

HUDSON INSTITUTE

2001 Hudson Institute Annual Report

INTRODUCTION

Established in 1961, Hudson Institute is a pioneer among modern think tanks. Founded by Herman Kahn, Hudson has always been known for challenging conventional wisdom. Today, Hudson is changing the traditional view of the think tank itself. Far from the image of isolated, cerebral theorists, Hudson researchers are rolling up their sleeves and testing their ideas in the real world—while applying the insight and rigor that think tanks must offer.

ABOUT HUDSON INSTITUTE

Hudson Institute shares optimism about the future and a willingness to question conventional wisdom. We demonstrate commitment to free markets and individual responsibility, confidence in the power of technology to assist progress, respect for the importance of culture and religion in human affairs, and determination to preserve America's national security. We implement these values through policy recommendations, articles, books, *American Outlook* magazine, conferences, and contributions to the electronic media.

MISSION

Hudson Institute's mission is to be America's premier source of applied research on enduring policy challenges.

VISION

IDEAS: Hudson Institute produces independent, high-quality research and competes boldly in the debate of policy ideas.

INITIATIVE: Hudson works to counsel and guide policy change, applying our ideas whenever possible alongside other leaders in communities, businesses, non-profit organizations and governments alike.

IMPACT: Hudson reflects constantly on the application of our ideas, using real-world experience and new knowledge to improve the institute's response to policy challenges.

Ideas, Initiative, and Impact is a reinforcing process of applied research in which Hudson Institute aims to have no equal.

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CHAIRMAN'S LETTER

Walter P. Stern

There have been a number of significant developments at Hudson Institute since our last annual report. While we are staying true to the principles of free enterprise, personal responsibility, freedom of the individual, and political security, we have turned our efforts toward some of today's most challenging public policy issues, including the ongoing conflict in the Middle East, the national debate surrounding faith-based social services, the future of manufacturing in a global economy, and America's aging transportation system.

We continue to work in some areas where we have established positions, such as tort reform, workforce development, the American common culture, crime control, regulatory studies, education policy, global food issues, welfare policy, and national security studies.

The past year has been a period of substantially increased visibility for Hudson, with many of our senior fellows appearing with frequency on the op-ed pages of leading newspapers and TV programs, in our own *American Outlook*, and in other Hudson publications and books. Along with these outlets, there have been numerous interviews, speeches, and ongoing communications and consultations with policy-makers at the state and national level. We are proud that a number of former Hudson colleagues are now serving in key government positions.

Our Board of Trustees has been strengthened by the addition of some outstanding individuals who are leaders in their field. We look forward to their active participation in institute affairs.

I want to thank our dedicated staff, trustees, and supporters and look forward to a productive year ahead.

Walter P. Stern
Chairman of the Board



PRESIDENT'S LETTER

Herbert I. London

As was the case in years past, 2001 has been a tremulous and fascinating time for Hudson Institute. It is an inspiration and a privilege to be at the center of challenging public policy decisions for the nation.

In response to conflict in the Middle East, Hudson Institute has worked closely with dissidents in the Palestinian Authority who are striving to build the architecture for a free and democratic government in a post-Arafat era.

The institute's book on Japan escalated to number two on the Japanese best seller list; some officials have even described it as a blueprint for economic recovery.

We have been involved in revising the standard for naturalization of immigrants so that allegiance to the United States is unequivocally stated.

We have been at the forefront in tort reform legislation, and our programs on welfare and faith-based organizations are generally accepted as models for the nation.

This list of activities represents just the tip of the iceberg. At times our real success is in work behind the scenes, offering advice and guiding decision-makers.

The institute is uniquely placed to engage in local, regional, national, and international issues. Our intellectual reach has no boundaries.

Each year that passes offers hope that the nation will endure and prosper despite the challenges that confront us. Hudson Institute reinforces that hope in the nation's future through its commitment to resourceful thinking, an essential optimism about the American people, and a faith in the enduring principles of the nation's founding.

Herbert I. London
President



HUDSON'S ROLE IN THE WAKE OF 9/11

In the wake of the horrific terror attacks of September 11, Hudson took a lead role in educating American citizens, informing policymakers, and gathering experts to contemplate what lies ahead. Soon after the attacks, Hudson Vice President Gary Geipel and Adjunct Fellow Irving Leveson authored a scenario-driven monograph on the War on Terror, *After 9-11-01*. The monograph offered arguably the first detailed assessment of the long-term implications and possible outcomes of the still-nascent war. Relying on three broad scenarios to plot the course of the war, the monograph considers everything from the stock market to biological warfare to transportation infrastructure.

Hudson's offices in Washington and headquarters in Indianapolis have served as a meeting place for discussion and debate among national and international opinion leaders. Our scholars have spoken on local, national, and international broadcasts. Through their articles, monographs, and books, our research fellows have played a pivotal role in helping policymakers and citizens alike from Indianapolis, Washington, London, Jerusalem, Tokyo, and virtually everywhere in between understand September 11 and its fallout. In addition, we are currently planning a large gathering of national-security experts to explore the long-term consequences and possible outcomes of the war. While we wish it weren't necessary, we stand ready to continue this effort as the War on Terrorism progresses in the years ahead.

CENTER FOR AMERICAN COMMON CULTURE

The Center for American Common Culture provides analysis and policy advice on issues of citizenship, patriotism, civic education, the assimilation of immigrants, and American culture. Accomplishments this past year include the following:

In 2001 Center Director John Fonte wrote a report that resulted in Virginia officials changing the state's history curriculum. After he pointed out that the Virginia History Standards were in danger of being "dumbed down" and stripped of their emphasis on citizenship and patriotism, the emphasis on citizenship, patriotism, and academic content was restored.

The center worked with the American Legion to strengthen the civic assimilation of immigrants. Fonte helped draft the resolution adapted by the American Legion convention in the summer of 2001 reaffirming the significance of the Oath of Citizenship. He also advised the staff of the House Immigration Subcommittee on Citizenship Issues in the restructuring of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The center took a lead role in challenging the underpinnings and conclusions of the World Conference Against Racism in Durban. In a series of articles, Fonte argued that the ideas behind the conference agenda challenged individual rights, constitutionalism, and American democracy. The articles were published in *Philanthropy* magazine, *National Review Online*, and *FrontPage* magazine. Fonte also debated James Zogby of the Arab-American Institute, supporting the U.S. position to withdraw from the conference, on a *Voice of America* radio-TV simulcast.

Fonte also presented a paper to the Foreign Policy Research Institute's globalization seminar on "America and the West." The essay, entitled "Liberal Democracy vs. Transnational Progressivism: The Ideological War Within the West," was published by *Orbis* in the summer of 2002. A shorter version of the essay was also published as an FPRI *Bulletin* and disseminated to 14,000 practitioners, journalists, and scholars.

Fonte's chapter "Antonio Gramsci and the Transformation of Institutions" was published in *Building a Healthy Culture: Strategies for an American Renaissance*, edited by Don Eberly. Fonte also published a major essay on broad intellectual trends, "Why There Is a Culture War: Gramsci and Tocqueville in America," in *Policy Review* (December 2000-January 2001), which received widespread recognition. The article was discussed in the *Wall Street Journal*, *Time*, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, and several European journals. Scholars including Michael Novak, Alan Kors, Marvin Olasky, Ronald Radosh, and Steve Balach, among others, referred favorably to the essay. Fonte's published work in 2001 also included:

- "It's not 1900 Anymore," *The American Enterprise*, December 2000.
- "The Battle for American Allegiance," *The American Legion Magazine*, December 2000
- "2001 Is not 1901," *National Review Online*, July 19, 2001
- "Boycott Durban," *FrontPage* magazine, August 29, 2001

Fonte made many radio and TV appearances in 2001 and also appeared on a Historical Society panel speaking on the influence of Antonio Gramsci's Marxism in American public life.

CENTER FOR CENTRAL EUROPEAN AND EURASIAN STUDIES

The Center for Central European and Eurasian Studies (CCEES) conducts original research on social conflicts, economic policy, and security threats in the former Soviet Union, particularly Russia and Central Asia; the former communist countries of Eastern Europe, especially Southeastern Europe and the Balkans; and the Korean Peninsula. Some of the center's important themes are: geopolitics after September 11; preventive development and social crisis early warning systems; energy politics in Russia and the Caspian Sea basin; bioterrorism; and the challenge of communal instability resulting from poverty and ethnic divisions.

In April and May of 2001, CCEES Director John Clark joined representatives of several Southeast European think tanks on a fact-finding mission to Macedonia, as the country teetered on the brink of civil war. Many of the recommendations in the team's report were eventually included in the peace settlement between Macedonians and Albanians which was adopted four months later.

In August, the center began a very ambitious project of "preventive development" in the former Soviet republic of Kazakhstan, funded by the United Nations Development Program. In essence, the project seeks to anticipate potential crises in this still-fragile Central Asian country: ethnic conflicts, war with Russia or China, terrorism, the rise of Islamic extremism, environmental catastrophe, and others. After identifying the threats, the project team works with the government, international agencies, and other organizations to develop a strategy to prevent these crises from occurring. The United Nations views this project as a promising model for averting catastrophes such as those in Afghanistan or Bosnia before they require international humanitarian assistance or peacekeeping.

CCEES researchers published academic articles on Romanian economic policy, U.S. foreign policy, Balkan security, and Russian political and economic development. Ashgate Press accepted Younkyoo Kim's book, *Energy and State Building in Russia, 1991-2001*, for publication. CCEES researchers presented papers at academic conferences such as the American Political Science Association and the North American Korean Political Scientists Association, as well as at scholarly conferences in Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovakia, Croatia, and Kazakhstan.

Researchers for the center maintain a high profile in Indianapolis and Indiana, in 2001 giving more than one hundred talks to local community, university, and business groups. Topics included state-building in Kosovo and Bosnia, Macedonia's civil war, organized crime in Russia, Chinese-Taiwanese relations, potential nuclear conflict between Pakistan and India, national missile defense, American foreign policy, globalization and the World Trade Organization, environmental problems in former communist countries, and Islamic fundamentalism.

The center is Central Indiana's leading venue for local residents to hear discussions on current issues with the world's top experts. In 2001, CCEES hosted more than 25 talks on issues such as the drug trade in Central Asia, trafficking of women in East Europe, Afghanistan, bio-terrorism, law and order in Kosovo, African peacekeeping, the future of China, and the limits of humanitarian intervention. CCEES researchers frequently appeared on local television and radio. Following the terrorist attacks and the launching of war in Afghanistan, the center averaged two to three appearances per week on local and national radio and TV.

CENTER FOR GLOBAL FOOD ISSUES

The Center for Global Food Issues (CGFI) develops a comprehensive perspective on future world food needs, hunger prevention, agricultural technology, environmental sustainability, and natural resource conservation. Directed by agricultural economist Dennis Avery, the center is committed to finding ways of increasing agricultural production that help preserve the world's environment.

The CGFI serves as an honest broker between urban and farming communities, helping to tell city dwellers why modern farming is vital and constructive, while helping farmers see their role in a broader light rather than simply "preserving the small farm." The center monitors national and global farm production and consumption trends, new technologies that impact farming and food demand, and farm/food policy changes—from the European Union and China to Rwanda and Afghanistan.

CGFI researchers write over 100 op-ed pieces a year, appearing in such newspapers and magazines as *The Christian Science Monitor*, the *New York Post*, *The Washington Times*, *Reader's Digest*, and *USA Today Magazine*. Dennis Avery's 2001 column on eco-activists opposing farm trade at the World Trade Organization meeting in Qatar was translated into Spanish, and picked up by the Venezuelan *Analitica*. An Avery column warning that an EPA ban on atrazine would result in more U.S. soil erosion appeared in eight regional farm magazines.

CGFI researchers frequently are interviewed on local and nationally syndicated radio programs, and occasionally on television. In 2001, Dennis Avery was an advisor on John Stossel's hour-long special, "Tampering with Nature," and Alex Avery appeared on Fox News as an expert on an organic pesticide that the EPA has classified as a "likely human carcinogen."

The international highlight of 2001 was Dennis Avery's tour of six Australian cities for that country's National Farmers' Federation, speaking on the conservation benefits of high-yield farming. Avery was featured on TV in Sydney and Canberra, and on radio shows such as the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's National Country Hour, Breakfast Show, and Rural Report. Newspapers and magazines, including the *Canberra Times*, the *Weekly Times*, *Queensland Independent*, *The Land*, and the *Tasmanian Examiner*, carried articles or interviews.

The CGFI continued to respond to requests to advise members of Congress and consult with key government officials on farm and food policy questions. Center personnel also are invited to write or speak internationally, impacting the European Union, China, Canada, Australia, South America, Japan, and South Africa. Staff members also make roughly 100 personal appearances per year before farm groups, service clubs, college campuses, and environmental organizations.

CGFI materials, including *Saving the Planet with Pesticides and Plastics*, continued to be read in classrooms nationwide. They have been used in 14,000 high school vocational agriculture programs and on many college campuses, including Brown University, Cornell University, and California Polytechnic Institute.

CENTER FOR MIDDLE EAST POLICY

The Center for Middle East Policy seeks to present a frank and accurate account of developments in the Middle East, utilizing primary sources both from Israel and the Arab world to provide thorough, credible, and timely analysis of events, ideas, and trends. The center has become a well-respected information source for key policymakers in the United States and Israel, as well as some Arab countries. The purpose of the center is to engage academics, members of the policy community, media, and the public at large in discussions relating to the Middle East, American involvement, and Israel's role as a major U.S. ally.

The director of the center is Meyrav Wurmser, whose prolific work in 2001 includes the following publication highlights:

- "Escapism and Defeat," in the April 20 issue of *The Jerusalem Post*
- "Palestinians Need New Leaders," in the June 15 issue of *The Washington Times*
- "Arafat Is not the Only Game in Town," in the June 25 issue of *The Jerusalem Post*
- "*Bli Terutzim*" (Hebrew—"No Excuses") in the June issue of *Native*, Israel's leading conservative policy journal
- "Climbing Down from Arafat," in the July/August issue of *American Outlook*
- "Made-up Massacre," in the September 10 issue of *The Weekly Standard*
- "No more excuses," in the September 17 issue of *The Washington Times*
- "The Roots of Islamic Radicalism," an in-depth and comprehensive article on Islamic radicalism and September 11, in the Fall 2001 issue of *American Outlook*

Wurmser's book on Syria's government textbooks, *The Schools of Ba'athism: A Study of Syrian Schoolbook*, was quoted and used as a research basis for an address on the situation in the Middle East given to the British Parliament on June 28, 2001, by Lord George Weidenfeld.

Frequently interviewed and quoted by *The Washington Times* and *United Press International*, in 2001 Wurmser also was a regular contributor to major television networks such as BBC, Fox News, and CNN, and to local, national, and international radio stations. Her CNN interview with Mark Perry on December 8 stirred much debate in Washington policy circles.

Wurmser is a frequent invitee and contributor to conferences, roundtable debates, forums, and symposiums across the country.

CENTER FOR WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT

The Center for Workforce Development studies economic trends and future U.S. workforce issues. The center develops workforce solutions and makes recommendations for large and small firms, federal agencies, small-town development commissions, and private groups and individuals. The work of the center builds on Hudson's path-breaking studies, *Workforce 2000* in 1987 and *Workforce 2020* ten years later, which changed the way business and government look at education, technology, diversity and aging, and their impact on work and workers.

Graham S. Toft joined the Center for Workforce Development in September 2001 after serving as president of the Indiana Economic Development Council for 13 years. One of his first projects was the completion and presentation of a Workforce Development Planning Report to the Tampa Bay Partnership at the third annual Regional Leadership Conference. The report was the final product of a multi-product study of human capital and workforce development challenges for the seven-county Tampa Bay Area. Toft also traveled throughout the state of Indiana making presentations on the "New Economy" and how it will affect business in the region.

The center's Donald Jonas produced a report in July 2001 for Workforce Florida, Inc. (WFI), the state's workforce board, entitled *Workforce 2020 Florida: An Experiment in Encouraging Enlightened Private Sector Engagement in Workforce Development*. With Welfare Policy Center Director Jay Hein, Jonas produced *An Investigation of the Mississippi Delta's Human Capital and a Vision for a Revitalized Future for the Region*. The report was produced for the Workforce 2020 Symposium sponsored by the Foundation for the Mid South.

Jonas also published several workforce articles in 2001. "Healthcare 2020: A System Facing Reform as Baby Boomers Near Retirement," was published in the Summer 2001 *New Perspectives on Healthcare Auditing*; "Happy Workers? Blame the Boss," appeared in the July 16 *Indianapolis Business Journal*; and "Enhancing Human Capital Key to Our Long-Term Growth Strategy," was printed in *Miami Today* on August 16. Jonas also maintained a busy schedule of presentations and media interviews throughout the year.

CRIME CONTROL POLICY CENTER

The Crime Control Policy Center (CCPC) studies crime and justice issues with the goal of identifying innovative and effective strategies for reducing crime and sustaining and building safe neighborhoods and communities. Created in 1995, the center takes a “hands-on” approach to its research, working in partnership with criminal justice agencies to test promising strategies and to effectively implement them in real-world settings.

Directed by Ed McGarrell, the CCPC continued to link research and practice to find solutions to crime and safety problems during 2001.

RESTORATIVE JUSTICE AND YOUTH CRIME

CCPC researchers continued a long-term study of the use of restorative justice conferences. The U.S. Department of Justice’s Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention published the center’s report, *Restorative Justice Conferences as an Early Response to Young Offenders* in 2001. The restorative justice project garnered significant interest, with project staff invited to speak throughout the United States and in the United Kingdom. Coordinator Kay Crawford gave numerous talks to community groups throughout Indiana, and Research Director Natalie Hipple led a session at the American Society of Criminology’s Annual Meeting.

The CCPC also worked with officials in Indianapolis to develop an ongoing evaluation capacity for court-related programs for youth. The center served as a repository for data on youth serving programs and provided analyses for the Juvenile Crime Enforcement Coalition. The goal is to provide policymakers with the information needed to assess the effectiveness of various programs for youths referred by the court.

In December 2000, the CCPC completed the second phase of the study using restorative justice conferences as an alternative response to juvenile offending in Marion County. Beginning in January 2001, the CCPC partnered in a collaborative project with Reach For Youth, Inc. (RFY) in which the Juvenile Court assigned diversion cases to the project which were placed in either Restorative Justice Conferences or Teen Court. This continued until October 1, 2001, when RFY assumed responsibility for the conferences used in this diversion program.

PROBLEM-SOLVING APPROACHES

Several of the center’s projects involved collaborating with criminal justice officials to implement ongoing problem-solving models addressing crime and safety issues. CCPC researchers worked as criminologists for the Indianapolis Police Department studying crime problems and assessing the impact of law enforcement efforts to address street violence, drug-related crime, domestic violence, and related problems.

The Indianapolis Violence Reduction Partnership continued to serve as a national model for applying strategic problem solving to reduce homicide and serious violence. Hudson has served as a catalyst for local, state, and federal law enforcement, local government officials, community leaders and the faith community to work collaboratively to reduce violent crime. Hudson Institute works closely with local, state, and federal criminal justice officials to analyze crime patterns, craft interventions, and assess impact. The influence of Hudson's work was evident in articles appearing in leading criminological journals such as *Justice Quarterly* and *Criminology and Public Policy* and in talks given to the International Association of Police Planners and the Office of Justice Program's Annual Conference on Research and Evaluation.

The problem-solving model was extended to the issue of former inmate re-entry during 2001. Center Director Ed McGarrell and Kathleen Olivares were asked to serve as faculty at the University of Michigan's summer institute on restorative justice and ex-offender re-entry.

ILLEGAL DRUG USE

McGarrell and Jason Hutchens published *Blueprint for a Drug-Free Future: Reducing Illegal Drug Use in the United States* in 2001. The book consists of a series of recommendations for reducing the demand for illegal drugs in U.S. society. Former Hudson Institute researcher John Walters, who was appointed to President Bush's Cabinet as Director of the Office of Drug Control Policy offered his reflections on a draft of the volume.

The CCPC also continued its work on the "Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring Program," with McGarrell continuing to serve as the co-site director. In addition, the center entered into a new collaboration with the Indiana Judicial Center. The Judicial Center oversees court-related alcohol and drug treatment programs and came to Hudson for assistance in evaluating these programs' effectiveness. Hudson is not merely evaluating specific programs, but developing statewide evaluation capacity so that policy and judicial decision making can benefit from solid information.

McGarrell continued to write and speak on a variety of crime control issues including restorative justice, inmate re-entry, violence reduction, community safety, and reducing firearms violence. His monograph, "Restorative Justice Conferences as an Early Response to Young Offenders," appeared in the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Program's August 2001 *Justice Bulletin*. His article, "Citizens' Perceptions of Aggressive Traffic Enforcement Strategies," appeared in *Justice Quarterly* in 2001.

NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

National Security Studies (NSS) continues to focus on the defense policies of the United States, Europe, and Asia. In the recent past, NSS has called attention to the continuing importance of Russian military capabilities, has contributed to U.S. military policy in the Balkans, and has continued to promote the trilateral security relationship of the United States, Japan, and Korea. NSS is directed by Lt. General William Odom, former director of the National Security Agency.

Among the highlights for NSS in 2001 was the Hudson Institute conference on Taiwan and China, "The USA, Taiwan, and the PRC: Security and Strategy After the Elections of 2000." The conference was held in Indianapolis in January 2001. The centerpiece of the conference was a speech by U.S. Senator Dick Lugar, who observed that "the foundation of U.S. policy towards China and Taiwan must be built on our firm opposition to Beijing's use of force against Taiwan, a commitment to safeguard our economic and security interests in the region and emphasis on improving human rights in China." Foreshadowing the Hainan crisis that unfolded just months later, Lugar warned that the Administration would be tested early by Beijing. "The stakes are too high for the United States to lower our security profile in East Asia. Neglect of the region would have long-term consequences for U.S. security, open markets, regional stability, and the promotion of democracy." He urged the White House to stand by Taiwan by offering tangible support: "Bush Administration actions regarding arms sales and ballistic missile defense will be seen by both Taipei and Beijing as critical indicators of the new President's intent toward the region," he said.

In 2001 Odom and Senior Fellow Robert Dujarric traveled to several European and Asian countries for research on *The American Empire: The Unappreciated Magnitude of American Power*, a book project which analyzes and describes the extent of American power in the 21st century. The book argues that America's empire is entirely different than those of the past. The nature and breadth of its power is truly without precedent, but so is the nature of the empire itself: Rather than imposing its rule on foreign powers and gaining new subjects through conquest, the United States draws allies and citizens rather like a magnet into its empire. The gaps between America and its competitors, allies and neighbors are immense, and they exist in military matters, economics, mass culture, science, the media and demographics. The book explores how these gaps shape America and the world, asking such questions as: What are the sources of American power? Is the American empire sustainable? What is required of America?

KOREA AND JAPAN

NSS continued its work on Korea and Japan in 2001. Monthly Korea-Japan luncheons have become a major event for those interested in Asian affairs in Washington. The luncheon group is part of an international network of Korea-Japan study groups, with branches in Tokyo, Seoul, and Stockholm. In July 2001, NSS organized a joint session in Seoul with members of the Korean, Swedish, and Japanese Korea-Japan study groups. Dujarric spoke at the Seoul meeting and attended several meetings of the

Tokyo group. Dujarric also published a paper on North Korea in the *Journal of International Affairs* (Columbia University) and gave a presentation on the same topic at the Foreign Policy Roundtable at the Carnegie Council for Ethics and International Affairs in New York City.

EUROPE/RUSSIA

In other areas, NSS continued its work on European affairs. Odom published a major paper on “Realism about Russia” in *The National Interest* and participated in numerous meetings on Russia. Dujarric participated in a fact-finding mission on NATO enlargement in Poland and Lithuania and made several trips to Europe.

Research Fellow Mary Fitzgerald spent 2001 working on “Russian Views on 21st Century Warfare.” The project provides a comprehensive analysis of Russian breakthrough threats (technological and asymmetrical) and their possible proliferation to U.S. adversaries. Her examination of Russian military theory and practice revealed a panoply of potential symmetrical, asymmetrical, and niche threats to both U.S. critical infrastructure and U.S. military capabilities. Fitzgerald presented her findings in December 2001. In 2002 she will focus her research on a project entitled “Russia-China Convergence/Divergence on 21st-Century Warfare,” which will include a comparison of Russian and Chinese views on asymmetrical options, including the spectrum of possible U.S. countermeasures, and will examine implications for U.S. national security.

PROJECT FOR CIVIL JUSTICE REFORM AND PROJECT FOR INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

For the past three years, under the direction of Michael Horowitz, the Project for Civil Justice Reform and the Project for International Religious Liberty have argued for tort reform, opposed religious persecution, and supported full, constructive participation of religious people and ideas in society. Issues of primary focus in 2001 included the following:

TORT REFORM

Horowitz's ideas on tort reform have become generally accepted—in the media, in the academy, in the Bush Administration, on the part of many liberals as well as conservatives, and even in a business community that had pursued a take-rights-away-from-consumers approach. In the process, Horowitz has focused the media and the political establishment on the multi-billion dollar fee potential of mass tort case fees, and he was the instrumental figure in blocking this year's effort by tobacco tort lawyers to convert their projected long-term fee income into immediate multi-billion dollar payouts. He wrote two influential articles on the subject for *National Review* and *The Weekly Standard* during the year.

WELFARE REFORM/FAITH-BASED INITIATIVE

Horowitz also has played a significant role in the debate surrounding welfare reform reauthorization, working to ensure that marriage and illegitimacy, rather than mandated work, become central. His research also has aimed at prodding the administration to focus on tax credits rather than federal grants as a means of financing faith-based groups to ensure that they are neither forced to become dependent on government nor pressured to secularize their programs.

SEX TRAFFICKING/PRISON RAPE

Horowitz has been the instrumental figure in organizing a coalition ranging from Bill Bennett to Gloria Steinem, from Southern Baptists to Reform Jews, on the slavery issue of our time: the annual trafficking of over two million women into sexual bondage.

He has organized another broad left/right coalition to address the issue of domestic prison rape. The coalition has drafted creative legislation, sponsored by Rep. Frank Wolf, the Republican Chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee responsible for the Justice Department, and Rep. Bobby Scott, a Democrat and ranking member of the House Judiciary Crime Subcommittee.

ONGOING INITIATIVES

Following years of effort, Horowitz succeeded in getting the Holocaust museum to change its film “Anti-Semitism.” He helped stir a national debate about the accuracy of the film, which many thought laid the blame for the Holocaust on Christianity as a faith and on many of its seminal figures, including Luther and several Popes.

Horowitz is at the forefront of the effort to create a Black/Jewish/Evangelical coalition to address genocide committed by the radical Islamic state in Sudan. In the wake of September 11, he is working to ensure that no U.S. coalition against terrorism will trade support from Khartoum or other states involved in religious persecution for a license to commit such terrorism within their own borders. He also will seek to create coalitions and raise consciousness over the anti-Christian persecutions committed by the regime in North Korea.

PROJECT FOR CONSERVATIVE REFORM

The Project for Conservative Reform (PCR) was launched by Hudson Institute, in conjunction with the New Citizenship Project, to help define a new conservative reform agenda. The PCR believes that if political conservatism is to have a future, it will be necessary for conservatives to build coalitions with a growing bloc of independent voters. To do so, conservatives will need to outline a realistic reform agenda in key issue areas such as tax policy, government excess, social security, education, and defense.

During 2001, the PCR at Hudson Institute played a major role in promoting a new conservative reform agenda. Through a series of innovative papers, the project focused on a range of issues. Papers included “Why Conservatives - and Liberals - Should Care about Reforming Old-Age Entitlements” by Richard Jackson, “Tax Cuts, Tax Reform: Does One Work without the Other?” by Kevin A. Hassett, and “The Conservative Case for National Service” by Seth Gitell, as well as papers on defense reform, welfare reform, and missile defense.

The project also launched a major project on the conservative case for national service. The project published a research paper on this subject, as well as op-eds that appeared on MSNBC.com and in the *New Democrat*. The ideas from the paper were incorporated in the McCain/Bayh National Service Legislation that was introduced in Congress in 2001.

The project also worked with the White House on an education initiative on the contributions of military veterans. Wittmann suggested inviting veterans to speak in schools, to honor service to country and teach a valuable lesson to students. Hudson brought the idea to the attention of the White House in the summer of 2001. In October 2001, President Bush adopted the concept in the Lessons for Liberty Initiative announced for the week of Veterans Day.

PROJECT ON CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION LAWS

Under the leadership of Amy Kauffman, the Project on Campaign and Election Laws has sought to open a dialogue between parties by presenting opposing views on the shortcomings of current campaign finance laws. Through the project, Hudson Institute has begun to facilitate discussion that seeks to find compromise in the ongoing debate between the partisans of liberty and equality.

The project hosts a monthly lunch series on Capitol Hill focusing on campaign finance reform. These luncheons have served to promote discussion of fundamental ideas in American democracy among the leading congressional staffers and lobbyists responsible for shaping campaign finance legislation in Congress. The luncheons are unique on Capital Hill: the only off-the-record forum where key Democratic and Republican policymakers regularly meet in an informal session.

Topics in 2001 included:

- “The Role of Organized Labor in the Political Process (Part One)” with Professor Leo Troy of Rutgers University
- “The Role of Organized Labor in the Political Process (Part Two)” with Laurence E. Gold, associate general counsel for the AFL-CIO
- “Where Do We Go from Here? What Will Happen in the Wake of the Passage of McCain-Feingold?”
- “Do the Voters Really Care about Campaign Finance Reform?” with Mark Mellman, Democratic pollster
- “The Founding Fathers View on Disclosure” with Adam Wolfson, executive editor of *The Public Interest*
- “Election Reform after Florida” with Douglas Chapin, Election Reform Project
- “The Billionaire Candidate” with Jeremy Ben-Ami, campaign manager to Mark Green, New York City mayoral candidate

In October, Hudson co-hosted a symposium with Catholic University’s Columbus School of Law entitled “Looking Ahead at Campaign Finance Reform: What’s Next for the McCain-Feingold Bill? The legal and political implications.” Opening remarks were made by Federal Election Commissioner David Mason. Panelists included noted election law legal scholars Jan Baran, Bob Bauer, James Bopp, Jr., Mark Braden, Benjamin Ginsberg, and Trevor Potter. The conference proceedings were the basis for a volume of *The Catholic University Law Review*.

REGULATORY STUDIES CENTER

The consistent themes of Hudson's Regulatory Studies Center in 2001 were the virtue of competition and the need for a strong antitrust enforcement policy; the need for immigration policies that encourage work and resist the closing of our borders; and the desirability of regulatory policies that stimulate new entry and the breaking down of barriers erected by incumbents.

It was an active year for Regulatory Studies Director Irwin Stelzer. He and John Shenefield, former head of the Antitrust Division of the U.S. Department of Justice, completed the revision of the fourth edition of his antitrust book, *The Antitrust Laws: a Primer*. Hudson published a pamphlet on the effect of European integration on the U.S.-UK special relationship, *The United States, a United Europe and the United Kingdom: Three Characters in Search of a Policy*. The John Smith Institute published Stelzer's lecture on competition policy, *Fostering High Tech Competition: Merging Macroeconomics and Microeconomic policies for Economic Growth*. And the Institute of Economic Affairs published his *Lectures on Regulatory and Competition Policy*.

In addition to a weekly column on economic policy published in *The Sunday Times* (London), Stelzer published articles on a variety of subjects ranging from energy policy to the relationship between conservatism and free markets. Major articles included "What To Do about the Energy Crunch," *Commentary*, March 2001, and "The Impossibility of Convergence," *American Outlook*, March/April 2001. Others appeared in *The Weekly Standard*, *The Milken Institute Review* and elsewhere. Stelzer also contributed an essay to *Culture and Communications*, a study by the Independent Television Commission of the UK.

The seminar circuit included organizing and chairing a program for congressional staff on communications policy; presenting a paper on EU-U.S. relations at Hudson's "Thatcher Weekend"; participating in a seminar on broadband policy sponsored by The Progress and Freedom Foundation; presenting a paper on oil policy at The Aspen Institute; delivering the Beesley Lecture at the Royal Society of Arts (the impact of privatization on efficiency); lecturing on American economic policy at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Adam Smith Institute, and on competition policy at No. 11 Downing Street for the Smith Institute and the Chancellor; lecturing on the Microsoft case at the Washington Legal Foundation; lecturing on immigration policy at various venues; and participating in discussions of trade strategy at the Australian Embassy.

WELFARE POLICY CENTER

Hudson Institute's Welfare Policy Center (WPC) is a resource for policymakers, program administrators, the press, and many others who want to know what can be learned from cutting-edge welfare reforms, and what it takes to make reforms effective. The WPC is an outgrowth of Hudson's unique participation in helping the state of Wisconsin design and implement Wisconsin Works (W-2), the landmark five-year welfare-to-work program for welfare recipients enacted in early 1996. In addition to designing new welfare reform programs, the center contracts with outside organizations and agencies to research and provide technical assistance. Directed by Jay Hein, the center also facilitates welfare policy deliberations and acts as an independent contributor to the welfare policy debate.

In 2001, the WPC developed the nation's most comprehensive policy research effort dealing with the challenge of lifting as many Americans as possible out of poverty. This research encompasses the reauthorization of federal welfare reform legislation; lessons learned from welfare-to-work reforms; policy supports for marriage and family; health care; the evolution of private charity and the return on that "investment"; workforce training; and more.

WELFARE REFORM

Throughout 2001, Hudson continued to coordinate Wisconsin's welfare research efforts. Research Fellow Rebecca Swartz testified before a state legislative committee on the Audit Bureau's report on Wisconsin Works (W-2) and co-authored an op-ed with Jay Hein on the audit. She completed and published a major report on the connection between affordable housing and welfare reform, which received wide positive attention in the state. Swartz also authored or co-authored three "white papers" for the Wisconsin Department of Workforce Development, "Making Housing Work for Working Families," which were used in Washington in discussions on welfare reform reauthorization.

The WPC also was actively engaged in welfare reform efforts in Florida, Arkansas, and the Mississippi Delta region.

FAITH IN COMMUNITIES

A new Welfare Policy Center project called Faith in Communities (FIC) was instituted and directed by Senior Fellow Amy Sherman. The FIC project seeks to build capacity in the faith-based social service sector and to advance understanding, through research and consulting, about government-faith partnerships and the contributions made by faith-based organizations and congregations in solving problems in economically distressed communities.

Sherman's major publications in 2001 included:

- *Reinvigorating Faith in Communities*, a book about utilizing faith-based organizations
- *The Charitable Choice Handbook for Ministry Leaders* and *The ABCs of Community Ministry: A Curriculum for Congregations*, two workbooks for faith community leaders

- “Building Fruitful Collaboration Between Florida’s Faith Communities and One Stop Career Centers” and “Unleashed and Empowered: How Government Can Stop Hindering, and Start Helping, Faith-Based Organizations,” two research papers

Sherman also spoke at 25 events, including public policy conferences such as the Brookings Institute’s “Beyond Welfare” forum and statewide conferences on government-faith collaboration. She gave formal testimony on H.R. 7 before the Subcommittee on the Constitution of the House Judiciary Committee and the Subcommittee on Human Resources of the House Ways and Means Committee. She also appeared on the Aspen Institute/MacNeil Productions television debate “Great Collisions” and was interviewed by and quoted in a variety of major newspapers, including the *Boston Globe*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *The Washington Times*, the *Dallas Morning News*, and the *Chronicle of Philanthropy*, and was interviewed on National Public Radio’s *Morning Edition*.

PUBLIC/PRIVATE INITIATIVES

The WPC concentrated much attention on the importance of multi-sector cooperation in addressing social problems, especially at local and regional levels. This work resulted in the following books published in 2001:

- *Religion and the Public Square in the 21st Century*, edited by Ryan Streater, which examines key issues in partnerships between faith-based and governmental organizations
- *Transforming Charity: Toward a Results-Oriented Social Sector*, written by Ryan Streater, which examines the trend toward results-focused, multi-sector solutions to poverty
- Streater also wrote a case study for and assisted Stephen Goldsmith, former Mayor of Indianapolis, with the preparation of his book, *Putting Faith in Neighborhoods: Making Cities Work through Grassroots Citizenship*, which Hudson released in Spring 2002

HEALTH CARE

In 2001, the WPC examined how successful programs that provide health care to uninsured, low-income residents can be replicated on a larger scale to improve health care access for the poorest Americans. In particular, Hudson collaborated with the Buncombe County Medical Society in Asheville, North Carolina—which developed a model program called Project Access—and the federal Bureau of Primary Health Care to evaluate success factors and provide documentation for knowledge transfer.

Research Fellow Phyllis Busansky, who pioneered a model health care system in Hillsborough County, Florida, drew on her experience with the state and local welfare reform movement and to strategize and build political/public will in targeted communities. Busansky facilitated a conference on strategies to develop resources to help communities replicate the Hillsborough County Health Plan, and she facilitated and presented political/public will strategies at a National United Way Meeting.

SPECIALIZED RESEARCH

CAROL ADELMAN

Senior Fellow Carol Adelman conducted research and analysis on universal healthcare principles in 2001. These principles are derived from government and private codes of conduct, ethical statements, and international mission statements. The principles can be applied to both developed and developing countries and cover quality control, consumer/patient rights, cost-effectiveness, innovation, results/measurement orientation, and the national government's responsibility to provide an environment for efficient delivery of services.

She also researched and analyzed existing U.S. Government international HIV/AIDS programs and prepared a detailed critique of past programs and future needs corresponding to the White House six HIV/AIDS principles. Adelman presented and discussed this paper with public and private officials as an educational tool on combating and preventing HIV/AIDS.

Adelman conducted analysis of the issues and opportunities facing the proposed Global Fund for HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria. This included research, discussions, and writing on various aspects of the Global Fund including programs, procurement, quality control, and governance.

Adelman appeared as a panelist with New Jersey healthcare officials, members of Congress, and local media personalities at the New Jersey UN Day Conference on Infectious Diseases and the United Nations. She prepared a paper and presentation for the conference on public-private partnerships in international healthcare.

MONA CHAREN

Mona Charen continued her study of the failed Cold War concept of moral equivalence—which alleges that the differences between the communist and capitalist systems were becoming increasingly insignificant. Twenty-five years before the demise of the Soviet Union, many of the West's leading intellectuals were urging the U.S. government to abandon the policies that eventually led to victory in the Cold War. Charen is comparing the assertions made by those social scientists, Sovietologists, economists, and other intellectual elites with the actual state of affairs, as it is known today. She will publish her findings in a book titled *Useful Idiots: How Liberals Got It Wrong in the Cold War and Still Blame America First*.

A former official in the Reagan White House, she has been a guest on hundreds of public affairs television and radio programs and was a regular panelist on CNN's Capital Gang and Capital Gang Sunday for six years.

RON DWORKIN

Senior Fellow Ron Dworkin was a prolific writer on medical issues in 2001. Some of his published works included: “Why Doctors Are Down,” May 2001 *Commentary*; “The Medicalization of Unhappiness,” Summer 2001 *The Public Interest*; “Confident Religion Doesn’t Fear Science,” August 19, 2001, *Baltimore Sun*; and “Science, Faith, and Alternative Medicine,” August/September 2001 *Policy Review*.

Dworkin also appeared as an expert on CBS Evening News with Dan Rather, MSNBC news, and National Public Radio in 2001. In February, he spoke twice at the annual meeting of the Institute for Study of Humanistic Medicine on the changing medical profession, and on alternative medicine. He also directed a two-day conference on “Liberty and Responsibility and the Doctor-Patient Relationship,” in La Jolla, California, in October.

MICHAEL FUMENTO

For over a decade, Senior Fellow Michael Fumento has used the pages of the nation’s top magazines and newspapers, along with TV and radio appearances, to spread the word of sound science and common sense in an overheated media environment.

During 2001, he published articles in *Forbes*, *The American Spectator*, *National Post* (Canada), *National Review* and *National Review Online*, *Investor’s Business Daily*, *The Washington Times*, and other newspapers and magazines. He contributed a chapter entitled “The Biotech Breakthrough” to a new Hudson book, *Riding the Next Wave: Why This Century Will Be a Golden Age for Workers, the Environment, and Developing Countries*. He has addressed various groups, including the Fertile Minds Conference in Austin, Texas, sponsored by the American Potash Corporation, and the Council on Agricultural Science and Technology Biotechnology Communicators Summit in St. Louis, Missouri.

CHARLES HORNER

In 2001, Senior Fellow Charles Horner’s focus continued to be China, with a special interest in how ongoing reinterpretations of the meaning of China’s history and culture shape China’s relations with the rest of the world. In the spring, he published an article in *The National Interest* on recent trends in the study of China’s last imperial dynasty and the country’s subsequent Republican experiments. He argued that our era’s greater open-mindedness and cosmopolitanism points toward “Chinese” ways of resolving the country’s severe political challenge: transforming a repressive political regime designed to run a Stalinist-style economy into one that comports with the decentralized proto-capitalist system of today. He concluded that Mao’s China was the aberration, not the norm, and that there is much in China’s own tradition that can encourage the country toward greater “modernity.” In addition to elaborating on these themes in meetings in the United States, Horner participated in discussions in Taiwan focused on the future governance of China.

Toward the end of the year, in connection with a new Hudson trends-analysis project, Horner also began an examination of the development and organization of China’s maritime policies, broadly understood. He is continuing this study of China’s views on a range of topics, not only sea power and related security questions, but also scientific research and sea-related commerce.

HERBERT LONDON

In 2001 Hudson Institute President Herb London released his most recent book, *Decade of Denial: A Snapshot of America in the 1990s*. London places America in the 1990s under the microscope and discovers a country paying a heavy price for the excesses of the past, crippled by the cultural attitudes and rebelliousness of the sixties and seventies. One reviewer said of the author, "London is a keen observer of our culture." Another reviewer said the book "is not only an intellectuals' rogue's gallery. It is also an eloquent plea for reclamation."

London also wrote prolifically for newspapers and *American Outlook* magazine. A few examples of his pieces are "Family Policies Could Save Future" in the *Indianapolis Business Journal*; "Tell the Truth About the '60s" in the *Houston Chronicle*; and "Restraining the State by Repairing Society" in *The Indianapolis Star*. His *American Outlook* articles included: "Wealth and Nations," "Reinventing Civil Society," and "Hard Lessons."

London also finished editing *Riding the Next Wave: Why the Next Century Will Be a Golden Age for Workers, the Environment, and Developing Countries*. The book features the independent work of Hudson researchers (and those associated with the institute) and presents a twenty-first century that will see success and tremendous growth spread throughout the globe, benefiting workers and developing countries in ways previously thought impossible outside the United States and the industrialized world.

London also appeared weekly on WAMC, a public radio station in New York City.

CONSTANTINE MENGES

Senior Fellow Constantine Menges spent 2001 working on his project, "Russia, China Democracy and Security."

The domestic and international evolution of the People's Republic of China and of Russia in the next years will have profound consequences for the national security of the United States, and for the prospects for freedom and peace in the world. Both Russia and China are active, major powers armed with strategic nuclear weapons, both are in the process of significant internal evolution, and in the 1990s both established a new international strategic and political alignment after forty years of hostility and distance.

The September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States, together with the subsequent U.S.-led global war against terrorism, has paved the way to a new level of shared interests with Russia, which has also faced Islamic terrorists for some years. The initial cooperative response of President Putin of Russia has opened the way to the possibility of important improvements in U.S.-Russian relations, which could have the effect of moving Russia toward the West and away from China in some domains. This project assesses the facts and potential implications for the United States of these important developments, proposes constructive policy approaches, and communicates these to the U.S. policy community and opinion leaders. This project's research has included completion of a major book nearing publication, *The U.S., Russia and China: Geopolitics in the New Century*, along with a number of analytic papers and articles.

NORMAN PODHORETZ

Senior Fellow Norman Podhoretz produced a follow-up piece to his December 2000 *Commentary* article “Intifada II: The Death of an Illusion?” called “Oslo: The Peacemongers Return” in the October 2001 *Commentary*. Though written before the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, it had much to say about the terrorist tactic of suicide bombing and was therefore also relevant to those attacks. Then, shortly after September 11, at the invitation of the *Wall Street Journal*, Podhoretz wrote an article for the paper’s op-ed page headlined “Israel Isn’t the Issue,” which was posted in a more extensive and densely documented version on the *Journal’s* auxiliary web site “Opinion Journal.”

Podhoretz’s essay, “The Last Time I Saw London,” in the January 2001 *Commentary*, combined the features of a travel essay with reflections on the decline of British culture and a reassessment of the much-maligned imperial period of British history.

In 2001, Podhoretz frequently was invited to address both live audiences and as a guest on television and radio. Having been invited by the Manhattan Institute to deliver the prestigious annual Wriston Lecture for 2000, Norman wrote a talk for the occasion which he then turned into an essay, “America the Beautiful,” for the Winter 2001 issue of *City Journal*. He also lectured on the same subject a few months later to a conference sponsored by Empower America in Washington, and then again in early October in Los Angeles at Claremont-McKenna College.

Podhoretz also was invited to be the guest in a special series on C-Span, which devoted three full hours to an interview with him about his entire body of work. This program was rebroadcast a number of times, and elicited a huge response. After September 11, Podhoretz also was interviewed on a number of radio stations in New York, Denver, and other cities about terrorism and related issues.

All this activity had to be squeezed into the time left over from his main project of the year—a new book entitled *The Prophets: Who They Were, What They Are*. *The Prophets* will be a highly unusual blend of scholarship, analysis, and criticism, bearing both on the ancient and modern eras. The aim of the book is to explore the roots of the culture wars of our time and how they continue to affect the contemporary world.

DAVID SATTER

In 2001, Senior Fellow David Satter brought to near completion his book, *Darkness at Dawn: The Rise of the Russian Criminal State*, and submitted an early version of the manuscript to the Yale University Press. The 400-page book seeks to describe the last ten years of Russian history.

Satter also appeared on both Russian and American television (World-Net and TVTs Central Television in Russia) to discuss the Russian situation, and lectured at American University and the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).

Satter also discussed with the Yale University Press a new book on the significance of the experience of Soviet communism for the post communist world. In light of the events of September 11, this idea must now be expanded to apply the lessons of Soviet communism to Islamic terrorism. Here, the ruling idea is a great religion instead of Marxism-Leninism, but the aspiration to organize all of reality to serve deluded dogma is the same.

MAX SINGER

Hudson co-founder and Trustee Max Singer's major activity in 2001 was connected with his book, *The People's Century: How Modernization Will Change the World in the 21st Century*. Most of the year's work was devoted to demography, under a grant from the Earhart Foundation. He completed the first independent estimate of world and regional population changes to 2100, based on specific high and low projections for the 51 countries containing 85% of the world population. His best estimate for 2100 was that gains and losses for the century in the various regions would be about balanced except that Sub-Saharan Africa would increase by perhaps 1 billion people, increasing the world total from 6 to 7 billion—with an uncertainty of over 2 billion in either direction. Several articles were written and have been submitted to journals.

Singer also began work on a contract with the Office of Net Assessment in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. This is part of a long-term series of studies on future defense issues.

2001 FISCAL YEAR REVENUE*

| FISCAL YEAR REVENUE | 2001 | 2000** |
|---|----------------|----------------|
| U. S. government contracts | \$ 292 | \$ 184 |
| Restricted grants & other contracts | \$ 4,184 | \$ 4,111 |
| Unrestricted grants & donations | \$ 2,068 | \$ 2,027 |
| Interest & income from endowment | \$ 526 | \$ 479 |
| Other | \$ 38 | \$ 56 |
| Total Revenue | \$7,108 | \$6,857 |
| EXPENSES | | |
| Direct research | \$ 4,350 | \$ 4,468 |
| Other research | \$ 1,253 | \$ 1,308 |
| External affairs and administrative | \$ 1,519 | \$ 1,365 |
| Total Expenses | \$7,122 | \$7,141 |
| Excess of revenue and support over expenses | (\$ 14) | (\$ 284) |
| Net assets at beginning of year | \$ 6,663 | \$ 5,584 |
| Contributions to endowment | \$ 772 | \$ 1,363 |
| Net Assets At End Of Year | \$7,421 | \$6,663 |

* All dollar figures in thousands. Fiscal year ends September 30.

** Fiscal year 2000 restated to reflect adoption of Financial Accounting Standards Board Statement No. 136, "Transfers of Assets to a Not-for-Profit organization or Charitable Trust That Raises or Holds Contributions for Others"

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