

BOOKS & MANUSCRIPTS  
ON WAR · REVOLUTION  
& PEACE GATHERED BY  
HERBERT HOOVER ·



*Ideas Defining A Free Society*

HOOVER  
INSTITUTION

ANNUAL REPORT 2015





## 2015 ANNUAL REPORT

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**HOOVER**  
INSTITUTION

# HOOVER INSTITUTION

*Ideas Defining a Free Society*

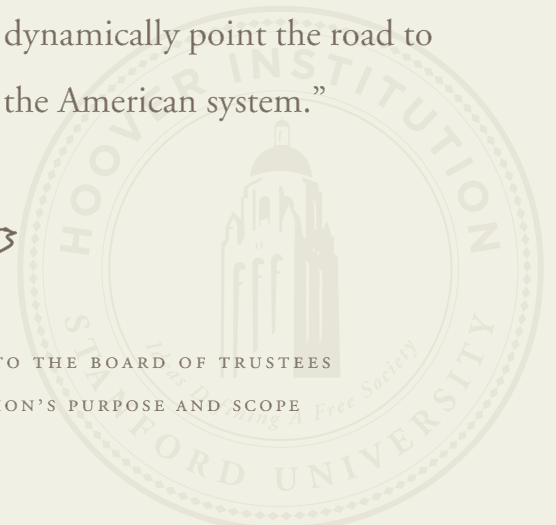
“THIS INSTITUTION SUPPORTS THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, ITS BILL OF RIGHTS AND ITS METHOD OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT. BOTH OUR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS ARE BASED ON PRIVATE ENTERPRISE FROM WHICH SPRINGS INITIATIVE AND INGENUITY....

Ours is a system where the Federal Government should undertake no governmental, social or economic action, except where local government, or the people, cannot undertake it for themselves....The overall mission of this Institution is, from its records, to recall the voice of experience against the making of war, and by the study of these records and their publication, to recall man’s endeavors to make and preserve peace, and to sustain for America the safeguards of the American way of life. This Institution is not, and must not be, a mere library. But with these purposes as its goal, the Institution itself must constantly and dynamically point the road to peace, to personal freedom, and to the safeguards of the American system.”



*Herbert Hoover*

EXCERPT FROM HERBERT HOOVER’S 1959 STATEMENT TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES  
OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY ON THE HOOVER INSTITUTION’S PURPOSE AND SCOPE



LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR AND CHAIRMAN

August 31, 2015

THE INSTITUTION has grown dramatically during the last decade. Key additions to the fellowship have expanded our research base while the policy analysis produced by our scholars is reaching more eyes than ever. The scope of our Library & Archives has increased remarkably and our fundraising success has scaled new heights. Soon, our physical presence will also be expanding: ground was broken this year for a new fifty-thousand-square-foot building on the Stanford campus that will provide much-needed institutional and event facilities.

With this strong foundation the Hoover Institution is poised to accomplish even more in the years to come, which is significant, as the Institution embarks on a transition of leadership for the first time in twenty-six years. As of September 1, 2015, John Raisian will be moving on from his role as director of the Hoover Institution to become the Boyd and Jill Smith Senior Fellow.

The Hoover Institution and Stanford University conducted a rigorous selection process to find John's successor. Chaired by Hoover Senior Fellow John B. Taylor, a ten-person search committee identified the new director in a collaborative and efficient process, achieving a consensus on the ideal nominee. The Hoover Institution, as well as the broader Stanford community, extend a warm welcome to Hoover's new Tad and Dianne Taube Director, Thomas W. Gilligan.



John Raisian  
*Tad and Dianne Taube Director*



Thomas J. Tierney  
*Chairman, Board of Overseers*

Tom is a clear fit for the directorship—not only based upon his experience, which has been excellent preparation for the director role, but also due to his superb intellect and strength of character. A respected economist and formidable administrator, he has served as a prominent academic leader and dean of the business schools for two highly successful programs—the University of Texas at Austin and the University of Southern California.

Tom’s capabilities position Hoover to embark on its next phase of growth and prosperity, and his demonstrated leadership will support the vital ingredient that makes Hoover thrive—its people. Our productivity and our reputation are the results of everyone involved. The incredible progress the Institution has made in recent years is due to a shared vision emanating from what we describe as the “Hoover family,” consisting of our scholars, overseers, donors, and professional staff.

As the world grapples with a variety of economic, legal, political, foreign, and security challenges, the Institution’s *ideas defining a free society* are impactful and resonate with ever broader audiences. Our message is straightforward and its truths self-evident: peace and prosperity are best achieved by safeguarding freedom and promoting individual liberties.



JOHN RAISIAN



THOMAS J. TIERNEY

A W A R M W E L C O M E T O O U R N E W D I R E C T O R ,  
T H O M A S W . G I L L I G A N

T H O M A S W . G I L L I G A N, the former dean of the McCombs School of Business at the University of Texas at Austin, assumed his new role as the Tad and Dianne Taube Director of the Hoover Institution on September 1, 2015. Gilligan succeeds John Raisian, whose leadership during the past quarter century resulted in enhanced influence, an expanded fellowship, and significant fiscal growth for Hoover.

“Tom wasn’t just the right person for the job,” says Raisian, who will remain at Hoover as a senior fellow. “In my opinion, he was the *only* person for the job. He brings deep intellectual powers, unimpeachable integrity, and formidable administrative skills to this position. I’m looking forward to pure scholarship, but I wouldn’t be nearly so sanguine if anyone other than Tom was at the helm. His vision, his ideas, will take this Institution to new heights.”

Gilligan, an economics and political science scholar, is no stranger to either Hoover or Stanford. He was a national fellow at Hoover in 1989–90 and, as a visiting faculty member, taught business economics at the Stanford Graduate School of Business in 1989–90 and 1994.

“Tom Gilligan brings to the Hoover Institution a blend of academic scholarship and leadership experience, as well as government and military background, that will be a tremendous asset to the institution and to Stanford broadly,” said Stanford president John Hennessy. “Tom has already spent time at Stanford. . . . He knows us well, and we look forward to welcoming him back in this new capacity.”

Tom Tierney, the chair of Hoover’s 120-member Board of Overseers, called Gilligan “the ideal leader to build upon John Raisian’s impressive legacy. His broad capabilities will help capture the Hoover Institution’s extraordinary future potential to develop and cultivate policy ideas defining a free society.”

As a scholar, Gilligan has concentrated on microeconomics, applied price theory, industrial organization, antitrust economics, and public choice. He served as a staff economist at the Council of Economic Advisers in the White House during the Reagan administration and as a Russian linguist with the US Air Force. Gilligan and his wife, Christie Skinner, have three children, Leah, Laura, and Patrick.



*Thomas W. Gilligan assumed his post as Tad and Dianne Taube Director on September 1, 2015. PHOTO: TIM GRIFFITH*

During Gilligan's seven-year tenure at McCombs, the school jumped three places in the *U.S. News and World Report's* annual evaluation of the nation's best graduate business schools. Gilligan also led fundraising efforts for Rowlings Hall, a new center for graduate studies expected to open at McCombs in 2017. Before his appointment at McCombs, Gilligan held several key administrative positions at the Marshall School of Business at the University of Southern California, including interim dean, vice dean of undergraduate education, director of the PhD program, and chair of the finance and business economics department. He also taught economics at the California Institute of Technology.

"The Hoover Institution is one of the world's premiere research centers devoted to the advanced study of politics, economics, and international affairs," Gilligan says. "I am honored to be named as Hoover's next director and look forward to advancing its mission and reputation."







## SCHOLARSHIP & RESEARCH

SCHOLARSHIP at the Hoover Institution is based on intellectual rigor and empirical evidence. Our work emphasizes originality and analytic precision; its quality is evidenced by the honors bestowed on our scholars. The Hoover fellowship includes Nobel laureates and recipients of the National Medal of Science, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the National Humanities Medal, and the Bradley Prize.

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### **The audience for our fellows' work is the world, not just the academy.**

The analyses of Hoover scholars are disseminated widely through the media and the Institution's own media vehicles and often cited by national policy makers. The audience for our fellows' work is the world, not just the academy. Although our scholars engage in research that is specialized, deep, and detailed, the objectives are pragmatic and apply to the most pressing issues of the day. Current research emphases include:

- The roots of economic, political, military, and social issues
- The effects of government policies
- Formulating and implementing effective policies
- Educating policy makers and the public on the ideas and core values of the Institution

## RESEARCH INITIATIVES

The Institution encourages Hoover fellows and adjunct scholars to pursue independent research and to work collaboratively with one another, experts from other research institutions, and the business and technology sectors. Hoover's approach to research affords scholars wide latitude for individual inquiry but also provides dynamic and productive interaction through research initiatives, generally organized as working groups and task forces. Updates on our core initiatives follow.

### **Economic Policy**

Established in 2008, the Working Group in Economic Policy researches global fiscal, monetary, and regulatory practices and promotes policies to increase national and international prosperity and minimize intrusions on personal liberties. Group members testify regularly before Congress, publish broadly in the academic and popular presses, and are regularly tapped for radio and television appearances. The group has convened more than one hundred policy seminars, including some twenty in the past year. Recent seminars have addressed the Affordable Care Act, central bank reforms, the stresses and strains on China's financial





*Nuclear power station*

system, unfunded retiree health care, and new structures for the US federal debt. Speakers included Hoover Senior Fellow John Cochrane; Darrell Duffie, the Dean Witter Distinguished Professor of Finance at Stanford University's Graduate School of Business; and PayPal and Palantir cofounder Peter Thiel.

### **Energy Policy**

Volatile energy prices and concerns about the potential for climate change pose major challenges to national security and global stability. The Shultz-Stephenson Task Force on Energy Policy is exploring these issues in both broad and particular contexts, formulating policy recommendations that emphasize sustainability, economic well-being,

and collaboration among private enterprises, individual governments, and international coalitions. In the past year, the task force expanded its focus to include security in the unresolved and increasingly accessible Arctic territory and the reinvention of nuclear power. The task force also held a public webinar on carbon markets; released an essay series on small modular nuclear reactors; and copublished *Game Changers: Energy on the Move*, an analysis of historic and current energy innovations edited by Hoover's Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow George P. Shultz and MIT Energy Initiative director Robert C. Armstrong.

## Foreign Policy and Grand Strategy

The strategic challenges facing the United States have not only multiplied in recent years but have also been evolving at a disconcerting pace. Given the abrupt appearance of new crises and the periodic flaring of perpetual conflicts, the temptation is to react quickly. Ad hoc responses, however, signal weakness and uncertainty, not strength and resolve. A new US grand strategy is required, one that both reassures allies and establishes clear limits to potential adversaries.

Formed in 2013, Hoover’s Foreign Policy and Grand Strategy Working Group explores options for such a blueprint in a series of publications that examine current situations, explore possible scenarios, and recommend specific approaches.

Group members have written more than thirty essays and articles in the past year, addressing topics that include China’s role in US foreign policy; the



definition of realistic foreign policy goals; the future security landscape; instability in the Middle East and among failed African states; appropriate US responses to chaotic situations; unnecessary preoccupation with hostile weak states; managing cyber security threats; transnational terrorism; moral hazard and the Obama doctrine; the strategic importance of the Indo-Pacific; and domestic law and national security strategy.

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## REMEMBERING MARTIN ANDERSON



Martin Anderson, the Hoover Institution’s Keith and Jan Hurlbut Senior Fellow and an adviser to four presidents, died on January 3, 2015. Hoover’s fellows and staff recall Anderson as a scholar who combined academic rigor with personal experience in the political realm, allowing him to cut through many a Gordian knot in economic and policy analysis.

Anderson was a senior policy adviser to the Reagan presidential campaigns of 1976 and 1980 and served President Reagan as chief domestic policy adviser and as a member of the President’s Economic Advisory Board. He also was a trustee of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and a member of the California Governor’s Council of Economic Advisers. Under President George H. W. Bush, Anderson served as a member of the President’s General Advisory Committee on Arms Control. Anderson also advised Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Robert Dole. His later books, co-authored with his wife, Annelise Anderson, focused largely on the life, policies, and legacy of President Reagan.

**RECENT CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY BY HOOVER FELLOWS**

*Following is a representative sample of testimony given by Hoover fellows from September 2014 through August 2015.*

John B. Taylor, the George P. Shultz Senior Fellow in Economics, testified seven times, including at the following hearings:

- March 3, 2015, “Federal Reserve Accountability And Reform,” with Distinguished Visiting Fellow Allan H. Meltzer
- June 17, 2015, “Why Congress Must Balance the Budget”
- July 14, 2015, “Fed Oversight: Lack of Transparency and Accountability”
- July 22, 2015, “Examining Federal Reserve Reform Proposals,” with Senior Fellow John H. Cochrane
- July 29, 2015, “Financial Crisis In Greece— Implications and Lessons Learned Subcommittee Hearing” and “The Role of Bankruptcy Reform In Addressing Too-Big-To Fail”

George P. Shultz, the Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow, testified January 29, 2015, at a hearing titled “Global Challenges and the US National Security Strategy” with Distinguished Visiting Fellow Henry A. Kissinger and Madeleine Albright.



*General Jim Mattis testifies before the US House Intelligence Committee on the ISIS terrorist threat.*

PHOTO: C-SPAN

General Jim Mattis, Davies Family Distinguished Visiting Fellow, testified on

- September 18, 2014, before the US House Intelligence Committee on the ISIS terrorist threat
- January 27, 2015, at a hearing titled “Global Challenges and the US National Security Strategy”

Admiral Gary Roughead, USN (ret.), Annenberg Distinguished Visiting Fellow, provided his expertise

- In an October 3, 2014, report on “Defense Acquisition Reform: Where Do We Go from Here? A Compendium of Views by Leading Experts”
- At an April 14, 2015, hearing, “US Defense Policy Issues Pertaining to the Asia-Pacific Theater”

Robert E. Hall, the Robert and Carole McNeil Senior Fellow, testified January 22, 2015, at a hearing titled “Jobs and a Healthy Economy.”

Herbert Lin, a research fellow, testified March 3, 2015, at a hearing titled “Understanding the Cyber Threat and Implications for the 21st Century Economy.”

## Immigration Reform

America's immigration system is dysfunctional, neither providing for the orderly immigration of qualified applicants nor effectively addressing those who overstay visas or cross our borders illegally. Since its 2013 launch, Hoover's Conte Initiative on Immigration Reform has provided bipartisan and unbiased analyses to create new, equitable, and effective immigration policy. The group draws on Hoover scholars and experts from around the country with varying perspectives but a common goal: fixing a broken system.

The online journal *Peregrine* provides a forum for much of the research and analysis produced by the initiative's scholars. Significant topics in recent issues included border security measures that could prove far more effective, less disruptive, and less costly than building high fences; immigration game plans for Congress; President Obama's amnesty



problems; the economic effects of immigration; the interplay among race, class, and illegal immigration in policy development; and attempts by the Obama administration to circumvent the constitutional system vis-à-vis immigration policies.

## Islamism and the International Order

Since 2009, Hoover's Herbert and Jane Dwight Working Group on Islamism and the International Order has been researching radical Islamic movements and working to moderate and ultimately reverse their impacts by advocating political reform and a stronger rule of law. Working group members and allied scholars from the United States and the

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## REMEMBERING ROBERT CONQUEST



Hoover fellows, supporters, and staff lost an esteemed colleague this year with the passing of senior research fellow and historian Robert Conquest.

Conquest, who died on August 3, 2015, was a scholar of great intellectual breadth whose grasp of history was informed by both the academy and hard geopolitical realities. He served in the British infantry in World War II and thereafter in His Majesty's Diplomatic Service. He was the recipient of numerous military, civic, and academic awards, including the Order of the British

Empire, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the Dan David Prize, Poland's Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit, Estonia's Cross of Terra Mariana, and the Ukrainian Order of Yaroslav Mudryi.

Educated at Winchester College, the University of Grenoble, and Oxford, Conquest authored twenty-one books on Soviet history, politics, and international affairs, including the highly acclaimed *The Great Terror* and *Harvest of Sorrow*.

international academic community provide policy recommendations to foster the importance of human rights, respect for religion and law, economic prosperity, and individual freedom in those portions of the Muslim world wracked by radicalism and sectarian violence.

In the past twelve months, articles from working group members and associates have appeared in *Foreign Policy*, *Weekly Standard*, *Politico*, *World Affairs Journal*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Mosaic*, *Israel Hayom*, *Defining Ideas*, and books published by the Hoover Institution Press.

### **Intellectual Property, Innovation, and Prosperity (IP<sup>2</sup>)**

Founded in 2013, the Working Group on Intellectual Property, Innovation, and Prosperity develops interdisciplinary programs for evaluating the connections between intellectual property protection and technological progress, with a focus on the efficacy of the US patent system. Striking the proper balance between protection and innovation in the intellectual property sphere is difficult but essential. To maintain America's pole position in technology, patent laws must provide adequate safeguards for new inventions without hampering ongoing inquiry and entrepreneurial drive.

A concomitant goal of IP<sup>2</sup> is producing scholarly research to aid policy makers as they grapple with patent issues. Technology is developing at an exponential rate, whereas patent policy remains

almost static. Precipitate action, however, can be worse than no action. More research and better data are needed to determine the proper degree and direction of patent policy reform. Toward that end, the working group convened several conferences and symposia during the past year. Topics included the role of patent law in the innovation cycle, the relationships between patent trolls and inventors, the technological specificity of patent disclosures, the legal infrastructure of the digital economy, the layers of the US patent system, royalty stacking in the smartphone industry, and the academy's role in evidence-based policy making for intellectual property.



## Military History in Contemporary Conflict

Launched in 2013, the Working Group on the Role of Military History in Contemporary Conflict investigates the impacts of past military successes and failures on policies applied to current conflicts. The knowledge of the strategies, tactics, and outcomes of past military campaigns can exert a profound influence on policy makers attempting to address contemporary security issues. Sometimes military history is germane to current conflicts, sometimes it isn't, but understanding the difference is crucial. The working group convenes distinguished scholars, military historians and analysts, policy makers, and journalists to identify and explain the appropriate distinctions.

The monthly online journal *Strategika: Conflicts of the Past as Lessons for the Present* is the working group's primary platform for analysis and commentary. Topics covered in the past year include approaches to countering Russian ambitions, the impact of new hydrocarbon production on America's military and geostrategic role, NATO's survival, and the status of carrier groups, traditional fighter wings, and infantry divisions in contemporary conflicts.



The working group recently launched *Military History in the News*, a new weekly column. In this forum, working group members view current

conflicts through the lens of past wars and revolutions, emphasizing correlations and pointing out differences as appropriate. The group has partnered with the blog *War on the Rocks* to co-distribute *Military History in the News* in order to expand Hoover's audience through outreach to specific viewership groups.

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### REMEMBERING JOSEPH MCNAMARA



Hoover research fellow and former police chief Joseph McNamara died on September 19, 2014. Although committed to effective law enforcement, he was also dedicated to personal liberty, emphasizing the dangers of excessive or intrusive police actions.

McNamara's police career spanned thirty-five years, beginning as a New York City beat cop in Harlem. He rose through the ranks, was appointed a criminal justice fellow at Harvard Law School, and ultimately took a PhD in public administration from Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

He later served as police chief for Kansas City, Missouri, and San Jose, California. During his tenure in San Jose, the city posted the lowest crime rate for any large US municipality, despite having the fewest officers per capita. At the end of his life he wrote about the importance of demilitarizing police forces and rebuilding community relations in the wake of the Ferguson shooting and ensuing riots.





Strategika illustrations from the Hoover Institution Archives poster collection.



## National Security and Law

Hoover’s Jean Perkins Task Force on National Security and Law researches the rule of law, US constitutional law, and the laws of war to create policy proposals that strike the best possible balance between the preservation of individual freedom and the vigorous defense of the nation at home and abroad. The task force draws on the entire legal canon of Western civilization for its work.

The task force convenes conferences and workshops to address the challenges of preserving both freedom and security in the American homeland. Task force scholars also publish widely and are interviewed regularly in print, electronic, and digital media. Recent commentaries by task force members have focused on the history and possible future of ISIS, the growing threats from cyber attacks, the elements of critical infrastructure protection, the various impacts of Edward Snowden’s National Security Agency leaks, and the implications of deteriorating relations with Russia.

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### BOOKS

*ISIS: The State of Terror*  
(HarperCollins, 2015)

The rise of ISIS may have been a geopolitical “black swan” but understanding the ascendance and methodologies of this radical Islamic group is essential to defeating

it. In their new book, National Security and Law Task Force member Jessica Stern and J. M. Berger, the editor of *IntelWire.com*, examine ISIS’s appeal and impact, tracing the group’s ideological roots and analyzing its propagandistic

uses of atrocities. The authors’ analysis of the world’s most notorious terrorist organization points to actions and policies that could help contain it.



## THE KORET TASK FORCE ON K-12 EDUCATION SUNSETS AFTER FIFTEEN PRODUCTIVE YEARS



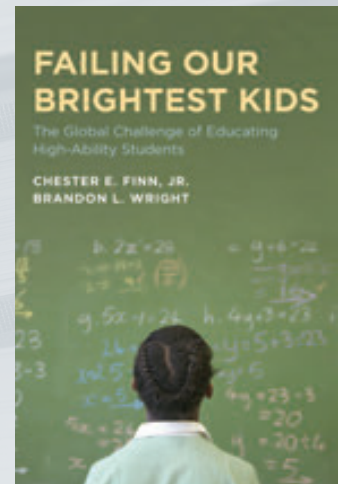
Paul Peterson (left) and Eric Hanushek (right) appearing on an episode of *Uncommon Knowledge*, September 9, 2014.

After a highly successful run, the Koret Task Force on K-12 Education is concluding its tenure. Since its inception in 1999, the task force has produced compelling analyses of the challenges facing America's primary and secondary schools and made policy recommendations based on this research. The group's members generated scores of books, hundreds of scholarly papers, articles, op-eds, and the journal *Education Next*, all highlighting innovative and effective solutions to the manifold problems facing the nation's schools. Although

the task force is winding down, Hoover scholars will continue their individual research on K-12 education.

In the past year alone, these scholars have published more than thirty analyses and commentaries and have been cited or quoted in numerous media outlets, including the *Washington Post*, *New York Post*, *Hill*, *National Review Online*, *Slate*, and *Fortune*. Characteristic of Koret's work is *Failing Our Brightest Kids*, a new book by Hoover Senior Fellow Chester Finn and co-author Brandon Wright of the Fordham Institute. The book, which explains the reasons for the dearth of high-achieving students in America's schools, is eliciting spirited comment from policy makers and the educational community.

The task force also transcended its original mission, serving as a template for subsequent Hoover task forces and working groups. This model has proved effective in addressing a wide range of public policy problems and formulating practical solutions in a collaborative setting. Hoover—and scholars and policy makers around the world—owe a significant debt to those groundbreaking methods.



## LIBRARY & ARCHIVES

THE HOOVER Institution was established in 1919 as the Hoover War Collection, reflecting its founder's desire to create a repository for the documentary history of the Great War and the Russian Revolution. From Herbert Hoover's initial \$50,000 grant, the collections of the Institution have grown to become one of the world's most comprehensive informational resources on war, revolution, and peace in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Hoover's Library & Archives currently contains more than 500,000 volumes and more than six thousand archival collections, in sixty-nine languages and representing more than 150 countries. The Institution's collections support the research of our fellows, an international community of scholars, and the public at large, contributing to a broad understanding of political, economic, and social

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**“The vast quantity of scholarly work that pours out of the Hoover Institution is impressive, but not nearly as impressive or important as its quality. That quality is underlined by the magnificent holdings in the Hoover Archives that benefit us all.”**

GEORGE P. SHULTZ 60TH US SECRETARY OF STATE AND  
THE THOMAS W. AND SUSAN B. FORD DISTINGUISHED FELLOW



*The Hoover War Library, 1921. PHOTO: HOOVER ARCHIVES*

change. In the past year, the Library & Archives has received significant additions to its Friedrich von Hayek Papers, as well as the papers of classical liberal thinker Richard Cornuelle; received a \$9 million gift to support an initiative on the Japanese diaspora during the period of empire; expanded its web archiving project, which was featured in the *New Yorker*; cohosted the re-creation of a concert played for Truman, Churchill, and Stalin at Potsdam; held exhibitions on the subjects of women and war and the sinking of the RMS *Lusitania*, featuring material from the wreck displayed for the first time in the United States; and convened a conference on the Baltic states that was addressed by the former president of Latvia. The Library & Archives also launched a newsletter that now has some two thousand subscribers.

## PATRONAGE & PUBLICATION

The Hoover Institution's Library & Archives draws scholars from around the world. Last year, nearly fourteen hundred researchers personally investigated the rich trove of print, graphic, manuscript, and audiovisual collections available for study; many more looked at collections online.

The collective fruits of this research have been outstanding. In the ninety-six years since the founding of the Institution, thousands of books

based on the Library & Archives' collections have been published, with the rate of scholarly production steadily accelerating. Each year, hundreds of books, articles, dissertations, documentary films and videos, curated exhibitions, and course curricula originate from the collections. As long as concerns of war and peace remain central to the human condition, the Hoover Institution Library & Archives will serve as an indispensable resource for scholars and policy makers.



Completed in 1941, the iconic Hoover Tower houses the more than 500,000 volumes that comprise the Hoover Library. PHOTO: TIM GRIFFITH

## BOOKS

*Stalin, Volume 1: Paradoxes of Power 1878–1928*, by Stephen Kotkin (Penguin Press, 2014)

The first volume of a biographical trilogy on Stalin by Hoover research fellow and Princeton professor of history Stephen

Kotkin breaks new ground on the Soviet dictator, explicating his role in the Russian Revolution, tracing his rise to power in the Bolshevik hierarchy, and examining his significance to both Russian and world history. Kotkin relied heavily on the

Institution's Library & Archives for his research, noting he "got more done [at Hoover] than in Moscow" and praising its "rare, unbelievably valuable" collections.

## COLLECTION STRATEGY

The Library & Archives continues to build on its areas of geographic strength—Russia and Eurasia, Europe, Asia, Latin America, and the United States—and philosophic strengths, including classical liberalism, opposition to authoritarianism, and the tactics of revolutionary movements. To build on its already deep fundamentalist Islamic collections and its Ba’ath Party Archives, the Library & Archives in the past year has expanded collecting in the Middle East and North Africa, with material also coming from Afghanistan and the Horn of Africa. It has also begun expanding their collecting in free market economics, complementing the already robust collections of economists Milton Friedman and Friedrich von Hayek.

### Recent Acquisitions

Hoover’s Library & Archives continued its robust acquisitions program through 2015. In addition to the von Hayek and Richard Cornuelle Collections mentioned earlier, new acquisitions include the

papers of political scientist Edward Rozek, with more than one thousand taped lectures at his Institute for the Study of Comparative Politics and Ideologies by such guests as former Hoover fellow Sidney Hook and Bertram Wolfe; the papers of Italian journalist Sergio d’Angelo, who was instrumental in getting Boris Pasternak’s *Doctor Zhivago* published in the West; and the papers of US intelligence officer and diplomat William John Tonesk, whose distinguished career took him across Europe and the Far East.

New collections also include the Hong Kong Umbrella Revolution Collection, which documents the pro-democracy political movement and the pivotal 2014 protests against domination by the Chinese mainland; the papers of Stanford professor David D. Laitin, collected during a lifetime of research on the history, language, and social conditions of Somalia and the Horn of Africa; the Ernest M. Allison Papers,



PHOTO: TIM GRIFFITH

## NEW INITIATIVE ON THE JAPANESE DIASPORA

The Japanese Diaspora Initiative aims to make the Hoover Institution Library & Archives a leading center for archive-based research and analysis on historical issues regarding Japan in core areas of interest to the Institution: war, revolution, and peace. Funded by an anonymous \$9 million gift—one of the largest in Library & Archives’ history—the initiative will begin by focusing on Japan’s modern diaspora, with particular attention to both Japanese Americans and other overseas Japanese communities, especially during the rise and fall of the Empire of Japan. The initiative will include collection development, curatorial work, and scholarship and will begin by providing digitization, search, and free access to almost one million pages of rare Japanese newspapers (*Hoji Shimbun*) published in the United States from the late nineteenth century through World War II.



*Undergraduate intern Emilia Schrier (Stanford 2016) examines the Herman Axelbank film collection in the Hoover Archives. PHOTO: TIM GRIFFITH*

which document the American aviator's efforts to aid China's aviation industry in the face of impending Japanese invasion; the Brian Latell Papers, a voluminous collection of research materials on Fidel Castro and Cuba; and the papers of Lindon Bates Jr., who was on board the RMS *Lusitania* en route to London to work for Herbert Hoover's Commission for Relief in Belgium when the ship was sunk by a German U-boat in 1915.

## **PRESERVATION AND DIGITIZATION**

The collections of the Library & Archives are as varied in media as they are in content. We curate everything from highly acidic twentieth-century paper to film, audiotapes, and computer media. To a significant degree, many of our materials are subject to deterioration with the passage of time. Our preservation labs treat print, paper, and other objects; sound material; film and photography; microfilm; and digital media. In addition, we continue to work with private-sector partners to

### **ARCHIVING THE WEB: THE DESTRUCTION OF MALAYSIA AIRLINES FLIGHT 17**

In July 2014, Library & Archives preservation efforts made international news: thanks to the foresight of Hoover Research Fellow Anatol Shmelev, curator of the Russia and Eurasia Collection, a suspicious blog post tying the Donetsk People's Republic in eastern Ukraine to the destruction of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 was preserved before being quickly deleted from a Russian social media website. Just two weeks before the crash, Shmelev had written the Internet Archive in San Francisco to request that it preserve the website because it was frequented by a Ukrainian separatist leader named Strelkov, whom Shmelev knew to be "one of the most important figures in the conflict." Once the blog post was retrieved from the Internet Archive and linked to the militants who shot down the plane, Shmelev's prescience was praised throughout the global press, including the *Washington Post*, and was featured in an article in the *New Yorker*.

identify material for in-house digitization using criteria that include vulnerability, popular and scholarly interest, and respect for copyright. Among our current large-scale digitization projects are an extensive selection of World War I materials from many collections and our photographic records of the Okhrana, Russia's prerevolution secret police. Many other collections are being evaluated as we expand these efforts.

## PROGRAMS

As part of a dynamic institution, the Hoover Library & Archives actively makes its collections available to the larger community, engaging Stanford students, visiting scholars, and interested citizens with workshops, conferences, lecture series, classes, exhibitions, and tours. The Library & Archives hosts four annual workshops of between one and two weeks that bring together scholars and students to work on archival material, discuss policy, and present their research. Each workshop is run by a Hoover fellow and/or Stanford professor. The longest-running annual workshop is on Totalitarian Regimes, now in its fifteenth year. The others are the Workshop on Political Economy, the Workshop on Modern China, and the Workshop on Latin America. In addition, the Library & Archives hosts an annual conference. Last year's was "War, Revolution and Freedom: The Baltic Countries in the 20th Century," featuring a keynote lecture by Vaira Vike-Freiberga, the former president of Latvia and the president of the Club of Madrid.



*Stephen Kotkin, Princeton professor and Hoover research fellow, presents his new Stalin biography. PHOTO: MARTINO MINGIONE*

## Public Lectures

In addition to evening talks in conjunction with workshops and conferences, the Library & Archives has inaugurated History and Policy Talks, a monthly lunchtime lecture series featuring prominent historians, policy makers, scientists, and journalists who have used the Library & Archives' collections in their research or to speak about issues of importance to the Institution's mission. Speakers have included Robert Neer, who discussed his book *Napalm: An American Biography*; Margaret O'Mara of the Stanford Center for Advanced Study, whose

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## RESEARCH SUPPORT FOR SCHOLARS

The Library & Archives' student and young faculty support programs include travel stipends, research fellowships, and Silas Palmer Fellowships for students. Last year nearly three hundred researchers applied for support to work in the Library & Archives; thirty-nine applicants received funding, including eight Stanford students. Each researcher spent several weeks in the archives using collections essential to the completion of dissertations, articles, and book projects, with subjects ranging from Arab immigration in South America to the learning experiences of schoolchildren using Maoist textbooks. One Silas Palmer recipient referred to his fellowship in the Library & Archives as simultaneously a "productive excursion" and a "wonderful experience" thanks to the expertise of the staff and the richness of the collections.



presentation addressed the relationships among Stanford University scholars, public policy makers, and Silicon Valley technocrats; and Hoover National Fellow Piotr Kosicki, whose presentation, “Between the CIA and the Vatican: How the Hoover Archives Helped Reconstruct a Winning Cold War Strategy,” emphasized the value of the Hoover collections to international scholarship.

### Recent Public Exhibitions



*The Spirit of Woman-Power*, Paul Honoré, c. 1917. POSTER COLLECTION, HOOVER ARCHIVES

#### *Women and the Great War*

(November 6, 2014–  
March 21, 2015)

The Library & Archives marked the centenary of World War I with an exhibition that revealed the varied

roles women played in that devastating conflict. Drawing on official and fugitive documents, photographs, diaries, memoirs, and other archival materials, the exhibition emphasized the dynamic roles played by women during the Great War. Women served as active combatants, as frontline nurses, as relief workers, and as contributors to the home front war economy. The “war to end all wars” occurred during the heyday of the propaganda poster, and the Hoover Archives Poster Collection

provided striking examples of the form: female images were used to encourage men to enlist, to stir outrage against German atrocities, and to rally women to work in factories and on farms in support of the war effort.



*Stanford alumnus Gregg Bemis, who owns the salvage rights to the Lusitania, prepares to descend to the wreck in 2004.*

PHOTO: COURTESY OF GREGG BEMIS

#### *Remember the Lusitania!*

(May 20–24, 2015)

On May 17, 1915, a German U-boat torpedoed and sank the British ocean liner RMS *Lusitania* off the Irish coast; almost 1,200 men, women, and children perished, including 128 Americans.

Ultimately, the disaster proved a decisive factor in America’s declaring war against Germany in 1917. To mark the centennial anniversary of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the Library & Archives displayed, for the first time, items salvaged from the wreck itself along with posters, documents, photographs, newspapers, and medals from the Hoover Archives and also featured a keynote address by Gregg Bemis, the Stanford alumnus who owns the wreck and hopes to donate it to a worthy home.

## COMMUNICATIONS

PROMOTING the work of our scholars through the media, public affairs, marketing, and education is an essential part of Hoover's mission. The Hoover Institution engages in national discourse, influencing ideas and educating members of the public, opinion leaders, decision makers, and members of the media. This positions the Hoover Institution's research and analysis as a go-to resource on crucial policy matters.

We continually push the boundaries of communication technologies to bring to the attention of policy makers and the public the Institution's findings. Our fellows are as productive as they are incisive, annually authoring more than a thousand op-eds in top national publications, including the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Washington Post*, and participating in more than 250 radio and 100 TV interviews on top networks. Hoover's website, [hoover.org](http://hoover.org), hosts many additional outlets for the



Hoover senior fellows Edward P. Lazear, Scott W. Atlas, and John B. Taylor utilizing Hoover's media room for interviews. PHOTOS: TIM GRIFFITH

work of our fellows, including our flagship online publication, *Defining Ideas*, and other focused publications, including *Strategika* from the Working Group on Military History and Contemporary Policy, *Eureka* on California issues, and *Peregrine* covering immigration reform. The Hoover Institution Press publishes ten to fifteen books by Hoover scholars each year.

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### INTRODUCING THE HOOVER IPAD APPLICATION



When an organization generates as much high-quality research and content as Hoover, navigating the accrued material can be daunting. But with the release of our iPad app, introduced shortly after our redesigned website, users now have quick and easy access to a vast array of content. A simplified menu and powerful filtering tools allow users to browse by publication, topic, or author; all content can be bookmarked for later reference. The app also streams our podcasts and videos; provides late-breaking updates on Hoover events, guests, and Library & Archives' acquisitions; and allows users to share content via e-mail or social media.

The free app may be downloaded at <http://hvr.co/HooverApp>.



PHOTO: TIM GRIFFITH

## MEDIA RELATIONS

To ensure that the Institution's content and research are widely distributed, the Institution cultivates media relationships across the spectrum, including editors at the nation's largest newspapers, commentators on national and public broadcasting networks, top national radio and television hosts, and journalists active both in print and social media.

### The William and Barbara Edwards Media Fellows Program

The William and Barbara Edwards Media Fellows Program continues to be one of our most effective tools, setting us apart from other policy research centers. Qualified journalists come to campus for a weeklong crash course, using the Hoover Institution's vast resources, and become familiar with the Hoover Institution's work. During the week, media fellows meet with twelve to fifteen Hoover fellows, tour the archives, and attend relevant Stanford/Hoover events. Importantly, we continue to cultivate these relationships once the fellowship concludes with gatherings in Washington, DC, and New York City. Recently, the Hoover Institution expanded the program, inviting two radio shows a year to broadcast live from the Hoover Institution's state-of-the-art studio. Recent participants have included the *Lars Larson Show* and *Hugh Hewitt Show*, both of which conducted live interviews with close to a dozen fellows.

## Media Roundtables

The Institution's Media Roundtables convene four times a year, engaging Hoover scholars and members of the national media in multiple interactive panel discussions. Given that most national media outlets are headquartered in Washington, DC, and New York City, the roundtables give us the opportunity to showcase the Hoover Institution's resources and experts by allowing participants to engage in a thoughtful exchange of ideas on pressing policy issues such as foreign policy, cyber security, and economic policy. As a result, the Hoover Institution and its fellows have become a dependable resource for these journalists.



*Condoleezza Rice leads a discussion at the September 2015 Media Roundtable on the 2017 White House agenda. PHOTO: ROD SEARCEY*

## SOCIAL MEDIA

Social media have emerged as pervasive and dynamic means of communication. Hoover has kept pace with that growth on multiple platforms, particularly Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Our aggregate audience for the three platforms is now more than 147,000; we expect more than 100,000 Likes on Facebook and 75,000 followers on Twitter by early 2016. Simultaneously, Instagram is opening new outreach opportunities, with its photo-sharing format allowing the Institution to tell its stories in images as well as text, expanding our communications repertoire and reaching new audiences. Social media also amplify Hoover's other communications efforts, such as traditional media, conferences, workshops, and roundtables. Twitter continues to demonstrate its power for propagating information; we continually create hashtags tailored to specific events and programs.



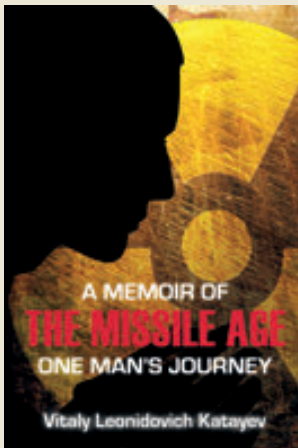
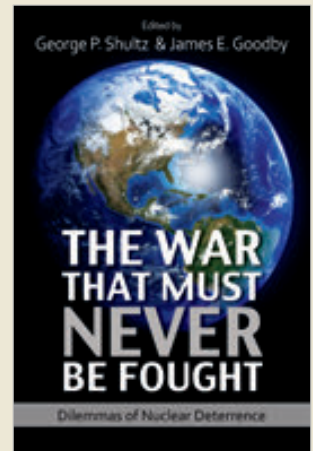
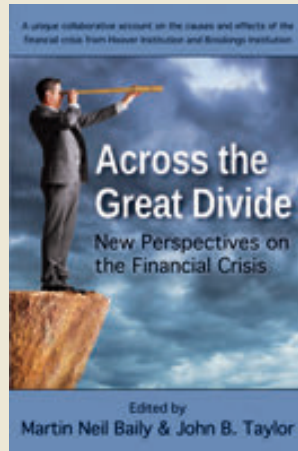
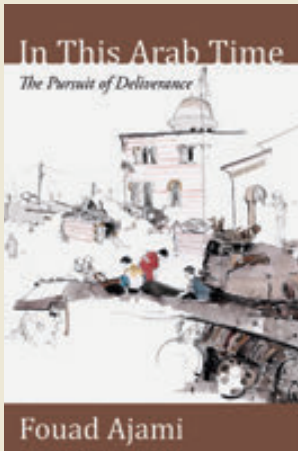

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### INTRODUCING THE REDESIGNED *HOOVER DIGEST*

Hoover's flagship print quarterly, *Hoover Digest*, launched a new design in 2015. Working with a design group that specializes in online and news products, a new look was created that emphasizes attractive covers, refreshed Hoover branding language, and time-saving summaries to reinforce key points. The new *Digest* design harmonizes with the rollout of Hoover's fully redesigned website and new iPad application and extends the growing consistency of Hoover's new visual branding across our many communication platforms.

**BOOKS PUBLISHED BY THE HOOVER INSTITUTION PRESS  
SEPTEMBER 2014–AUGUST 2015**

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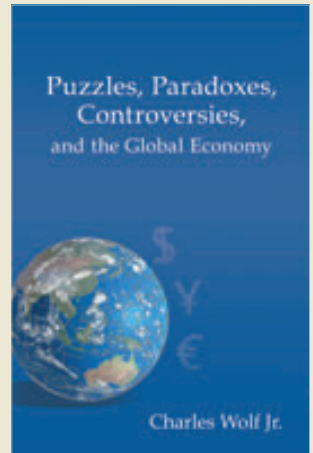
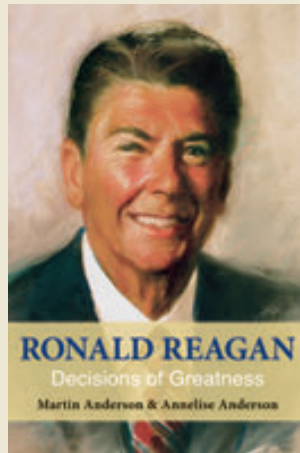
*In This Arab Time: The Pursuit of Deliverance*, by Fouad Ajami

*NAFTA at 20: The North American Free Trade Agreement's Achievements and Challenges*, edited by Michael J. Boskin

*Across the Great Divide: New Perspectives on the Financial Crisis*, edited by Martin Neil Baily and John B. Taylor

*The War That Must Never Be Fought: Dilemmas of Nuclear Deterrence*, edited by George P. Shultz and James E. Goodby

*A Memoir of the Missile Age: One Man's Journey*, by Vitaly Leonidovich Katayev



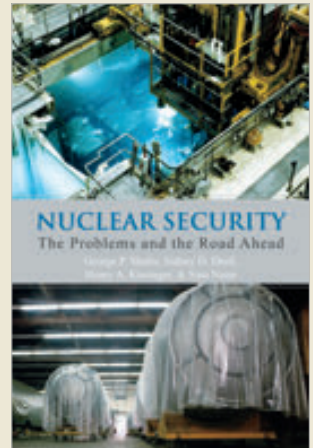
*Speaking the Law: The Obama Administration's Addresses on National Security Law*, by Kenneth Anderson and Benjamin Wittes

*American Contempt for Liberty*, by Walter E. Williams

*Ronald Reagan: Decisions of Greatness*, by Martin Anderson and Annelise Anderson

*Puzzles, Paradoxes, Controversies, and the Global Economy*, by Charles Wolf Jr.

*Nuclear Security: The Problems and the Road Ahead*, by George P. Shultz, Sidney D. Drell, Henry A. Kissinger, and Sam Nunn



## TWENTY-SIX YEARS AS DIRECTOR: CELEBRATING JOHN RAISIAN

THE REACH and reputation of the Hoover Institution have expanded dramatically during the past quarter century. The findings of our scholars figure prominently in any significant public policy debate involving individual liberty, conflict and peace, and free markets. Hoover fellows testify before Congress regularly and publish extensively in both academic journals and the popular media. Our world-renowned Library & Archives attracts hundreds of scholars researching a wide array of subjects each year. Hoover has become known as a destination for ideas, a haven for scholars, and a forum where academia's best and brightest can convene, challenge themselves and each other, and make a difference.

Today, as John Raisian prepares to move from administration back to scholarship, the Institution's fellows, overseers, and staff gratefully acknowledge that he deserves much of the credit for making Hoover what it is today. Raisian insisted that pragmatism lies at the core of any credible economic and political research; that view, according to Hoover fellows, has become a hallmark of the Institution's scholarship.



*John Raisian with his wife, Claudia Morgan.*

PHOTO: STEVE GLADFELTER



*Tom Tierney, US Representative Paul Ryan, and John Raisian at the new Hoover Institution in Washington offices. PHOTO: JAY MALLIN*

“John always felt that academic ideas should be tested in the marketplace, and he brought that notion to Hoover,” observes Davies Family Senior Fellow and former deputy director David Brady. “With any tenured academic group, there is the danger that the thinking can get fairly unrealistic. John always felt that a scholar’s work should be related to contemporary events.”

Early in his career, Raisian taught at the University of Houston and the University of Washington and consulted for the Rand Corporation. Later, during the Reagan administration, he served in the US Bureau of Labor Statistics as a special assistant for economic policy and director of Research and Technical Support. He joined the Hoover Institution in 1986, serving as associate director until his appointment as director in 1989.

Raisian joined Hoover at a difficult time. Relations with Stanford University were strained, and the Institution was burdened by a \$17 million operating deficit. Although Hoover was a respected



research institution, observes Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow and former US secretary of state George P. Shultz, it clearly was not all that it could be.

“When John took over in 1990, we were really alienated from the university,” Shultz recalled during a recent dinner honoring Raisian. “There were thirty-two senior fellows, and there were only 403 donors who gave a total of \$3.8 million.”

“Today,” Shultz continued, “relations between Hoover and Stanford are harmonious: we now have seventy-seven senior fellows. We have three Nobel laureates, three Presidential Medal of Freedom recipients, and twelve winners of the Bradley Prize for Outstanding Intellectual Achievement. In 2014, we had 1,552 donors who gave a total of \$30 million. John has run a budget surplus for the last twenty years, and our endowment has grown from \$102 million to \$494 million,

**“I cannot recall a single occasion when John did not tell the truth. Moreover, he was always kind, and he was a better administrator for it. Heraclitus said, ‘Character is destiny.’ And in the case of John Raisian, it always was.”** VICTOR DAVIS HANSON *MARTIN AND ILLIE ANDERSON SENIOR FELLOW*



LEFT *John Raisian.* PHOTO: STEVE GLADFELTER



ABOVE RIGHT *Thomas and Barbara Stephenson Senior Fellow Condoleezza Rice takes the stage at Hoover’s 2009 winter board meeting, with John Raisian and Kurt Hauser.* PHOTO: GOODMAN/VAN RIPER PHOTOGRAPHY



RIGHT *John Raisian, Senior Fellow Henry Rowen, Distinguished Overseer Martin Anderson, and Davies Family Senior Fellow David Brady at Hoover’s Board of Overseers meeting, February 1995.* PHOTO: MARTY LA VOR



*National Humanities Medal recipients in the Oval Office with President George W. Bush and First Lady Laura Bush, November 9, 2006. PHOTO: PAUL MORSE*

call it half a billion. Also he is making our presence known. We have a TV studio now, which has come in very handy and is making a tremendous impact. And about 100 *Wall Street Journal* op-eds come out of Hoover each year—we’re practically supporting the paper!”

“I cannot recall a single occasion when John did not tell the truth,” says Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellow Victor Davis Hanson. “Moreover, he was always kind, and he was a better administrator for it. Heraclitus said, ‘Character is destiny.’ And in the case of John Raisian, it always was.”

Leonard and Shirley Ely Senior Fellow John F. Cogan shares that opinion, noting he has enjoyed forty-five years of friendship with Raisian. The two qualities that best describe the former director, says Cogan, “are empathy and integrity. He has this uncanny ability to understand the concerns, needs, and values of the people with whom he works. And when John Raisian makes a commitment to do something, he always delivers.”

But if Raisian’s personal style is gracious and accommodating, it is also tenacious and focused. Everything he did at the Institution was *for* the Institution, says Hoover overseer Mary Myers Kauppila.

“John Raisian is a quiet American hero,” Kauppila says. “The preservation of freedom is Hoover’s primary mission, which means it’s John’s mission as well. We recently worked together on *Educating Americans in Public Policy*, a new strategy at Hoover. The idea is to connect targeted groups of citizens with Hoover’s ideas on critical policy issues, including the economy, immigration, and education access. It’s an incredibly important and exciting initiative, and it’s indicative of the kind of programs that Hoover pursued under John’s leadership.”

“Given that the Hoover Institution is predicated on the recognition and promotion of American exceptionalism, it is no coincidence that Hoover itself is an exemplar,” says Morris Arnold and Nona Jean Cox Senior Fellow Edward P. Lazear.

“Like America, Hoover has a solid foundation,” says Lazear, “and like America, Hoover has a strong moral and philosophical compass. And for the last two-and-one-half decades, the credit for that goes to John Raisian. He took a good institution and made it great. Even the best musicians cannot provide fine symphonic sound without an outstanding conductor. John has been that conductor. At Hoover, scholarship informs policy, and John was able to blend the two like the maestro that he is.”

*The Mary Jo and Dick Kovacevich Initiative at the Hoover Institution***EDUCATING AMERICANS IN PUBLIC POLICY**

THANKS TO technological innovations, it has never been easier to verify specific facts, but it remains difficult for citizens to frame information they receive in a comprehensive and meaningful context. News is received in sound bites and quick-cut video clips. Social media and partisan blogs are given equal weight to meticulously researched and vetted analyses.

In such a milieu, it can be difficult to reach citizens with the ideas and ideals of the Hoover Institution: individual liberty, private enterprise, and limited representative government. To ensure that these principles resonate amid the white noise of the Internet and social media, the Mary Joe and Dick Kovacevich Initiative at the Hoover Institution, Educating Americans in Public Policy (EAPP), has been launched to harness the intellectual firepower of Hoover fellows, the Institution's unmatched archival resources, the digital revolution, and new media platforms to educate American citizens and leaders on critical policy issues.



PHOTO: TIM GRIFFITH



Hoover Senior Fellow Morris P. Fiorina. PHOTO: TIM GRIFFITH

EAPP translates academic materials produced by the Institution's fellows into educational programming that resonates with specific targeted audiences, most notably millennials, elected and appointed government representatives, and media leaders.

By framing the Institution's work in understandable terms, EAPP engages as well as informs, providing the tools people need to "secure the blessings of liberty." Initial pilot programs include adapting George P. Shultz Senior Fellow in Economics John Taylor's *Principles of Economics* MOOC (massive open online course); animating research by John and Jean De Nault Senior Fellow Terry Anderson and Research Fellow Carson Bruno that proposes a plan to obtain the benefits of hydraulic fracturing and appropriately manage the risks; and John and Jean De Nault Research Fellow Russ Roberts' exploring and explicating the uses and abuses of data in public policy.

## BUILDING ON SUCCESS: A NEW SPACE TO ACCOMMODATE HOOVER'S IMPRESSIVE GROWTH

THE HOOVER Institution has undergone tremendous growth during the past several years. Scholars and staff now operate from three buildings on the Stanford campus, the last built in 1978. But in the past thirty-seven years, the fellowship, the archival resources, and the scope of Hoover's communications efforts have grown dramatically.

Donor retreats—two- to three-day events for Hoover supporters featuring presentations by our scholars—are popular and in demand, but they are currently held in temporary tents due to a lack of auditorium space. We are, in short, running out of room, and as John Raisian stated, “we need to get out of the tent business.”

Various proposals for a new building have been considered since the 1990s. When the old Cummings Art Building next to Hoover Tower became available, it provided the ideal site. The Institution retained Boston's William Rawn Associates to design the new building with help from Cody Anderson Wasney of Palo Alto. Groundbreaking took place July 8; work is scheduled to be completed in 2017.

Named for its primary and most generous benefactors, David and Joan Traitel, the 55,000-square-foot building will have two stories, with the first floor housing three elements:

- A 400-seat auditorium with state-of-the-art media systems, named for Everett “Sparky” Hauck and his wife, Jane



*Lead donors for Hoover's new building, David and Joan Traitel, with John Raisian and Claudia Morgan. PHOTO: GOODMAN/VAN RIPER PHOTOGRAPHY*

- A 440-seat dining and multipurpose room, designated Blount Hall after Bill Blount
- A beautiful, large courtyard for receptions, named after Art Hall and his wife, Joanne

David Traitel, Sparky Hauck, Bill Blount, and Art Hall are members of Hoover's Board of Overseers, with Traitel serving as board chairman from 2008 to 2010.

The second floor will feature seventy-five offices, conference rooms, and workstations, centralizing Hoover's administrative functions and accommodating the increased activities of its fellows.

Located next to Stanford's historic main quad, the building—with its red clay tile roof, stone facing, and native oaks landscaping—fits seamlessly into the neighborhood.

Further generous gifts have been provided by the S.D. Bechtel, Jr. Foundation, Mr. and Mrs. George P. Shultz, Jack R. Wheatley, and Duncan and Shirley Cox Matteson.



LOWER LEFT: Hoover supporters at groundbreaking for the new building: (front row) George P. Shultz, William K. Blount, John Raisian, Claudia Morgan; (row 2) Duncan Matteson, Shirley Cox Matteson, Thomas J. Tierney, Janet Ball, Joanne Hall, Arthur E. Hall; (row 3) Everett J. Hauck, Kirsten Bedford, Peter B. Bedford, Thomas F. Stephenson; (row 4) Deedee McMurtry, Jane Hauck, Boyd C. Smith; (row 5) Burton J. McMurtry. PHOTO: ERIC DRAPER

TOP AND LOWER RIGHT: Architectural renderings of the new building

## HOOVER INSTITUTION IN WASHINGTON

SINCE OPENING its new Johnson Center offices on New York Avenue in November 2013, the Hoover Institution in Washington has facilitated communication and engagement between Hoover fellows and policy makers, as well as members of the media, in manifold ways. During the past year, several fellows, aided by the Institution's Washington staff, have given testimony to Congress on national security, military strategy, and economic policy. Washington staff have convened colloquies with Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow George P. Shultz, Thomas and Barbara Stephenson Senior Fellow Condoleezza Rice, and House majority leader Kevin McCarthy; held book receptions promoting publications by Hoover scholars; and sponsored panel discussions on such topics as the Obama doctrine, educational policy, and Middle East issues. The Hoover Institution in Washington has also hosted conferences bringing together Hoover research teams and DC policy makers and staffers on such topics as foreign policy, military strategy, financial regulation, and intellectual property.

An especially popular Washington program was the Rooftop Summer Series presentation of *Firing Line*, William F. Buckley's erudite, witty, and long-running (1966–99) public affairs television show. All 1,505 installments of the show are in the Institution's Library & Archives; the DC staff selected episodes on three topics that still resonate today: Internet policy, immigration issues, and terrorism.



*Michael Franc at the Hoover Institution in Washington's Johnson Center.*

PHOTO: JAY MALLIN

### MICHAEL FRANCO APPOINTED DIRECTOR OF WASHINGTON, DC, PROGRAMS

The Hoover Institution has appointed Michael Franc as the director of Washington, DC, Programs. As an experienced veteran of Washington, DC, policy making, Franc is ideally suited to make Hoover ideals and scholarship known in the nation's capital. Before joining Hoover, he served as policy director and counsel for House majority leader Kevin McCarthy. He also served as the vice president of government relations for the Heritage Foundation and as the communications director for former House majority leader Dick Armey. "This is a pivotal time for the Hoover Institution to play a more prominent role in Washington. Mike's expertise and Washington insights will be invaluable as we look to develop and disseminate ideas defining a free society," stated David Davenport, the Hoover Institution research fellow who helped launch the expanded DC office. Franc holds a BA from Yale University and a JD from Georgetown University.

## EVENT HIGHLIGHT: A WORLD AWASH WITH CHANGE

On January 30, before an audience of senior policy practitioners, government officials, scholars, and members of industry, former secretary of state and Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow George P. Shultz engaged in a conversation with Annenberg Distinguished Visiting Fellow Jim Hoagland. The event, titled “A World Awash with Change,” covered issues ranging from climate change, to immigration, to US leadership in the world, and to the ongoing threat of the tactic of terrorism.

Asked whether or not current global crises are due to the United States relinquishing its perceived role as a global police force, Secretary Shultz noted



*George P. Shultz and Jim Hoagland discuss the state of the world, spanning such issues as climate change, immigration, US leadership, and terrorism at the Hoover Institution in Washington's Johnson Center. PHOTO: JAY MALLIN*

that the idea of US leadership does not include such a notion. He cited the origins of the current international system, including how it emerged from the ideas of a few people in the post-World War II State Department during the Truman administration. Those individuals “saw the Great Depression and the destruction of World War II and they said to themselves, ‘what a crummy world, and we are a part of it whether we like it or not.’ The doctrine of containment was created, the Marshall Plan was created, we returned to Japan and encouraged democratic governance and strong economies. It wasn’t American policemen, it was American leadership coming to the table with ideas and assistance and leadership.”

He also suggested that the US approach to the immigration crisis of 2014 could have been more comprehensive.

“When we look at our border situation, shouldn’t we look at those countries that are sending children all alone to the borders of another country, and ask ‘what’s going on there?’ and then see if there’s something we could do to help them out?”

When asked for his thoughts on the pivot to Asia, Secretary Shultz responded, “I never liked the idea of pivoting because you end up making people mad at you because it suggests you’re focused only on one area and not all of the others. We should conduct global diplomacy.”

## APPLIED POLICY RESEARCH IN REAL TIME

HOOVER SCHOLARS' research and policy recommendations are an essential analytic resource for government leaders grappling with critical issues of national security and economic stability. Through congressional testimony, conferences,

and publications, our scholars help shape the national debate on everything from military preparedness to fiscal policy, education, and property rights.



PHOTO: ROD SEARCEY



## TESTIMONY ON GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND THE US NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

Hoover fellows testify regularly before Congress on matters of national and international significance. In a joint appearance before the Senate Armed Services Committee in January, Hoover fellows and former secretaries of state George P. Shultz and Henry Kissinger and former secretary of state Madeleine Albright provided sobering testimony on global challenges and US national security strategy.

The three former Cabinet members agreed that the United States remains the world's most powerful nation, but they also observed that international stability has eroded to an alarming degree during the past fifteen years, with Russia, Iran, and jihad terrorists being the greatest threats.

Shultz identified terrorism as an immediate danger requiring a robust response.

“The magnitude of a threat posed by terrorism is so great that we cannot afford to confront it with halfhearted and poorly organized measures,” Shultz stated. Kissinger observed that peace historically has been threatened by “the emergence of a dominant country threatening the security of its neighbors. [But] in our period, peace is often threatened by... the collapse of authority into non-governed regions.”

## THE WAR THAT MUST NEVER BE FOUGHT

In a new book, *The War That Must Never Be Fought*, former US secretary of state and Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow George P. Shultz and Annenberg Distinguished Visiting Fellow James Goodby present a series of essays on nuclear deterrence by eighteen of the world's top security and conflict strategy experts.

The international order has changed dramatically since the 1980s, with nine nations now possessing nuclear weapons and some means of delivering them. *The War That Must Never Be Fought* makes it clear that deterrence policies must keep pace with those rapidly evolving threats.

The book was released online and timed to the UN's 2015 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference. A series of six *Defining Ideas* articles were distributed in conjunction with the book's release; conferences on the book were held at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City and at Hoover's Washington, DC offices.



## CONFERENCE ON INEQUALITY

In memory of Nobel laureate and Hoover Senior Fellow Gary Becker, the Institution convened a conference on income inequality in late 2014. A highlight of the conference was a spirited conversation between Hoover Senior Fellow Kevin Murphy and University of California at Berkeley economics professor Emmanuel Saez on approaches to income and wealth inequality in America. Murphy advocated enhanced education as the best response; Saez supported higher tax rates. A panel discussion featuring Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow George P. Shultz and senior fellows John Cochrane and Lee Ohanian concluded the conference, with the participants calling for more choice and competition in education to improve economic mobility for economically disadvantaged Americans.

## CONFERENCE ON THE FOUNDATION OF LIBERTY: MAGNA CARTA AFTER 800 YEARS

In June, the Hoover Institution hosted a conference celebrating the eight-hundredth anniversary of the Magna Carta, arguably the seminal document leading to the institutional recognition of baseline human rights, including personal liberty, the protection of property, the rule of law, representative government, and the free exchange of ideas and trade. The two-day conference featured presentations and panel discussions on the history and continuing vitality of Magna Carta, the ways in which excessive regulation undermines its principles, and policy reforms that would reinvest government with the document's presiding spirit.



*The Conference on Inequality ended with a panel featuring (from left to right) George P. Shultz Senior Fellow in Economics John B. Taylor, Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow George P. Shultz, Senior Fellow Lee Ohanian, and Senior Fellow John Cochrane. PHOTO: MARTINO MINGIONE*



Senior Fellow Amy Zegart leads a talk at Stanford's Graduate School of Business with former NSA and CIA director Michael Hayden at the inaugural "Security Conundrum" speakers series, October 8, 2014.

PHOTO: ROD SEARCEY

**AMY ZEGART**

*Davies Family Senior Fellow*

Although cyber attacks have recently made headlines, cyber security has been a primary concern at Hoover for years. Cyber security is also of deep personal interest, driving much of my research about US intelligence challenges and political risks for businesses.

Hoover is in a singular position, with a reputation as a trusted convener of leaders; deep ties across the US government and our Silicon Valley neighborhood; and a growing fellowship with multidisciplinary cyber expertise. During the past two years, we have brought five cyber experts to Hoover as national and research fellows.

The past year was an exciting one. Partnering with the Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), we launched a cyber boot camp for senior congressional staff to examine the technical, organizational, economic, legal, political, and psychological dimensions of cyber security with leading academic and industry leaders. The program was so successful that we are holding another this year. Hoover and

CISAC brought NSA director and US Cyber Command commander Admiral Michael Rogers for a public forum and a private roundtable with fellows and faculty colleagues. We also jointly hosted Secretary of Defense (and former Hoover fellow) Ashton Carter, who unveiled the Pentagon's cyber strategy during his remarks. We sponsored the Security Conundrum, a yearlong speaker series examining security and privacy issues from different vantage points in the wake of the Snowden revelations. Speakers included former CIA and NSA director Michael V. Hayden, *Washington Post* reporter and Pulitzer Prize-winner Barton Gellman, Senator Dianne Feinstein, and others. With Hoover's core participation, Stanford hosted President Obama's White House Summit on Cyber Security and Consumer Protection. During his visit, President Obama met privately with some of Hoover's undergraduate National Security Affairs Program mentees.

Cyber challenges are emerging fast, and Hoover is poised to continue its leading role.



*Congressional cyber boot camp at Hoover*

**ERIC HANUSHEK**

*Paul and Jean Hanna Senior Fellow in Education*



*Eric Hanushek*

I've traveled widely during the past year to talk about the link between economic growth and human capital. My research shows that student competence in

mathematics and science is the best indicator for economic success for both individual citizens and nations.

One of the UN's Millennium Development Goals has been to provide universal access to primary school, but students in many nations have increased time in school without learning anything. This is the wrong goal. We found that mastering basic skills is far more important than completing primary school. Students with basic skills can continue to participate in rapidly evolving economies. Countries with students possessing basic skills grow faster than nations with students lacking such skills, making basic cognitive skills a reliable indicator of a country's future economic success. Importantly, student proficiency is not simply linked to educational expenditures; teacher competence, family support, and student commitment all trump money.

How have our findings been received? Outside the United States, the response has been positive. Yet, even though both US educators and politicians broadly agree that something must be done about student performance, we noted a disturbing complacency and minimal action in the United States. We must improve our game.



## MEET THE SCHOLARS

HOOPER FELLOWS are among the top ranks of researchers in their respective fields, producing work that is innovative, provocative, and founded on both the realities of the modern world and the immutable qualities of human nature. Here we provide you with an opportunity to get to know three such scholars and recent additions to the Hoover fellowship.

### GENERAL JIM MATTIS

General Jim Mattis served as the commander of the US Central Command and as the commander of the US Joint Forces Command. During the Iraq war, he commanded the Marine Expeditionary Force, the US Marine Forces Central Command, and the First Marine Division. Known as a “Marine’s Marine,” he was a commanding general who would crawl into foxholes with sergeants and lance corporals to gain the lay of a combat zone. He was also highly esteemed by his fellow officers for his supple and wide-ranging intellect; through all his deployments, Mattis always carried a copy of *The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius*. Recently named a Davies Family Distinguished Visiting Fellow, Mattis had been an Annenberg Distinguished Visiting Fellow since 2013. He is continuing his investigations of war and peace,

with an emphasis on the tensions between the civil and military sectors. With Hoover Research Fellow Kori Schake, he has been examining current citizen attitudes toward the military following 9/11 and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. “We wanted to identify the differences in attitudes between the civilian and military sectors and what they portend for military planning and national security,” says Mattis. “A book on our findings will be coming out soon.” Mattis also monitors international security developments, particularly as they concern Russia, China, and ISIS.



*Davies Family Distinguished Visiting Fellow General Jim Mattis (far right).*  
PHOTO: CORPORAL ZACHARY DYER, MARINE CORPS

## JOHN COCHRANE

As a specialist in macroeconomics and financial economics, Hoover Senior Fellow John H. Cochrane deals with the fundamental matters that shape our economy: the origins of inflation, the linkage between stock market declines and recessions, and the limits of monetary policy. His work, however, involves more than simple explication. Understanding the connections between these foundational issues, he observes, points to policies that assure economic stability, growth, and personal liberty.

Ultimately, Cochrane avers, the idea that the heavy hand of government is preferable to Adam Smith’s invisible hand is illusory. But this is not a faith, it is the hard lesson of long experience, in financial markets as much as other economic activity.

“In this country, we’ve recently seen what a terrible idea it is for the government to subsidize borrowing for people to buy houses,” Cochrane observes. “Inevitably there is widespread loan default, people lose their homes, prices crash, and there are a financial crisis and deep recession. The



*John Cochrane at Fall Retreat 2014. PHOTO: ROD SEARCEY*

same dynamic applies to any market, including equities. The Chinese government’s support of that nation’s stock market is evoking an eerie sense of déjà vu.”

Now at Hoover full time, Cochrane’s interests are wide ranging, encompassing health care, immigration, regulation, and taxes. Although he publishes prolifically in academic journals, he also writes for the popular press, contributing editorials to the *Wall Street Journal* and posting on his blog, *The Grumpy Economist*.

“Actually, though, I’m not grumpy,” he insists.

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**Hoover Senior Fellow John H. Cochrane deals with the fundamental matters that shape our economy: the origins of inflation, the linkage between stock market declines and recessions, and the limits of monetary policy.**

## NIALL FERGUSON

Hoover senior fellow and Harvard history professor Niall Ferguson cheerfully acknowledges he sometimes feels like an anachronism or, at least, an anomaly.

“I simply believe that you need more than 140 characters to convey an important idea,” Ferguson says. “I’m a historian first and foremost, so I spend a lot of time delving into archives, reading a great many documents and letters, ultimately turning my research into readable narratives.”

Ferguson has written fourteen books to date, all highly praised for both subject matter and style. His latest high-profile project is the first volume of a two-volume biography of Henry Kissinger, which was published by Penguin in September.

He also contributes regularly to television on both sides of the Atlantic. His productions on the British Empire, the rise and fall of US global dominance, twentieth-century conflicts and Western decline, the financial history of the world, and China’s rise have been widely lauded. In 2004, *Time* magazine named him one of the hundred most influential people in the world.



**“My particular interest is that point where the rubber of geopolitics meets the road of macroeconomics...”**

NIALL FERGUSON *HOOVER SENIOR FELLOW  
AND HARVARD HISTORY PROFESSOR*

Ferguson advocates a syncretic approach to scholarship. “My particular interest is that point where the rubber of geopolitics meets the road of macroeconomics,” he says. “I don’t think you can learn all that much sitting in an isolated academic silo, looking at models. That’s why I find Hoover so congenial. Nobody believes in silos here. Historians, economists, and geopolitical analysts all interact. People ignore the artificial separations that hobble scholarship at so many other institutions.” In July 2016, Ferguson will become a full-time, in-residence senior fellow.







## PEOPLE & SUPPORT

THE INSTITUTION'S ultimate strength is the enduring bond of the extended Hoover family. Our work upholding the ideals of liberty, peace, and prosperity would not be possible without the dedication of our scholars and staff and the generous support of our donors. The challenges facing the nation and the world are profound, and the need for the Institution's research has never been greater. In the international marketplace of

ideas, the principled and pragmatic concepts of Hoover scholars shine like a beacon. We are affecting policy at the highest levels; we are making a difference. Herbert Hoover defined the mission of the Institution decades ago. Our scholars and staff have expanded and implemented that vision; our supporters are the engine that drives the Institution forward.

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**JAMES W. CEASER RECEIVES THE BRADLEY PRIZE**



Hoover Senior Fellow James W. Ceaser is a recipient of the 2015 Bradley Prize. The highly prestigious award is bestowed annually by the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation and is reserved for innovative thinkers whose work strengthens American

institutions. Ceaser, the Harry F. Byrd Professor of Politics at the University of Virginia, directs the university's Program for Constitutionalism and Democracy. He publishes widely in his field, served as the presidential appointee to the National Archives Commission, and is the academic chairman of the Jack Miller Center for Teaching America's Founding Principles and History.

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*(Continued on next page)*



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THE UNCOMMON COMMITMENT AWARD

**“GREAT HUMAN ADVANCES have not been brought about by mediocre men and women. They were brought about by distinctly uncommon men and women with vital sparks of leadership.”** HERBERT HOOVER

The Hoover Institution Uncommon Commitment Award recognizes individuals who have made outstanding contributions to the Hoover Institution and the principles for which it stands. The award is reserved for those who have made a profound and lasting impact on the direction and success of the Institution during a sustained period of time. It is with great appreciation that we honor this year’s recipients, Distinguished Overseer Martin Anderson and Overseer John De Nault.



*John Raisian presents the Uncommon Commitment Award to Martin Anderson (left) and to John De Nault (right), July 7, 2015. PHOTOS: ERIC DRAPER*



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The Board of Overseers advises and supports the Institution’s senior administration, ensuring that the Hoover Institution follows the path set forth by its founder in his mission statement. This dedicated group of supporters, who contribute to the advancement of the Institution through their knowledge, experience, and leadership, meets twice a year, at Stanford and in Washington, DC. Members who served on the board during the 2015 fiscal year are listed here.

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We congratulate Shirley Cox Matteson and Bowen H. "Buzz" McCoy, who were appointed Distinguished Overseers on July 9, 2015.

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**In Memoriam**

We honor the memory of those Overseers and former Overseers who died during the 2015 fiscal year:

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Paul L. Davies Jr.  
Clayton W. Frye Jr.

Henry N. Kuechler III  
Frederick Mielke Jr.  
Henry F. Trione

## FINANCIAL REVIEW

The Hoover Institution's fiscal year runs from September 1 through August 31 of the following year, coincident with Stanford University's fiscal year and academic calendar. The institution ended the recently completed 2014–15 fiscal year in a solid financial position, with total revenues of \$69.5 million and expenses of \$59.9 million. Revenues include \$9.6 million in restricted funds earmarked for specific projects in future years. Including these funds, Hoover entered the 2015–16 fiscal year with a healthy cash reserve position.

The institution is funded primarily through two sources: expendable gifts and endowment payout. In 2014–15, Hoover donors made contributions totaling \$40.6 million to support the work of Hoover scholars, the Library & Archives, and outreach and communications activities. Endowment payout totaled \$26.1 million in the 2014–15 fiscal year. Hoover also earned \$2.1 million in interest income, sponsored project revenue, and revenue from periodicals and publications. Finally, Stanford University contributed \$690,000 in general funds to Hoover to support the Library & Archives.

Hoover continues to build on the strategic growth recently achieved in its program areas and support functions. Hoover's expenditures are a reflection of its priorities, including support of fellows and their research programs, the Library & Archives, and dissemination of the institution's scholarly output. Total expenses were \$59.9 million in fiscal year 2014–15 and are expected to grow to \$64.4 million in 2015–16. Notable expenditure increases during this period



PHOTO: TIM GRIFFITH

include adding to the research fellowship; launching new research initiatives including projects focused on state and local pension reform and cybersecurity; growing fellowships in the Library & Archives while expanding curatorial activities in the Middle East and North Africa and around Japan's modern diaspora; expanding the outreach and research activities in the Johnson Center in Washington, DC; and leveraging new platforms on the Hoover website and other distribution partnerships to embark on a program called Educating Americans in Public Policy.

Preliminary site preparation and demolition for Hoover's new building on the Stanford campus has begun. Hoover has received \$35 million in gifts for the new building, and the remaining funds needed have been pledged.

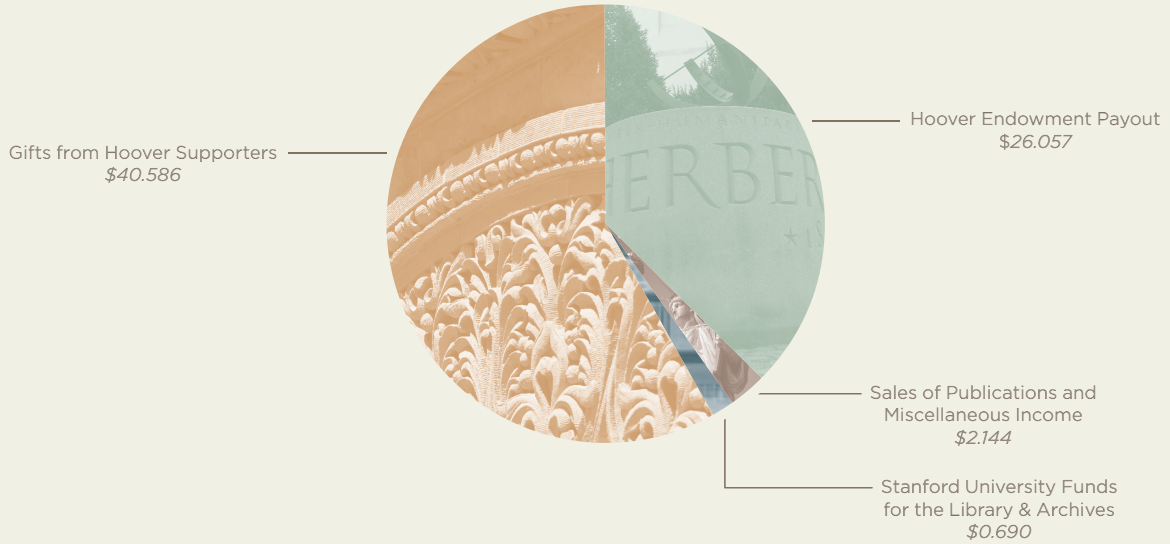
The institution had \$478 million invested in Stanford's Merged Pool for endowment funds as of August 31, 2015. In addition Hoover had \$13.5 million in unrestricted cash reserve funds.



**FUNDING SOURCES, 2014-2015**

CONSOLIDATED BUDGET (IN MILLIONS)

TOTAL \$69.477 MILLION



**EXPENDITURES, 2014-2015**

CONSOLIDATED BUDGET (IN MILLIONS)

TOTAL \$59.910 MILLION

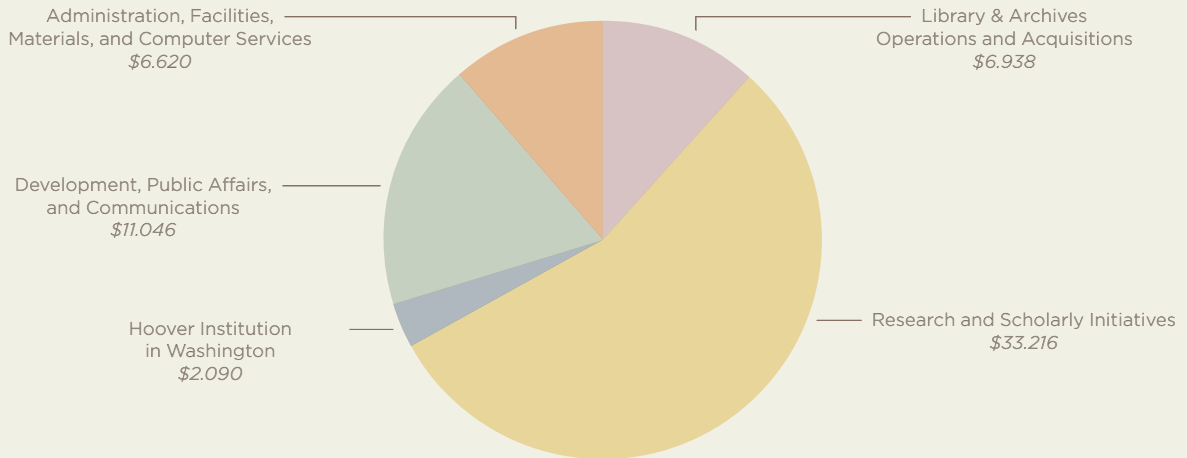




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