

HOOVER INSTITUTION

# Annual Report

2021

*Ideas Defining A Free Society*

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2021

“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**.”



In 1959, forty years after founding the Hoover Institution, Herbert Hoover affirmed its purpose in a statement to Stanford University’s Board of Trustees. An early milestone in the Institution’s evolution, these values continue to guide our work today.

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LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR & THE CHAIRMAN



*Condoleezza Rice*



*Thomas F. Stephenson*

The second century of the Hoover Institution began just as America and the world were experiencing an unprecedented set of challenges. Thanks to the hard work of our fellows and staff, we were able to adjust quickly, making it possible to continue—even accelerate—the development and dissemination of ideas to improve policy outcomes for our country and across the globe.

Amid the COVID-19 pandemic, Hoover fellows and staff, like so many others, began working from home. Despite being physically distanced, the fellowship has been more active than ever in producing research of the highest quality. Several research teams were launched in 2021 aimed at providing practical policy solutions to global issues.

The disruption caused by the pandemic led to a new report by Hoover scholars calling for substantial improvements in K–12 education. Their recommendations address the learning loss resulting from school closures and offer innovative policies that expand students’ opportunities.

China's ambitions to reshape the international order have inspired increased activities for existing initiatives and the launch of additional programs focused on expanding economic and security cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region, shifting the balance of power in Asia, and countering China's aspirations for worldwide dominance across multiple arenas.

Meaningful impacts on public policy can be implemented at state and local levels, where governments are closer and more responsive to citizens. Hoover fellows are partnering with the Alabama Innovation Commission to help the state improve its labor force, enhance its infrastructure, and strengthen its economy. We expect to expand our work in state and local jurisdictions with a new policy team that can address the concerns of governors, mayors, and other local officials.

These are just a few of the many activities from both new and existing research initiatives outlined in the pages of this report. Hoover has continued to promulgate fellows' research via traditional forms of communication and has reached record audiences through its online educational platform, podcasts, and

other media. Meanwhile, the Library & Archives team has worked assiduously to digitize collections and make them available worldwide at a time when researchers' physical access to these materials has been limited.

Sadly, this past year saw the passing of estimable members of the Hoover family, among them statesman George P. Shultz and economist Edward P. Lazear. The contributions made by these intellectual giants, both at Hoover and in their service to the nation, deserve our enduring appreciation and admiration.

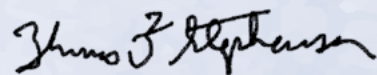
With safety measures in place, we are pleased to announce the return of fellows and staff to the Stanford campus this fall. Nothing can replace the value of human interaction in a scholarly community such as ours, which is driven by the free flow exchange of ideas.

While America and the world are still fighting new and emerging variants of COVID-19, we remain encouraged that this era will soon be behind us and that brighter days are ahead.

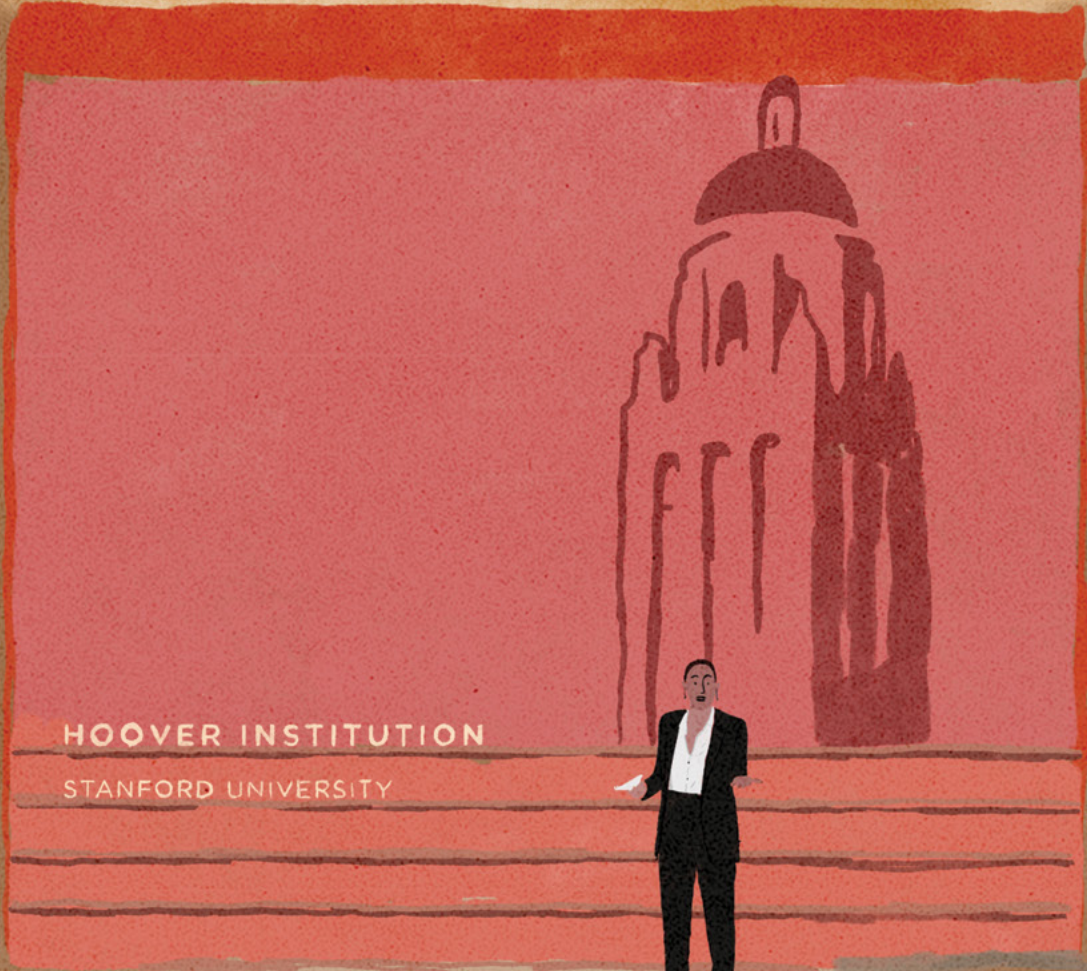
Sincerely,



Condoleezza Rice  
*Tad and Dianne Taube Director  
Thomas and Barbara Stephenson  
Senior Fellow on Public Policy*



Thomas F. Stephenson  
*Chairman, Board of Overseers*



HOOVER INSTITUTION  
STANFORD UNIVERSITY



# Research & Scholarship

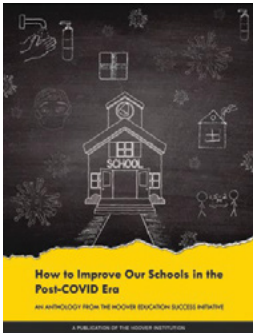


## Research & Scholarship

As America recovers from the COVID-19 pandemic, its leaders grapple with a broad set of complex policy challenges relating to the future of the nation’s security and prosperity; its citizens’ access to equal economic opportunities; and the resilience of its democratic institutions. In keeping with the Institution’s mission to be on the cutting edge of research and analysis, Hoover adapts its deep and talented team of scholars to help support the development of clear and actionable policy solutions that can enlighten and inform public officials at all levels of government, as well as society’s other important stakeholders.

### FELLOWS & INITIATIVES

## Education Crisis Reveals New Opportunities for Student Success



The Hoover Institution’s education scholars predict dire consequences for millions of American youths who have missed an entire year of in-person instruction due to COVID-19-inspired school closures. In an October 2020 report authored by Distinguished Research Fellow Margaret (Macke) Raymond, she explains that since school closures began in spring 2020, students lost between 57 to 183 days of learning in reading, with the high end of that range constituting an entire academic year. Losses in math achievement were even greater, encompassing 136 to 232 days.

In a separate report published in September 2020, Paul and Jean Hanna Senior Fellow in Education Eric Hanushek explains that these learning losses will translate to a 6 to 9 percent decrease of income over the students’ lifetimes and thus a cumulative reduction in 3 to 4 percent of GDP over the next century. Hanushek and his Hoover colleagues underscore that schools returning to business as usual will not be able to overcome these deficits. They will have to become better than they were prior to the pandemic.



*Clockwise from top left: Hoover’s education scholars Eric Hanushek, Chester E. Finn, Jr., Macke Raymond, and Paul E. Peterson are the authors of a new anthology about improving K–12 education in the post-COVID era.*

PHOTOS: HOOVER INSTITUTION

Under the aegis of the Hoover Education Success Initiative (HESI), Raymond, Hanushek, Senior Fellow Chester E. Finn, Jr., and Senior Fellow Paul E. Peterson have collaborated on a report from May 2021, *How to Improve Our Schools in the Post-COVID Era*, in which they maintain that change in the nationwide education system was overdue before COVID-19 struck but became even more urgent in the pandemic’s aftermath. They offer bold recommendations relating to teacher



compensation, school accountability, school choice, collection of student achievement data, management of school budgets in a crisis, graduation pathways, portfolio districts, and the alignment of research and policy decisions.

Each policy recommendation is informed by frontline insights from HESI's practitioner council of leading education professionals and public officials from twenty states.

## Expanding Expertise on China

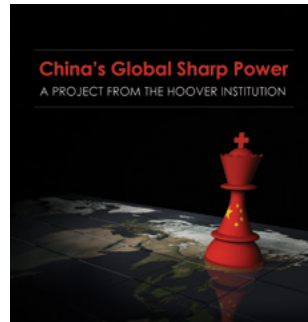
The Hoover Institution has continued to expand its research and expertise in regard to appropriate policy responses to China's global aggression.

Director Condoleezza Rice has explained that, beginning in the early 1970s and continuing until recently, US leaders have largely maintained the belief that if China were integrated into the world community, its exposure to democratic societies, markets, and principles of free trade would move it toward political liberalization. Furthermore, they assumed Beijing would become a "responsible stakeholder" in the liberal economic order from which it was deriving enormous economic benefits.

Beijing instead has exploited its access to markets, ideas, and technology that flourish in free societies to enrich itself, strengthen its authoritarian style of government, and emerge as a coercive and corrupting force on the international stage.

The People's Republic of China has amped up aggression in the South and East China Seas and on its Himalayan border with India. It has dismantled Hong Kong's rule of law and political autonomy and made threats to annex Taiwan by force. In the past year, the Hoover Institution has addressed multiple angles of the China challenge, including some of the initiatives featured here.

## Project on China's Global Sharp Power



Chaired by Senior Fellow Larry Diamond and managed by Research Fellow Glenn Tiffert, Hoover's project on China's Global Sharp Power has hosted numerous conferences and webinars this year about

Beijing's system of domestic repression and pervasive global influence operations.

In September–October 2020, the project hosted a four-day conference about how artificial intelligence and other emerging technologies are powering China's domestic surveillance state and foreign espionage activities. The conference featured panels of top China experts, with keynote remarks by Director Rice, former Google chairman and CEO Eric Schmidt, Taiwan's digital minister Audrey Tang, and Fei-Fei Li, codirector of the Stanford Institute for Human-Centered Artificial Intelligence.

In October 2020, then assistant secretary of state for the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs David R. Stilwell headlined a virtual conversation in which he described China's "United Front" strategy—that is, the enlisting of various entities associated with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in a campaign to pressure and persuade governments, corporations, and cultural institutions in other countries to support Beijing's preferred policies.

Newly appointed distinguished visiting fellow Matt Pottinger described a recent example of such influence operations during remarks at a March 2021 webinar. He explained that the previous January, CCP officials began targeting American companies to lobby the Biden administration to reverse the policies of its predecessor. Their intended message was that if

individuals and firms would like to conduct business in China, they must do so at the expense of American values, as well as maintaining silence about Beijing’s aggression and human-rights abuses. Pottinger argued that business leaders should come to terms with the emerging bipartisan consensus among US policy makers about holding China accountable, and that Americans should remain vigilant in evaluating US policy decisions on the basis of whether they strengthen or surrender American leverage against the CCP.

In June 2021, the initiative released an essay by Cai Xia, Chinese dissident and former Communist Party official, which details the CCP’s historical worldview and describes its current perspective of China’s relationship with the United States. Cai traces the history of US-China relations, beginning with President Richard Nixon’s policy of engagement; through Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping’s reformist policies of the 1980s and *taoguang yanghui* strategy (“hide our capacity to bide our time”); to the CCP’s belief in its inevitable superiority, which it demonstrated through the symbolism of the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

## Studying the Implications of China’s Digital Currency and Electronic Payment System

Hoover’s top China scholars and economists have launched a new working group that assesses the growing influence of China’s new digital currency products and electronic payment system, which are expected to give the Chinese government expansive new tools for surveillance of its economy and citizens and will also be positioned for international use.

Chaired by senior fellows Darrell Duffie and Elizabeth Economy (see page 13), the initiative features participating fellows from a diverse set of



*Darrell Duffie, cochair with Elizabeth Economy of the Digital Currency and Electronic Payments working group.*

PHOTO: ERIC DRAPER, 2019

disciplines including economics, history, and national security affairs. At the end of 2021, the working group will produce a report on the domestic conditions that led Beijing to make this new monetary policy one of its top priorities; the potential use of China’s digital currency in cross-border payments and within other countries; and the consequences it has for American interests globally and the historical dominance of the US dollar.

The report will conclude with a recommended course of action for US policy makers on the challenges posed by China’s quest to be the worldwide leader in legal tender.

## Strengthening US-India Relations

The Hoover Institution’s study of the China challenge includes another key element of geostrategic importance: US-India relations. As the world’s largest democracy and a member of the Quadrilateral Security Dialog, or Quad (along with the United States, Australia, and Japan), India will have a central leadership role in the Indo-Pacific region. India also sees China as a strategic competitor.

In addition, being the seventh-ranked economy in the world and ninth-largest trade partner with the United States, India will be a factor in the realignment of vital manufacturing supply chains. Supply chain security became an enormous cause of concern among free-market economies as China exploited its position during the course of the COVID-19 pandemic as the world's largest supplier of personal protective equipment and pharmaceutical ingredients.

Chaired by Distinguished Visiting Fellow David C. Mulford, former US ambassador to India, the working group of Hoover fellows and experts from India's business, academic, and national security communities has a unique opportunity in leveraging its expertise to advance innovative policy ideas that support the security and prosperity of both countries.

The working group regularly convenes to discuss its research and formulate policy recommendations on a host of pressing issues, including: economic recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic, the strategic relocation of supply chains, energy production and environmental development, adopting common data and technology standards, and security in the Indo-Pacific region.



*David C. Mulford, chair of the US-India program.*  
PHOTO: PATRICK BEAUDOIN, 2019



*Amy Zegart, cochair with John B. Taylor of the newly formed Technology, Economics, and Governance working group.*

PHOTO: ERIC DRAPER, 2016

## Assessing the Intersections of Technology, Economics, and Governance



The Hoover Institution established a new working group charged with assessing the opportunities and risks presented by breakthrough technologies for America's economy, democratic governance, and national security interests. Cochaired by George P. Shultz Senior Fellow in Economics John B. Taylor and Morris Arnold and Nona Jean Cox Senior Fellow Amy Zegart, the working group provides rigorous research and objective analysis on how policy makers and economic stakeholders can best grapple with a score of difficult issues, principally how the United States can maintain its competitive edge while also adapting to the disruptions technology causes in democratic institutions and in people's daily lives.

Topics of research include America's ability to compete technologically with China; the protection of American citizens and companies in cyberspace; the value of privacy in an age when unimaginable amounts of data are collected from people's use of electronic devices; and how American democracy and freedom

of speech can thrive in an era when disinformation is spreading on a large scale via popular social media platforms. The original research informs workshops for leaders in the public and private sectors, and supports the development of policy recommendations at all levels of government.

## Learning from the Catastrophes of the Past



Chaired by Milbank Family Senior Fellow Niall Ferguson and supported with resources from Hoover’s Library & Archives, the History Working Group continues to connect the value of historical

experience to a range of contemporary policy issues, from financial instability and technological disruption to the worldwide spread of infectious disease and threats to world security posed by the People’s Republic of China.

The group’s study of past pandemics in the wake of COVID-19 inspired Ferguson’s latest best-selling book, *Doom: The Politics of Catastrophe*, which measures the suffering engendered by past major disasters, such as



Niall Ferguson, chair of the History Working Group.  
PHOTO: ROD SEARCEY, 2019

plagues, earthquakes, wars, and famines, and explains why some societies have successfully mitigated their impacts while others have failed (see page 20).

In academic year 2020–21, the History Working Group hosted several seminars with historians who have conducted groundbreaking research on topics such as the origins of Chinese central banking and digital currency, the role of ancestry in defining social status, and how forestry was an important resource for state-building efforts in the early modern world.

### A RENEWED FOCUS ON STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE

Since assuming her post in September 2020, Director Rice has emphasized that America’s challenges have been disproportionately addressed through the federal government. She maintains that it is at the state and local levels where citizens can more effectively influence and shape policies that best improve their lives.

To this end, the Hoover Institution has created the State and Local Governance Program, led by Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow Stephen Haber (see page 12), which focuses on producing quality research that can guide leaders in their crafting of public policy.

## Hoover-Alabama Innovation Initiative

Currently, Stephen Haber and other Hoover fellows are working in partnership with the Alabama Innovation Commission to develop solutions for the state in attracting and retaining highly skilled labor, financing start-ups, and establishing hubs for scientific and technology innovation.

Hoover fellows engage with state officials and agencies who provide important administrative data in support of this rigorous research. Contributing scholars include Senior Fellow Joshua D. Rauh,



*John B. Taylor, chair of the Economic Policy working group.*

PHOTO: ERIC DRAPER, 2020

Macke Raymond, Eric Hanushek, Senior Fellow Jonathan Rodden, and Research Fellow Alexander Galetovic from the Hoover Institution; and Ralph Richard Banks from Stanford Law School.

In spring 2021, Hoover also invited students from the Stanford Graduate School of Business, Stanford Law School, and Alabama universities to participate in a policy lab, led by Rauh, providing them with an opportunity to gain course credit while coauthoring reports providing policy guidance to the commission.

Haber, Rauh, and their Hoover colleagues see the Hoover-Alabama Innovation Initiative as a pilot for the overarching state and local governance program. In the near term, they plan to expand this model to other states and involve more fellows who can provide policy research in their relevant areas of expertise.

## Addressing the Exodus from the Golden State

At its home base at Stanford University, the Hoover Institution provides regular analysis on the politics and policy of California. The state has experienced a remarkably high caseload during the COVID-19 pandemic, and its tax and regulatory environment has inspired an exodus of tens of thousands of people and firms to other states.

In his Economic Policy working group series, John B. Taylor and his colleagues have explored strategies that can enable the Golden State to retain its talent and create an environment for the economy to thrive. One seminar featured California's lieutenant governor Eleni Kounalakis and Senior Fellow Lee Ohanian, who discussed how Sacramento should restore governance principles that worked well in the past, including increased accountability measures, competitive tax and regulatory policies, and pension reforms.

Hoover Institution fellows and California leaders provide quarterly analysis and insight about California policy and politics through its online channel *Eureka*, edited and published by Bill Whalen, Virginia Hobbs Carpenter Distinguished Policy Fellow in Journalism. Recent issues have covered Sacramento's response to COVID-19 and the September 2021 recall election. Ohanian and Whalen also provide weekly coverage at *California on Your Mind*, Hoover's blog that chronicles current events in the Golden State.

## Hoover Takes the Pulse of the Nation

In a democracy, worthy public policy must be responsive to the concerns, needs, and aspirations of its citizens. That is why, to complement its research and identify preferred policy solutions, Hoover is now taking a biannual pulse of the American electorate, led by Davies Family Senior Fellow, Emeritus David Brady and Senior Fellow Douglas Rivers.

The most recent poll, in February 2021, measured Americans' positions on issues including government power, focusing on public health restrictions resulting from COVID-19; social and environmental justice; and trust in governing institutions. Global polling firm YouGov, where Rivers is chief scientist, selected the nationally representative sample based in part on voting behavior in the 2016 presidential election.

## NOTES FROM THE FIELD



*Stephen Haber*

PHOTO: PATRICK BEAUDOIN, 2019

## Stephen Haber

### *Senior Fellow*

In summer 2020, Alabama Governor Kay Ivey asked Condoleezza Rice, a member of the Alabama Innovation Commission (AIC) Advisory Council, if the Hoover Institution would lend its expertise on state and local politics to the initiative. Director Rice asked me to serve as lead researcher for this project. I am leading the effort to put together a report to the AIC with sections authored by Hoover fellows on areas including education, pension reform, broadband access, economic geography, and other subjects relevant to building a sustainable innovation ecosystem in Alabama.

I am very enthusiastic about this initiative because there is a lot of opportunity to have a positive impact on public policy at the state and local levels. Many state and local governments are far less polarized than the federal government. Also, we have learned from the public health response to COVID-19 that one-size-fits-all solutions don't work in a nation as diverse as the United States.

Ultimately, innovation is about people. Some of those people must know how to combine technologies that already exist with those that must be invented. Still others must know how to secure financing, build prototypes, write contracts, manufacture the product, and market it. I do not think the government should act as a central planner. It can, however, provide the infrastructure that allows economies to develop by implementing business-friendly legal and tax systems, protecting property rights, providing adequate funding for universities, connecting cities and towns with broadband internet, and creating outdoor recreational spaces.

My work stream has been mainly focused on developing outdoor recreation infrastructure, which I argue creates several benefits for a regional economy. Alabama's natural environment is immense, but the state hasn't yet been fully developed for outdoor recreation. Government revenues at the local, regional, and statewide level are largely earmarked for other purposes. This makes it difficult for the public sector to amass sufficient capital for substantial investments in outdoor recreation infrastructure.

In our report to the commission, we plan to encourage public-private partnerships and joint ventures for the expansion of recreational spaces, of which there are several success stories in Alabama. In one case, a nonprofit called Freshwater Land Trust partnered with a local Rotary club charter to purchase property in a section of Birmingham that had largely been abandoned. The trust successfully built a beautiful and functional trail, spurring the development of restaurants, bars, cafés, and condos around it. So, with a relatively modest investment, a coalition of private actors increased the economic prosperity of a neglected area.

## NOTES FROM THE FIELD

## Elizabeth Economy

### Senior Fellow

Over the past year, my research has focused primarily on the implications of China's emergence as a global power for the United States and for the international system more broadly. I finished a book, *The World According to China*, that will be published this winter. It explores China's vision for the future international order and outlines the strategies Beijing is adopting to realize that vision.

The book traces Chinese leaders' foreign policy statements and experts' debates to understand the country's strategic intentions, identifies patterns in China's behavior, and ultimately reveals Beijing's foreign policy playbook. My hope is that demystifying Chinese foreign policy in this way will help US officials develop more effective policy responses.

One increasingly important element of Beijing's foreign policy ambitions is to ensure that China plays a larger role in global financial institutions and arrangements. Stanford Graduate School of Business professor Darrell Duffie and I have been cochairing a working group exploring China's effort to develop a

digital currency, the e-CNY, and to deploy it globally. We will publish a report later this fall and have already had significant interest in it from members of the administration and Congress.

As a side project, I helped direct three workshops on the impact of China's Belt and Road Initiative in Latin America, Southeast Asia, and Africa. There was widespread agreement among scholars and officials from the various regions that China had made significant economic—and in some cases technological and political—inroads into their countries. The global nature of the US-China competition means that Washington needs to pay greater attention to the perspectives of other countries. Many, for example, do not share Washington's concerns over Huawei 5G technology and the potential for Chinese cyber-economic espionage. We need to understand why that is if we are going to build an effective coalition around a clean network. And if the United States wants to bring real international pressure to bear on China over its repressive policies in Xinjiang and Hong Kong, it needs to find ways to engage the forty-odd countries from the Middle East and Africa that typically support China's policies. Nonetheless, there continues to be a strong desire globally for an enhanced US presence.

I also continued to write on China's domestic policy. In particular I challenged the notion that China has experienced exceptional success with its economic and political model in a set of two articles: the first, "The China Model: Unexceptional Exceptionalism," published by Hoover's Human Prosperity Project, compared China with other countries having a similar per capita GDP; and the second, "China's Inconvenient Truth," published online in *Foreign Affairs*, revealed that China's society is increasingly fractured in ways that are undermining its continued economic and political success.



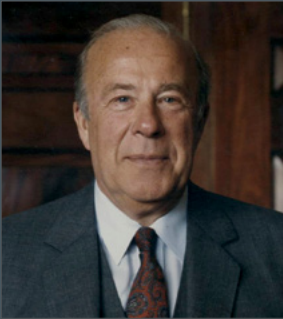
Elizabeth Economy (center) on a panel about the 2019 Hoover report *China's Influence and American Interests*.

PHOTO: HOOVER INSTITUTION, 2019

# In Memoriam

## REMEMBERING AN AMERICAN STATESMAN

### GEORGE P. SHULTZ (1920–2021)



George P. Shultz  
PHOTO: HOOVER INSTITUTION

George P. Shultz, Hoover Institution distinguished fellow, beloved colleague, accomplished diplomat and policy maker, and one of only two people in US history to serve four different presidential cabinet posts, died February 6, 2021. He was 100.

In his career of more than thirty years at the Hoover Institution, Shultz was a prolific author of influential books about a wide breadth of public policy issues. His colleagues at Hoover called him the “great convener,” because he would assemble extraordinary minds to tackle the most difficult and vexing problems. He never shied away from trying to find answers to challenges.

His most recent initiative at the Hoover Institution, *Governance in an Emerging New World*, revealed Shultz’s penchant for open discussions on how governments, institutions, and society can best respond to the world’s rapid changes. In 2016, he led the publication of *Blueprint for America*, a compilation of ideas and strategies presented by Hoover fellows on how the United States can strengthen the foundation of its civic, economic, and security architecture and reclaim its mantle of global leadership.

After graduation from Princeton University in 1942, Shultz was commissioned as a first lieutenant in the US Marine Corps just a year after America began engagement in the Second World War. Following his World War II service, Shultz attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), where he earned his PhD specializing in industrial economics, and subsequently became an associate professor there.

During this period of his early career, he participated in labor arbitration panels and took a

sabbatical to serve as senior economist on President Dwight Eisenhower’s Council of Economic Advisers, from 1955 to 1957.

He left MIT to join the University of Chicago Business School in 1957 and assumed the role of dean in 1962. While continuing his work in Chicago, Shultz served as an informal adviser to presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson before being selected by President Richard Nixon to become the nation’s eleventh US secretary of labor. From 1969 to 1970, in addition to his duties as labor secretary, Shultz was selected as vice chair of the cabinet committee on education, in which he successfully led efforts to desegregate schools in seven Southern states.

Shultz went on to become the first director of the Office of Management and Budget (1970–72) and then sixty-second secretary of the Treasury (1972–74). During his tenure in the Nixon administration, he agreed with the president’s judgment on closing the so-called gold window and allowing the dollar to be traded freely with other currencies at a flexible exchange rate. However, he offered dissent to the president’s decisions on price controls and freezes, which were influenced largely by then Federal Reserve chair Arthur Burns and then Treasury secretary John Connally.

Following Ronald Reagan’s election to the presidency in 1980, Shultz assembled a group of the nation’s top economists to advise the president-elect on crafting an economic strategy that would set the course for the decade’s high rates of economic growth. Among other advice, the group’s strategy memo principally called for a reduction in individual tax rates, the removal of unnecessary and overburdensome regulations, and working with the Federal Reserve to implement a pro-growth and anti-inflationary monetary policy.

President Reagan selected Shultz as the nation’s sixtieth secretary of state in the second year of his



administration. Shultz said that his training as an economist was pivotal to his preparation for the job of America's chief diplomat. "An economist is by training a strategist who will try to understand the constellation of forces present in a situation and try to arrange them to point toward a desirable result," Shultz later wrote in his memoir *Turmoil and Triumph* (1993). "A sense of strategy is critical in any negotiation: when to make concessions, when to hold firm, when to let things cool off, when to be intransigent."

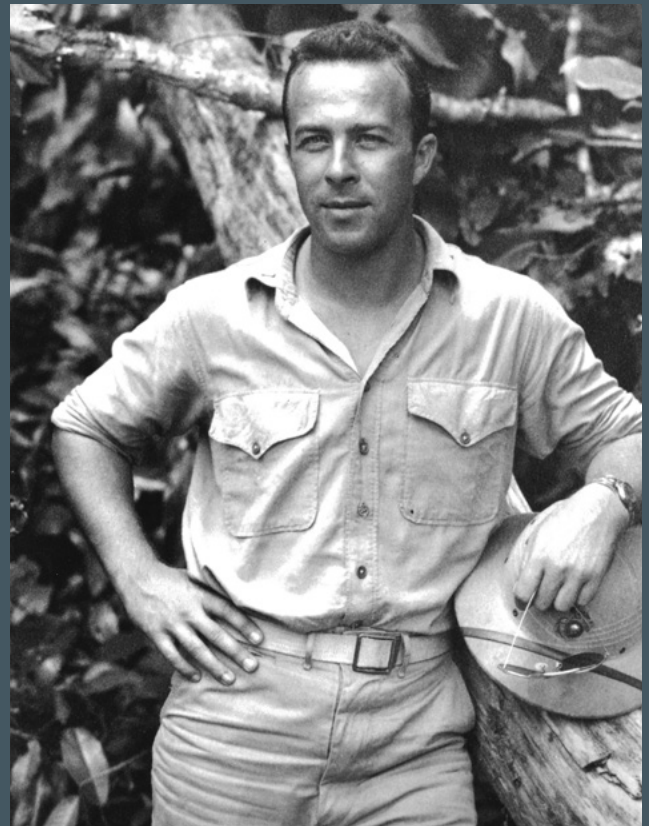
Among his many foreign policy accomplishments, Shultz led efforts to forge a firm but flexible strategy against the Soviet Union that moved beyond the dueling philosophies of containment and détente and toward a realistic policy of the United States pursuing its national interests without constraints. This strategy emphasized preventing Soviet expansion in the third world, addressing human rights, and making progress toward a stable and constructive US-Soviet relationship. In his 2015 book *The End of the Cold War: 1985–1991*, Hoover Institution senior fellow Robert Service wrote that Shultz proved to be a "brilliant enabler" of Reagan in negotiations over nuclear arms with the Soviet Union. Shultz was at the president's side for his three summits with Soviet general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev between 1985 and 1987.

Shultz counseled the president to hold firm against giving up the United States' Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), a planned high-tech, satellite-based shield aimed to prevent attacks from Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles. This point rattled Gorbachev and exposed the USSR's vulnerability in arms negotiations.

The first summit in November 1985 ended without an agreement but helped spur progress for future talks. During the second summit in October 1986 in Reykjavík, Iceland, two days of negotiations between Reagan and Gorbachev resulted in a draw, as the American president again refused to yield on giving up

SDI as a condition for Russia's dismantling of offensive weapons systems. At the third US-Soviet summit in Washington, DC, in December 1987, Gorbachev dropped his demands to remove SDI and signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, which eliminated an entire class of weapons in the European theater.

Today, nuclear arms have been reduced to one-third of what they were at the end of the Cold War. Working closely with former secretary of defense William Perry, former secretary of state Henry Kissinger, and former senator Sam Nunn, Shultz devoted many years at Hoover to seeking to reduce the threat of nuclear conflict.



*George P. Shultz as a US Marine Corps officer during World War II.*  
PHOTO: ESTATE OF GEORGE P. SHULTZ

# In Memoriam

## HOOVER LOSES AWARD-WINNING ECONOMIST AND PUBLIC SERVANT

### EDWARD P. LAZEAR (1948–2020)



Edward P. Lazear  
PHOTO: ROBERT HOLMGREN

Edward Paul Lazear, award-winning economist, public servant, and the Hoover Institution’s Morris Arnold and Nona Jean Cox Senior Fellow, died November 23, 2020. He was 72.

Lazear was affiliated with the Hoover Institution and the Stanford community for over three decades. In 1985, Lazear joined the ranks of Hoover’s senior fellowship, and from 1992 to 2017 he was a professor of human resources and economics at Stanford University’s Graduate School of Business. Since 2017, he held the post of Davies Family Professor of Economics at Stanford. Prior to teaching at Stanford, Lazear served in various appointments at the University of Chicago School of Business.

Lazear was a popular teacher who inspired enthusiasm about economics in generations of students. He was also a bridge builder to fellow faculty members across the Stanford campus, and for over two decades he energetically convened his colleagues to his colloquium, appropriately called “the Eddie lunch.” From 2006 to 2009, Lazear served as chair of the Council of Economic Advisers under President George W. Bush. In this role, Lazear was central to crafting the federal government’s policy response to the global financial crisis of 2007–8.

Lazear was the founding editor of the *Journal of Labor Economics*. In 1996, he devised the concept and bylaws for the Society of Labor Economists (SOLE), and later became SOLE’s president. In September 2020, the organization named a prize in Lazear’s honor for individuals who have made significant contributions

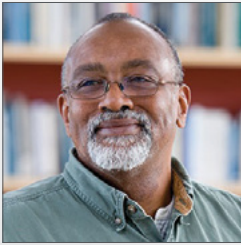
to the field of labor economics, devoted a portion of their careers for the benefit of civil society, and actively helped shape public policy.

Lazear wrote several books, including *Personnel Economics* (1995). He also received numerous prizes, including the 1998 Leo Melamed Biennial Prize for the best research by a business school professor, the 2004 IZA Prize in Labor Economics from the Institute for the Study of Labor, the 2006 Jacob Mincer Award for lifetime achievement in the field of labor economics, the 1994 Distinguished Teaching Award from Stanford University’s Graduate School of Business, and the 2000 Distinguished Service Award from Stanford University.

In 2020, Lazear, in collaboration with Robert Wesson Senior Fellow Scott W. Atlas, launched Socialism and Free-Market Capitalism: The Human Prosperity Project. The Hoover initiative, which has produced several essays, presentations, and media authored by fellows, is geared toward informing audiences about the arguments and legacies of the world’s dominant and fiercely debated economic systems. Lazear was also very active on Hoover’s educational platform, PolicyEd. Lazear’s research was featured in the PolicyEd series *Examining America’s Exceptional Economy*, in which he demonstrated that America and its people have prospered by prioritizing economic freedom, industriousness, low taxes, light regulation, free trade, and openness to immigration. His video about immigration reform for the *Perspectives on Policy* series was viewed by users more than half a million times.

## APPOINTMENT OF NEW FELLOWS

The Hoover Institution is pleased to announce the appointment of new fellows in the 2020–21 academic year.



Glenn Loury  
PHOTO: BROWN UNIVERSITY

### Glenn Loury

*Distinguished Visiting Fellow*

Glenn Loury is a prominent economist and academic. He is the Merton P. Stoltz Professor of the Social Sciences and professor of economics at Brown University. He has

also taught at Boston University, Northwestern, and Harvard, where he became the school's first African American tenured professor. An award-winning author, Loury writes mainly on themes of racial inequality and social policy. His books include *One by One from the Inside Out: Essays and Reviews on Race and Responsibility in America*; *The Anatomy of Racial Inequality*; *Ethnicity, Social Mobility, and Public Policy: Comparing the US and UK*; and *Race, Incarceration, and American Values*.



Tyler Goodspeed  
PHOTO: WHITE HOUSE

### Tyler Goodspeed

*Kleinbeinz Fellow*

Tyler Goodspeed joins the Hoover Institution after serving the past four years on the White House Council of Economic Advisers, including as its vice chair and acting chair. He was

instrumental in the formulation of the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, as well as the Trump administration's economic response to the coronavirus pandemic. Prior to his service on the council, Goodspeed was on the faculty of economics at the University of Oxford and a lecturer in economics at King's College. He is an expert on financial regulation, banking, and monetary policy, especially the historical role of credit access in mitigating the adverse effects of aggregate shocks.



Matt Pottinger  
PHOTO: HOOVER INSTITUTION

### Matt Pottinger

*Distinguished Visiting Fellow*

Matt Pottinger served in the White House over the past four years as the National Security Council's Asia director (2017–19) and deputy national security

advisor (2019–21). In these roles, he coordinated the administration's work in the Indo-Pacific region, particularly its shift on China policy. Prior to his government service, Pottinger, a fluent Mandarin speaker, was a reporter in China in the late 1990s and early 2000s for Reuters and the *Wall Street Journal*. Following his career in journalism, Pottinger was a commissioned officer in the US Marine Corps and served in three combat deployments between 2007 and 2010.



Jendayi Frazer  
PHOTO: HOOVER INSTITUTION

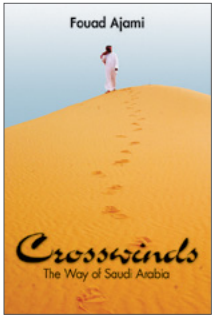
### Jendayi Frazer

*Duignan Distinguished Visiting Fellow*

Jendayi Frazer brings decades of experience in government and academia, where her focus has been on strengthening regional

security cooperation, and economic and political integration in Africa. Frazer served on the National Security Council as senior director for African affairs (2001–4), US ambassador to South Africa (2004–5), and US assistant secretary of state for African affairs (2005–9). Frazer has served in various teaching and research posts, including as international affairs fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, distinguished public service professor at Carnegie Mellon, and assistant professor at Harvard and the University of Denver.

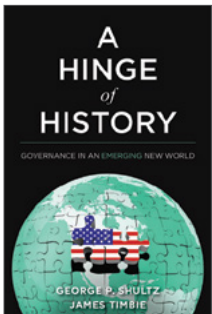
RECENT BOOKS BY HOOVER FELLOWS



***Crosswinds: The Way of Saudi Arabia***

BY FOUAD AJAMI

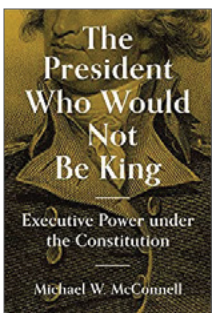
The late Herbert and Jane Dwight Senior Fellow Fouad Ajami (1945–2014) presents a firsthand look at the political culture of Saudi Arabia and its foreign policy from the 1990s to 2010. From the influence of Islam in public life to Saudi rulers’ attitudes toward presidential administrations, Ajami fills a significant gap in the understanding of that country. (Hoover Institution Press, 2020)



***A Hinge of History: Governance in an Emerging New World***

BY GEORGE P. SHULTZ AND JAMES TIMBIE

The world is at an inflection point, much like the one it faced at the end of World War II. *A Hinge of History*, based on a multiyear investigation hosted by the Hoover Institution with experts from around the world, offers concrete policy solutions to emerging global challenges, including rapid advancement in technology, shifting demographics, and volatile societies. (Hoover Institution Press, 2020)

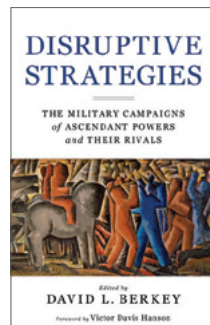


***The President Who Would Not Be King: Executive Power under the Constitution***

BY MICHAEL MCCONNELL

One of the most complicated issues the framers faced in constructing the US Constitution was how to define the powers of the executive in a way that he could

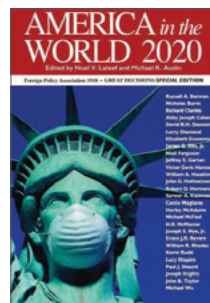
be energetic and independent without taking on the attributes of an autocrat. In *The President Who Would Not Be King*, Senior Fellow Michael McConnell writes a comprehensive account of how the founding fathers created a model for the presidency by examining the historical powers of the British monarchy, and consciously removing those powers that made this institution tyrannical. (Princeton University Press, 2020)



***Disruptive Strategies: The Military Campaigns of Ascendant Powers and Their Rivals***

EDITED BY DAVID L. BERKEY

What happens when a rising power disrupts a dominant state’s supremacy? In a series of essays assembled and edited by Research Fellow David L. Berkey, historians examine a range of past military conflicts—as well as a hypothetical future clash between the United States and China—to discover how hegemons and their challengers have failed or succeeded in their ambitions to come out on top. (Hoover Institution Press, 2021)

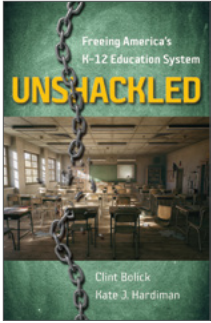


***America in the World 2020***

EDITED BY NOEL V. LATEEF AND MICHAEL R. AUSLIN

In this volume of essays published by the Foreign Policy Association, Hoover Institution fellows and other eminent scholars provide insight on current geopolitical trends throughout the world, especially those shaped by the COVID-19 pandemic, and the challenges they present for the new presidential administration. (Foreign Policy Association, 2020)

## RECENT BOOKS BY HOOVER FELLOWS

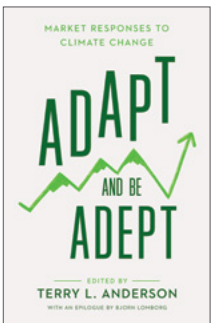


***Unshackled: Freeing America's K-12 Education System***

BY CLINT BOLICK AND KATE J. HARDIMAN

It's time we came to grips with educational inequality and confront an ossified educational system that fails to meet the demands and challenges of the

modern world. Generations of unsuccessful top-down reforms and misdirected resources have diverted focus from those the system is supposed to serve: the students. In *Unshackled*, Research Fellow Clint Bolick and Kate J. Hardiman present a vision of systemic, bottom-up reform that gives those most invested—parents and teachers—far more power over children's education and future. (Hoover Institution Press, 2021)

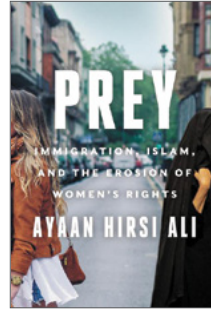


***Adapt and Be Adept: Market Responses to Climate Change***

EDITED BY TERRY L. ANDERSON

Most current climate policies require hard-to-enforce collective action and focus on reducing greenhouse gases rather than adapting to their negative

effects. John and Jean De Nault Senior Fellow Terry L. Anderson brings together essays from nine leading policy analysts who argue that market-based responses to environmental conditions can deliver much more, faster, and more cheaply than any comprehensive climate policy. (Hoover Institution Press, 2021)



***Prey: Immigration, Islam, and the Erosion of Women's Rights***

BY AYAAN HIRSI ALI

Europe is experiencing a shift in the attitude toward women, especially in the public space. Working-class women have reported high rates of sexual

harassment or assault by young males from Muslim-majority countries, where women are not afforded the same legal protections as they are in the West. In *Prey*, Research Fellow Ayaan Hirsi Ali argues that the failure of immigration policy in Europe has resulted in a deeply polarized political culture, leaving little room for or rational voices to speak up and advance policies that can adequately protect women's rights. (HarperCollins, 2021)



***Negotiating the New START Treaty***

BY ROSE GOTTEMOELLER

In 2010, the United States and the Russian Federation signed the new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START), which placed verifiable limits on all Russian-

deployed intercontinental-range nuclear weapons. In this book, Research Fellow Rose Gottemoeller, the first woman to lead major arms talks, offers an insider's account of the events that led up to the treaty, including negotiations between the American and Russian delegations in Geneva in 2009 and 2010, decisive conversations between presidents Barack Obama and Dmitry Medvedev, and the arduous work of gaining bipartisan support for the treaty in the Senate. (Cambria Press, 2021)

RECENT BOOKS BY HOOVER FELLOWS

**Niall Ferguson Describes the Man-Made Nature of All Disasters**

***“Pandemics, like world war and global financial crises, are history’s greatest interruptions. Whether we consider them to be man-made or naturally occurring, whether they are prophesied or strike like bolts from the blue, they are also moments of great revelation.”*** —Niall Ferguson



Niall Ferguson, the author of thoroughly researched books on subjects including Western civilization, the perils of war, the formation of the modern financial system, and the power of social networks, demonstrates to readers in his latest book, *Doom: The Politics*

*of Catastrophe*, his command of yet another historical discipline: disasters and the ability for societies to cope with them.

Researched and written as America and the world struggled to respond to the outbreak of COVID-19, Ferguson explains that such disasters are the great punctuation marks of history. Before the pandemic, however, he began to realize that the framework in which societies think about shocks and misfortunes had been fundamentally flawed, partly because it draws a false distinction between natural and man-made disasters.

“Catastrophes are nearly always politically mediated,” Ferguson asserts. “The only exception would be if an asteroid hit the Earth of the size that killed the dinosaurs, but it’s been a very long time since that happened.”

The pages of *Doom* are rich with several salient examples. He asks why, despite the erasure of Pompeii and Herculaneum wrought by Mount Vesuvius in AD 79, nearby Naples later grew into one of Italy’s largest cities. In other cases, disasters are the direct result of human agency. Ferguson describes how Ukraine, abundant in grain supplies, was plagued with a famine not because of bad harvests in 1931 and 1932, but because Joseph Stalin’s decision to abolish private property and herd the peasantry into collective farms destroyed the incentives to maintain agricultural output.

Ferguson says the great paradox of *Doom* is that despite modern society’s advancement in scientific knowledge, we haven’t gotten much better at anticipating and coping with crises. The growth of complex webs of global transportation has only increased our vulnerability to a new pathogen like COVID-19. At the same time, online networks have also exposed the United States and other democracies to the threat of information warfare from adversaries as well as pandemics of misinformation. Furthermore, democracies such as the United States seem increasingly hampered by slow-moving bureaucracies.

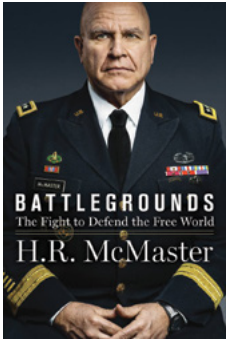
Ferguson argues that the most comparable crisis to COVID-19 was the 1957–58 H2N2 influenza. The “Asian flu” afflicted the nation’s youth much more than COVID, yet the Eisenhower administration provided a very different response. There were no lockdowns or school closures, and a vaccine was rolled out in a matter of months.

“The parallel is not exact . . . [but] I think the reason the Eisenhower administration performed with such efficiency was because its leadership had planned the D-Day landings. They really were very good at doing difficult things fast and I think we’ve lost that today.” (Penguin Press, 2021)

## RECENT BOOKS BY HOOVER FELLOWS

## H. R. McMaster Advocates Strategic Empathy for US Foreign Policy

***“America’s stature as the only superpower encouraged a preoccupation with self, and an associated neglect of the influence that others, especially adversaries, have over the future course of events. After the Cold War, Americans began to define the world mainly in relation to their own aspirations and desires.”*** —H. R. McMaster



In February 1991, Fouad and Michelle Ajami Senior Fellow H. R. McMaster was a young captain who commanded a US Army cavalry troop in Southeast Iraq as part of a coalition offensive to destroy Saddam Hussein’s Republican Guard and return Iraqi-occupied

Kuwait to the Kuwaitis. McMaster’s Eagle Troop incurred no casualties and defeated a much larger defending enemy force.

In his recent book *Battlegrounds: The Fight to Defend the Free World*, McMaster writes that the battle was one lopsided victory in a war full of lopsided military victories. Less than a year later, the Soviet Union collapsed, marking the free world’s triumph over Communist totalitarianism in the Cold War.

However, in ensuing decades the view that the arc of history guaranteed the primacy of free and open societies fostered a false sense of security and a tendency to neglect the authorship that others—especially rivals and adversaries—have over the future.

“Across multiple administrations, US foreign policy and national security strategy has suffered from

‘Strategic Narcissism’: the tendency to view the world only in relation to the United States and to assume that the future course of events depends primarily on US decisions or plans,” McMaster writes.

In *Battlegrounds*, McMaster recounts his career in the army and in the White House as national security advisor to President Donald Trump. However, this book is less memoir and more a guide for Americans to better understand the challenges the nation faces in the twenty-first century.

McMaster observes that great-power competition has come back with a vengeance: Russia has invaded Georgia, annexed Crimea, invaded eastern Ukraine, intervened in the Syrian and Libyan wars, and waged a sustained campaign of cyber-enabled information warfare and political subversion against Europe and the United States. Meanwhile, China aspires to dominate the Indo-Pacific and challenge the United States globally. North Korea and Iran are pursuing nuclear weapons and missiles that present a grave danger to security. Jihadist terrorist organizations are becoming more capable and present an ever-growing threat.

To rebuild strategic competence, leaders need to base policies and strategies on “strategic empathy,” a term he borrows from historian and National Security Visiting Fellow Zachary Shore. Empathy begins with understanding the emotions, ideology, and aspirations that drive and constrain rivals, adversaries, and enemies. The American people need to know what is at stake in competitions abroad and what strategy will deliver a favorable outcome at an acceptable cost.

McMaster believes the communication of strategies by leaders should be consistent with what British prime minister Winston Churchill described as “an all-embracing view which presents the beginning and the end, the whole and each part, as one instantaneous impression retentively and untiringly held in the mind.” (HarperCollins, 2020)







*Library &  
Archives*

## Library & Archives

This year the Hoover Institution celebrated the eightieth anniversary of Hoover Tower, which has become an iconic part of the Stanford University landscape and, by extension, the surrounding Silicon Valley. In 1941, the tower was dedicated as the new home for the expansive special collections of the Hoover Institution Library. Today, the Hoover Institution Library & Archives continues to advance President Herbert Hoover’s mission for the Institution by fulfilling its strategic priorities of acquiring important historical collections on war, revolution, and peace; digitizing and expanding access to the collections; and engaging with the global scholarly community through research, fellowships, education, and outreach. This past year, the Library & Archives expanded its service to the research community while also protecting the health and well-being of staff and researchers. The Library & Archives is now open again to all researchers.

### PROTECTING CULTURAL HERITAGE

#### The Return of the Ba’th Party Archives

One of the most significant moments in the Library & Archives’ history was returning millions of documents from Saddam Hussein’s Ba’th Party to Iraq after caring for them for more than a decade. The return of the Ba’th Party archives was the culmination of a multiyear planning process between the Hoover Institution, the government of Iraq, and the US government.

The Ba’th Party records came to the Library & Archives in 2008 at the request of the Iraq Memory Foundation, with support from the Iraqi government, during a time when the documents were at risk of destruction after the fall of the regime. Since the records were first made available in the Library & Archives reading room, hundreds of researchers have accessed the collection and used them to write books, newspaper and journal articles, and dissertations.

Materials from the collection have also appeared in exhibitions, classes, and tours. The collection is considered to be the world’s largest and most significant archive of a modern authoritarian regime.



*Top: In 2003, the Iraq Memory Foundation discovered the archives of the Ba’th Party in poor condition in the basement of the party’s Regional Command Center in Baghdad. Bottom: A US military cargo plane holding more than six million pages from Ba’th Party documents prepares to take off from Travis Air Force Base for Baghdad in August 2020.*

PHOTOS: IRAQ MEMORY FOUNDATION (TOP); 60TH AIR MOBILITY WING (BOTTOM)

At the end of August 2020, the carefully packed records, totaling 243 enclosed pallets, were flown by a US Air Force cargo plane from Travis Air Force Base, received by the Iraqi government through the Iraqi embassy in Washington, DC, and placed in a protected location. The digitized collection is accessible from the Library & Archives reading rooms at Hoover's Stanford University and Washington, DC, offices.

## Supporting Remote Researchers

Over the past year, the Library & Archives served researchers from around the globe remotely, and in person in the Institution's reading room. To ensure the safety of essential staff and Stanford affiliates who were allowed to visit campus, a Hoover Institution COVID Recovery team developed socially distanced physical spaces and pathways and followed Stanford University health-check protocols and California state requirements. In order to provide safe access to the reading room, the Library & Archives established a by-appointment system. Since September 2020, its research support services delivered approximately eighty thousand pages of scanned materials to researchers.

One graduate student from Serbia reflected upon the experience: "In these unsteady times, when I can't go to work in the archives that are thirty kilometers away from my home, I received materials from a foreign country, free of charge, in a short time frame. If that is not amazing, I don't know what is. I don't think there is an institution like the Hoover Archives on this planet."

## EXPANDING ACCESS TO HOOVER'S COLLECTIONS

The Digital First Initiative team has built the technological infrastructure, using both on-site and proprietary systems, to support a robust digitization pipeline. The goal of the initiative is to provide access to digitized collections to anyone, on any internet-enabled device, anywhere. The team is now turning to scaling up production.

This past year the Afghan Serials Collection, the world's largest single group of digitized magazines and newspapers from Afghanistan, was made available for research. It includes more than 420 publications (most from the 1960s to the 2000s) affiliated with a wide spectrum of political movements, from monarchists and communists to jihadists and post-Taliban parties. All of the 850,000 pages (in Persian, Arabic, Urdu, and English) have been captured by optical character recognition (OCR) so that full-text search is possible. The project was made possible with the support of a Hoover overseer and collaboration between the Library & Archives and the original collector of the material, who ran a private library in Kabul and wanted the material preserved.



*Image from Afghan Serials Collection database.*

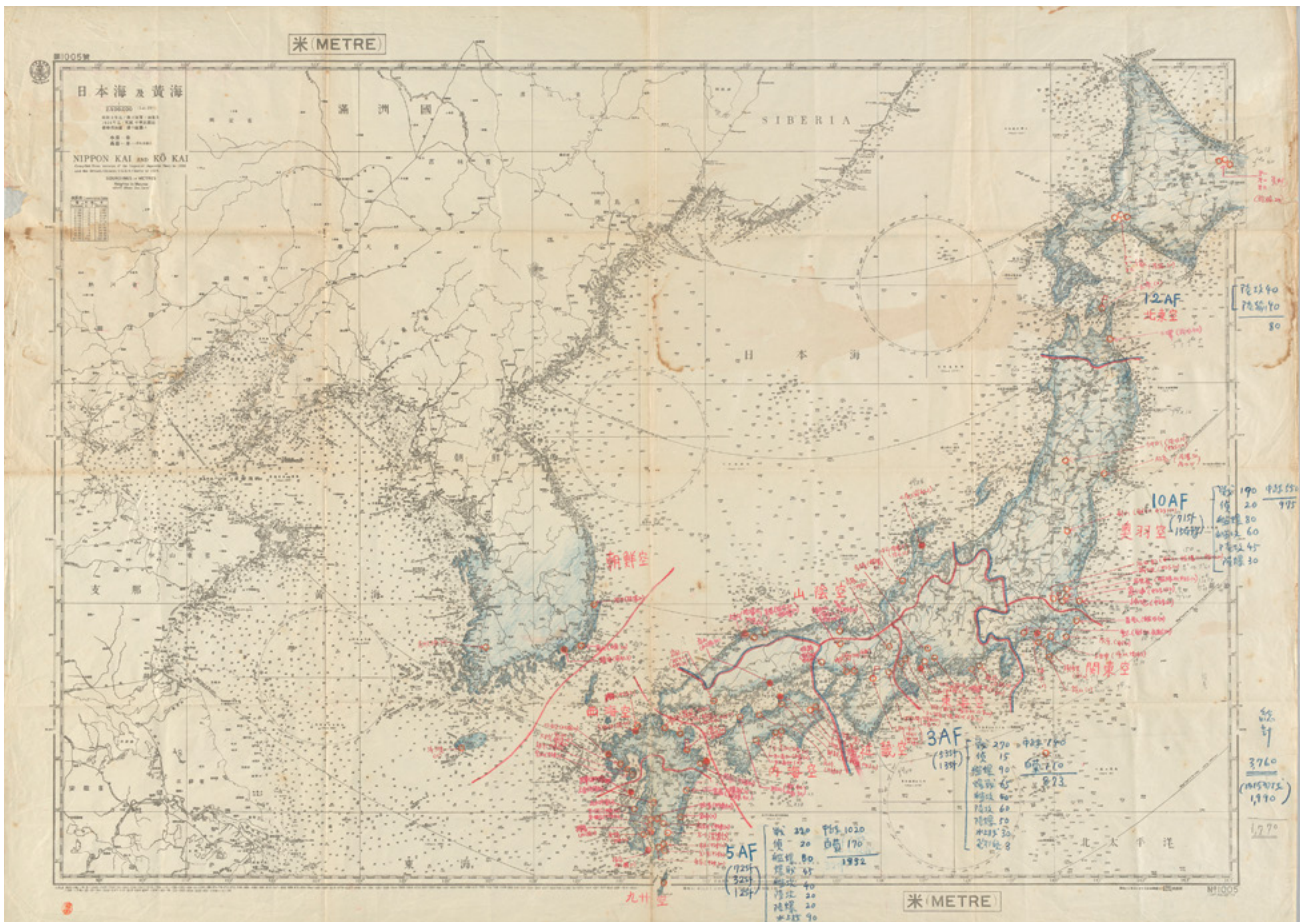
PHOTO: EAST VIEW INFORMATION SERVICES

NEW COLLECTIONS

Restrictions on travel may have impacted the pace of new acquisitions, but curators have continued to build the relationships needed to bring in new collections, and they have identified and are working on opportunities in their geographic areas of expertise. Here, Hoover curators describe significant recent acquisitions.

Captain Mitsuo Fuchida Collection

The entire private collection of Captain Mitsuo Fuchida was generously gifted by the Fuchida family. Fuchida, who was a commanding pilot of the first wave of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, survived the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Battle of Midway, and the atomic bomb of Hiroshima. As one of the few Japanese survivors and primary participants of the Pearl Harbor attack, Fuchida held a distinct perspective that contributed to the understanding of the Pacific theater in World War II.



An Imperial Japanese Navy map that was used in the operation Ketsu-Go, which was a contingency plan for a possible American invasion of Japan.

PHOTO: HOOVER INSTITUTION LIBRARY & ARCHIVES

Fuchida did a great favor to historians and students of the war's history by refusing to destroy documentary evidence, even though its preservation may have been seen as a betrayal to the Japanese military. Materials Fuchida preserved include the Imperial Japanese Navy map that was used in the air force strategy for Ketsu-Go—a naval battle plan for the expected American landing in Japan. The Fuchida collection encompasses personal accounts on a range of topics as well as annotated photographs, including descriptively captioned photo albums that offer a glimpse into the lives of Imperial Japanese Navy officers on the aircraft carrier *Akagi* and the anticipation leading up to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The albums also capture the somber atmosphere that prevailed among the staff officers of the Combined Fleet in 1945, before Japan's formal surrender aboard the USS *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay.

—Kaoru Ueda, curator for the Japanese  
Diaspora Collection

## Wang Jingwei Papers

Wang Jingwei was born in Guangdong Province, China, to an educated family. After studying in



Wang Jingwei was a rival of Chiang Kai-shek within China's Nationalist Party.

PHOTO: HOOVER INSTITUTION  
LIBRARY & ARCHIVES

Japan on a government scholarship, he joined the Revolutionary Alliance and became a national hero and trusted follower of Sun Yat-sen's Nationalist government. Wang took over as chairman after Sun's death in 1925, but a military coup by Chiang Kai-shek, Wang's rival within the Chinese Nationalist Party, forced



Wang Jingwei's written corrections for his own manuscript (ca. 1938) are among the most valuable artifacts in his collection at the Hoover Library & Archives.

PHOTO: PAUL IM, GREAT-GRANDSON OF WANG JINGWEI

Wang to resign and leave for Europe. Following Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931, Wang formed a coalition with Chiang Kai-shek, serving as premier of Nationalist China with a main responsibility of handling China's difficult relations with Japan. His unpopular reconciliation policy toward Tokyo eventually impaired Wang's position as a national leader and almost cost him his life. This drew Wang toward the "peace movement" and his becoming chairman of a newly established Nationalist government under Japan's sponsorship, a move he believed as choosing a different path to save the Chinese nation. Wang Jingwei's personal papers include family correspondence; Wang's writings and manuscripts; and valuable artifacts created or collected by Wang, including calligraphy, paintings, and seals. The collection complements official records stored in China, Taiwan, and Japan and provides valuable personal information about one of the most controversial and complicated political figures of twentieth-century China.

—Hsiao-ting Lin, curator for the  
Modern China Collection

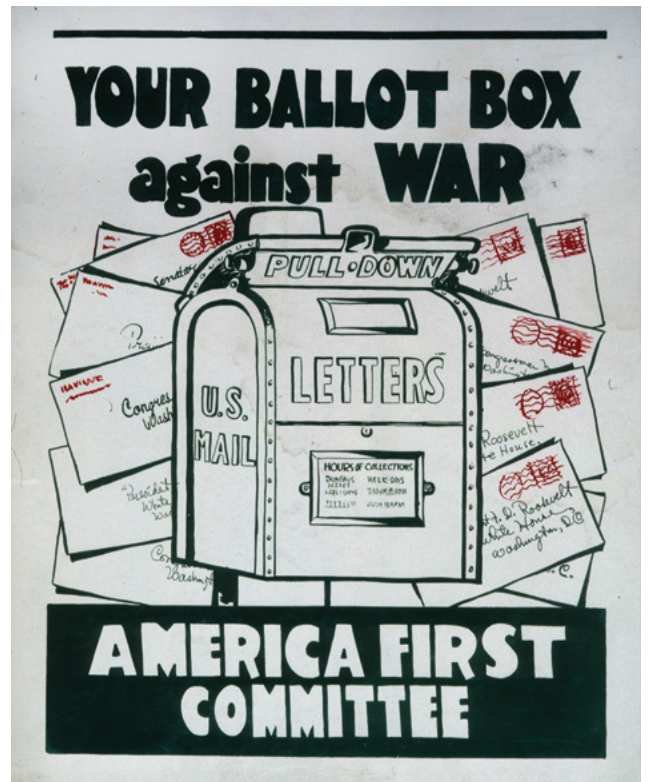
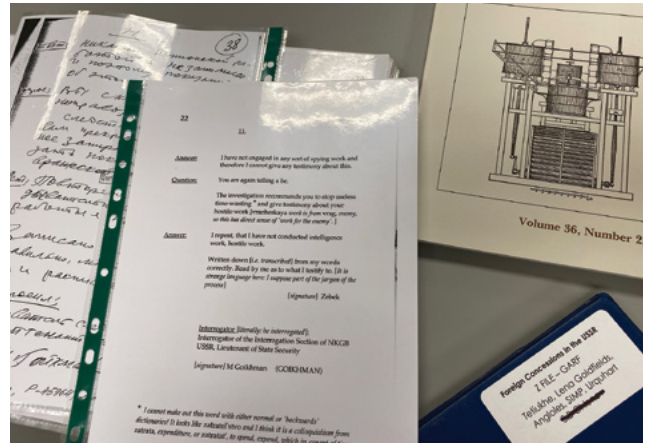
## Sonia Melnikova-Raich Papers

The Sonia Melnikova-Raich papers represent her work collecting and translating a large volume of documents from various Soviet archives on foreign concessions in Soviet Russia in the 1920s and 1930s. These concessions represented an early Soviet attempt to draw in foreign capital and technical expertise to develop various mining enterprises (including gold, tungsten, and manganese deposits). Among those involved on the US side were Averell Harriman and Armand Hammer. These translations are an excellent resource for students seeking to gain archival experience and study international topics without the requisite foreign-language knowledge. Using them in introductory history courses helps draw more undergraduates into the archives and exposes them to new methodologies and hands-on research experience, where before they may have been intimidated by primary sources and handicapped by a lack of language command. This is but the first set of Melnikova-Raich's papers. Additional papers documenting her experience as a Soviet "refusenik" (refused an exit visa) in the 1970s are expected to be included in the collection in the future.

—Anatol Shmelev, *Robert Conquest Curator for the Russia and Eurasia Collection*

## America First Committee Collections

Since the close of World War II, the Library & Archives has held the records of the America First Committee (AFC), one of the most important isolationist organizations in US history. From September 1940 until the bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the more than eight hundred thousand members of the anti-interventionist AFC rallied the American public against a war they believed would



Top: Sonia Melnikova-Raich papers. Bottom: A poster for the America First Committee, protesting the United States' entry into World War II.

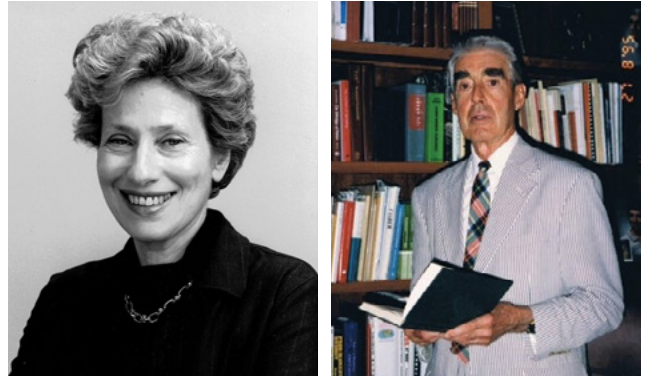
PHOTOS: HOOVER INSTITUTION LIBRARY & ARCHIVES

bring political and economic ruin to the country, and possibly the end of democracy itself. Led by celebrity aviator Charles Lindbergh, the committee sought to unite Americans against war despite rising fear about Adolf Hitler's authoritarian ambitions. They opened local chapters around the country, provided antiwar literature to the public, sponsored enormous rallies, and influenced Congress members and policy. This year, Hoover has acquired two new collections that augment its existing AFC collection and document the fierce controversy over America's joining the Allied war effort during World War II. The papers of the AFC's founder, Robert Douglas Stuart Jr., illuminate the grassroots organizing of the AFC. The papers of historian Justus Doenecke, the foremost living expert on the committee and anti-interventionism, include interviews with former committee members and notes for his seminal work, *In Danger Undaunted*.

—Jean McElwee Cannon, curator for the  
*North American Collections*

## Economists' Papers: June O'Neill and Richard H. Timberlake Jr.

Manuscripts, correspondence, publications, and other historical materials related to the lives and careers of June O'Neill and Richard H. Timberlake Jr. provide insight on these free-market economists. June O'Neill has authored several notable books and articles on the economics of human capital; wage differentials based on gender, education, and race; and health care reform. She served on the Council of Economic Advisers during the Nixon administration and was director of the Congressional Budget Office from 1995 until 1999. Following her posts in government, she served as director of the Center for the Study of Business and Government at Baruch College, where she recently retired as the Morton Wollman Professor of Economics.



Left: June O'Neill. Right: Richard H. Timberlake Jr.

PHOTOS: HOOVER INSTITUTION LIBRARY & ARCHIVES

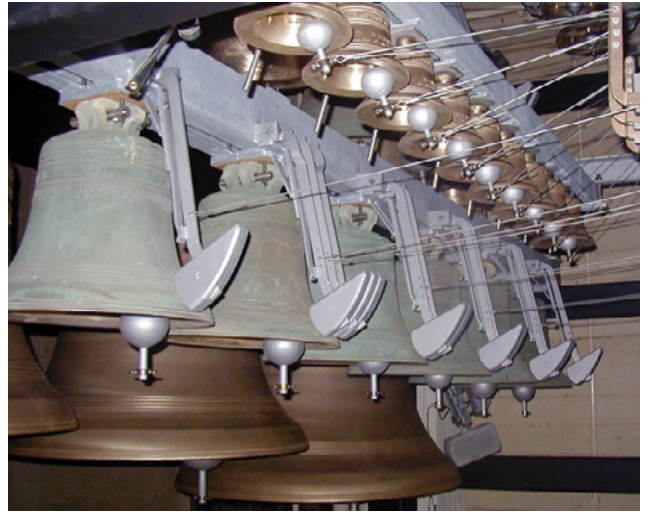
Richard H. Timberlake Jr. was an expert on the Federal Reserve, banking, and legal tender, and a contemporary of Milton Friedman and Friedrich von Hayek. He examined the causes of the Great Depression and advocated free banking. Prior to his career as an economist, Timberlake served as a pilot during World War II and was awarded three Purple Heart medals.

—Jean McElwee Cannon, curator for the  
*North American Collections*





Herbert Hoover at Hoover Tower dedication, June 20, 1941.  
PHOTO: HOOVER INSTITUTION LIBRARY & ARCHIVES



Hoover Tower carillon bells.  
PHOTO: LINDA A. CICERO, STANFORD NEWS SERVICE

## EXHIBITIONS, EDUCATION, AND OUTREACH

This year the Library & Archives continued to focus on engagement with scholars and the public through our exhibitions, education, and outreach efforts. We published several new online storytelling presentations in our series Hoover Institution Stories (*HISTORIES*), which showcases narratives from Hoover’s library and archival collections. Our curators and staff resumed online engagement with graduate and undergraduate classes at Stanford, and in summer 2021, they hosted in-person tours, presentations of artifacts, and other special events.

## Celebrating Hoover Tower’s Eightieth Anniversary

The Hoover Institution celebrated the eightieth anniversary of Hoover Tower, dedicated on June 20, 1941. To mark the occasion, Julie Zhu, Stanford graduate student and carillonneur, played a thirty-minute carillon concert that included her own special composition, *Allegro*.

The Library & Archives also hosted an online discussion between leading architects—Stanford University director of architecture Sapna Marfatia

and University of Cincinnati architecture professor Jeffrey Tilman—along with Library & Archives director Eric Wakin on the construction of the tower, its structural evolution, and its continued significance.

On social media, “#AroundHooverTowerIn80Days” was a campaign featuring the historic Stanford landmark and select items from the library’s holdings along with other rarely seen treasures.

## *Fanning the Flames* Publication and Speaker Series



*Fanning the Flames: Propaganda in Modern Japan*, edited by Kaoru Ueda, curator for the Japanese Diaspora Collection, is a richly illustrated book that

demonstrates the role of propaganda in the rise of modern Japan from the Russo-Japanese War through World War II. To celebrate the publication’s launch, a virtual speaker series was organized that featured conversations with leading scholars of modern East Asian history, art, and propaganda. (Hoover Institution Press, 2021)





### ***The Battalion Artist: A Sailor's Journey through the South Pacific***

*The Battalion Artist* shares a unique journey of discovery through the Pacific theater of World War II with Natale Bellantoni, a US Navy Seabee in the 78th Naval Construction Battalion who was also an artist.

### ***On the Record: Life Lessons from George P. Shultz***

In honor of the remarkable legacy of George P. Shultz, *On the Record* is a reflection on some of the most important moments in Shultz's rich life—from his service in the Marine Corps during World War II and his diplomatic leadership at the end of the Cold War as secretary of state to President Reagan to his landmark work as a Hoover distinguished fellow.

### ***Voices from the Archives: Japanese American Internment, 1942–1946***

This digital exhibition examines the history of Japanese American internment during World War II. Voices of the interned emerge from the archives to teach us about this dark chapter of American history.

### ***Civil Discourse: Highlights from Firing Line***

From 1966 to 1999, *Firing Line* was among the nation's most popular public affairs television shows, featuring conversations between conservative intellectual William F. Buckley Jr. and influential people in politics, entertainment, journalism, and academia. This presentation showcases highlights from the show, including Buckley's exchanges with leaders from social liberation movements, as well as literary figures.

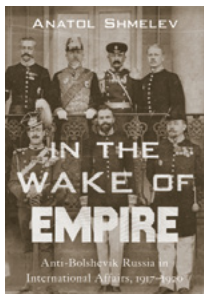
*Clockwise from top left: Natale Bellantoni; drawing of Japanese internment center in Pomona, California, by Taketaro Azeka, 1942; Firing Line, with host William F. Buckley Jr. and Jesse Jackson; George P. Shultz.*

PHOTOS: HOOVER INSTITUTION LIBRARY & ARCHIVES; MARK SHWARTZ (GEORGE P. SHULTZ)

SCHOLARLY PROGRAMS & ACTIVITIES

During this past year, amid the coronavirus pandemic, the Library & Archives adapted the manner in which it provides support for scholars and researchers, especially visiting fellows, graduate and undergraduate students from Stanford University and other academic institutions, postdoctoral researchers, early-career faculty, and independent scholars. Through virtual researcher support, access to the physical materials was limited; however, thousands of scholars from around the globe were able to acquire virtual access to the Library & Archives and use its materials to produce books, articles, and dissertations.

FEATURED BOOKS FROM THE LIBRARY & ARCHIVES

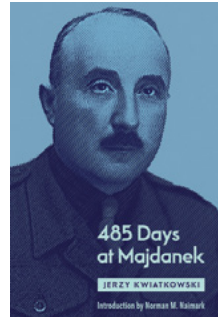


***In the Wake of Empire: Anti-Bolshevik Russia in International Affairs, 1917–1920***

BY ANATOL SHMELEV

From 1917 to 1920, as the Bolsheviks consolidated power and nursed global ambitions,

anti-Bolshevik “Whites” struggled to achieve a different vision for the future of Russia. This book illuminates the White campaign with fresh purpose and information from the Hoover Institution Archives, exploring how diverse White factions overcame internal tensions to lobby for recognition on the world stage, only to fail—in part because of the West’s desire to leave “the Russian question” to Russians alone. (Hoover Institution Press, 2021)



***485 Days at Majdanek***

BY JERZY KWIATKOWSKI,  
WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY  
NORMAN M. NAIMARK

Polish lawyer and industrialist Jerzy Kwiatkowski’s record of the sixteen months he spent in the Majdanek concentration camp

in Nazi-occupied Poland has long been prized for its documentary level of detail joined with rich personal perspectives. Now translated into English for the first time, from the uncensored 2018 Polish edition, this memoir offers a narrative of survival and hope inside one of the Third Reich’s most horrific concentration camps. (Hoover Institution Press, 2021)

HOOVER STUDENT FELLOWS

The Hoover Student Fellowship Program offers Stanford graduates and undergraduates a unique opportunity to engage in important work at the Hoover Institution across research and organizational areas. In this first year of the program, the Library & Archives mentored students on the Japanese Diaspora Initiative and in outreach, digital media, and marketing.

**“Propaganda of Japan in the Late Nineteenth Century”**

BY STUDENT FELLOW CHAERI PARK

Chaeri Park is a first-year master’s student studying international policy, with a concentration in cyber policy and security. Park studied the hidden intentions behind Japanese *nishiki-e* (multicolored woodblock prints) in relation to the nation’s efforts to disseminate propaganda in the late nineteenth century. Park focused on two events in Korea: the Imo Incident and the Battle of Asan. Portions of her essay will be included in the *Fanning the Flames* exhibition, opening fall 2021.



Marriage of self-choice and working together to bring about happiness, by Bi Cheng, issued by the People's Arts Publishing House, ca. 1953.

PHOTO: HOOVER INSTITUTION LIBRARY & ARCHIVES

### ***The Female Image in Chinese Propaganda***

BY STUDENT FELLOW SHARON DU

Sharon Du (class of 2022) is an undergraduate junior majoring in international relations. Du curated the HISTORIES exhibition *The Female Image in Chinese Propaganda: The New Marriage Law and The White-Haired Girl*, featuring Chinese propaganda posters and related ephemera. Du suggests that China's rudimentary feminist discourse became translated through images of women into private contexts, where the depiction of ordinary citizens allowed their lives to be seamlessly appropriated by the regime.

## *In Memoriam*

**A. ROSS JOHNSON  
(1939-2021)**



A. Ross Johnson, former research fellow and director of Radio Free Europe, who played a leading role in developing and preserving the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty collection, passed away in February 2021 at the age of 82. Johnson was an adviser to the Library & Archives' Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Archive Project and supported the successful acquisition of the organization's records from its Washington, DC, and Prague headquarters. The entire collection includes more than 10.5 million pages and ten thousand sound recordings from the 1950s to 2006.

*A. Ross Johnson*  
PHOTO: WILSON CENTER



# Communications & Education



## Communications & Education

Dedicated to producing high-quality public policy research, the Hoover Institution is equally determined to launch ideas formulated by its fellowship into action and disseminate them to audiences in the United States and around the world. Hoover scholars write widely read op-eds for the nation's top news publications and appear as analysts on nationally influential public affairs shows. They offer testimony to Congressional committees and other forums in areas of their relevant policy expertise. Hoover also generates educational content for the attentive public, especially younger generations, through its Educating Americans in Public Policy initiative, as well as through events, new video series, and popular podcasts.

### 2021 IN THE MEDIA

This past year of the pandemic has brought several complex policy issues to the forefront that have impacted and shaped the lives of ordinary citizens. Americans and people around the world are searching for answers to difficult challenges, such as how to reinvigorate their economies, safely reopen their schools, improve their government's responsiveness, provide equality of opportunity, and secure their national interests.

In communicating their research to the public, fellows have also expanded the scope of their research via traditional and new media channels. Since September 2020, Hoover scholars have collectively made more than 500 television news appearances, written upwards of 650 opinion columns in widely read



*On CBS's Face the Nation, Condoleezza Rice talked to host John Dickerson about a range of topics including Russia, China, the policy responses to COVID-19, and K-12 education.*

publications, and participated in more than 600 radio and podcast interviews with nationally syndicated talk show hosts and top social media influencers.

### Hoover Media Programs

The Hoover Institution's considerable news presence is cultivated through our fellows' and public affairs team's extensive network of media professionals. Fellows' rigorous research is a key resource for news agencies, especially in their production of first-rate investigative journalism and insightful commentaries and analyses.

A bedrock of these important relationships is the William C. and Barbara H. Edwards Media Fellows Program, in which journalists receive the opportunity



*Michael McFaul provided commentary about the summit between presidents Joe Biden and Vladimir Putin on June 16, 2021, in Geneva, Switzerland.*

PHOTO: MICHAEL MCFAUL

## HOOVER FELLOWS IN THE NEWS

“If you are of means, you will move to a district where the schools are good. . . . You can send your kids to private schools. . . . So, who really doesn’t have a choice? Poor kids, and many of them are minority kids.”

—*Condoleezza Rice*, *Face the Nation*, *CBS*,  
*June 6, 2021*

“The beautiful story of America, the reason so many people around the world still yearn to come here, is to a large extent founded on our rejection of tribalism and our establishment of civic, neutral institutions, based on the fundamental principle of equality before the law. . . . That accomplishment is being eroded.”

—*Ayaan Hirsi Ali*, *UnHerd*, *May 10, 2021*

“Survey data show a rise in the level of support over the past two years for vouchers, charters, and tax-credit scholarships. Political leaders sense a change in the public mood. After aggressive unions and bewildered school boards shut down schools for a year, the choice bandwagon has begun to roll.”

—*Paul E. Peterson*, *Wall Street Journal*,  
*April 28, 2021*

“The Biden administration should be confident in the free world’s ability to compete effectively with the CCP and its authoritarian, mercantilist model. . . . It is up to the task of working with partners to defend the free world from Chinese Communist Party aggression.”

—*H. R. McMaster*, *Washington Post*,  
*January 18, 2021*

“If trillions [of dollars in federal spending] won’t stop storm surges from destroying beach front property, wildfires from engulfing millions of acres, seasonal precipitation from becoming more variable, what are we to do? . . . We can harness financial markets to reduce the effects of climate variance.”

—*Terry Anderson*, *The Hill*, *April 16, 2021*

“The Fed intends to deliberately let inflation run above target, in the belief that this will drive up employment, especially among disadvantaged groups. But in the 1970s we learned that there is no lasting trade-off between inflation and employment. Sustainable employment and wages result only from microeconomic efficiency, better incentives, and well-functioning markets.”

—*Rose-Marie and Jack Anderson Senior Fellow John H. Cochrane and Distinguished Visiting Fellow Kevin Hassett*, *National Review*, *April 26, 2021*

“Biden must provide a counterweight to Putin’s promotion of autocracy. He should continue to speak publicly in support of all those fighting for democracy across the region.”

—*Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow Michael McFaul*, *Foreign Affairs*, *June 14, 2021*

“Linking together the largest democracies in the region to promote cooperative action among all nations sharing a similar vision for a free, open, and prosperous Indo-Pacific may offer the best chance to channel China’s increasing power and more positively influence Asia, as well as strengthen democracy and liberalism in the world’s most dynamic region.”

—*Davies Family Distinguished Fellow General James Mattis, Payson J. Treat Distinguished Research Fellow in Contemporary Asia Michael R. Auslin, and Research Fellow Joseph Felter*, *Foreign Policy*, *March 10, 2021*

“Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter promised that their stimulus checks would restore economic growth by inducing higher consumption. Yet in both instances the payments failed to deliver the promised results.”

—*John B. Taylor and Leonard and Shirley Ely Senior Fellow John F. Cogan*, *Wall Street Journal*,  
*January 14, 2021*

SELECTED TESTIMONY AND BRIEFINGS



*On March 2, 2021, H. R. McMaster provided testimony before the US Senate Armed Services Committee about America's global security challenges.*

**March 2, 2021:** H. R. McMaster testified before the US Senate Armed Services Committee about global security challenges.

**March 17, 2021:** Elizabeth Economy testified before the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee on “Advancing Effective US Policy for Strategic Competition with China in the Twenty-First Century.”

**March 18, 2021:** John H. Cochrane testified before the US Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs on “Twenty-First-Century Economy: Protecting the Financial System from Risks Associated with Climate Change.”

**March 23, 2021:** Senior Fellow Jack Goldsmith testified before the US House Committee on Foreign Affairs on “Reclaiming Congressional War Powers.”

**April 15, 2021:** Robert Alexander Mercer Visting Fellow Miles Maochun Yu testified before the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission on “An Assessment of the CCP’s Economic Ambitions, Plans, and Metrics of Success.”

**April 30, 2021:** Herbert Lin, Hank J. Holland Fellow in Cyber Policy and Security, testified before the US House Armed Services Subcommittee on Cyber, Innovative Technologies, and Information Systems during a hearing entitled “Technology and Information Warfare: The Competition for Influence and the Department of Defense.”

**June 8, 2021:** Matt Pottinger testified before the US Senate Armed Services Committee on “The United States’ Strategic Competition with China.”

**June 9, 2021:** Darrell Duffie testified before the US Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs on “Building a Stronger Financial System: Opportunities of a Central Bank Digital Currency.”

**June 24, 2021:** Rose Gottemoeller testified before the US House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe, Energy, the Environment, and Cyber and the NATO Parliamentary Assembly during a hearing entitled “NATO 2030: A Celebration of Origins and an Eye Toward the Future.”

**June 30, 2021:** Michael McConnell testified before the Presidential Commission on the Supreme Court of the United States about the contemporary debate over Supreme Court reform.

**July 29, 2021:** Wohlford Family Senior Fellow Michael J. Boskin testified before the US House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee about assessing the federal government’s COVID-19 relief and response efforts.



to take a sabbatical from their daily deadlines and deepen their understanding of substantive policy issues, including international relations, economics, and cybersecurity.

This year, the Hoover Institution could not host its formal Media Roundtable on the Stanford campus. However, the unusual circumstances brought about by the pandemic necessitated the creation of the Hoover Media Academy, a virtual forum that enables journalists to connect with and learn from Hoover scholars.

In 2021, Hoover hosted three sessions of the Media Academy, two focused broadly on current domestic and international policy and another devoted specifically to competition between the United States and China. Hoover's public affairs team has also facilitated informal meetings between fellows and journalists.

In total, Media Academy sessions have featured forty-four reporters and editors from major news agencies. These thought-provoking interactions resulted in pieces published by the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *Politico*, Fox News, and NewsNation. After the China policy session attended by *Washington Post* deputy editorial page editor Jackson Diehl, the *Post* ran a May 1, 2021, editorial entitled "China's Test for Biden: A Slow Military Escalation." The editorial cited the comments of Michael R. Auslin, who presented about Taiwan's military policy during the session.



Amy Zegart chairs a media roundtable in the Annenberg Conference Room.

PHOTO: ROD SEARCEY, 2015

HOOVER INSTITUTION IN  
WASHINGTON, DC

## Briefing New Members of Congress

To advance its policy research and proactively build relationships with recently elected federal lawmakers, the Hoover Institution launched a New Member Leadership Forum in 2021.

At the beginning of the year, every freshman member of the House of Representatives and the Senate were invited to four sixty-minute briefing sessions led by Director Condoleezza Rice.

These engaging sessions have covered a variety of important domestic and foreign policy issues and have featured talks by senior fellows including Elizabeth Economy and H. R. McMaster. The program has been positively received and is an opportunity for congressional members to better understand policy areas in which they are not well versed.

## Capital Conversations: Exchanging Policy Ideas with Policy Makers

The Hoover Institution continued *Capital Conversations* for a second year. In this video series, fellows exchange policy ideas aimed at securing the future of free societies with prominent policy makers.

Notable episodes have featured Michael R. Auslin in conversation with Air Force Chief of Staff General Charles Q. Brown Jr. on how America can best exploit and sustain dominance over the air domain; Tad and Dianne Taube Senior Fellow Peter Berkowitz and Senator Bill Hagerty (R-TN) discussing US foreign policy strategy in the Indo-Pacific; David and Diane Steffy Fellow in American Public Policy Studies Lanhee J. Chen and Senator Rob Portman (R-OH) reviewing



*Lanhee J. Chen and Senator Rob Portman (R-OH) on Capital Conversations.*



*On Battlegrounds, H. R. McMaster has hosted world leaders including Japan's Shinzō Abe (left).*

prospects for bipartisan cooperation in Washington; and Michael McConnell and Senator Mike Lee (R-UT) analyzing the scope of executive power under the Constitution. Amy Zegart hosted a session about the artificial intelligence revolution with Yll Bajraktari, executive director of the National Security Commission on Artificial Intelligence, and Anshu Roy, CEO of Rhombus Power and architect of Guardian, an artificial intelligence platform used across the US government.

capability of the region's diverse segments to coexist; Subrahmanyam Jaishankar, India's minister of external affairs, on his country's commitment to a free and open Indo-Pacific region; former Colombian president Juan Manuel Santos on his country's success in reducing violence and political turmoil fueled for decades by Marxist guerillas and drug cartels; and Shinzō Abe, Japan's longest-serving prime minister, on his concerns about China's military expansion.

## EDUCATION AND PROGRAMS

### *Battlegrounds: International Perspectives on Crucial Challenges to Security and Prosperity*

In fall 2020, the Hoover Institution launched *Battlegrounds*, a new original series hosted by H. R. McMaster in which the former national security advisor interviews leaders across the world for their perspectives on foreign policy challenges.

The inaugural year of *Battlegrounds* featured Afghan foreign minister Mohammad Haneef Atmar on prospects for ending fighting with the Taliban; Rwanda's president Paul Kagame on the need for strong and stable governance in Africa to combat jihadist extremism and expand economic opportunity; former Croatian president Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović on how the security of Southeastern Europe depends on the

### *Uncommon Knowledge Marks a Quarter of a Century*

*Uncommon Knowledge*, the Hoover Institution's flagship broadcast, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in May 2021. Hosted by Murdoch Distinguished Policy Fellow Peter M. Robinson, the show has featured the groundbreaking work of top fellows and other luminaries who have shaped the politics, economics, and culture of America.

In the very first episode of the series, on May 18, 1996, Robinson hosted former US attorney general Edwin Meese and former San Jose, California, police chief Joseph McNamara for an in-depth conversation about drug decriminalization. The show has undergone an evolution of format changes, made its home in a state-of-the-art studio at Stanford, broadcast on various media platforms, and has grown into one of the most popular public affairs interview hours in the country.



Over twenty-five years of hosting *Uncommon Knowledge*, Peter M. Robinson has interviewed Hoover scholars and other luminaries including William F. Buckley Jr., Christopher Hitchens, Milton Friedman, Thomas Sowell (right), and General James Mattis.

*Uncommon Knowledge* has become a venue where cutting-edge ideas have been advanced, exchanged, and debated. Rose and Milton Friedman Senior Fellow on Public Policy Thomas Sowell, a perennial guest, has discussed his several books. The late Hoover senior research fellow Milton Friedman has talked about the tenets of libertarianism. And one of the show's classic episodes hosted William F. Buckley Jr. and public intellectual Christopher Hitchens for a debate on the principles underlying the social revolution of the 1960s.

In its second year of broadcasting virtually as a result of the pandemic, *Uncommon Knowledge* continued to gain viewership. Recent episodes have featured Visiting Fellow John Yoo, Peter and Kirsten Bedford Senior Fellow Richard A. Epstein, and the *National Review's* Andrew C. McCarthy on the constitutionality of impeaching a former US president; Ayaan Hirsi Ali on her new book, *Prey*, which explores the connection between mass migration and sexual assaults in Europe; H. R. McMaster and Matt Pottinger on whether a cold war currently exists between the United States and China; and the *Wall Street Journal's* Jason Riley on *Maverick*, his new biography on Sowell.

## EDUCATING AMERICANS IN PUBLIC POLICY






*The Mary Jo and Dick Kovacevich Initiative at the Hoover Institution*

For five years, Hoover's Educating Americans in Public Policy (EAPP) initiative has communicated the policy research of more than sixty participating fellows to millions of young Americans. The initiative, aimed at the enrichment of high school– and college-age students and young professionals, has addressed a spectrum of issues, from national security, economic prosperity, and immigration reform to sensible solutions toward mitigating the effects of climate change and preserving the integrity of the nation's democratic institutions.

## PolicyEd

On its PolicyEd video platform, EAPP is continuing to generate compelling and engaging content. It has produced new series that instruct about present and future challenges facing the nation and that offer relevant lessons of the past, including why some public policies have proved successful while others have failed.

## PolicyEd At-a-Glance

-  NUMBER OF VIDEOS PRODUCED: **341**
-  TOTAL VIEWS: **169.9 million**
-  VIEWS PER VIDEO ON AVERAGE: **498,000**
-  FACEBOOK FOLLOWERS: **426,000**
-  REGISTERED POLICYED.ORG USERS: **95,000**



In the past five years, PolicyEd has produced more than three hundred documentary shorts and animations, which have attracted nearly 170 million views. In 2020–21, the most popular videos addressed America’s public health response to the COVID-19 pandemic, economic inequality, and the correlation between political freedom and prosperity.

### *Policy Stories*

This year, PolicyEd has expanded production of its *Policy Stories*, minidocumentaries that feature Hoover Institution scholars discussing the real-life implications



*Niall Ferguson in his episode of Policy Stories.*

of public policy throughout the world. Fellows offer lessons ranging from flash points of decades past to consequential events of more recent times.

In an episode that launched in November 2020, Lanhee J. Chen explains that despite claims that a “public option” would cost taxpayers nothing, the history of federal health care programs such as Medicare demonstrate otherwise.

Episodes also address the policy implications of the COVID-19 pandemic. In a May 2021 video, Niall Ferguson argues that South Korea and Taiwan were able to muster a more effective public health response than the United States and other heavily afflicted societies, because they were able to act early, ramp up testing, impose contact tracing, and isolate individuals suspected of being infected. He says that a central lesson of America’s pandemic experience is to prepare for every eventuality, not just the ones we see coming.

In another video, Macke Raymond compares the impact of COVID-19 school closures to what she refers to as “summer slide,” the decay of learning that frequently occurs among students during summer break. She advocates for new approaches to learning and frequent diagnostic assessments of students. Raymond also argues that the insistence on local autonomy, especially in low-income communities, will not ensure equal opportunity for all students to succeed.

### *The Fight to Defend the Free World*

In December 2020, PolicyEd introduced a new series, *The Fight to Defend the Free World*, in which H. R. McMaster provides a tour d’horizon of current US national security challenges. The series, based on research conducted for his recently released book *Battlegrounds* (see page 21), begins with an introductory video, “Embracing Strategic Empathy” in which he argues that the balance of power and



This year H. R. McMaster headlined *The Fight to Defend the Free World*, a PolicyEd series based on his best-selling book *Battlegrounds*.

persuasion has shifted against the United States and other democratic societies, in large part because policy makers have not been able to understand emerging challenges to national security, prosperity, and influence.

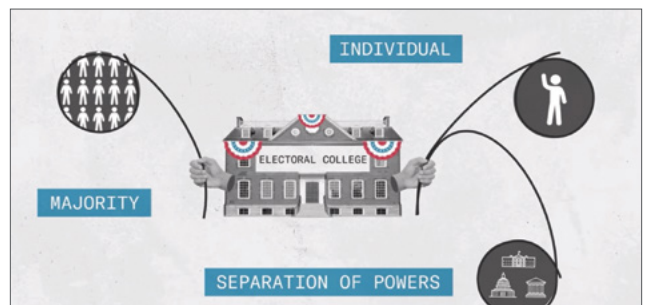
In subsequent episodes, McMaster addresses how policy mistakes have allowed conflict to become protracted, such as the twenty-year war in Afghanistan; adversaries like Russia and China to cause disruption against democratic institutions throughout the West and attempt to reshape the international order; and rogue leadership in North Korea and Iran to act intransigent in pursuit of their development of nuclear weapons.

In the final episode, “Why America Must Remain Engaged Abroad,” McMaster warns against growing sentiments that US absence from the world’s problem areas will reduce conflict. For example, McMaster argues that these attitudes were the basis for US troop withdrawals from Iraq in 2011, which created a vacuum for the rise of the Islamic State; a civil war in Syria in which Russia and Iran sustained the Assad regime; and a refugee crisis that placed enormous pressure on America’s allies in Europe. Furthermore, he maintains that it is costlier to redeploy forces to stabilize a region under duress than to work with partners in sustained efforts to secure free and open societies against hostile and authoritarian actors.

## *UnArchived: Lessons from the Past*

This year, PolicyEd created another new series, *UnArchived: Lessons from the Past*, featuring video shorts produced from histories written by the Hoover fellowship and materials from the more than six thousand collections of the Library & Archives. The objective of *UnArchived* is to demonstrate the value of historical analysis in helping society address modern-day challenges.

The first episode, “Deterrence in Foreign Policy: Lessons from World War II,” is based on *The Second World Wars: How the First Global Conflict Was Fought and Won*, by Victor Davis Hanson, Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellow and chair of Hoover’s Role of Military History in Contemporary Conflict working group. Hanson’s episode argues that an effective policy of deterrence depends not just on a nation’s military capability but also its willingness to use its power.



Screenshots from *UnArchived*, “Deterrence in Foreign Policy” (top) and “By Constitutional Design” (bottom).

Another episode demonstrates how government-imposed wage and price controls can cause problems for the economy, including shortages, job losses, and skyrocketing inflation. Derived principally from the work of John B. Taylor, the video takes viewers back to the 1970s, when Congress gave President Nixon the power to freeze wages and prices with the aim of keeping inflation in check. The policy seemed to work and was politically popular in the short run, but inflation came roaring back and led to widespread shortages, including the energy crisis of the 1970s.

A July 2021 video provides a defense of the Electoral College based on the legal scholarship of John Yoo. It demonstrates that while the Electoral College system may seem undemocratic, it reflects the Founding Fathers' constitutional principle of securing individual rights for all citizens and placing constraints on majority rule.

## Hoover Student Fellowship Program

In January 2021, the Hoover Institution welcomed its first class of student fellows. The two-quarter-long paid internship program allows Stanford undergraduate and graduate students to participate in important work across key research disciplines and organizational areas. Students are paired according to study topics of their preference with Hoover fellows or staff members. They provide research and operational support, partake in exclusive programming with the fellowship cohort, and benefit from the guidance of their direct managers. Ultimately, student fellows have the unique opportunity to learn from leading Hoover scholars, develop professional relationships, and enhance their career prospects in various policy-related fields.



*Scott W. Atlas and Joshua D. Rauh (front row, left to right) with the 2021 Summer Policy Boot Camp participants.*

PHOTO: PATRICK BEAUDOIN, 2021

## 2021 Hoover Institution Summer Policy Boot Camp

Nearly sixty university students and recent graduates convened for four days of intensive sessions covering a diverse set of public policy disciplines at the fifth annual Hoover Institution Summer Policy Boot Camp held August 15 to 19, 2021. The boot camp, codirected by Scott W. Atlas and Joshua D. Rauh, returned for the first time to the Hoover campus after convening virtually in 2020 because of COVID-19 safety protocols.

The 2021 boot camp centered on two policy themes: economics and national security. This year's speakers included H. R. McMaster on understanding threats to American security and prosperity; Senior Fellow Caroline M. Hoxby on expanding merit-based opportunities for college education; John F. Cogan on federal entitlement programs and the coming fiscal crisis; Elizabeth Economy on US-China relations in the Biden era; Condoleezza Rice on global hot spots and great-power rivals; John B. Taylor on the Federal Reserve and monetary policy; Glenn Loury on why racial inequality persists in America; and many more. The Summer Policy Boot Camp is made possible by the generosity of the Kurt Hauser Family.

## NOTES FROM THE FIELD

**John B. Taylor***George P. Shultz Senior Fellow in Economics****How do you begin your boot camp sessions and spark participants' interest in economic policy?***

I like to start with a little history that everyone can relate to. I talk about paying people in cash in Iraq in wartime, about why William Jennings Bryan hated the gold standard, how Arthur Burns screwed up as Fed chair, and how Paul Volcker restored good monetary policy. And behind it all, I like to show Milton Friedman's actual California license plates that said in big letters that "MV=PY." That is the famous quantity equation of money that also has a long history.

***Can you explain your approach to teaching economic policy to this cohort?***

*John B. Taylor shows his one-hundred-trillion-dollar Zimbabwean note during a lecture at the 2021 Summer Policy Boot Camp.*

PHOTO: PATRICK BEAUDOIN, 2021

Zimbabwean piece of currency out of my wallet and showing it next to one US dollar. Here I emphasize that policy rules for the interest rate or money supply work better than discretion.

***What knowledge do you hope boot camp participants gain from this experience?***

I hope that the students learn some basic monetary economics, such as the key principle that too much money created by a country's central bank—the Federal Reserve in the United States—leads to inflation and eventually recessions. I teach how a good central bank creates better results for all, but I do not shy away from controversial issues. I try to relate my own experience in economic policy making on the White House Council of Economic Advisers, at the US Treasury, and in advising presidents and presidential candidates.

***What is the biggest misconception incoming students have about the Fed and monetary policy?***

Most often, beginning students in the boot camp do not see why a central bank should focus so much on price stability and strong economic growth. Many think the Fed should also help reduce global warming and even out the income distribution. Basic economics and historical experience show that a more limited and focused set of goals work better. Other parts of government and a well-functioning market-based economy can help achieve more ambitious goals.

***What is unique about the policy boot camp in preparing this cohort for public policy careers and related professions?***

The boot camp brings dedicated people together with a common purpose of learning about policy—economics, defense, and diplomacy—for one week. The focus on public policy is a motivating theme, as are the practical real-world problems that the participants hear about. Combining these different strands of policy and the stories of actual people who have made policy is unique and, in my experience, essential to the program.





# Scholars & Supporters



# Scholars & Supporters

## THE EXTRAORDINARY INDIVIDUALS BEHIND OUR WORK

From Herbert Hoover’s founding grant and the arrival of our first collections to our evolution into one of the world’s preeminent centers for policy and archival research, the Hoover Institution’s one-hundred-year history has been written through the dedication and generosity of extraordinary individuals. In these pages we offer our deepest thanks to the supporters and scholars who stand together in defense of freedom, private enterprise, and America’s system of government. We also report on strategic work to sustain the core of our Institution—the Hoover fellowship and Library & Archives—by broadening our base of contributors, modernizing our infrastructure, and carefully managing our supporters’ investments in freedom.

### SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

AS OF SEPTEMBER 1, 2021



PHOTO: ERIC DRAPER, 2019

**Tad and Dianne Taube** Director  
Condoleezza Rice

**Deputy Director**  
Eric Wakin  
Director of the Hoover  
Library & Archives

**Senior Associate Directors**  
Christopher S. Dauer  
External Relations

Karen Weiss Mulder  
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Senior Fellow

**Associate Directors**  
Denise Elson  
Institutional Programming

Shana Farley  
Marketing & Policy Education

Jeffrey M. Jones  
Facilities, Operations & Events

Colin Stewart  
Development

Eryn Witcher Tillman  
Bechtel Director of Media &  
Government Relations

Stephanie Hall  
Chief of Staff

Chase Koontz  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Carmen Allison  
Chief Human Resources Officer

### SCHOLARS

AS OF SEPTEMBER 1, 2021

#### NAMED DISTINGUISHED FELLOW

General James Mattis  
Davies Family Distinguished Fellow

#### NAMED SENIOR FELLOWS

Terry L. Anderson  
John and Jean De Nault Senior Fellow

Scott W. Atlas  
Robert Wesson Senior Fellow

Peter Berkowitz  
Tad and Dianne Taube Senior Fellow

Michael Boskin  
Wohlford Family Senior Fellow

John H. Cochrane  
Rose-Marie and Jack Anderson  
Senior Fellow

John F. Cogan  
Leonard and Shirley Ely Senior Fellow

Richard A. Epstein  
Peter and Kirsten Bedford Senior Fellow

Niall Ferguson  
Milbank Family Senior Fellow

Stephen H. Haber  
Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow

Robert E. Hall  
Robert and Carole McNeil  
Senior Fellow

Victor Davis Hanson  
Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellow

Eric A. Hanushek  
Paul and Jean Hanna Senior Fellow  
in Education

Kenneth L. Judd  
Paul H. Bauer Senior Fellow

Daniel P. Kessler  
Keith and Jan Hurlbut Senior Fellow

Michael McFaul  
Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow

H. R. McMaster  
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Senior Fellow

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 Christopher Ford  
 Andrew Grotto  
 Laurie Simon Hodrick  
 Robert Hodrick  
 Erik Hurst  
 Matthew Johnson  
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 Nadia Schadlow  
 Zachary Shore

**IN MEMORIAM**

*The Hoover Institution mourns the loss of the following esteemed fellows this year. We recognize these honored colleagues for their exceptional intellectual achievements at Hoover and in the larger worlds of policy and ideas.*

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 George P. Shultz  
 Walter E. Williams

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*US Department of State*

Lt. Colonel Jennifer Carns  
*US Air Force*

# In Memoriam

INFLUENTIAL ECONOMIST WAS A HOOVER OVERSEER AND NATIONAL FELLOW

## WALTER E. WILLIAMS (1936–2020)



Walter E. Williams

PHOTO: HOOVER INSTITUTION

Walter E. Williams, prominent economist, commentator, and professor at George Mason University, died on December 1, 2020. He was 84. Williams was a national fellow at the Hoover Institution in the academic year 1975–76.

He also served on the Board of Overseers from 1983 to 2004 and was a member of its executive committee from 1994 to 2004.

The highly esteemed Williams was born in 1936 to humble origins in Philadelphia. A onetime taxi driver, he went on to earn a BA in economics from California State University–Los Angeles, and an MA and PhD in economics from University of California–Los Angeles. He served on the economics faculties of Los Angeles City College, Cal State–Los Angeles, Temple University, and Grove City (Pennsylvania) College. Since 1980, he had been the John M. Olin Distinguished Professor at George Mason University (Fairfax, Virginia), where he was also the chair of the economics department from 1995 to 2001.

A prolific writer of widely read syndicated columns, academic papers, and best-selling books, Williams authored the seminal 1982 book *The State against Blacks*, about how the regulatory state negatively impacts African Americans. He was also known for his concise arguments about how minimum-wage laws can result in employment discrimination.

“What minimum-wage laws do is lower the cost of, and hence subsidize, racial preference indulgence. After all, if an employer must pay the same wage no matter whom he hires, the cost of discriminating in favor of the people he prefers is cheaper,” Williams held.

Williams had also made countless appearances on radio and television shows including *Firing Line*, *Free to Choose*, *Face the Nation*, and *Crossfire*. In 2014, he produced *Suffer No Fools*, a PBS documentary criticizing antipoverty programs based on his autobiography, *Up from the Projects* (Hoover Institution Press, 2010). Among his other thirteen books are *More Liberty Means Less Government* (Hoover Institution Press, 1999). The collection of thoughtful, hard-hitting essays explores issues including minimum wage, the Americans with Disabilities Act, affirmative action, and racial and gender quotas.

Williams was also a perennial substitute host of *The Rush Limbaugh Show*, on which he would frequently invite Rose and Milton Friedman Senior Fellow on Public Policy Thomas Sowell for conversations on economics, politics, and a wide range of contemporary social issues. “He was my best friend for half a century. There was no one I trusted more or whose integrity I respected more,” Sowell said.

BOARD OF OVERSEERS

The Hoover Institution Board of Overseers advises and supports the Institution’s senior administration, ensuring that the 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. Hoover Institution Board members as of September 1, 2021, are listed here.

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Walter E. Williams

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**EVENTS AND CONFERENCES**

In addition to our biannual retreats and Board of Overseers meetings, the Hoover Institution hosts conferences and events across the country for our major donors and to introduce new individuals to our mission and our fellows.

Throughout 2021, we continued to host our events in the digital realm to great success. These events included the popular Insider Policy Briefing Series, a private webinar series allowing Hoover scholars to discuss important policy issues with our major donors in an interactive environment, and regional Leadership Roundtables, each featuring a Hoover fellow and a small number of donors to foster an interactive conversation.

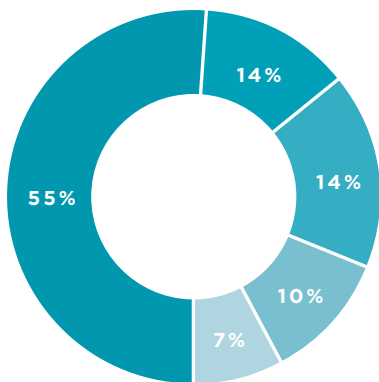
As we begin to transition back to in-person events and gatherings, we have held a few small, in-person events throughout the summer, including dinners in Jackson Hole, Wyoming, and Dallas, Texas, as well as a lunch in Vail, Colorado. We look forward to reaching an ever-growing audience through these traditional gatherings, as well as continuing with our successful virtual programming.

## Financial Review

The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic continued to challenge Hoover’s traditional operations. Travel and in-person event activity did not occur for most of the last fiscal year. Hoover continued to engage with its donors and constituents with a robust slate of virtual programming. The shift away from in-person activity reduced expenses below budget, while the continued generosity of Hoover’s donors led to a successful fundraising year with revenues greatly exceeding budget. These two factors resulted in a substantial surplus for the year, positioning Hoover strongly for planned growth in the current fiscal year and the years to follow. Hoover will grow its research program in alignment with Director Rice’s priorities and to provide answers to the big questions of the day.

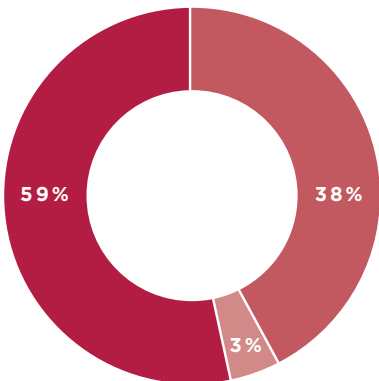
Hoover is funded almost exclusively by the generosity of our donors, with expendable gifts and payout on invested gifts forming 97 percent of the annual operating budget. Given this and the extraordinary generosity of our donors over the previous year, we consider careful management of our donor resources to be the highest priority. Expenditures are systematically monitored, with annual institutional expenses consistently coming in lower than budget. And, gifts to the Institution are tracked from receipt to expenditure to ensure that donor intent is honored. Surpluses from the previous fiscal year along with anticipated fundraising for the current year will directly enable strategic growth for the Institution.

### OPERATING EXPENSES FY2021 = \$64.4M



- Research = \$35.8 Million**  
 Direct support to Hoover fellows and their staff, research expenses, and research initiatives and programs
- Outreach and Education = \$9.1 Million**  
 Educating Americans in Public Policy, Hoover Institution in Washington, media and public affairs, Hoover Press, and communications
- Library & Archives = \$8.9 Million**  
 Library & Archives staff, visitors, archival acquisitions, and Library & Archives programs and exhibitions
- Administration and Operations = \$6.3 Million**  
 Administration, operations staff, noncapital facilities projects, utilities, and general operating expenses
- Development = \$4.3 Million**  
 Development staff, development events, and travel and promotional expenses

### OPERATING REVENUES FY2021 = \$76.3M



- Expendable Gifts = \$45.3 Million**  
 Unrestricted gifts totaled \$25.6 million, while gifts restricted to specific purposes totaled \$19.6 million.
- Endowment Payout = \$28.8 Million**  
 The Stanford Board of Trustees has set the target payout rate at 5.5 percent of market value, to accommodate the funding needs of the University while still maintaining principal growth.
- Misc. Income & Stanford Support = \$2.2 Million**  
 Publications revenue, interest income, sponsored projects, and Stanford support for Library & Archives and utilities

*Figures shown are rounded after calculations.*



**FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES**

Year Ended August 31, 2021

**OPERATING REVENUES**

Expendable Gifts	\$45,270,000
Endowment Payout	28,796,000
Stanford Support and Other Income	2,230,000
<b>TOTAL OPERATING REVENUES</b>	<u>\$76,296,000</u>
<b>OPERATING EXPENSES</b>	<u>(\$64,438,000)</u>
<b>CHANGE IN FUNDS DUE TO OPERATIONS</b>	<b>\$11,858,000</b>

**NONOPERATING ACTIVITIES**

Endowment Gifts	\$30,071,000
Endowment Withdrawal as Payout	(28,796,000)
Transfers to / (from) Endowment	7,000,000
Capital Gains on Endowment Principal	150,954,000
<b>CHANGE IN ENDOWMENT FUNDS</b>	<u><b>\$159,229,000</b></u>

Capital Gifts, Interest Income, and Transfers	\$8,271,000
Capital Expenses	(2,816,000)
<b>CHANGE IN CAPITAL FUNDS</b>	<u><b>\$5,455,000</b></u>

**SELECTED FINANCIAL ASSETS**

As of August 31, 2021

**CASH BALANCES LOCALLY HELD**

Unrestricted Funds Raised in Prior Periods	\$5,214,000
Restricted Funds Raised in Prior Periods*	27,739,000
Cash Balances for Capital Projects	46,179,000
<b>TOTAL CASH BALANCES</b>	<u><b>\$79,132,000</b></u>

**ENDOWMENT FUNDS**

Pure Endowment	\$471,697,000
Funds Functioning as Endowment*	218,512,000
Reserves Invested in Endowment**	45,943,000
<b>ENDOWMENT MARKET VALUE</b>	<u><b>\$736,153,000</b></u>

<b>TOTAL SELECTED FINANCIAL ASSETS</b>	<u><b>\$815,284,000</b></u>
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Figures shown are rounded after calculations.

\*Funds functioning as endowment are gifts originally given as cash that have since been designated as endowment by Hoover.

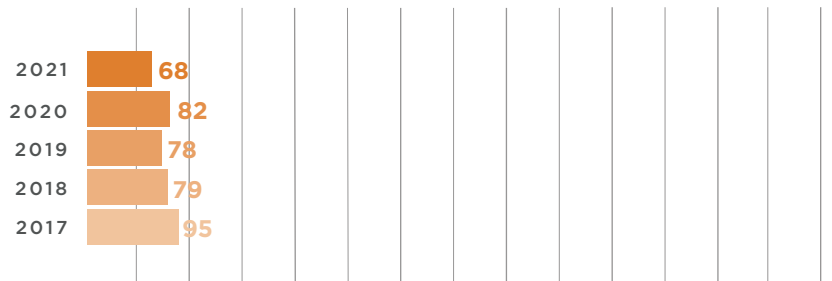
\*\*Includes \$39.8 million in unrestricted reserves and \$6.1 million in facilities reserves.

**FISCAL YEAR IN MILLIONS**

50 100 150 200 250 300 350 400 450 500 550 600 650 700

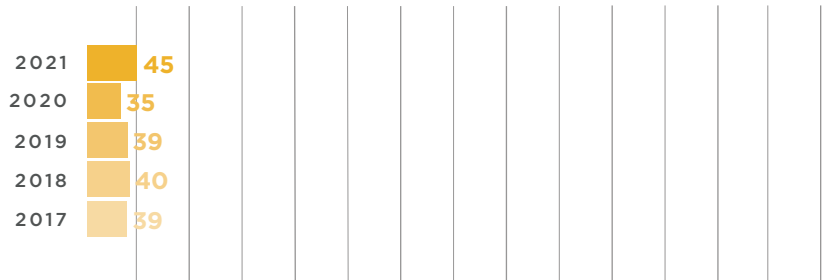
**CONSOLIDATED BUDGET (in \$Millions)**

The consolidated budget includes operating expenses as well as costs for capital facilities projects. In FY17, FY18, FY19, FY20, and FY21, costs for capital facilities projects totaled \$28.0 million, \$9.3 million, \$8.1 million, \$14.1 million, and \$2.8 million respectively. In FY17 and FY18, costs were primarily construction of the Traitel Building. In recent years, costs were for preliminary projects associated with the George P. Shultz Building.



**UNRESTRICTED RESERVES (in \$Millions)**

Unrestricted reserves include cash reserves held locally and reserves invested in endowment. Reserves invested in endowment earn payout available to fund the operating budget. Reserves invested in endowment declined in FY20 as a result of a planned \$7.9 million transfer capital projects to fund the construction of an auxiliary library with Stanford to store much of Hoover's archival material.



**ENDOWMENT MARKET VALUE (in \$Millions)**

Following strong market conditions, the rate of return on the endowment for FY21 was approximately 21.2 percent, after taking payout to fund the base budget. This favorable result follows more modest returns in the previous years. Regardless of market conditions, Stanford Management Company has consistently outperformed the composite benchmark for peer university endowments.



HOOVER INSTITUTION



PHOTO: TIM GRIFFITH, 2015

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