

HOOVER INSTITUTION Newsletter

Winter 2006

EDWARD LAZEAR NOMINATED TO CHAIR PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

Edward P. Lazear, the Morris Arnold Cox Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, has been nominated as chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. The nomination was announced on January 30 by President George W. Bush.

At press time, Lazear's confirmation hearing had been conducted and his confirmation to the post awaited action by the U.S. Senate.



Edward Lazear

Edward Lazear was a member of President Bush's advisory Tax Reform Panel, a post to which he was appointed in 2005. Lazear worked with nine other panel members on revenue-neutral policy options for reforming the Federal Internal Revenue Code.

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'A WEALTH OF IDEAS' EXHIBIT OPENS

TREASURES NOW ON VIEW,
LONG-AWAITED BOOK RELEASED.
SEE PAGE 11



Florida Governor Jeb Bush discussed education reform in his state when members of the Koret Task Force on K-12 Education met and they and guests convened for dinner.

FLORIDA GOVERNOR JEB BUSH POINTS TO SUCCESSFUL 'BIG,' 'BOLD' IDEAS FOR EDUCATION REFORM

"We're very proud of what we're doing in Florida," said Florida governor Jeb Bush. "We've done our best to take big and bold ideas and convert them into practical policy," he said.

Bush, who addressed the Hoover Institution's Koret Task Force on K-12 Education and guests about education reform at a dinner on January 12, stressed the importance of education reform for the country, stating that "if we don't change, the country will suffer."

Bush, who is in his second term as governor of Florida, has long advocated education reform to improve

schools and student performance. During his first term, Bush implemented the A-plus Plan for Education, a program designed to improve students'

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ROBERT CONQUEST AWARDED PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM

Robert Conquest, Hoover Institution research fellow and renowned historian of Soviet politics and foreign policy, was honored with the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President George Bush on November 9, in Washington, D.C.

Conquest was one of 14 recipients of the medal, the nation's highest civil award, which was announced by the White House.

Established by Executive Order 11085 in 1963, the medal may be awarded by the president "to any person who has made an especially meritorious contribution to (1) the security or national interests of the United States, or (2) world peace, or (3) cultural or other significant public or private endeavor."

Robert Conquest is known for his authorship of the landmark book *The Great Terror: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties*. More than 35 years after its publication, it remains one of the most influential studies of Soviet history and has been translated into more than 20 languages. He also is the author of the acclaimed *Harvest of Sorrow, Stalin and the Kirov Murder, The Great Terror: A Reassessment, Stalin: Breaker of Nations*, and *Reflections on a Ravaged Century*. His most recent book is *The Dragons of Expectation* (W.W. Norton).



Robert Conquest

ERIC A. HANUSHEK APPOINTED TO GOVERNOR'S EDUCATION ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Eric A. Hanushek, the Paul and Jean Hanna Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, and a member of the Hoover Institution's Koret Task Force on K-12 Education, was recently appointed to the Governor's Advisory Committee on Education Excellence in California.

The committee is a nonpartisan, privately funded group charged with examining K-12 education in California and recommending steps to improve the performance of public schools.

A leading expert on educational policy, Hanushek specializes in the economics and finance of schools. His ongoing research spans a number of the most important areas of education policy, including the impacts of high-stakes accountability, class size reduction, and teacher quality. Hanushek's books include *The Economics of Schooling and School Quality, Improving America's Schools, Making Schools Work, Educational Performance of the Poor*, and *Education and Race*, along with numerous articles in professional journals.

Hanushek is also chairman of the Executive Committee for the Texas Schools Project at the University of Texas, Dallas, and a research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research. In 2004, he was appointed a member of the National Board for Education Sciences for a two-year term.

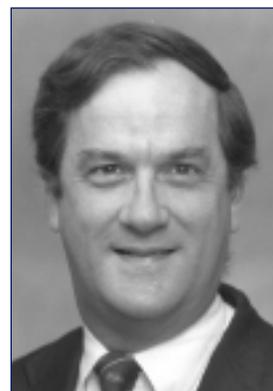


Eric A. Hanushek

WILLIAMSON EVERS NAMED TO PANEL AT FEDERAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION SCIENCES

Williamson Evers, a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and a member of the Institution's Koret Task Force on K-12 Education, has been appointed to the Mathematics and Science Scientific Review Panel at the Institute of Education Sciences, United States Department of Education. The institute is creating standing panels as the first step in establishing a rigorous and mature scientific peer-review process.

Evers, who specializes in research on education policy, serves on other panels and boards. He is a member of the California state standardized testing system's content



Williamson Evers

review panels for history and mathematics and a member of the policy board of the California History-Social Science Project. Evers was elected to the Santa Clara County Board of Education in November 2004.

Among his recent publications are the chapter on fixing failing schools in *Within Our Reach: How America Can Educate Every Child* (2005); *Testing Student Learning, Evaluating Teaching Effectiveness* (coeditor, 2004); and the chapter on curriculum in *Our Schools and Our Future* (2003).

RICHARD A. EPSTEIN WINS BRIGHAM- KANNER PRIZE FROM COLLEGE OF WILLIAM & MARY SCHOOL OF LAW

Richard A. Epstein, the Peter and Kirsten Bedford Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, was honored with the 2005 Brigham-Kanner Property Rights Prize by the College of William & Mary School of Law on October 29.

Epstein is the James Parker Hall Distinguished Service Professor of Law at the University of Chicago, where he



Richard A. Epstein

also serves as director of the John M. Olin Program in Law and Economics. He is also a senior fellow at the University of Chicago Medical School's Center for Clinical Medical Ethics.

The award was made during the law school's second annual Brigham-Kanner Property Rights Conference, which was sponsored by the William & Mary Property Rights Project and its Institute of Bill of Rights Law.

The conference included panel discussions on the impact of Epstein's work, public use in the aftermath of the Supreme Court's recent decision in *Kelo*, and recent developments in due process protection of property rights.

GEORGE P. SHULTZ PRESENTED WITH KING INSTITUTE AWARD

Former secretary of state George P. Shultz, the Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow at the Hoover Institution, was among six Stanford-related honorees presented with King Institute Awards at the inauguration of the new study center on January 15. The six were recognized for their contributions to the King Institute and its efforts to disseminate



George P. Shultz

Martin Luther King's message of peace and social justice to diverse audiences, according to Clayborne Carson, professor of history and the King Institute's director and founder.

Shultz, who served in President Richard Nixon's administration and as the U.S. secretary of state from 1982 to 1989, was a consistent voice for moderation and tolerance throughout his long career, Carson said.

In accepting the award, Shultz spoke of the multitude of problems that currently face the United States. King's legacy was showing the world "how, when you see a major problem in society or between nations, to get at that in a nonviolent way and produce major change," Shultz said.

Other award recipients were Harold Boyd, a former dean and former director of the Medical Fund for the Office of Development; folk singers Guy and Candie Carawan; Wayne Duckworth, a retired staff member of Information Technology Systems and Services; and artist-musician Drue Kataoka.

GUIDED-MISSILE DESTROYER TO BE NAMED FOR JAMES STOCKDALE

The navy's next guided-missile destroyer will be named in honor of the late Vice Adm. James Stockdale of Coronado, according to the Chief of



James Stockdale

Naval Operations Michael G. Mullen. Stockdale was a Hoover Institution research fellow from 1981 until his death in 2005. A 1946 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, he was a

navy fighter pilot whose aircraft was shot down over North Vietnam on Sept. 9, 1965. He was imprisoned and tortured during 7 years in captivity.

Stockdale later won the Medal of Honor for his courage and leadership.

He retired in 1979 as one of the navy's most highly decorated officers. He also ran for vice-president in 1992. Stockdale died in July at age 81.

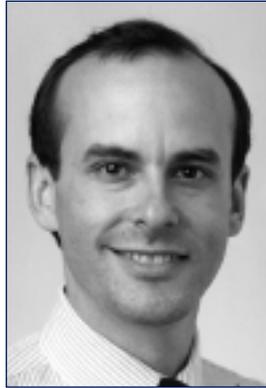
The new destroyer, DDG 106, is scheduled for delivery in 2008, according to the Federation of American Scientists. The USS *Stockdale* will be the 56th destroyer in its class.

SENIOR FELLOW BARRY WEINGAST AWARDED WILLIAM H. RIKER PRIZE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Hoover senior fellow Barry Weingast is the 2006 recipient of the William H. Riker Prize in Political Science. The prize is awarded every other year to a social scientist in recognition of a body of research that exemplifies and advances the scientific study of politics in the spirit of the scholar William H. Riker.

Weingast is also the Ward C. Krebs Family Professor in the Department of Political Science at Stanford University, where he served as chair of that department from 1996 to 2001. Weingast is an expert in political economy and public policy, the political foundation of markets and economic reform, U.S. politics, and regulation. His current research focuses on the political determinants of public policymaking and the political foundations of markets and democracy.

Weingast authored (with Robert Bates, Avner Grief, Margaret Levi, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal) *Analytic Narratives*,



Barry Weingast

published in 1998. Weingast is editor, with Kenneth A. Shepsle, of *Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions* (University of Michigan Press, 1995); with Ira Katznelson, *Of Preferences and Situations: Points of Intersection between Historical and Rational Choice Institutionalism* (Russell Sage Press, 2005); and, with Donald Wittman, *Handbook of Political Economy* (forthcoming).

The Riker Prize recognizes a sustained research program or coherent collection of published research that has advanced the scientific study of politics through excellent, theoretically informed, study of real-world politics, creative and influential theoretical political phenomena, and the productive combination of theory and empiricism. Riker, a professor at the University of Rochester, New York, developed methods for applying mathematical reasoning to the study of politics.

THREE APPOINTED SENIOR FELLOWS

The appointment of three new Hoover Institution senior fellows has been announced by Hoover director John Raisian. They are Peter Berkowitz, Diane Ravitch, and Paul Sniderman.

Peter Berkowitz is the Tad and Dianne Taube Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and an associate professor of law at George Mason University Law School.

His scholarship focuses on the interplay of law, ethics, and politics in modern society. His current research is concerned with the material and moral preconditions of liberal democracy in America and abroad. He was most recently a research fellow at Hoover.

Berkowitz is cofounder and director of the Israel Program on Constitutional Government, has served as a senior consultant to the President's Council on Bioethics, and is a



Peter Berkowitz

member of the Policy Advisory Board at the Ethics and Public Policy Center.

He is the editor of these volumes, all by Hoover Institution Press: the companion volumes *Varieties of Conservatism in America* (2004) and *Varieties of Progressivism in America* (2004), as well as *The Future of American Intelligence* (2005), *Terrorism, the Laws of War, and the Constitution: Debating the Enemy Combatant Cases* (2005), and *Never a Matter of Indifference: Sustaining Virtue in a Free Republic* (2003).

With coeditor Tod Lindberg, he has launched the Hoover Studies in Politics, Economics, and Society, the first volume of which was Richard Posner's *Preventing Surprise Attacks: Intelligence Reform in the Wake of 9/11* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2005).

He holds a J.D. degree and a Ph.D. in political science from Yale University; an M.A. in philosophy from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; and a B.A. in English literature from Swarthmore College.

Senior Fellow **Diane Ravitch** is also a member of the Koret Task Force on K-12 Education. She previously was a distinguished visiting fellow at Hoover.



Diane Ravitch

SENIOR FELLOWS

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Ravitch is a research professor at New York University, a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, and a member of the board of the New America Foundation.

During the first Bush administration, Ravitch served as assistant secretary for educational research and improvement and as counselor to the U.S. Department of Education. In 2005, the United Federation of Teachers recognized Ravitch's efforts "to make a difference in the lives of New York City school children" and awarded her the prestigious John Dewey Award for Excellence in Education. She was also a recipient of the Breukelein Institute's 2005 Gaudium Award.

She has many books to her credit including *The Language Police: How Pressure Groups Restrict What Students Learn* (Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), winner of the Hoover Institution's 2004 Uncommon Book Award; *Left Back: A Century of Failed School Reforms*; *National Standards in American Education: A Citizen's Guide*; *What Do Our 17-Year-Olds Know?* (with Hoover senior fellow and Koret Task Force member Chester E. Finn Jr.); *The Great School Wars: New York City, 1805–1973*; and *The Troubled Crusade: American Education, 1945–1980*.

PAPERS OF RICHARD DAVIES, FORMER U.S. AMBASSADOR TO POLAND, RECEIVED

The Hoover Institution has added another important archival collection to its world-renowned holdings on Poland: the papers of Richard T. Davies, U.S. ambassador to Poland from 1973 to 1978, who died recently in Washington.

Davies, who joined the Foreign Service in 1947, spent his first two years in Poland as a consular and political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw. His later assignments included counselor for political affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow during the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, director of the U.S. Information Agency for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and deputy assistant secretary of state for European affairs.

During his five years as ambassador to Poland, Davies worked on trade issues and helped arrange state visits by Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. He also met fre-

Senior Fellow (by courtesy) Paul M. Sniderman is also the Fairleigh S. Dickinson Jr. Professor in Public Policy at Stanford University.

His research focuses on spatial reasoning and multiculturalism and politics in Western Europe.

His forthcoming book is *When Ways of Life Collide: Multiculturalism and Its Discontents in the Netherlands*.



Paul M. Sniderman

He has published many other books and articles, including *Reasoning and Choice*, *The Scar of Race*, *Reaching beyond Race*, *The Outsider*, and *Black Pride and Black Prejudice*.

A fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, he has been awarded the Woodrow Wilson Prize, 1992; Franklin L. Burdette Pi Sigma Alpha Award, 1994, Outstanding Book on the Subject of Human Rights, Gustavus Meyers Center, 1994; Gladys M. Kammerer Award, 1998; Pi Sigma Alpha Award; and the Ralph J. Bunche Award, 2003.

Sniderman received his B.A. degree in philosophy from the University of Toronto and his master's degree and Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley.

quently with members of the nascent democratic opposition movement against the communist-led Polish government, as well as with Catholic cardinals Stefan Wyszyński and Karol Wojtyła.

The special relationship with Cardinal Wojtyła of Cracow, the future Pope John Paul II, that Ambassador Davies established, turned out to be particularly valuable for the United States in the waning years of the cold war and President Reagan's showdown with the Soviets. Richard Davies retired as director of the State Department's human intelligence office in Washington in 1980. An extensive transcript of an oral history interview, included among the papers, covers his entire Foreign Service career.

After retirement, Ambassador Davies chaired the Solidarity Endowment, a U.S. group supporting the Polish workers' movement. From 1990 to 1998, he participated in Partners for Democratic Change, an international organization founded to foster civil societies and institutions in Central and Eastern Europe.

Davies's papers are a gift of the ambassador's widow, Jean Stevens Davies, of Washington, D.C.

THE COMING AVIAN FLU PANDEMIC: WHERE DO WE STAND? WHAT CAN WE DO?



Q: The year 2005 ended with fears that a pandemic of avian flu would occur in 2006, with the outbreak moving from Asia to Europe and onto the United States. At this point, where do we stand?

A: During the past several years, an especially virulent strain of avian flu, designated H5N1, has ravaged flocks of domesticated poultry in Asia and spread to migratory birds and (rarely) to humans. It has been detected in much of East and Southeast Asia, as well as in Russia, Turkey, and parts of Eastern Europe, and it continues to spread. Since 2003, more than 80 human deaths have been attributed to H5N1.

The current outbreak of H5N1 avian flu in Turkey—birds infected in more than 20 localities, about two dozen confirmed human cases and four deaths within about a month—may be a kind of dress rehearsal for what an actual pandemic would look like in its earliest stages if the virus were to mutate and become transmissible from person to person.

FELLOW	Henry I. Miller, M.D.
TITLE	Research Fellow
RESEARCH	Public policy toward science and technology, including emergence of new viral diseases, biotechnology, regulatory reform, and pharmaceutical development.
PUBLICATIONS	<i>The Frankenfood Myth: How Protest and Politics Threaten the Biotech Revolution</i> (Praeger Publishers, 2004); <i>To America's Health: A Proposal to Reform the Food and Drug Administration</i> (Hoover Institution Press, 2000); <i>The Greening of U.S. Foreign Policy</i> , coedited with Hoover senior fellow Terry Anderson (Hoover Institution Press, 2000); <i>Biotechnology Regulation: The Unacceptable Costs of Excessive Regulation</i> (London: Social Affairs Unit, 1997); <i>Policy Controversy In Biotechnology: An Insider's View</i> (R.G. Landes Co. and Academic Press, 1997).
AFFILIATIONS	Founding director, U.S. Food and Drug Administration's Office of Biotechnology, 1989–1993; special assistant to the commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration, 1985–1989; medical reviewer for first genetically engineered drugs evaluated by the Food and Drug Administration, 1979–1985.
DEGREES	M.D. degree, 1975, and M.S. 1975, both University of California at San Diego; B.S., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1969.

Q: Why do experts predict that the current infrequent outbreaks might become a pandemic?

A: Epidemiologists and virologists are concerned about the potential of this strain because it already possesses two of the three characteristics needed to cause a pandemic: It can jump from birds to human and can produce a severe and often fatal illness. If additional genetic evolution makes H5N1 highly transmissible among humans—the third characteristic of a pandemic strain—a devastating worldwide outbreak could become a reality.

Some background is necessary to understand the threat of a flu pandemic, as well as the possible public health, economic, and political consequences. The exterior of the flu virus consists of a lipid envelope from which project

two surface proteins, hemagglutinin (H) and neuraminidase (N). The virus constantly mutates, which may cause significant alterations in either or both of these, enabling the virus to elude detection and neutralization by human immune systems.

A minor change is called genetic drift; a major one, genetic shift. Genetic drift is why flu vaccines need to be updated from year to year; an example of genetic shift was the change in subtype from H1N1 to H2N2 that gave rise to the 1957 pandemic. This new variant was sufficiently distinct that people had little immunity to it: The rate of infection with symptomatic flu that year exceeded 50 percent in urban populations—and 70,000 died from it in the United States alone.

Q: How might this be different from “typical” flu?

A: Ordinary seasonal flu—marked by high fever, muscle aches, malaise, cough, and sore throat—is a bad disease, killing 30,000–40,000 annually in the United States, but the pandemic strains are both qualitatively and quantitatively worse. They infect the lower as well as the upper respiratory tract—that is, deep down in the smaller airways—and may elicit hemorrhage and “cytokine storm,” an outpouring of hormonelike chemicals that causes huge amounts of fluid to accumulate in the lungs. In this way, these pandemic strains of flu can kill within 24 to 48 hours of the onset of symptoms; victims drown in their own secretions.

Q: And there are other subtleties involved in this virus, too. What are those?

A: One is that, although it is not possible to predict the timing of that last evolutionary step because mutations occur each time the virus replicates, the more H5N1 viruses that are produced, the more likely it is that the event will occur; as avian flu spreads and more birds are infected, there are trillions more virus particles in existence every day. Flu can also evolve toward human-to-human transmission—the event we fear—when both human and animal strains of flu infect a person or animal (often a pig) simultaneously, offering an opportunity for swapping genes. That process is also favored by the presence of more viral particles.

Q: You’ve said that the outbreak in Turkey could be a dress rehearsal for what a pandemic would look like. What did you mean?

A: The outbreak in Turkey was marked by a large number of cases in several locations within a matter of only a few weeks. If the current outbreak in Turkey had been the beginning of the pandemic—which appears not to be the case—we would expect to see illness spreading through families and among both health-care workers and patients in hospitals where the victims were treated.

Q: Are there drugs to combat flu?

A: Much has been made of whether we can significantly ramp up production of two antinfluenza drugs, Tamiflu and Relenza, but they are far from a panacea under the best of circumstances, and their usefulness is becoming more problematic as we learn more about their interactions with H5N1. Unlike vaccines, which confer long-term immunity after one or two doses, drugs need to be taken for long periods.

Historically, flu pandemics have come in two or three waves, lasting a total of 13–23 months. In other words, the need to take Tamiflu—by first responders, health-care workers, and ordinary citizens—could go on for months and months or even years. U.S. public health officials have said they plan to buy 20 million doses of Tamiflu, but that would be enough to treat only 200,000 people for 100 days at the dosage approved by FDA for prophylaxis. According to various

models, in the absence of sufficient amounts of an effective vaccine—which is not yet within reach—to blunt the first wave of the pandemic, we would need to treat perhaps half of the population with Tamiflu. Do the math: 150 million people for 100 days equal 15 billion doses, at a retail cost of \$120 billion.

Q: That’s quite an expense. What else should we know about its cost.

A: The \$120 billion seems to be the best-case scenario because there are now credible reports that H5N1 is less sensitive to Tamiflu, so we might have to use higher doses. But cost aside, the single manufacturer, Roche, is unable to meet the worldwide supply.

This diminished sensitivity of the H5N1 avian flu strain is important because treatment or prophylaxis of viral or bacterial diseases with suboptimal dosages of drugs actually promotes the appearance of resistant strains; therefore, although it will put further pressure on our supply of Tamiflu, federal officials should consider sending a “Dear Doctor” letter that advises of the need for higher doses of the drug when H5N1 is suspected or documented.

Q: This information is convincing and alarming. Are you sure we’re headed to a worldwide pandemic?

A: Despite all this information, there has been some skepticism—mostly from nonscientists—about the imminence and possible impact of an H5N1 pandemic. Laura Kelley, an associate of the National Intelligence Council (in

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SPEAKERS ADDRESS U.S. DOMESTIC POLICY, EFFORTS TO SPREAD DEMOCRACY

The Hoover Institution's fall 2005 retreat brought together Hoover fellows and guest speakers to address a wide-ranging set of public policy issues.

The program at the opening dinner on Sunday, October 30, featured the Honorable Alan Simpson, who served as U.S. senator from Wyoming from 1978 to 1997. Before addressing more serious issues in his talk titled "Politics as a Contact Sport," Simpson entertained guests with humorous remarks and touched on a variety of subjects, including the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, advising that "we can't turn tail and run now," the difficulty of confirming Supreme Court nominees, and the declining civility in Congress and the American public in general.

James Woolsey, director of the Central Intelligence Agency from 1993 to 1995, spoke of the overall aspects of the war on terrorism in his talk, "The Long War of the Twenty-first Century: How We Must Fight It."

"You can't impose democracy," Woolsey said, "but you also shouldn't assume that people want to live under dictators and autocratic kings. As distasteful as democrat-



Adrian Wooldridge



Alan Simpson



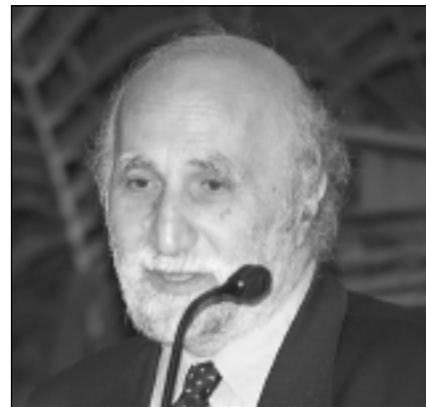
James Woolsey



Robert Bork



John Raisian



Fouad Ajami

ic movements may be to some current Middle Eastern leaders and elites, we need to let those leaders know that, in the end, "We are on the side of those you most fear: your own people."

Speakers at the plenary sessions, from government, education, and the media, offered knowledgeable analyses of political, economic, and cultural issues.

Speaking were *Vanity Fair* magazine columnist and contributing editor Christopher Hitchens on "Axes of Evil: Firsthand Reports from Iraq, Iran, and North Korea," legal scholar Robert Bork, who departed from his prepared speech to speak about President George W. Bush's Supreme Court nominees, and Adrian Wooldridge, Washington, D.C., correspondent for the *Economist* magazine, on the paradox of the United States being among the most modern of countries and yet at the same time among the most religious.

In addition to the plenary speakers, Hoover fellows presented conversations on a variety of topics. The first set of conversations included Bradley Bauer, Hoover curator, "Tour of

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‘Revolutionary Eye: The Political Poster Art of Wolfgang Janisch, 1979–1999’”; Peter Berkowitz, Hoover senior fellow, “The Judicial Nomination Process and the Future of the Supreme Court”; John Cogan and Daniel Kessler, Hoover senior fellows, “Healthy, Wealthy, and Wise: Five Steps to a Better Health Care System”; and Abbas Milani, Hoover research fellow, “Iran’s Nuclear Program: Past and Present.”

Also speaking were David Davenport, Hoover research fellow, “International Law in American Courts and Americans in International Courts: The Underreported Expansion of International Law”; Edwin Meese III, Hoover distinguished visiting fellow, “Washington, D.C.: Judges and Congress”; Peter Schweizer, Hoover research fellow, “Do As I Say (Not As I Do): Profiles in Liberal Hypocrisy”; and John Taylor, Hoover senior fellow, “International Monetary Policy and the Global Economic Expansion.”

The final set of conversations included Michael Boskin, Hoover senior fellow, “The Economy and Economic Policy: Where Are They Headed”; Josef Joffe, Hoover research fellow, “Superpower Europe? Demographics, Economics, and Culture Say ‘No’”; Kenneth Jowitt, Hoover senior

fellow, and George P. Shultz, Hoover distinguished fellow, “A Conversation.”

On Tuesday, November 1, Jack Goldsmith, international law expert and Harvard Law School professor, discussed the growth and direction of the Internet in “Who Controls the Internet? Illusions of a Borderless World.”

David Brady, Hoover associate director, and Morris Fiorina, Hoover senior fellow, analyzed the findings of the Stanford University/Hoover Institution/Knowledge Networks (S/H/KN) Internet poll in “The 2005 California Special Election: What’s Going to Happen and Why.”

Hoover visiting fellow Fouad Ajami discussed the role of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan as allies of the United States in his talk “The Chameleons: America’s Problematic Arab Allies since September 11.”

In “Why Was the Twentieth Century So Violent and What Can We Learn from It,” Niall Ferguson based his remarks on his new book *War of the World*. The retreat concluded with a panel discussion, “Perspectives on Iraq: Looking Backward and Forward,” moderated by John Raisian, Hoover director. Panel participants included Fouad Ajami; Charles Hill, Hoover research fellow; Kenneth Jowitt, Hoover senior fellow; and Abraham Sofaer, Hoover senior fellow, who discussed their views on the war in Iraq.

EDWARD LAZEAR

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Lazear is also the Jack Steele Parker Professor of Human Resources, Management and Economics (1995) at Stanford University’s Graduate School of Business, where he has taught since 1992, and a senior fellow at the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research.

“I have known Ed Lazear since the late 1970s, and have observed his rise as a prominent economist for more than 25 years,” said Hoover director John Raisian. “[Lazear] is an exceptional talent. He is very quick to absorb economic issues and to offer solutions to problems. He is also highly personable and communicative. The president is appointing an outstanding addition to his economic team and will be well served in the coming years.”

Founding editor of the *Journal of Labor Economics*, Lazear is also an

elected fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (2000), the Econometric Society, and the Society of Labor Economists. He is also a research associate of the National Bureau of Economic Research and a member of the National Academy of Sciences and the Board on Testing and Assessment. Lazear was the first vice-president and president of the Society of Labor Economists.

His book *Personnel Economics* (MIT Press, 1995) expands on his 1993 Wicksell Lectures. He edited *Economic Transition in Eastern Europe and Russia: Realities of Reform* (Hoover Institution Press, 1995). Coauthor or coeditor of four other books, Lazear’s newest edited volume is *Education in the Twenty-first Century* (Hoover Institution Press, 2002). He also edited the textbook *Personnel Economics for Managers* (Wiley, 1998). Other publications include *Culture Wars in America* (Hoover Essays in Public Policy, 1996).

Lazear has written extensively on

labor markets, education, immigration, economic reform, and other general economic issues.

Among his more than one hundred published papers, the following are of special note: “The Peter Principle: A Theory of Decline,” *Journal of Political Economy* (2004); “Economic Imperialism,” for the millennium issue of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (2000); “Culture and Language,” *Journal of Political Economy* (12/99); “Educational Production,” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (2001); “Performance, Pay and Productivity,” *American Economic Review* (12/2000); “Peer Pressure and Partnerships,” with Eugene Kandel, *Journal of Political Economy* (8/92); “Job Security Provisions and Employment,” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (8/90); “Pay Equality and Industrial Politics,” *Journal of Political Economy* (6/89); “Salaries and Piece Rates,” *Journal of Business* (7/86); “Retail Pricing and Clearance Sales,” *American Economic*

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Victor Davis Hanson, the Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellow, discussed the history of political succession on National Public Radio's *Talk of the Nation* on January 24.

He addressed the topic in light of political change that could occur with the recent death of the emir of Kuwait.

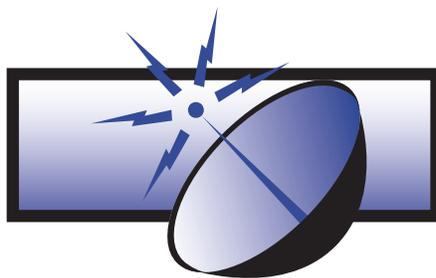


Research Fellow **William Whalen** appeared on KNTV-TV (NBC, San Francisco) on the death penalty, elderly prisoners, and the lengthy appeals process involved in each case on January 15 and 16, just before the execution of Clarence Ray Allen in California.



Abraham Sofaer, the George P. Shultz Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy and National Security Affairs, on January 13 addressed possible sanctions against Iran as it threatens to produce nuclear weapons on KPIX-TV (CBS, San Francisco).

On January 15, he also was featured on KNTV (NBC, San Francisco) on the



decline in the health of Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon.



Michael McFaul, the Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow, was a guest on *The Newshour* with Jim Lehrer (PBS) on January 2 to discuss the natural gas dispute between Russia and Ukraine that occurred just after the first of the new year.



Thomas Sowell, the Rose and Milton Friedman Senior Fellow on Public Policy, was featured on an exclusive interview with Fred Barnes on Fox news on December 24.

They addressed a wide range of topics including business, education,

economics, social issues, and American values.



On December 22, **George P. Shultz**, the Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow, was a guest on the *Charlie Rose Show* (PBS). He discussed the situation in Iraq, foreign relations, the legacy of Ronald Reagan, and future energy sources among many topics.



Senior Fellow **James Sweeney** discussed the bankruptcy of the CalPine energy company in San Jose, California, on December 20 and 21 on KNTV-TV (NBC, San Francisco).



Research Fellow **Abbas Milani**, codirector of Hoover's Iran Democracy Project and director of the Iranian Studies Program at Stanford University, discussed current leadership in Iran on *Larry Mantle's Air Talk* show on KPCC radio (NPR, Los Angeles) on December 20.

EDWARD LAZEAR

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Review (3/86); "Rank-Order Tournaments as Optimum Labor Contracts," with Sherwin Rosen, *Journal of Political Economy* (10/81); "Why Is There Mandatory Retirement?" *Journal of Political Economy* (12/79); "Personnel Economics: Past Lessons and Future Direction," Presidential Address to the Society of Labor Economists, *Journal of Labor Economics* (1999); and "Globalization and the Market for Teammates," Frank Paish Memorial Lecture to the Royal Economic Society, Warwick, England, *Economic Journal* (1999).

A past visiting professor at the Institutes for Advanced Study in Vienna and Jerusalem, the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris, and the Center for the Study of New Institutional Economics at the University of Saarlandes in Germany, Lazear has also lectured by invitation at other premier institutions worldwide, including those in Norway, Finland, the Netherlands, England, Spain, Australia, and India. A frequent keynote speaker, he was the Astra-Erikkson Lecturer and the 1993 Wicksell Lecturer in Stockholm, Sweden.

He received the Distinguished Teaching Award from Stanford University's Graduate School of Business in 1994, was named the Michael and Monica Spence Faculty Fellow in 2000–2001, and received the Distinguished Service

Award from Stanford University in 2002. He has an honorary doctorate from Albertson College of Idaho and delivered the 2002 UCLA Commencement Address.

Lazear was awarded the 1998 Leo Melamed Biennial Prize for outstanding research and the 2003 Adam Smith Prize from the European Association of Labor Economists. In the fall of 2004, Lazear was awarded the Prize in Labor Economics from the Institute for the Study of Labor, Bonn.

Born in 1948, Lazear grew up in Los Altos, California. He received his A.B. and A.M. degrees from the University of California at Los Angeles and his Ph.D. in economics from Harvard University. He lives in Portola Valley with his wife and daughter.

TREASURE TROVE OF HOOVER ARCHIVES IS SOURCE FOR 'A WEALTH OF IDEAS' EXHIBIT

The Hoover Institution Library and Archives delved deep into its vast trove of rare historical documents and artifacts for the exhibit "A Wealth of Ideas: Revelations from the Hoover Institution Archives," which is open through May 6, 2006.

The exhibit, based on the book *A Wealth of Ideas: Revelations from the Hoover Institution Archives* (Stanford University Press, 2006), by Hoover research fellow Bertrand M. Patenaude, draws on the extraordinarily rich collections of the Hoover Institution Library and Archives to illuminate the power of ideas and their consequences through materials. These striking ideas are illustrated in the exhibit by rare and seldom-seen collections from some of the most important individuals and events of the twentieth century.

From the peace movement at the turn of the twentieth century to the free market consensus at the dawn of the twenty-first, the era's major wars, revolutions, tyrannies, and political and intellectual movements are captured in photographs and posters, artwork and film, letters and diaries, rare books and newspapers, and video and audio selections. The exhibit explores the impact of such political leaders as Hitler, Stalin, Trotsky, Churchill, and Mao, as well as the real-world influence of the philosophers Sidney Hook and Karl Popper, economists Friedrich von Hayek and Milton Friedman, and Nobel Prize-winners Boris Pasternak and Jane Addams

"Visitors to the exhibit will be surprised to discover that so many historical rarities are housed on the Stanford campus,"

'REVOLUTIONARY TIDES' EXHIBIT MOVES TO MIAMI BEACH

Revolutionary Tides: The Art of the Political Poster, 1914–1989,' which focuses on the turbulent years of the twentieth century and features nearly 100 of the most exceptional examples from the vast poster collection of the Hoover Institution, is now on view at the Wolfsonian Museum–Florida International University in Miami Beach, Florida.

The exhibition, curated by Jeffrey T. Schnapp, director of the Stanford Humanities Lab, is open until July 30. During fall 2005, it was the featured exhibit at the Cantor Arts Center at Stanford University.

The posters in "Revolutionary Tides" examine the key role played by crowds in modern politics and society from the

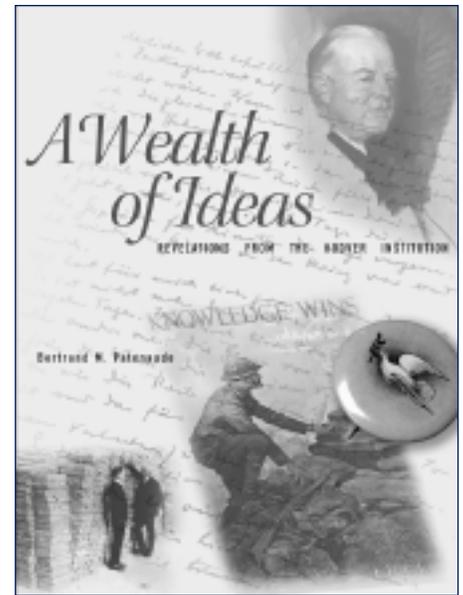
says historian Patenaude. "Archival treasures like the handwritten diary of Nazi propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels will inspire a second visit."

The exhibit draws on the more than 300 illustrations—including photographs, posters, documents, and rare books—that appear in Patenaude's large-format "coffee-table" book, *A Wealth of Ideas*, a visually attractive,

engagingly written, and thought-provoking volume that also stands as a work of quality scholarship.

Publication of the book was underwritten by Hoover Institution overseer Ambassador L.W. "Bill" Lane Jr., the former chairman and publisher of Lane Publishing Co. (publisher of *Sunset Magazine* and books), and his wife, Jean Lane.

The exhibit will be open to the public in the Herbert Hoover Memorial Exhibit Pavilion, next to Hoover Tower, and is free of charge. Pavilion hours are Tuesday through Saturday, 11:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. For further information, go to www.hoover.org/hila/pavilionexhibit.htm or contact 650-723-3563.



The cover of the new volume *A Wealth of Ideas*

First World War to the fall of the Berlin Wall. The exhibition presents such diverse political settings as New Deal America, the Soviet Union of Stalin's Five-Year Plans, China's Cultural Revolution, the protest movements of the 1960s, and Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran. It also features works from Hoover and the Wolfsonian by such world-renowned graphic artists as John Heartfield, Gustav Klutis, and Xanti Schawinsky and includes the iconic Norman Rockwell illustration depicting "Freedom of Speech."

"Revolutionary Tides" was organized by the Cantor Arts Center with the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, the Stanford Humanities Lab, and the Wolfsonian-FIU. Support for the project was provided by the Clumuck Endowment Fund, the Bernard Osher Foundation, the Seaver Institute, the Mariposa Fund, Roger and Martha Mertz, and Cantor Arts Center members.



Reductions in insurance costs, accompanied by increases in deductibles and copayments, may look like redistribution from workers to employers. Competitive labor markets, however, ensure that workers will ultimately receive the benefits. Politicians and policy makers on both sides of the aisle would be wise to keep this fact in mind when considering the direction of health-care reform. And the simple observation suggests clear routes for the Bush administration to put forth reforms that make markets work better. Absent such changes, high rates of uninsurance and rising health-care costs will ultimately lead to a government-directed health-care program, with adverse consequences for choice and innovation.

- John Cogan and Daniel Kessler, senior fellows, with Glenn Hubbard, all authors of *Healthy, Wealthy and Wise*, in the *Wall Street Journal*, January 13, 2006

The state's objective is the education of children, not the construction of buildings or the running of schools. Those are means, not an end. The state's objective would be better served by a competitive educational market than by a government monopoly. Producers of educational services would compete to attract students. Parents, empowered by the voucher, would have a wide range to choose from. As in other industries, such a competitive free market would lead to improvements in quality and reductions in cost.

- Milton Friedman, senior research fellow, *Wall Street Journal*, December 5, 2005

Antitechnology, antibusiness activists fear a world in which exploitative, multinational corporations conspire to strip away individual choice from the world's farmers and consumers. But it is they who are guilty of the mendacity and manipulation they imagine they see in others; they who are guilty of stripping away the freedom of research to research, doctors to doctor, and consumers to consume vaccines and drugs that can be lifesaving.

- Henry Miller, research fellow, *Nature Biotechnology* 24, no 1 (January 2006)

On the seal of my alma mater [Stanford University] are the words "Let the winds of freedom blow." We should remember that the winds of freedom blow right and center, as well as left and that, in the academic world of ideas, diversity of thought may be the most important kind of diversity of all.

- David Davenport, *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 26, 2006

PUBLICATION ROUNDUP

The Hoover Institution presents a wide range of expert research, commentary, and ideas in its four publications. Below are highlights from recent issues of each:

Hoover Digest—www.hooverdigest.org

- "Iraq: Why We Must Stay," by Victor Davis Hanson
- "Cowboys and Indians," by Niall Ferguson
- "The War on Terror: Bush Country," by Fouad Ajami
- "National Security: Liberty First, Democracy Later," by Peter Berkowitz
- "The Danger in 'Fixing' the CIA," by Richard A. Posner

Education Next—www.educationnext.org

- The American high school: "The Traditional High School," by Jeffrey Mirel
- "A 'Comprehensive' Problem," by Jay P. Greene
- "Things Are Falling Apart," by Chester E. Finn Jr.
- Surviving a midlife crisis: "Advanced Placement Turns Fifty," by Andrew Mollison
- Research: "'Acting White': The Social Price Paid by the Best and Brightest Minority Students," by Roland G. Fryer
- "Worldwide Wonder? Measuring the (Non-)Impact of Internet Subsidies to Public Schools," by Austan Goolsbee and Jonathan Guryan

Policy Review—www.policyreview.org

- "Iraq Is Not Vietnam: A Pernicious Equivalence," by Frederick W. Kagan

- "What Is 'Cruel and Unusual?': Eighth Amendment Jurisprudence Is a Train Wreck," by Benjamin Wittes
- "China's Quest for Asia: Beijing Fills a Vacuum," by Dana Dillon and John J. Tkacik Jr.
- Books: "Too Few Good Men": Amy L. Wax on *Promises I Can Keep: Why Poor Women Put Motherhood Before Marriage* by Kathryn Edin and Maria Kefalas, and *American Dream: Three Women, Ten Kids, and A Nation's Drive to End Welfare* by Jason DeParle
- "Churchill's Workshop": Henrik Bering on *In Command of History: Churchill Fighting and Writing the Second World War* by David Reynolds
- "Democratizing the Constitution": Peter Berkowitz on *Active Liberty: Interpreting our Democratic Constitution* by Stephen Breyer

China Leadership Monitor

www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org

- Foreign policy: "Will China Become a 'Responsible Stakeholder'? The Six Party Talks, Taiwan Arms Sales, and Sino-Japanese Relations," by Thomas Christensen
- Military affairs: "Inspired with Enthusiasm: Themes from the October 1 National Day Editorial," by James Mulvenon
- Party affairs: "Hu's in Charge?" by Lyman Miller

GOVERNOR JEB BUSH

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grades and revamp the state's public school system by offering students the opportunity to transfer to a private school if their school failed.

Along the way, he said, he developed what he calls "Jeb's Rules" on how to advocate education reform. The first rule, he said, is full transparency, which he defined as "say what you're going to do, then do what you say you're going to do." Next, have the

courage to measure progress. "If you don't measure, you don't care." Dogged tenacity, the third rule, Bush defined as "stay[ing] in it to win it." The fourth rule, aggressive communication, is that, "if you are involved in a big idea, you must constantly communicate." The final rule, Bush said, is continuous reform. "Success is never final and reform is never finished," he said. "The only way to be successful in the battle of ideas is to be on the offensive constantly."

The results of the education plan, he noted, have been impressive. Since

1998 in Florida, the number of fourth graders reading at grade level has increased by 20 percent; more students are taking the PSAT and advanced placement courses; graduation rates have increased by 11.7 percent (to 71.9 percent); and dropout rates have decreased by 2.6 percent, nearly half of what they had been.

The address by Bush was part of a two-day meeting of the Hoover Institution's 11-member Koret Task Force on K-12 Education.

MEDIA FELLOW BARTON GELLMAN SPEAKS ON THE NEED FOR CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES

"If we do not know what our government is doing, we can't hold it accountable," said Media Fellow Barton Gellman. In "Secrets, Sources and Journalists after the Plame Case" Gellman, a special projects reporter for the *Washington Post*, spoke on the need for confidential sources in investigating a story at a luncheon hosted by the Hoover Institution on November 10.

"Newspapers cannot appoint themselves arbiters of national security," said Gellman; "political leaders, on the other hand, cannot be allowed to decide for us what we need to know about their plans." He added that, "in practice, today, secrets are kept or broken by a process of competition." The information obtained in this free market process, as Gellman called it, is further researched to confirm that it is true.

Gellman said he has used confidential sources in researching and writing articles. "There's nothing more central to the work I do than the development of confidential sources," he said. "It would be practically impossible for me to write the stories I write without those sources."

Gellman was the Robert and Susan Ohrenschall Media Fellow while in residency at the Hoover Institution. Gellman shared the Pulitzer Prize for national reporting in 2002 and has been a jury-nominated finalist (for individual and team entries) four times. His work has also been honored by the Overseas Press Club, Society of Professional Journalists, American Society of Newspaper Editors, International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, and the SAIS-Novartis Foundation for International Journalism.

Other media fellows speaking this past fall were Norah O'Donnell of NBC News and Joan Biskupic of *USA Today*.

The William C. and Barbara H. Edwards Media Fellows Program allows print and broadcast media professionals to

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

Jonathan Decker, Reuters Television,
October 31–November 4, 2005

Glenn Kessler, *Washington Post*,
October 31–November 4

Mike Boyer, *Foreign Policy*, October 31–November 4
Chris Mondics, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 7–11

Steve Holmes, *Washington Post*, November 14–18
Joe Palca, National Public Radio, November 14–18

Bob Kaiser, *Washington Post*, November 14–18
Jack Beatty, *Atlantic Monthly*, November 21–25

Caral Robbins, *Wall Street Journal*,
November 28–December 2

Don Lambro, *Washington Times*,
November 28–December 2

John Podhoretz, *New York Post*, December 4–16
Bennett Roth, *Houston Chronicle*, December 5–9

Laurie McGinley, *Wall Street Journal*, December 5–9
Mvemba Dizolele, UPI, December 12–16

Tracy Lee Simmons, *National Review*, December 12–16
Michael Doyle, McClatchy News, January 16–20, 2006

Lee Collum, *Dallas Morning News*, January 23–27
Dick Meyer, CBS News, January 30–February 3

Nicolla Hewitt, NBC News, February 6–10
Bill Hamilton, *Washington Post*, February 13–17

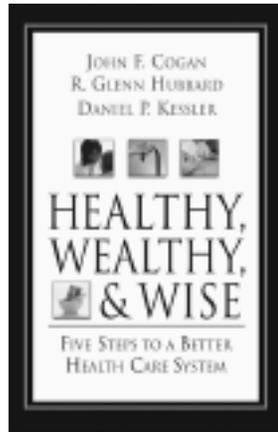
Clay Risen, *New Republic*, February 20–24
Scott Higham, *Washington Post*, February 20–24

Paul Sperry, *Investor's Business Daily*, February 27–March 3

*Healthy, Wealthy, and Wise:
Five Steps to a Better Health
Care System*

By John F. Cogan,
R. Glenn Hubbard,
and Daniel P. Kessler

ISBN 0-8447-7178-3

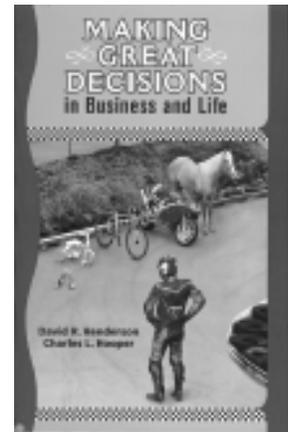


America's health-care system is the envy of the world, but it faces serious challenges. The costs of care are rising rapidly, the number of uninsured Americans is at an all-time high, and public dissatisfaction is steadily increasing. How can we preserve the strengths of our current system while correcting its weaknesses? Three of America's leading health-care scholars answer that question in *Healthy, Wealthy, and Wise* (American Enterprise Institute, 2005). John F. Cogan and Daniel P. Kessler are senior fellows at the Hoover Institution. R. Glenn Hubbard is dean and the Russell L. Carson Professor of Economics and Finance at the Columbia University Graduate School of Business.

*Making Great Decisions in
Business and Life*

By David R. Henderson and
Charles L. Hooper

ISBN 0-9768541-0-4



The phrase "work smarter, not harder" has been ridiculed not because it is a bad idea but because it is thrown like a brick lifesaver to drowning employers. Readers of this new volume (Chicago Park Press, 2005) are shown how to plan to achieve their objectives and find a better way to look at problems so that solutions are easier to find. David R. Henderson is a Hoover Institution research fellow. Charles L. Hooper is president and cofounder of the consulting firm Objective Insights.

KEITH E. EILER, 85

Keith E. Eiler, a research fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University since 1983, died on Wednesday, November 16, after a long illness.

Eiler, born and reared in rural Nebraska, turned 85 years old on November 8. He was a retired lieutenant colonel in the United States Army and an expert on United States military history.

He was the author of a definitive history of U.S. economic and military mobilization in World War II entitled *Mobilizing America: Robert P. Patterson and the War Effort, 1940-1945*, which received the Hoover Institution's Uncommon Book Award in 1999. He also edited *Wedemeyer on War and Peace*, a compilation of writings by General Albert C. Wedemeyer, the U.S. War Department's most prominent strategist and commander of the Allied forces in the China-Burma-India theater during World War II.

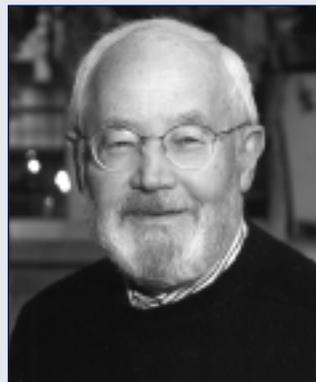
Eiler graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1944. He subsequently served during World War II with the 80th Infantry Division of the Third U.S. Army in Europe, where he was wounded in the Battle of the Bulge; as an engineer with the Armed Forces Special Weapons

Project involved in operational employment of atomic weapons; as an aide-de-camp to General Wedemeyer during the latter's term as commander of the Sixth U.S. Army at the Presidio of San Francisco (1950-51); with the Eighth U.S. Army in Korea, where he helped plan the Demilitarized Zone (1953); and in the headquarters of the Army Forces Far East in Tokyo (1953-54).

Eiler taught mathematics as an instructor and assistant professor at West Point from 1954 to 1958; commanded an engineer combat battalion in Germany in 1960-61; and was assistant director of military construction in the Office of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, from 1961 to 1963. In his last assignment before his retirement from the military in 1965, he served with the army general staff in the Office of the Chief of Staff, 1963-64.

He held masters' degrees in civil engineering (Harvard University) and international affairs (George Washington University) and a doctorate in the history of American civilization (Harvard).

Burial was at the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York.



Keith E. Eiler

THE COMING AVIAN FLU PANDEMIC

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her private capacity), wrote recently, “Remarkable though it may seem, all of this spending and activity is based on the deaths of fewer than seventy-five people, caused by a viral strain that has little or no person-to-person transmissibility.” That is rather like saying that because it hasn’t caused any damage yet, we don’t need to worry about a Category 5 hurricane on a track to hit New Orleans.

Q: What should be done?

A: We do need good surveillance of H5N1 in Europe, Asia, and Africa to obtain the earliest possible warning that a strain of H5N1 flu transmissible from human to human has been detected, so that nations around the world can rapidly initiate a variety of public health measures—not the least of which would be to begin an emergency program to produce large amounts of vaccine against that strain.

Q: Who do you believe can best provide oversight?

A: The U.N.’s World Health Organization is probably best equipped to perform worldwide surveillance, but its role must be limited. Dr. David Nabarro, the U.N. coordinator on avian and human influenza who has

wide experience as a public health bureaucrat but none in the highly specialized field of influenza, is busy raising money from countries around the world to finance efforts to combat the disease. However, we cannot ignore the dismal record of the scientifically challenged, politically correct, unaccountable U.N. and the reality that any component of it is inherently incapable of keeping politics out of scientific and medical decisions.

Q: In general, what is required to meet this threat?

A: A flu pandemic will require triage and hard-headed decisions on many levels—including not only judgments about which patients are likely to benefit from scarce commodities such as drugs, vaccines, and ventilators but also broader public policy choices about where and how to expend resources. To prepare for a possible catastrophe, we need to be aggressive, innovative, and, above all, resilient. In society, as in biology, survival requires nothing less.

Q: More specifically, what should we do?

A: Ordinarily, I’d be inclined to say that, if government were just to get out of the way and permit the private sector to innovate, its ingenuity would provide solutions, but public policy has been so responsible for our lack of resilience and preparation that it will

have to be part of the solution. A few suggestions for the Executive Branch:

- Federal grant-giving agencies should increase funding for basic research on new technologies to make flu vaccines, especially those that are “cross-subtype-specific”; that is, will be effective against many strains of flu.
- There must also be intensive research on adjuvants—chemicals that enhance the immune response to vaccines.
- The CDC must stop demanding discounts on vaccines, which makes vaccine development unprofitable and discourages manufacturers.
- Regulators should pursue agreements on “reciprocity” of approvals so that vaccines and antiviral drugs licensed in certain foreign countries can be marketed in the United States.

In the longer term, Congress could take other steps to improve the climate for vaccine makers, such as

- Offer tax breaks to offset research and development costs
- Require health insurance providers to cover immunizations without the usual deductibles
- Stipulate that, once the Food and Drug Administration has approved a vaccine, the government would compensate victims of known side effects

HOOVER HOSTS VISITS AND DISCUSSIONS BY DIGNITARIES

Senator George Allen

U.S. senator George Allen (R-Virginia) discussed issues ranging from education and tax reform to foreign policy and changes to entitlements with Hoover fellows when he visited the Hoover Institution on January 5.

Estonian President Visits

Estonian president Arnold Ruutel examined materials related to the history of his country from the Hoover Institution Archives during his visit to Hoover on January 20.

Polish Senator Meets

Jerzy Szymura, a senator from Poland, met on December 1, 2005, with Hoover fellows to discuss political and security issues faced by Poland. He also discussed Poland’s integration in the European economic and security unions, as well as economic development in Poland.

HARVARD'S ROBERT BATES DISCUSSES AFRICA'S SITUATION AS PETER J. AND FRANCES DUIGNAN FELLOW

Professor Robert Bates of Harvard University explored the harsh reality of failed and failing states in Africa after independence when he spoke on January 26 as a Peter J. and Frances Duignan Fellow at the Hoover Institution.

Bates outlined some of the key policy failures at work during the transition from colonial rule and explained how more recent democratization efforts have typically resulted in highly authoritarian and abusive regimes in his lecture "Africa's First 50 Years of Independence: When Things Fall Apart."

Despite the risks associated with foreign aid, he said he believes there is hope that the economic and political climate of Africa can improve with new funding strategies and free trade initiatives.

The new fellowship, named for Hoover senior fellow emeritus Peter J. Duignan and his wife, Frances, was announced on October 26. The fellowship will be available to visiting scholars who have distinguished themselves through their research and writing about Africa, the

Middle East, and Western Europe; all are areas on which Duignan focused during his career at the Hoover Institution.

The first fellow in the new program was Herbert F. Weiss, emeritus professor of political science at City University of New York and research scholar at the Institute of African Studies, Columbia University. He spoke upon the debut of the fellowship in October on "The Congo: Three Wars and the Prospect for Peace."

Robert Bates is the Eaton Professor of the Science of Government at Harvard University, where he has studied and provided consulting assistance in the areas of governmental reform, economic policy reform, and political economy in many countries throughout the world.

An interview of Bates by Peter Duignan is available at the Directors' Forum, a web-based audio series featuring lively exchanges on public policy, at www.hoover.org/research/forum/.

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