

KORET FOUNDATION HONORS TASK FORCE ON K-12 EDUCATION

The 11 members of the Hoover Institution's Koret Task Force on K-12 Education were recognized on April 26 with the 2002 Koret Prize for their significant and continuing contribution to the national dialogue on education reform. As recipients of the Koret Prize, they were singled out for their individual achievements in the field of education.

"The task force embodies a new voice of reason in the critical debate for public school reform," said Tad Taube, president of the Koret Foundation, a San Francisco-based philanthropy. "Its members are to be commended for their thoughtful scholarship, innovative approaches, and accessible writings on an emotionally and politically charged subject."

In a letter to Taube, which was read at the luncheon, First Lady Laura Bush wrote: "I appreciate the dedication of the Koret Foundation and the Task Force on K-12 Education to ensure a quality education for all children in America. The Koret Foundation can be proud of its sustained efforts concerning the many aspects of

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COLIN POWELL, CONDOLEEZZA RICE ADDRESS OVERSEERS, GUESTS DURING WASHINGTON MEETING

Secretary of State Colin L. Powell and Condoleezza Rice, assistant to the president for national security affairs, were just two of the many distinguished speakers who addressed Hoover Institution overseers and guests when the Board of Overseers met in Washington, D.C., in late February.

Board committee meetings and presentations were conducted on February 25 and 26, and the symposium Managing American Power in a Dangerous World, a Hoover Institution event under the aegis of *Policy Review* magazine, was on February 27.

On Tuesday, Colin Powell discussed the evolution of foreign policy involving Russia and its support of the United States and the war on terrorism and China, which now stands to gain "wealth out of trade, not the barrel of a gun."

"The two great enemies of ours during recent history—Russia and China—now are not necessarily our friends, but they are not our enemies," he said, "We don't shrink from their shortcomings, but want to cooperate with them and bring them into the rule of law and market economies. We definitely encourage democracy, transparency and freedom."

On Monday, Condoleezza Rice, who remains the Thomas and Barbara Stephen-

son Senior Fellow at Hoover while she is on leave in Washington, shared her experiences on September 11 and since that date.

"What happened on that date [September 11] was that there was the removal of innocence we had about how protected we were by our location, across oceans from



Secretary of State Colin Powell and Hoover director John Raisian at the Board of Overseers meeting.

the rest of the world," said Rice. "There was also the removal of innocence in general about threats to the United States.

"Now, we move to knowing and acting on the principle that the best defense is a good offense," she said. "We will go after Al Qaeda and we will hold responsible the states that harbor terrorists, whether they are witting or unwitting.

"This has also brought opportunities. We may have the chance to not have the historic rivalry among great powers. We have the opportunity to work with young

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DENNIS BARK AWARDED KNIGHT'S CROSS OF THE NATIONAL LEGION OF HONOR OF THE REPUBLIC OF FRANCE

The president of the Republic of France, Jacques Chirac, awarded Hoover Institution senior fellow Dennis L. Bark the Knight's Cross of the National Légion of Honor of the Republic of France (Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur).

The presentation was made on October 4 by the Count Olivier de Sugny, officier de la Légion d'Honneur, at the Chateau de Genétines in the department of the Loire.

In 1997, Bark received the Knight's Cross of the Legion of Merit (Das Bundesverdienstkreuz Erste Klasse der Bundesrepublik Deutschland) from the president of the Federal Republic of Germany.

He is one of the few American scholars to have been awarded both honors.

Monsieur Bertrand Landrieu, director of the Cabinet of the Office of President Chirac, announced the honor in a letter to Bark:

"This prestigious distinction, whose title he [President Chirac] wishes to confer from the personal reserve of medals of the president, is in recognition of the quality of

the services you have provided to our country, and in recognition of the attachment you have always shown to it.

"Monsieur Jacques Chirac has requested me to transmit his most cordial congratulations for this tribute, so well deserved, which France is able to demonstrate in this way."

Bark, in his letter of response, wrote, in part:

"The commitment of the heritage of liberty shared by France and the United States is of an abiding nature, a friendship which began with Benjamin Franklin's first visit to Paris in the eighteenth century.

"Today America continues to recognize the enduring consequence of this friendship; it was a deliberate choice to name the square opposite the White House in Washington, D.C., after Lafayette. This friendship applies to France in equal measure; it is not an accident that the ties which unite two great countries were given unique meaning by France's gift of the Statue of Liberty that has stood at the entrance to the harbor of New York City for more than

a century. And both countries share a love of freedom symbolized by the American flag that flies at the French grave of Lafayette in the cemetery of Picpus in Paris."

Bark has specialized in European affairs since he came to the Hoover Institution in 1970 on a postdoctoral fellowship. His book on the postwar history of Germany (1989), coauthored with David Gress, was published in a French translation in 1992 by the French publisher Robert Laffont.

In 1997, Bark served as editor and contributor to the volume *Reflections on Europe: Half a Century of the European-American Relationship*, which also contained essays from scholars in England, France, Germany, and the United States.

More recently, Bark participated in a conference cosponsored by the Institution with the Club Temoin of Paris, held in December 2000 in the Palais de Luxembourg, hosted by the president of the French senate. The subject of the conference was Franco-American cooperation and the French Resistance during World War II.

ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES SPEAKS

Sorin Dumitru Ducaru, ambassador from Romania to the United States, spoke on Romania and Romanian-U.S. relations at the Hoover Institution on March 11.

His discussion ranged over a wide variety of topics, from the present economic and political situation in Romania to the legacy of its communist past.

Reflecting on the September 11 terrorist attacks, Ducaru talked about the Romanian people's outpouring of sym-

pathy and support in the aftermath of the attacks and reiterated Romania's solidarity with the United States in the fight against global terrorism.

Ducaru, who has been a diplomat for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania since 1993, came to Washington, D.C., in 1998 as deputy chief of mission at the Romanian Embassy. He served as the representative of Romania to the United Nations in New York before being named ambassador to the United States in 2001.



Romania's ambassador to the United States, Sorin D. Ducaru, right, and George P. Shultz

HOOVER TOWER CARILLON BELLS RETURN

The bells of the Hoover Tower carillon, which were sent to the Netherlands for recasting in 2000, were delivered to the Hoover Institution in February. The bronze bells, ranging in diameter from about 1 to 5 feet, were hoisted 285 feet by crane to the observation platform on the fourteenth floor, where workers installed them in a new, redesigned structure.

The original thirty-five bells were sent to the Royal Eijsbouts foundry in the Netherlands in January 2000 for major renovation and expansion. After careful testing by the experts at Eijsbouts, it was decided to replace eleven of the old bells with newly cast ones tuned to concert pitch. Nine large and four small bells were added, increasing the carillon's range to four octaves, the tra-

ditional size for a concert instrument. The thirteen added bells were inscribed with the names of those who supported the project. The largest new bell weighs about 2.5 tons.

In addition to casting new bells, some of the original bells were retuned and the carillon's mechanism, frame, keyboard, and bell clappers were replaced. In addition, the Stanford carillon's automatic-play drum, the only working one of its kind in the United States, was restored.

The original carillon was cast for the Belgian Pavilion at the 1939 New York World's Fair. In 1941, the Belgian American



The carillon's 48 bells being lifted in groups to the Hoover Tower observation deck.

Educational Foundation gave the bells to the Hoover Institution in honor of its namesake's famine relief efforts during and after World War I.

HOOVER INSTITUTION NATIONAL SECURITY FORUM FOCUSES ON TECHNOLOGY FOR PREVENTING TERRORISM

Representatives of technology companies, academe, and government agencies met at the Hoover Institution during March 12–13 to address the use of technology to prevent and deter terrorism around the world. The conference, organized by Abraham Sofaer, the George P. Shultz Senior Fellow, is part of the Hoover Institution's ongoing National Security Initiative.

Making the keynote address at the conference dinner on March 12, former U.S. secretary of state George P. Shultz, the Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow, noted that action taken by the United States against terrorism in the wake of the September 11 attacks falls within United Nations National Security Council resolutions.

"This threat is real and continuing," said Shultz. "I think there is now a deep realization in this country and around the world of that fact and the need to do something about it. We are galvanized as we haven't been before."

He also put his support behind what has, since March 12, become known as the

Saudi Peace Plan, and he offered his thought and hope that Saudi Arabia might take the role of Jordan, which until the late 1980s acted as a mediator in the Middle East.

Shultz's address at the conference dinner was broadcast nationally on C-SPAN.

The first two sessions of the conference discussed the capabilities of technology to identify both human and material threats.

"Sensor Technologies for Screening and Surveillance" featured presenter David H. Dye of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. "Identification Systems for Recognition and Screening" offered the insights of Peter J. Weinberger, head of technology at Renaissance Technologies.

Discussing the problems of data collection, evaluation, and transmission,
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Hoover fellows George P. Shultz, Sidney Drell, and Newt Gingrich participate in a panel discussion on "The Proper Role of Technology in Prevention" on March 13.

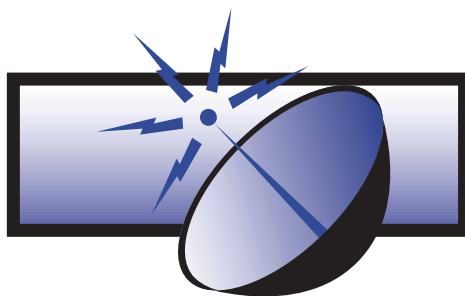
The Conference on Technology to Prevent Terrorism on March 12 and 13 was covered by national and Bay Area television outlets. C-SPAN attended and covered a dinner talk given March 12 by Distinguished Fellow **George P. Shultz** on terrorism and the Middle East. It was broadcast later that week on C-SPAN and then made available for viewing on the C-SPAN web site. KRON TV (ind., San Francisco) featured interviews with conference organizer **Abraham Sofaer**, Senior Fellow **Sidney Drell**, and Research Fellow **Joseph McNamara**.

On March 12, KTVU TV (Fox, San Francisco) interviewed **Joseph McNamara** about the announcement of a nationwide color alert system unveiled by the Office of Homeland Security.

Abraham Sofaer, the George P. Shultz Senior Fellow, was interviewed extensively about terrorism in March and April and appeared frequently on KRON TV (ind., San Francisco), KPIX TV (CBS, San Francisco), KCBS radio (CBS, San Francisco), and KGO radio (ABC, San Francisco).

Research Fellow **James Noyes** was also interviewed about terrorism and developments in the Middle East, frequently by KGO radio (ABC, San Francisco).

The installation of the refurbished carillon bells in the Hoover Tower in February



was covered by KGO TV (ABC, San Francisco), KNTV TV (NBC, San Jose), KTVU TV (Fox, San Francisco), KRON TV (ind., San Francisco), KMGH TV (ABC, Denver), KRXI TV (Fox, Reno, Nevada), KCBS radio (CBS, San Francisco), and KGO radio (ABC, San Francisco).

Mitch Albom on his show *Albom in the Afternoon* on WJR AM radio (ABC, Detroit) on March 28 featured Research Fellow **Peter Schweizer**, who discussed the concept of an American foreign legion.

Distinguished Fellow **George P. Shultz** discussed the legacy of Ronald Reagan and Reagan's approach to terrorism on *Wolf Blitzer Reports* on CNN on February 6.

C-SPAN 1 on February 18 featured interviews with Senior Fellow **Martin Anderson** and Research Fellow **Annelise Anderson** about their coedited volume of original manuscripts, *In Reagan's Hand*.

They edited the book with Research Fellow **Kiron Skinner**.

Research Fellow **Dinesh D'Souza** was a guest on *Politically Incorrect* on ABC TV on February 20. He discussed his forthcoming book *What's So Great about America*.

Senior Fellow **Thomas Henriksen** addressed the question of whether Iraq holds weapons of mass destruction on KPIX TV (CBS, San Francisco) on February 14.

Research Fellow **David Henderson** discussed buying and selling human organs on KTVU TV (Fox, San Francisco) on February 11.

On February 6, he talked about the value of terrorism deterrence programs on KGO TV (ABC, San Francisco).

CORRECTION

The length of the marriage of W. Glenn Campbell, who died in November 2001, was misstated in the Winter 2002 *Hoover Institution Newsletter*. He and Hoover senior research fellow Rita Ricardo-Campbell were married for 55 years at the time of his death.

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE TURNOVER OF POLITICAL POWER IN TAIWAN

By Linda Chao, Ramon H. Myers, and Jialin Zhang

In their new essay *Some Implications of the Turnover of Political Power in Taiwan* (Hoover Institution Press, 2002), Hoover fellows Linda Chao, Ramon H. Myers, and Jialin Zhang discuss the repercussions of Taiwan's 2000 election on Taiwan's relations with mainland China and on the future of Taiwan's political status.

The authors look at the internal push for both political and cultural independ-

ence that has marked the administration of Democratic Progressive Party president Chen Shui-bian. Chen's "silent revolution" has promoted "a shared belief that Taiwan has the qualifications of a sovereign nation and that its people have the ethnic identity of Taiwan, not Taiwan and China." Chao, Myers, and Zhang also analyze mainland China's responses to Chen's initiatives, including its offer to reinterpret the "one-China" principle.

They trace the increasing political fragmentation and the freezing of cross-strait negotiations as well as opportunities for improving relations in the years to come.

Linda Chao is a research fellow, Ramon H. Myers is a senior fellow and curator of the East Asian Collection, and Jialin Zhang is a visiting scholar at the Hoover Institution.

TECHNOLOGY FOR PREVENTING TERRORISM

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presenter J. C. Smart of the U.S. National Security Agency, said, “I’m not aware of a more daunting challenge that’s of greater sophistication than what we’re facing here.”

Hoover fellow Bruce Berkowitz, sitting in on the panel, agreed, adding, “There must be a major change in how we manage government intelligence organizations.”

Key representatives from the business sector talked about methods of enhancing technological innovation and the bridge between the public and private sector in new technology development. Chaired by Richard C. Hearney, president and CEO of Business Executives for National Security, the session featured presenter E. Floyd Kvamme, a partner with Kleiner, Perkins, Caufield and Byers, a venture capital firm that focuses on new technologies and new applications of technology that will drive high-impact change.

The fifth session of the conference covered the legal and ethical constraints in using new technologies. Chaired by Stanford Law School dean Kathleen M. Sullivan, the session presented the views of Stanford Law School’s Mariano-Florentino

Cuéllar, Sofaer, and Jay Stanley of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The conference’s final session on “The Proper Role of Technology in Prevention” brought together Shultz, Hoover fellow Sidney Drell, Sullivan, and Hoover distinguished visiting fellow Newt Gingrich, former Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.

“Technology is at the center of our economic capabilities,” said Gingrich. “Technology is at the center of our ability to

reach out around the planet. Technology is at the center of our capacity to build intelligence. If we are not constantly reinvesting in technology, we are simply out of touch with reality.”

Drell concurred, saying, “Efforts to prevent terrorism must be based on early, reliable, and actionable intelligence.”

This conference was the third National Security Forum to deal with terrorism. Previous National Security Forum conferences have dealt with cyber terrorism and biological weapons.

Selected presentations from the forum will appear in a forthcoming Hoover Press book.



Assistant Professor Mariano-Florentino Cuéllar (left) of the Stanford Law School and Hoover fellow Abraham Sofaer.

POLISH COUNCIL OF MINISTERS RECORDS GIVEN TO HOOVER ARCHIVES

The Hoover Institution has received CD-ROM copies of the archives of the Polish Council of Ministers for 1944–1989. The copies are a gift of the Chancellery of Prime Minister Jerzy Buzek, whose Solidarity government held office until October 2001.

The 108 CD-ROMS—until a few months ago classified as “secret” and “top secret”—represent about 450 shelf-feet in the archives, according to Maciej Siekierski, Hoover curator of Eastern Europe, who has surveyed the materials. The massive declassification and scanning project was

undertaken to make the archives of the government of communist Poland accessible to scholars in Poland and abroad. Several Polish institutions received copies. Hoover, with its rich Polish archival collections and traditional interest in Poland, is the only non-Polish repository of the records.

Hoover Institution’s associate director and archivist, Elena Danielson, said, “My colleagues and I are honored to be selected as the repository for the very important archives of the Council of Ministers. These documents will greatly expand our hold-

ings on 20th century Poland, already the largest and most comprehensive outside of Poland.”

During 1944–1989 the highest authority in the Polish state rested not in parliament, but in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party. The Council of Ministers, made up of top party functionaries, administered the country by implementing the directives of the party in all areas of political, economic, social, and cultural life.

Besides Polish materials, the archives also include key documentation, in Russian, on the affairs of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, the Soviet tool for controlling the economies of its East European satellite countries.

PAUL PETERSON: A CALL FOR SCHOOLS TO GET OFF THE TREADMILL



FELLOW	Paul E. Peterson
TITLE	Senior fellow and member of the Koret Task Force on K–12 Education.
RESEARCH	American educational policy, including school choice plans, federalism, and urban policy.
AFFILIATIONS	Henry Lee Shattuck Professor of Government and the director of the Program on Education, Policy and Governance at Harvard University. Recipient, John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship, a German Marshall Fund of the United States Fellowship, and a Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award from the American Political Science Association for the best book published in politics, government, or international relations. Former director of governmental studies at the Brookings Institution, elected to the National Academy of Education.
PUBLICATIONS	Editor in chief of <i>Education Next: A Journal of Opinion and Research</i> . Author or editor of <i>The Education Gap: Vouchers and Urban Schools</i> ; <i>Earning and Learning: How Schools Matter</i> ; <i>Lessons from School Choice</i> ; <i>The New American Democracy</i> ; <i>The Price of Federalism</i> ; <i>Welfare Magnets: A Case for a National Welfare Standard</i> ; <i>When Federalism Works</i> ; <i>City Limits</i> ; and <i>Race and Authority in Urban Politics: Community Participation and the War on Poverty</i> . Editor of <i>Classifying by Race</i> and <i>The President, the Congress, and the Making of Foreign Policy</i> . Coeditor, with John Chubb, of <i>The New Direction in American Politics</i> and <i>Can the Government Govern?</i>
DEGREES	Ph.D., University of Chicago; B.A., Concordia College, Moorhead Minnesota.

Q: What is the state of American education as you see it?

A: I think there’s been very little improvement over the last 30 years. There’s not much to show it’s gotten worse, but we have been on a treadmill. In most sectors of the economy, we have made dramatic steps forward. But the amount that students learn in school has not kept pace with the need for an increasingly intelligent, capable, working population.

Q: Why is this so?

A: American education continues to be a noncompetitive system. And systems that aren’t challenged have few incentives to improve. School systems have been affected by unionization and constrained by too many laws, contracts, and regulations, making it difficult to introduce new and better ways of educating young people. For example, the training of teachers is subject

to tight regulation, which forces new teachers to take particular courses, despite the fact that there is little evidence that these courses enhance classroom effectiveness. Finally, until recently we have had few mechanisms to hold schools accountable for educating students.

Q: You say that we “until recently have had” few mechanisms for accountability. Could you speak to changes you do see?

A: At this point, there are two types of school reform afoot. One type of change is “top down,” the other is “bottom up.”

The top-down reform creates a system of standards and testing that will allow top-level decision makers to learn how well students and schools are doing. We’ve seen some interesting results from top-down reforms in Texas, North Carolina, Massachusetts, and a few other states. But there is a lot of opposition to accountability and

plenty of attempts to block it by teacher unions and some school boards. In addition to the political opposition, there is a question as to whether the tests will provide the information we need. Some of the early gains in achievement we’ve seen could be teachers and students adapting to the testing situation, not genuine gains in learning. Until the standards and testing programs have been in place for some years, we won’t know just how effective top-down reform will be.

Q: And bottom up?

A: Bottom-up reforms involve competition, more competition. This reform involves creating new schools—such as charter, community, or magnet schools—or giving students a chance to attend schools outside their district. We also have seen the introduction of school vouchers in Milwaukee and Cleveland, where

students are given a full choice of schools, religious or secular.

The idea of introducing competition into education is interesting because we create a context where schools need to improve in order to attract new students. Were this to be introduced on a large scale, it would constitute a major shift in our educational system.

So far, however, the numbers of students involved in vouchers, charter schools, magnet schools, and other choice programs are so small that they haven't created a genuinely competitive system except in a few places.

In Michigan, Arizona, and Milwaukee—where the competitive idea has been implemented more than elsewhere—we're seeing signs of a positive response from traditional public schools. Still, there haven't yet been any major breakthroughs.

Q: How would you define a “major breakthrough”?

A: I think that would be when an entire city or metropolitan area gave every student a choice of schools within that city or area. And it would be when every school had the same resources to educate students.

Now money alone does not guarantee a good education. But money in a competitive situation could make a big difference. So, in my view, we should increase our funding of public education but only when we have moved to a system that ensures that money is better used.

Q: You mentioned the top-down reforms that involve testing. What do you think of the fears that some teachers will “teach to the test”?

A: There are lots of problems with any form of top-down regulation. In this case, you may have to make sure there is not excessive teaching to the test. You also need to make sure that low-performing students are not excluded from taking the test so as to make the results look more attractive. The only way you'd know exactly what was

going on would be to monitor the situation carefully over a long period of time. This is what makes any top-down approach difficult to achieve.

In general, I think we will see more top-down than bottom-up reform. Top down is more politically acceptable. Teacher unions fear competition more than they fear standards and testing. But whether the politically feasible will be substantively effective remains to be seen. Often what's politically acceptable doesn't yield the best results.

Q: You, along with William G. Howell, Patrick Wolf, and David E. Campbell, have just published a study titled *The Education Gap: Vouchers and Urban Schools*. Could you tell us about the findings of that study?

A: The study is the first done on vouchers that uses the same experimental approach that is used in medical research. In medical research, we decide whether something is effective based on giving some people the medication, while others are given a placebo. Who gets what is determined at random, so the method is called a *randomized field trial*. Our work constitutes the first randomized field trial on school vouchers and one of the few such trials to be used in education research more generally.

When we conducted the randomized field trials in New York City, Washington, D.C., and Dayton, Ohio, we found that parents were much more satisfied when they could send their child to a private school. We also found that the amount of classroom disorder was clearly reduced when there was a choice. There was better communication from the school to the parent, and students did more homework.

And all of this occurred without adverse consequences. We didn't see any increase in racial segregation. Also, there were no signs that the students were being taught to be less tolerant in these circumstances.

The interesting finding was that African American students benefited a lot. In New York City, after three years, black students



scored nine points higher on the Iowa Test of Skills. The Iowa Test is important because, over time, we've seen that blacks who score as high as whites go on to achieve as well as, as much as, whites in later life.

Q: Why do you think you saw such a dramatic difference, such an increase?

A: We think that blacks have had the least choice in schools and that other ethnic groups have been able to make various choices for a long time.

Q: Could an increase in achievement have anything to do with the parental attitude toward being able to make a choice?

A: It appears that parents, when they can, select better schools for their children. It isn't that a parent's enthusiasm for a place propels a child to do better. They are selecting genuinely better schools. Our research seems to suggest that vouchers change the schools, but not the families. In retrospect, this seems pretty obvious. If you could change families by giving them vouchers, they would, indeed, be a panacea. Unfortunately, it is not that easy.

Q: On the basis of your research, what do you recommend we should do next with school vouchers?

A: My colleagues and I recommend that a full-scale, citywide voucher program be undertaken and tested. This should be enacted in a city probably in the East, with a high concentration of African Americans and a number of private schools. Washington, D.C., would seem to be a good place to begin.

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democracies that are struggling and we can help them avoid corruption. We also have the opportunity to take values we find in the Islamic world, universal values, and use education as a vehicle to spread them.”



Condoleezza Rice, assistant to the president for national security affairs.

MONDAY PRESENTATIONS

Dinesh D’Souza, the Robert and Karen Rishwain Research Fellow, described “What’s So Great About America,” in his talk, noting that the importance of the individual and his or her autonomy sets the United States apart from other countries in large and small ways. “These features are profoundly threatening to many,” he said. “They would use force in order to bring about what they call virtue. But a free society answers that freedom is the necessary precondition for virtue.”



CNN’s Major Garrett discusses news coverage of Washington, D.C.



Peyton Lake, chairman of the Board of Overseers

Research Fellow David Davenport said in his talk, “Criminal Justice on a Global Scale: Is the International Criminal Court the Answer,” that most Americans seem unaware that a new International Criminal Court is about to be created.

“Despite major reservations by the United States, and some other world powers, a number of small and medium-sized nations, along with hundreds of NGOs [nongovernmental organizations] have taken the lead in creating this court. Even though the U.S. has not ratified the treaty creating the court, it purports to have jurisdiction over citizens of nonsignatory states, so Americans could still be charged before the court,” he said.

The court’s primary purpose is to bring to justice those accused of war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity, but in fact its jurisdiction is far broader than that. There is the very real possibility of trying American foreign and military policy, for example, by bringing U.S. government and military officials before the court, he noted. Although the U.S. has historically supported international criminal courts, both the specific provisions of the treaty creating this court and the process by which it has come about should give America great concern.

Alvin Rabushka, the David and Joan Traitel Senior Fellow, discussed the colonial roots of American taxation, a project he has pursued for several years, commenting “The Founding Fathers wrote a constitution that incorporated 70 years of colonial experience, which included low taxes and limited government expenditure.

“Colonial governments often granted tax incentives to encourage migration of settlers to the colonies and to embark on new lines of industry such as fishing, manufacturing, planting of new crops, international trade, and other economic activities. Low tax rates were the hallmark of colonial America.”

John Cogan discussed Social Security reform and the view from the President’s Commission on Social Security Reform, of which he was a member in his talk. Cogan is the Leonard and Shirley Ely Senior Fellow.

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David Brady addressed the 2002 elections, and offered information on electoral history, the number of seats necessary for a shift in control of power, the effects of incumbency, and funding of elections.

“History tells us that the Democrats will pick up enough seats to wrest control from the Republicans,” he said. “However, my view is that by midyear, the economy will be out of recession, Republicans will narrowly regain control of the Senate.”

“Federalize in Haste, Repent at Leisure” was the topic of the talk by Research Fellow Henry Miller, who discussed medical research and pharmaceutical development.

“The notion of making vaccine research, development, and production a wholly government-operated enterprise would do little to advance either the safety of current vaccines or the development of new ones,” he said. “Far better, surely, to remove the regulatory and other disincentives that currently make vaccine development so unattractive and uncompetitive.”



R. Glenn Hubbard, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers

the appointment of judges, a decision on school choice funding from the Supreme Court, and campaign finance reform legislation.

The Honorable R. Glenn Hubbard, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, using metaphors in his remarks, called for placing the “ladder of growth” on a firm platform and “raising a taller ladder for growth” to eradicate what he termed “the poverty of opportunity.” He said entrepreneurship was discouraged in the 1990s, compromising a dynamic economy encouraging growth, change, and risk.

Major Garrett, the White House correspondent for CNN, recounted his career as a newspaper reporter who made the move to television in Washington, D.C. He described the differences between covering the U.S. Congress, in which, he said, “there are 535 doors open to a reporter for comment,” and the White House, where there are far fewer sources and information is very tightly controlled.

Photos by Goodman-Van Riper Photography



Columnist George Will makes a presentation to fellow board members

At dinner, John B. Taylor, under secretary for international affairs, Department of the Treasury, offered remarks. Taylor, who is on leave from his appointment as a Hoover senior fellow, said the United States strongly supports fostering economic growth around the world in order to encourage democracy and economic stability, which, in turn, leads to fewer crises and longer and stronger expansion. He also defended U.S. action to freeze terrorist assets and invoked the power of allies banding together to halt terrorism through financial strictures.

TUESDAY'S SPEAKERS

Syndicated columnist George F. Will, who also is a member of the Board of Overseers, discussed the continuing evolution of liberalism and conservatism in the United States, noting that the differences between the two political parties have decreased and there are few differences between them. He pointed to four issues and events to watch in the year ahead: tariffs for the U.S. steel industry,



John B. Taylor, under secretary for international affairs, Department of the Treasury (right), and Hoover director John Raisian

MANAGING AMERICAN POWER CONFERENCE POINTS TO U.S. ASSETS, LIABILITIES, AND CHOICES

Plans for the conference *Managing American Power in a Dangerous World*, held on February 27 in Washington, D.C., were first discussed less than a day before the September 11 terrorist attacks.

The organizers of the event did not know on September 10 just how relevant the conference and its topic would become that day, said Tod Lindberg, editor of *Policy Review*, which conducted the conference under the direction of the Hoover Institution.

Attendees of the gathering in February heard a wide range of speakers, including Richard Perle of the American Enterprise Institute and historian John Lewis Gaddis, Hoover senior fellow and Yale professor.



John Lewis Gaddis, Hoover senior fellow and Yale professor

“It was inevitable that we would be attacked,” said Perle, who is the chairman of the Defense Policy Board with the Department of Defense and was assistant secretary of defense for international se-

curity policy, 1981–1987. “For at least the last decade, we failed to respond to attacks of terror against Americans. After events stretching back to 1993, that included a failed plan to assassinate President Bush, the bombing of the Khobar Towers, we



Richard Perle, American Enterprise Institute

can hardly be surprised that terrorists would continue and, in fact, become more ambitious with each attack.”

Gaddis said he was surprised that the United States was as unprepared as it was for the September 11 attack. “I’m afraid there was a great misidentification of ‘signals’ about the coming attacks as ‘noise.’”

In the first of two panels, U.S. assets, liabilities, and challenges were discussed by Nicholas Eberstadt, American Enterprise Institute; Michael McFaul, the Peter and Helen Bing Research Fellow; and John Michlethwait, of the *Economist*.

Moderator Thomas Henriksen observed that, when the cold war ended, the

United States rather unwisely “took a holiday” from concerns about international unrest and war. Eberstadt pointed to the risks of shifting demography, such as growing elderly populations, and seemingly unresolvable health problems such as HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis. McFaul warned that seeking an end to terrorism is useless because it will never occur. Michlethwait addressed the possibilities of globalization as a positive force to engender liberty and the challenges of alliance building and maintenance.

In the second panel, on U.S. choices and what should and should not be done, panelists were Helle Dale, *Washington Times*; Robert Kagan, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; and Kori Schake, National Defense University. Moderating the discussion was Tod Lindberg.

Dale, a Hoover media fellow, said the United States must be careful to manage its dominance in the world arena and not overwhelm its allies if it wishes a coalition against terrorism to prevail. Kagan examined the definition of foreign interests and cautioned against unilateralism or a retreat to isolationism. Schake emphasized the need to promote American power in economics, the military, culture, and diplomacy. She recommended building new alliances, constant tending to those alliances, and nurturing a values-based order incorporating a set of principles that the United States can support and defend.

NEW ISSUE OF *EDUCATION NEXT*: BIASED QUESTIONS IN PHI DELTA KAPPA/GALLUP POLL STACK THE DECK AGAINST VOUCHERS

Hoover fellow Terry M. Moe, a member of the Koret Task Force on K-12 Education, challenged the findings of the 33d annual Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools in an article published in the new issue of *Education Next: A Journal of Opinion and Research*.

Phi Delta Kappa's claim that public support for vouchers is in "significant decline" is without foundation, Moe argues, declaring that the framing and wording of key questions on school vouchers biased the survey against vouchers and inaccurately represented public opinion on the issue.

"From the 1970s until 1991, Phi Delta Kappa (PDK) measured voucher support with a survey item that defined vouchers as a government-funded program allowing parents to choose among public, private, and parochial schools. After support rose to 50 percent (with 39 percent opposed) in

1991, PDK abruptly dropped this item in favor of a new one," explains Moe. "The new question read, 'Do you favor or oppose allowing students and parents to choose a private school to attend at public expense?' This question, first asked in 1993, gave results that were strikingly more negative: only 24 percent expressed support. Indeed, it indicated that even private school parents were opposed to vouchers, a result no expert would be prepared to believe."

Moe argues that PDK's "at public expense" item—asked regularly on its annual survey since 1993—is a woefully inappropriate measure providing artificially low figures on public support for vouchers and that, in recent years, the support scores have been further depressed by new lead-in questions that predispose respondents to see vouchers in a negative light before they even get to the "at public expense" item.

Moe's article has caused a firestorm of comments, with articles appearing in the *Washington Post* and the *National Review*. PDK is "framing a response" reported the *Washington Post*.

Other topics in the spring 2002 issue of *Education Next*, which is available online at www.educationnext.org, include the debate over national testing and accountability, the effect of teacher certification and teacher quality on student performance (and the relationship between the two), and alternatives that would allow superintendents and principals, rather than state boards and schools of education, to decide who is qualified to teach.

Education Next is published by the Hoover Institution. Other sponsoring institutions are the Harvard Program on Education Policy and Governance, the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, and the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research. The editors of *Education Next* include Hoover fellow Paul E. Peterson, editor in chief, and Hoover distinguishing visiting fellow Chester E. Finn Jr. Members of the Hoover Institution's Koret Task Force on K-12 Education make up the editorial board of the journal.

KORET FOUNDATION HONORS

continued from page 1

education—from policy-making at the academic and political levels to hands-on programs that affect children of all ages. The research and writing on education reform by the Koret Task Force will play a prominent role in the public policy dialogue at both the state and federal levels."

In announcing the award, the foundation cited the task force for "supporting innovative ideas that have the potential to become catalysts for positive change.

"Recognizing the deplorable state of K-12 public education in the United States, the foundation explored means by which it could have a positive impact on public policy to effect much needed improvements.

The foundation commented further: "In their research and writing over the last several years, Koret Task Force members have achieved a major impact on education policy and dialogue in the United States. The task force's book, *A Primer on America's Schools*, has become a leading reference text in the field. *Philanthropy* magazine has recognized task force members as 'a "who's who" of creative thinking on education reform.'"

The award was made to the task force members "for their outstanding contributions in evaluating the existing evidence on school reform measures, for their valuable research on the quality and productivity of K-12 education in the United States, and for their innovative recommendations for positive change in the American education system."

Task force members are

John E. Chubb, chief education officer and one of the founders of Edison Schools; a private manager of public schools, including many charter schools

Williamson M. Evers, Hoover research fellow and member of the National Educational Research Policy and Priorities Board

Chester E. Finn Jr., former assistant secretary of education, current president of the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, and the John M. Olin Fellow at the Manhattan Institute

Eric A. Hanushek, the Paul and Jean Hanna Senior Fellow at Hoover

Paul T. Hill, research professor in the Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs and director of the Center on Reinventing Public Education, both at the University of Washington

E.D. Hirsch Jr., author of the series *What Your Kindergartner Needs to Know*
continued on page 12

Indian Wells, California, was the setting for the March 18 and 19 Hoover Institution Desert Conference.

Fellows discussed their work and current affairs with more than a hundred current and prospective donors at the Vintage Club.

The event opened with remarks from Hoover director John Raisian and a presentation on foreign policy by Ken Jowitt, the Pres and Maurine Hotchkis Senior Fellow. Also speaking on Monday were John Cogan, the Leonard and Shirley Ely Senior Fellow, who discussed President Bush's economic policy; Senior Fellow Barry Weingast, on federalism and eco-

FELLOWS TAKE PRESENTATIONS TO DESERT CONFERENCE

nomie growth with a comparison of modern China, Russia, and the early United States; and Senior Fellow David Brady on the 2002 elections.

In a dinner talk, Dinish D'Souza, the Robert and Karen Rishwain Research Fellow, gave his ever-popular talk titled "What's So Great about America."

Research Fellow Shelby Steele opened presentations on Tuesday with the talk "The Politics of White Guilt." In the after-

noon Senior Fellow Paul Peterson discussed school vouchers and the case before the Supreme Court; Michael McFaul, the Peter and Helen Bing Research Fellow, discussed American power and liberty; and Senior Fellow Norman Naimark addressed the problems and issues of humanitarian intervention. At dinner, Alvin Rabushka, the David and Joan Traitel Senior Fellow, told attendees about the colonial roots of American taxation.

KORET FOUNDATION HONORS

continued from page 11

through *What Your Sixth Grader Needs to Know*, and professor of education and humanities at the University of Virginia

Caroline M. Hoxby, professor of economics at Harvard University

Terry M. Moe, Hoover senior fellow and professor of political science at Stanford University

Paul E. Peterson, the Henry Lee Shattuck Professor of Government and director of the Program on Education and Governance at Harvard University and a Hoover senior fellow

Diane Ravitch, former assistant secretary of education, current Brown Chair in Education at the Brookings Institution, and research professor at New York University

Herbert J. Walberg, a member of the International Academy of Education and University Scholar at the University of Illinois at Chicago

Coincident with the prize, the task force has released two more important books: *Choice with Equity*, edited by Paul T. Hill, an examination of vouchers and other school choice systems; and *School Accountability*, edited by Williamson M. Evers and

Herbert J. Walberg, an analysis of standards-based testing and other accountability measures. These studies expand on key topics addressed in the task force's first book, *A Primer on America's Schools*, edited by Terry M. Moe, that provides a historical framework for the discussion of public education reform.

The Koret Task Force on K-12 Education was founded in 1999 with a grant from the Koret Foundation. The task force has a five-year charter to research and write on education reform. Its members were selected for their expertise in education and their scholarship in relevant social sci-

ences, including history, economics and political science.

The Koret Prize, established in 1996, recognizes outstanding achievement by individuals working in areas of interest to the Koret Foundation, including education, the arts, community enhancement, Jewish life, economics, and entrepreneurial leadership. The prize was awarded annually to four honorees through 2000. This year's prize, in a departure from past award practices, marks the rare granting of the award to a group of 11 outstanding individuals. Past awardees include Hoover fellows Milton Friedman and George P. Shultz.

NEWSBRIEFS

George P. Shultz, the Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow, and **Ramon H. Myers**, senior fellow, were members of a World Affairs Council panel on China-United States relations on March 4 in San Francisco. They discussed the topic "Pacific Superpowers: The Current Significance of Sino-U.S. Relations" with Ambassador Wang Yunxiang, the consul general in San Francisco of the People's Republic of China, and Robert Scalapino, the Robson Research Professor of Government, Emeritus, at the University of California, Berkeley.

Hoover senior fellow **John Dunlop** discussed "Chechnya in a New Global Context" during a presentation on March 4 at the U.S. State Department in Washington, D.C. Dunlop, who specializes in the study of the former Soviet Union and the evolution of its successor states, appeared under the sponsorship of the International Research & Exchanges Board and the U.S. Department of State. Joining him in the discussion was Mikhail Alexseev, assistant professor of political science at San Diego State University.

Had states fully deregulated their electricity markets, the Enron political scandal would have been largely avoided. The company could not have gamed the system by encouraging politicians to deregulate as it favored. I conclude that flexible prices and competition are far more effective ways to improve energy markets than allowing bureaucrats and politicians to determine the speed and direction of deregulation.

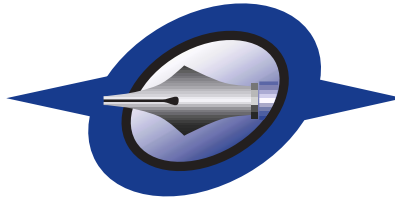
■ **Gary S. Becker**, senior fellow, *BusinessWeek*, March 18

Assumption of responsibility by government for financing education does not require that education be delivered in government-run institutions, just as government food stamps need not be spent in government grocery stores. Education spending will be most effective if it relies on parental choice and private initiative, the building blocks of success throughout our society.

■ **Milton Friedman**, senior research fellow, *New York Post*, February 20

In short, the nonsimplistic European attitude, if that's the right way to characterize it, rather closely resembles the pre-September 11 response of the United States to terrorism. We have come to our simplism only recently and only as a result of the manifest failure of "sophistication" to derail what can now clearly be seen as a long-standing and systematic effort by our enemies to target us and kill our people.

■ **Tod Lindberg**, research fellow, the *Weekly Standard*, March 18



In a society where laws have become the answer to all human problems, laws get completely confusing and many people begin to be concerned with nothing other than avoiding violation of the law. Such a society is very likely to see ethics and morality slowly but surely recede from its midst.

■ **Tibor Machan**, research fellow, *Yuma (Arizona) Sun*, March 16

India's discriminatory rules restricting products made with the new biotechnology conflict with the broad consensus that the newest techniques are no more than a refinement of earlier ones and that transfer of a gene by molecular techniques does not, per se, confer risk. By implementing wrong-headed policies that discourage the testing and use of important new products and misallocating public resources, Indian bureaucrats are no less culpable than if they were to permit the building of an unsafe dam or the administration of contaminated blood products. They should be held accountable.

■ **Henry I. Miller**, research fellow, *Wall Street Journal*, March 26

So we have the battle of which vision is best for Taiwan's people: the continuing buildup of new weapon systems on both sides of the Taiwan Strait; the relentless, ever expanding economic and social traffic between Taiwan and the mainland; the determined efforts of [Taiwan president Shui-bian] Chen and his colleagues to press forward with the "silent revolution" of Taiwan nationalism; the brutal political struggle for power at every national election; and a political opposition that struggles to unify divided leaders split by personal hatreds. Somewhere in this dramatic and complex human condition, a fragile democracy struggles for consolidation and for a resolution of conflicting ideological visions as well as the historical division of China since 1949.

■ **Ramon Myers**, senior fellow, *Japan Times*, February 18

Like it or not, Middle East oil will remain central to the world economy and therefore to ours. So what should be done? Some non-Middle East supply-side steps would help. It doesn't cost much to develop better technologies, and they can have a high payoff. And we can cut motor fuel use. But it is a dangerous illusion to think that we (and the Europeans and others) can avoid continuing to protect the flow of Middle East oil.

■ **Henry S. Rowen**, senior fellow, *International Economy*, January-February

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HOOVER INSTITUTION NEWSLETTER

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Beyond the Color Line: New Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America

Edited by Abigail Thernstrom and Stephan Thernstrom

“The American racial and ethnic landscape has been fundamentally transformed in recent decades,” write editors Abigail and Stephan Thernstrom in their introduction to *Beyond the Color Line* (Hoover Press and Manhattan Institute, 2002). “But public understanding has lagged behind new realities. Our gaze is often fixed on the rearview mirror, and even that view is distorted.”

A generation ago, blacks had much less education, had much poorer jobs, and were more likely to live in solidly black neighborhoods than they are today. Yet the old notion of “two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal” still persists thirty years after it first appeared in the Kerner Commission report.

America’s changing racial and ethnic scene is the central theme of *Beyond the Color Line*. In essays covering a range of areas, including education, law, religion, immigration, family structure, crime, economics, politics, and more, this volume examines where we’ve been, where we are, and where we’re going.

Abigail Thernstrom is a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute and has been a member of the Massachusetts State Board of Education since 1995. Stephan Thernstrom is the Winthrop Professor of History at Harvard University and a Manhattan Institute senior fellow. Contributors to the book include Hoover fellows David Brady, Thomas Sowell, Shelby Steele, and C. Robert Zelnick.



Making China Policy: Lessons from the Bush and Clinton Administrations

Edited by Ramon H. Myers, Michel C. Oksenberg, and David Shambaugh

In the aftermath of the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989, U.S. policymakers faced an increasingly complex environment in dealing with China and Taiwan. Many changes, including the growing role played by interest group lobbies, the media, and Congress, increasingly influenced the policymaking process. In *Making China Policy: Lessons from the Bush and Clinton Administrations* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001), coedited by Hoover fellow Ramon H. Myers, a group of leading international experts explores how these factors combined to weaken existing bipartisan support for positive relations with Beijing as well as the institutions or rules that had provided the incentives for improved Sino-American and Sino-Taiwan relations

With its exhaustive research and original interpretations, this book is indispensable in understanding the intricate, delicate, and crucial relationship between an emerging regional power, China, and the United States.

Ramon H. Myers is a senior fellow and curator of the East Asian Collection at the Hoover Institution. Michel C. Oksenberg was, at the time of his death in February 2001, a senior fellow at the Institute of International Studies Asia/Pacific Research Center of Stanford University and the Hoover Institution. David Shambaugh is professor of political science and international affairs and director of the China Policy Program at George Washington University and nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.



Sunburst: The Rise of Japanese Naval Air Power, 1909-1941

By Mark R. Peattie

Hoover fellow Mark R. Peattie’s new book, *Sunburst: The Rise of Japanese Naval Air Power, 1909-1941* (Naval Institute Press, 2001), traces the climb of Japanese naval aviation from its genesis in 1909 to its pinnacle as Japan’s deadliest weapon on the eve of the Pacific war.

Established in the 1870s, the imperial Japanese navy was centuries behind the West in tactical and technological evolution, yet Japanese naval aviation began development extremely early in the history of flight. Peattie follows the evolution of naval air tactics, the debate within the navy as to the appropriate place of aviation in naval warfare, and the gradual advances in design that led to the development of sophisticated military aircraft. *Sunburst* combines data found in previous works with important new information derived from Japanese-language sources.

Mark R. Peattie is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and a specialist in modern Japanese military history. He also serves as a research fellow at the Asia-Pacific Research Center at Stanford University.

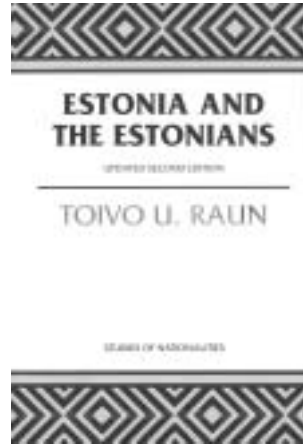


Education in the Twenty-first Century
 Edited by Edward P. Lazear

Few issues today are more important in the United States than improving education. In *Education in the Twenty-first Century* (Hoover Institution Press, 2002), editor and Hoover fellow Edward P. Lazear brings together a range of Hoover scholars to address this crucial issue.

Nine Hoover fellows, some of the most respected experts in the field of education reform, contribute their expertise, evidence, and insights on a wide range of topics that includes national exams, accountability, performance, and school funding. Throughout the book, the contributors detail the importance of education to both the individual and society as a whole, shedding light on what education does, on various ways to structure education, on lessons that can be learned from the past, and on how much can be accomplished in the future.

Editor Edward P. Lazear is the Morris Arnold Cox Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and the Jack Steele Parker Professor of Human Resources, Management and Economics at Stanford University's Graduate School of Business. Other contributors to the book include Hoover fellows Robert J. Barro, Gary S. Becker, Robert E. Hall, Jennifer Roback Morse, Paul M. Romer, George P. Shultz, Thomas Sowell, and Shelby Steele.



Estonia and the Estonians
 By Toivo U. Raun

The past decade has seen some of the most exciting moments in the history of the Estonian people, marking the emergence of a new political and socioeconomic order and the rebirth of a nation. In the updated second edition of *Estonia and the Estonians* (Hoover Institution Press, 2001), Toivo U. Raun traces the history of Estonia from the first signs of human habitation to the present day. In doing so, he both analyzes recent events and places them within a crucial historical perspective.

An entirely new chapter, added for the updated edition, traces the country's postcommunist transition in the 1990s. The new edition also includes additions to the chapters on the late 1980s and early 1990s, providing up-to-date information on the era of glasnost and perestroika (1985–1991), when Gorbachev's blessing on a frank and open discussion of Soviet shortcomings and the need for far-reaching reform led to a striking process of rebirth, renewal, and de-Sovietization.

Toivo U. Raun is a professor of central Eurasian studies and adjunct professor of history at Indiana University, Bloomington, and past president of the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies.



Digital Dealing: How e-Markets are Transforming the Economy
 By Robert E. Hall

Whether reaching retail customers or selling stocks and bonds, the Internet opens tremendous opportunities to traditional business. In *Digital Dealing: How e-Markets are Transforming the Economy* (Norton, 2002), Hoover fellow Robert E. Hall explores the principles of online dealing, drawing on his academic and practical experience to explain what separates successful business models from those that fall by the wayside.

Using examples from a wide array of firms in the e-business community, including eBay, Priceline, and Grainger, Hall details how basic principles of market design can be channeled into successful new applications. He analyzes the fundamental principles underlying online deal making and probes the Internet's rapid transformation of the world marketplace. He explores auction deal engines in all their major forms, real-time deal engines and posted-price deal engines, antitrust issues, and the future of e-markets.

Robert E. Hall is the Robert and Carole McNeil Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and a member of the economics department at Stanford University. He has served as a consultant to companies such as Napster, Apple, and Oracle.

ABRAHAM D. SOFAER, SIDNEY D. DRELL NAMED TO TASK FORCE ON NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE INFORMATION AGE

Two Hoover fellows—Abraham D. Sofaer, the George P. Shultz Senior Fellow and Sidney D. Drell—have been named to the Task Force on National Security in the Information Age.

The initiative on national security was launched in the wake of the September 11 terrorist attacks. It is funded by the Markle Foundation and is cochaired by Zoe Baird, Markle Foundation president, and James Barksdale, former Netscape Communications chairman. Also involved are the Brookings Institution and the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

The task force will investigate and make recommendations on ways to

realign government agencies using the best available technologies to facilitate more effective data collection on the state and federal level, expedite inter-agency sharing, and still respect individual privacy.

Three major conferences, all organized by Sofaer, have been held as part of the National Security Forum, which is one of the Institution's nine research initiatives.

Drell, who is deputy director emeritus of the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center, collaborated with Sofaer on a National Security Forum conference on biological and chemical weapons in 1998. They edited a volume based on the con-

ference proceedings, *The New Terror: Facing the Threat of Biological and Chemical Weapons* (Hoover Press, 1999).

Other members affiliated with think tanks include Michael Armacost, president of the Brookings Institution; John Hamre, president of CSIS; and Robert Atkinson, vice president of the Progressive Policy Institute. Other participants come from government, law, business, advocacy groups, and academe, including EdVenture Holdings chairman Esther Dyson; Sun Microsystems chief researcher John Gage; Governor Mike Leavitt of Utah; and former National Security Agency deputy director Bill Crowell, among many others.

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