholars and associates.

More than 120 midcareer military men and women have had the privilege of pursuing a yearlong course of research at Hoover since the program's inception in 1969. Selected by the branch of the military in which they serve, the fellows represent the best and brightest of our uniformed sentry.

The 2011–2012 class of National Security Affairs Fellows includes

- Mark Cassayre, US Department of State
- Lieutenant Colonel Michael Chandler, US Army
- Lieutenant Commander Manuel Hernandez, US Navy
- Lieutenant Colonel John O. Howard, US Air Force
- Lieutenant Colonel Matteo G. "Mooch" Martemucci, US Air Force
- Lieutenant Colonel Joseph J. Russo, US Marines



National Security Affairs Fellows lead a panel discussion at Hoover's Spring Retreat on *Military Engagement in an Uncertain World: Today's Circumstances—Tomorrow's Challenges*. Pictured from left to right are Director John Raisian (at the podium), Colonel JP McGee, Lieutenant Colonel Minter Ralston, Commander David Slayton, Lieutenant Colonel Brenda Cartier, and Lieutenant Colonel Leif Eckholm.

Visiting VIPs

Engaging the public policy community with Hoover's *ideas defining a free society* has been a priority for more than a decade.

Now, in addition to developing relationships with the media elite, Hoover has inaugurated a pilot initiative to engage policy and opinion leaders directly, and already some of the best and brightest have come knocking.

Employing the media fellows model, which invites leading journalists to spend meaningful time among

Hoover fellows and research key issues in the library and archives, Hoover is now identifying and inviting policy leaders from both political parties to consult with fellows and, when appropriate, to deliver public remarks to the Hoover and Stanford communities. A typical schedule will include a roundtable with those fellows with expertise in issues that are of particular interest to the visitor, with the emphasis on customizing sessions to address specific policy challenges.

Down the line, senior legislative staff may also participate in the Leadership Forum. We anticipate a robust slate of visitors in the coming year as the election season unfolds.

IN MEMORIAM

Hoover mourns the recent loss of three members of the Board of Overseers:

Richard Call, Pasadena, CA

Born October 17, 1924, Dick passed away March 11, 2011, at the age of eighty-six. A member of Hoover's Board of Overseers since 1998, Dick graduated from both Stanford University and Stanford Medical School. He served as an officer in the US Navy during the Korean War and then attended Harvard University to continue his medical education. Dick was the international corporate medical director of the Union Oil Company, a position he held for thirty-five years. He was also a visiting professor at UCLA, UC-Berkeley, and UC-Irvine and taught at USC's School of Medicine. An engaged community leader, Dick initiated groundbreaking programs in fields ranging from medicine to music as president of the Seaver Institute.

Leonard Ely, Palo Alto, CA

Born October 2, 1923, Leonard passed away April 29, 2011, at the age of eighty-seven. A legendary figure in philanthropy and civic leadership, Leonard's roots in the Palo Alto-Stanford community go back several generations. He was the grandson of Stanford's third

president, Ray Lyman Wilbur, and the son of a Stanford professor. A graduate of Palo Alto High School and Stanford University, where he earned BA and MBA degrees, he served as a US Air Force pilot in World War II. His business ventures included Ely Motor Company, Leonard Ely Company, and Atherton Lease Company. Leonard was involved in many community agencies and was a supremely capable fundraiser. He had served on Hoover's board since 2002.

William Lowenberg, San Francisco, CA

Born August 14, 1926, in Ochtrup, Germany, Bill passed away April 2, 2011, at the age of eighty-four. A survivor of seven Nazi concentration camps, Bill immigrated to San Francisco, rising to leadership positions in the civic and Jewish communities. President Ronald Reagan appointed him vice chairman of the US Holocaust Memorial Council, and he helped shepherd the creation of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC. A successful commercial real estate developer, his pride and patriotism included US Army service during the Korean War. He served the boards of San Francisco Opera, the San Francisco Commission on Aging, and the Jewish Community Federation. He had been a Hoover overseer since 2005.

The following policy leaders visited Hoover in 2011

Governor Haley Barbour, Louisiana

House Speaker John Boehner

House majority leader Eric Cantor

Governor Jon Huntsman, Utah

Senator John Kerry

Governor Tim Pawlenty, Minnesota

Congressman Mike Rogers

Governor Mitt Romney, Massachusetts



Top: House Speaker John Boehner meets with Director John Raisian and a panel of Hoover fellows this spring. Bottom: Governor Tim Pawlenty greets Overseer Carl Larson during a recent visit to Hoover.



Hoover Institution welcomes Senior Fellow Amy Zegart

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one which reunites her with Krasner, who advised her during her graduate school days, and another with Stanford's Center for International Security and Cooperation, where she is an affiliated faculty member.

Amy's book *Flawed by Design*, which chronicles the development of the Central Intelligence Agency, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and National Security Council, won the highest dissertation award in political science. *Spying Blind*, which examines why American intelligence agencies failed to adapt to the terrorist threat before 9/11, won the National Academy of Public Administration's Brownlow Book Award. She has also published in *International Security*, *Political Science Quarterly*, and other leading academic journals. In addition, she serves on the editorial boards of *Terrorism and Political Violence* and *Intelligence and National Security*. Her commentary has been featured on national television and radio shows and in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Los Angeles Times*.

A former Fulbright scholar, Amy received an AB in East Asian studies magna cum laude from Harvard University. She serves on the FBI Intelligence Analysts Association National Advisory Board and the Los Angeles Police Department's Counterterrorism and Community Police Advisory Board and is a lifetime member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Amy's past associations with Hoover include serving as a visiting fellow, research fellow, and contributor to the Koret-Taube Task Force on National Security and Law. Her book *Eyes and Spies: Congress and the U.S. Intelligence Community*, due out this fall, grew out of her work with the task force.

"What makes this place unique and highly desirable is that the institutional walls are relatively low," Amy said. "As such, Hoover promotes wonderful interdisciplinary collaboration among its scholars. To me, it's an intellectual Eden."

A Century of Change: China 1911–2011

(continued from page 2)

posters, maps, pamphlets, artifacts, sound recordings, and moving images.

Among the highlights of the nearly two hundred items on display are Herbert Hoover's 1900 prediction of a great uprising in China; 1910 photographs of Chinese troops training in the fields of central California in juxtaposition to a letter from Sun Yat-sen, the father of the republic, to Stanford alumnus Homer Lea; and a Japanese poster depicting playful Japanese and Chinese siblings next to gruesome images of Shanghai in shambles during the Second Sino-Japanese War and desperate appeals by the Chinese government to Herbert Hoover's administration to stop Japan's invasion. Also on exhibit are documents recently deposited at Hoover by the families of Chiang Kai-shek, T. V. Soong, and H. H. Kung—all three brothers-in-law of Sun Yat-sen—including minutes of meetings between Premier T. V. Soong and Stalin in 1945 and selections from Chiang Kai-shek's diaries after the generalissimo met with Herbert Hoover in 1946.

The exhibit is open to the public Tuesday through Saturday, 11 a.m. to 4 p.m., and is free of charge. Parking on campus is free on Saturdays.

What they're reading, what they're writing

(continued from page 3)



Larry Diamond, Senior Fellow

Director, Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law

Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies

Professor, by courtesy, of Sociology and Political Science

I recommend Abbas Milani's riveting new biography, *The Shah*, which I read when it came out a few months ago. It's the definitive historical account of the shah's rise, rule, and fall, based on voluminous original research and written with a dramatic flair that accentuates the tragedy of his (and Iran's) squandered opportunities to enter the modern world.

I recently finished and really enjoyed Ian McEwan's withering and often hilarious satirical novel, *Solar*. And I finished Francis Fukuyama's stunning new book, *The Origins of Political Order*, which is the most important book on political development in at least a generation and a really great read.

This summer I lectured in the Draper Hills Summer Fellows Program of the Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, which brings midcareer professionals from diverse transitional countries to Stanford for three weeks of intensive training and discussion on issues of political and economic development. I am also editing a book on liberation technology, another on democratic development in Taiwan, and a third (with Abbas Milani) on the prospects for democratic transition in Iran. And I am working on a new book about democracy that brings together a number of my essays over the last two decades with new chapters analyzing the global progress of democracy since the mid-1970s and how to promote democracy effectively.



Caroline Hoxby, Senior Fellow

Scott and Donya Bommer Professor

School of Humanities and Sciences

Member, Koret Task Force on K-12 Education

Like most professors who train PhD students, my reading consists mainly of the latest writing in my field. Still, I like to read broadly and reread some classics every year. This summer, I reread Horace's *Odes and Epodes*, which I believe to be the greatest lyric poetry of Western civilization. I also wrestled with the major critical work on the magnificent

French classicist painter Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665); I highly recommend Denis Mahon's *Nicolas Poussin: Works from His First Years in Rome* for those who want to read one truly insightful book. With Winston Churchill's *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples* on my reading list for years, I finally got around to it. These volumes should be mandatory reading for anyone interested in foreign policy or military history. They are eccentric yet replete with brilliant insights about what made the Anglosphere politically and economically dominant for two centuries. Finally, recent reads important to my work include *Big-Time Sports in American Universities*, in which Charles Clotfelter argues persuasively that college sports are not a mere sideline but play an important role in American higher education, and *The Venture Capital Cycle*, in which Paul Gompers and Josh Lerner explain the crucial economic role played by venture capitalists.

I am currently completing a few books. *The Role of Markets in Education*, based on my Clarendon Lectures in Economics (February 2011), argues that educational institutions functioning in strong markets are more productive for several reasons: they reveal information and ensure that schools' incentives are based on facts; they promote good governance and incentives; and they force universities to focus on their most productive activity—being venture capitalists in human capital. Because nearly all educational markets are some hybrid of free markets and regulation, I use concrete examples to show how we can derive the best from markets in an environment where free markets are politically or socially infeasible. I am also completing a book on how education affects economic growth (with Philippe Aghion). Ours is the only work to take this question seriously as a causal matter. Finally, I am polishing a monograph for Hoover on K-12 school finance, an understudied topic that affects more government spending each year than national defense or Social Security.

Our New Overseers: Meet the Class of 2011

(continued from page 4)

Barbara M. Barrett, Paradise Valley, AZ

Barbara has held many leadership positions in business, government, and community service. An instrument-rated pilot, her cosmonaut training in Russia culminated in certification as an astronaut. In addition, she served in both the Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush administrations, including a term as US ambassador to Finland. A director of the Aerospace Corporation, Hershey Trust, and RAND, she also serves on the Smithsonian National Board and the Pentagon's Defense Business Board. Barbara is founding chairman of Valley Bank of Arizona; CEO of the American Management Association; and partner in a Phoenix law firm. Earning her bachelor's, master's, and law degrees at Arizona State University, the university's Barrett Honors College bears her name.

Walter E. Blessey Jr., Mandeville, LA; Big Sky, MT; Destin, FL; Carmel, CA

Walter owns and operates Blessey Marine, one of the youngest and largest multifaceted inland tank barge and towing vessel fleets in the United States, employing more than six hundred people. Previously, he owned and operated thirteen automobile franchises that employed a thousand people, earning distinction as the largest car dealer in Louisiana and Mississippi. Inducted into the Louisiana Business Hall of Fame in 1999, he has participated in many nonprofit activities in New Orleans and currently serves on the Board of Directors of Junior Achievement. With undergraduate and graduate degrees from Tulane University, Walter also attended the University of Edinburgh and the University of Washington.

Michael W. Gleba, Edgewood, PA

Michael serves as president and trustee of the Sarah Scaife Foundation and treasurer and trustee of the Carthage Foundation. Before joining the foundations, he practiced law, first with Kirkpatrick & Lockhart LLP in Pittsburgh and then with Morgan, Lewis & Bockius LLP in Pittsburgh and Jakarta, Indonesia. His practice included various aspects of corporate law. Michael serves as chairman of the board of the Commonwealth Foundation for Public Policy

New to the Board of Overseers are (top to bottom) Barbara Barrett, Walter Blessey Jr., and Michael Gleba



Alternatives; he is on the board of several other public policy organizations as well. He received his JD cum laude and MBA with honors from Duquesne University in Pittsburgh and his BS in industrial management with university honors from Carnegie Mellon University.

John Jordan, Healdsburg, CA

Since 2005, John has served as CEO of Jordan Vineyard & Winery, bringing a fresh perspective to the pursuit of excellence in the Jordan brand, from environmental stewardship to precision farming practices to hospitality and a commitment to quality. Before joining the family business, John practiced law, first at a Santa Rosa-based law firm and then at a private firm he opened in Sonoma County. He remains a partner in the law firm of Smith Dollar PC and is a part-time professor at Empire College of Law, where he received his law degree. John was formerly in the US Naval Reserve, where he rose to the rank of Commander. A graduate of Occidental College, he earned his MBA from the University of San Francisco.

Craig O. McCaw, Santa Barbara, CA

Craig, who built McCaw Cellular Communications into the nation's leading provider of cellular services and sold the company to AT&T in 1994, is chairman and CEO of Eagle River, a strategic investment firm focused on the communications industry. A career communications executive, Craig is also president of the Craig & Susan McCaw Foundation, which supports a variety of educational, environmental, and international economic development projects. A Stanford graduate, he serves on the boards of the Nature Conservancy, the Horatio Alger Association of Distinguished Americans, and the Friends of Nelson Mandela Foundation. Previous board service includes Conservation International, the Grameen Technology Center, the National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee, and the Academy of Achievement.

Christopher R. Redlich Jr., Hillsborough, CA

From an entry-level position, Chris worked his way up through the ranks of the Marine Terminals Corporation, one of the largest contract stevedore and ocean terminal operators in the United States, ultimately becoming

president in 1987 and chairman in 1997. Following his retirement in 2007, Chris devotes much of his time to various civic, charitable, and business organizations, including Stanford Hospital and Clinics and Conservation International. His previous service work includes terms as president of the National Association of Waterfront Employers, the Los Angeles Steamship Association, the General Stevedore Council, and the Long Beach Chapter of the Boys Club of America. A Stanford graduate, Chris also attended Harvard Business School's Owner/President Management Program.

Victor S. Trione, Santa Rosa, CA

A graduate of Stanford University, Vic earned his MBA from UC-Berkeley and served as a lieutenant in the US Navy before launching his management career. He currently serves as chairman of the California-based Luther Burbank Savings. He is also president of Vimark, a vineyard management and real estate development firm, and coproprietor of Trione Winery. Among his many involvements in community service, Vic is chairman of the executive committee of Empire College and a trustee of the Navy Memorial Foundation in Washington, DC. He serves on the advisory board of the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research, is a member of Stanford's Humanities and Sciences Council, and is a trustee for numerous philanthropic boards.

Paul H. Wick, Portola Valley, CA

Paul leads the Seligman Technology Group, a team of investment professionals in New York and California, part of Columbia Management Investment Advisors, LLC. Before assuming this leadership position, Paul serially managed a number of Seligman funds, including the Seligman Communications and Information Fund, one of the largest and oldest US technology mutual funds; the Seligman Global Technology Fund; and the Seligman Frontier Fund, a small-cap mutual fund with technology exposure. With expertise in the semiconductor and electrical capital equipment industries as well as software and computer hardware sectors, Paul's insight and outlook on the technology industry are frequently featured in the financial media. He earned both his BA and MBA from Duke University.



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The Hoover Tower, erected in 1941,
stands 285 feet high.

The Tower's observation deck houses a carillon
of 48 bells, the largest weighing 2.5 tons.

Hoover has 4,100 Facebook fans
and 15,500 Twitter followers.

The Hoover Fellowship boasts three
living Nobel laureates—all in economics—
Gary Becker, Douglass North, and
A. Michael Spenc