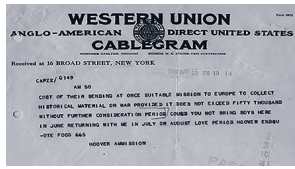


**IDEAS DEFINING
A FREE SOCIETY**

ANNUAL REPORT 2019



1919



1920



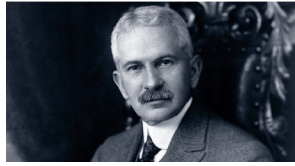
1921



1922



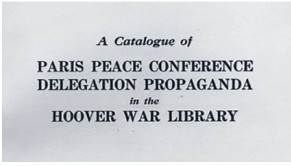
1923



1924



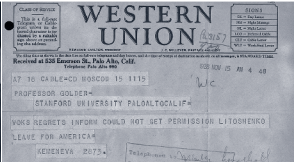
1925



1926



1927



1928



1929



1930



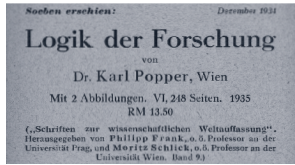
1931



1932



1933



1934



1935



1936



1937



1938



1939



1940



1941



1942



1943



1944



1945



1946



1947



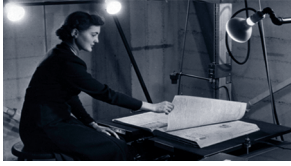
1948



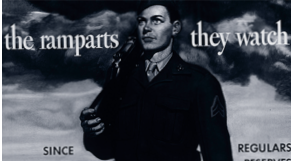
1949



1950



1951



1952



1953



1954



1955



1956



1957



1958



1959



1960



1961



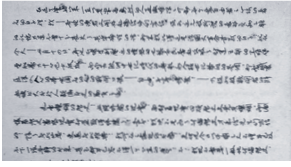
1962



1963



1964



1965



1966



1967



1968

HOOVER INSTITUTION

Annual Report 2019

“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.

Letter from the Director & the Chairman	3
Research & Scholarship	5
Library & Archives	15
Celebrating One Hundred Years	22
Communications & Education	29
People & Support	45
Financial Review	58

COVER: *Hoover Tower blueprint, Hoover Institution records, Hoover Institution Archives.*

BACK COVER: *Herbert Hoover in front of Hoover Tower, 1951.*
PHOTO: ASSOCIATED PRESS

INSIDE COVERS: *Scenes from one hundred years of Hoover history. Hoover Library & Archives and Hoover Institution.*



HOOVER INSTITUTION
Ideas Defining A Free Society
DAVID & JOAN TRAITEL BUILDING

LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR & THE CHAIRMAN

IN 1919 Herbert Hoover founded this Institution to collect and preserve materials that would not only explain the causes of war but, just as important, help navigate the way to peace. We have spent the past year reflecting upon the uncommon vision of our founder and celebrating the century-long story of impact written by our world-renowned scholars and the generosity of those who have stood with us.

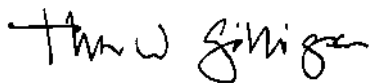
Hoover@100: Ideas Defining A Century, which opened in Hoover Tower in September, showcases documents and artifacts depicting peace, freedom, and education. We have also over the past year been hosting a centennial lecture series: *A Century of Ideas for a Free Society* features panels of Hoover fellows examining critical issues facing America and the world, with themes reflecting the values of the Hoover Institution. Hundreds of guests are filling the David and Joan Traitel Building for each session—often overflowing the building’s 440-seat Hauck Auditorium. *Defining Moments*, a coffee-table book published this past July, charts the Institution’s origins and growth over the course of a century of global upheaval. For all of these commemorations Hoover’s tagline, *Ideas Defining A Free Society*, has been the connecting thread: American values of freedom, capitalism, and democracy can serve as a blueprint for improving lives around the world.

We continue to make significant investments for the future, bringing back General Jim Mattis as a distinguished fellow and adding Kevin Hassett, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, as a distinguished visiting fellow. Planning for the next phase of our campus facilities—the construction of the George P. Shultz Building—is substantially complete and fully funded.

With the achievement of these core objectives by current leadership, Hoover is well positioned for a transition to a new director. A wide-ranging search-and-selection process is well underway, with a new leader scheduled to take charge at Hoover on September 1, 2020.

We join the rest of the Institution in thanking Joel Peterson for his leadership and significant contributions to the betterment of Hoover with his recent completion of a successful term as chairman of the Board of Overseers. The Hoover Institution is poised to embark on its second century having ever-greater impact in guiding our nation’s policy makers, informing the marketplace of ideas, and illuminating the road to peace and prosperity, both in America and around the world.

Sincerely,



THOMAS W. GILLIGAN



Thomas W. Gilligan
Tad and Dianne Taube Director



Thomas F. Stephenson
Chairman, Board of Overseers



THOMAS F. STEPHENSON



RESEARCH & SCHOLARSHIP



RESEARCH & SCHOLARSHIP

CHAMPIONING THE UNITED STATES’ POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, economic prosperity, and security and leadership in the international arena, the supporters and scholars of the Hoover Institution have forged a century-long history of transformational ideas. The cracking economic foundation hidden behind the Soviet Union’s military might; the benefits of a single, uniform income tax; the crucial need for rules to steer monetary policy; and the dangerous realities of underfunded public-pension guarantees are just a few of the countless insights developed at Hoover and brought to life in the national policy and civic discussions that animate American democracy. This section highlights the most recent additions by the Institution’s scholars and supporters to this remarkable story of **ideas defining a free society**, as well as its work to build the fellowship ranks to support a new century in pursuit of its mission.

A NEW CENTURY OF HOOVER SCHOLARS

As the Institution approached its centennial year, senior fellow and newly appointed research director Joshua Rauh worked with overseers and leadership to initiate a long-term investment in Hoover’s most vital human resource: its fellows. Under the auspices of a new Human Capital Plan, major steps were taken in establishing a pipeline of outstanding scholars into the Hoover fellowship, each with the serious academic and policy credentials needed to maintain Hoover’s high level of impact in the marketplace of ideas.

Thanks to generous investments in the plan by Hoover supporters, several promising scholars were welcomed across the junior and senior ranks, including the inaugural appointments in the new category known as Hoover Fellows. This position offers highly accomplished young scholars a chance to engage full-time in research and policy work at Hoover and possibly—for the best and brightest—to ultimately earn promotion to senior fellow. More than five hundred scholars applied for the program, and following a highly competitive selection process, four received appointments.



Research Fellow Ayaan Hirsi Ali speaks to participants at the 2019 Summer Policy Boot Camp.
PHOTO: PATRICK BEAUDOUIN

In its senior ranks, the Hoover Institution was honored to welcome back General Jim Mattis and to announce the appointment of Kevin Hassett (see right). Work is underway to identify and vet other experienced scholars and policy leaders whose research advances Hoover’s mission and meets the uncompromising academic standards of its fellowship.



PHOTO: ERIC DRAPER

GENERAL JIM MATTIS RETURNS TO HOOVER

This year the Hoover Institution welcomed back General Jim Mattis (right) as the Davies Family Distinguished

Fellow after he completed his service as the twenty-sixth US secretary of defense. Mattis first joined Hoover in 2013 after retiring from the Marine Corps as a four-star general, bringing more than four decades of military experience to the Institution's national security research program. Mattis's decorated career included command in combat in the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq, and service as commander of US Central Command, where he directed operations for more than two hundred thousand US personnel. Nominated to serve as defense secretary in 2016, Mattis was confirmed ninety-eight to one by the Senate. With his tenure at the White House added to his wealth of military and leadership experience, Mattis resumes his work at Hoover to answer questions of domestic and international security policy.



PHOTO: ERIC DRAPER

KEVIN HASSETT APPOINTED DISTINGUISHED VISITING FELLOW

The second scholar this year to join Hoover after serving in the White House, Kevin Hassett (left) comes directly to the Institution from the president's Council of Economic Advisers, where he served for two years as chairman. An expert in public finance and a longtime collaborator with Hoover economists, Hassett has taught at Columbia University's Graduate School of Business and New York University's School of Law. He has also served as a senior economist at the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, as a consultant to the Treasury Department, and for nearly two decades as an economist at the American Enterprise Institute.

INTRODUCING THE INAUGURAL CLASS OF HOOVER FELLOWS



Valentin Bolotnyy is a new PhD recipient from Harvard University. His research includes a study of the gender pay gap among Massachusetts bus and train operators, which found the disparity to be explained by different appetites for overtime and unpaid leave.



Tyler Goodspeed is one of three presidentially appointed members of the White House Council of Economic Advisers. He earned his PhD in economic history from Harvard, has held faculty appointments at Oxford and King's College London, and is the author of three books and numerous academic articles.



Cole Bunzel completed his PhD at Princeton University and comes to Hoover after a postdoctoral appointment at Yale Law School, where he researched the history of Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia and terrorist ideology. His work draws on Arabic-language chat rooms, leaked documents, and other original sources.



Jacquelyn Schneider spent six years as an Air Force intelligence officer prior to completing her PhD in political science at George Washington University. She comes to Hoover from the Naval War College, where she was an assistant professor in the Strategic and Operational Research Department.

HOOVER RESEARCH PROJECTS

China's Influence and American Interests

“Every country has the right to promote its policies, values, and achievements abroad, so long as they do so through internationally accepted means of open engagement and persuasion,” explains a new Hoover Institution report. Yet, increasingly, the authors warn, “the world’s democracies find themselves confronting a very different form of power projection by the People’s Republic of China.”

This landmark study, *China's Influence and American Interests: Promoting Constructive Vigilance* (Hoover Institution Press, 2019), argues that China’s state-led efforts to advance its interests and image abroad have expanded beyond “soft power” to include clandestine and coercive information-control tactics. The report emerged from a major research initiative led by Hoover Institution Senior Fellow Larry Diamond and Orville Schell, director of the Center on US-China Relations at the Asia Society. Drawing on contributions by more than thirty experts on China, Asia, and world politics, it concludes, among other findings, that the Chinese Communist Party and affiliated entities have



significantly accelerated their influence-seeking activities in the United States and a host of other countries; exploit the openness of American society and institutions while tightly constricting foreign access to China; and use espionage, theft, and other tactics

to undermine America’s commercial and military advantages. The report proposes broad policy responses that call for protecting the integrity of American institutions—and the rights of Chinese Americans—against attacks by the Chinese government.

Governance in an Emerging New World

“The world is experiencing change of unprecedented velocity and scope,” observed Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow George P. Shultz. Writing in the *Wall Street Journal* in 2018, he warned policy makers not to fall behind as developments such as artificial intelligence and populism recast the world around them.

Hoover fellows have convened a global network of academic, government, and industry leaders to study a matrix of issues affecting world governance, including developments in Russia, China, Latin America, Africa, Europe, and the Middle East; the implications of information technology for democratic institutions, national security, and the economy; and questions on global health and the environment. Participating experts address each issue through white paper submissions, roundtable discussions, and public forums held in Hoover’s Hauck Auditorium and broadcast live at Hoover.org.

Highlights from this year’s eleven sessions of the Governance project—more are scheduled for the coming year—included a forum on Russia featuring,



Senior Fellow Larry Diamond.

among others, Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow and former US ambassador to Russia Michael McFaul, who argued that insecure property rights and other institutional legacies of the Soviet Union are limiting the country's economic potential. In a separate panel discussion, Milbank Family Senior Fellow Niall Ferguson—in conversation with Thomas and Barbara Stephenson Senior Fellow Condoleezza Rice and Harvard political scientist Joseph Nye—argued that both government regulators and tech companies are failing to protect democratic institutions from the unrest and polarization of online social networks. The Emerging Technology and America's National Security conference brought Annenberg Distinguished Visiting Fellow Admiral James O. Ellis Jr. and Robert and Marion Oster Distinguished Military Fellow Admiral Gary Roughead together with other scholars and retired military leaders to discuss how threats in the Indo-Pacific and Eurasia and from nonstate actors are being heightened by factors such as electronic warfare and online disinformation campaigns.

hoover.org/governanceproject

Revisiting the 2008 Financial Crisis

In the decade since the 2008 financial crisis, a standard history has emerged that begins in the moments after the crisis, skipping past its causes to focus on regulators and monetary authorities as they rescue the global financial system from collapse. Hoover economists warn that this conventional narrative obscures lessons learned and puts us at risk. In fall 2018, numerous Hoover fellows and other experts convened to integrate ten years of economic research and observations into a robust picture of the crisis, recession, and recovery.

Presenters included John Taylor, the George P. Shultz Senior Fellow in Economics at Hoover, who provided an analysis of the Federal Reserve's

“Maybe our officials contributed to the panic as much as they helped to stop it. . . . Maybe our super-confident regulators armed with an immensely larger rule book are not ready to save the world next time.”

—JOHN COCHRANE, ROSE-MARIE AND JACK ANDERSON
SENIOR FELLOW

precrisis policy regime. A departure from rules-based monetary policy, he argued, not only led to a US housing boom and subsequent bust but also triggered harmful deviations from monetary policy rules around the world. John Cochrane, the Rose-Marie and Jack Anderson Senior Fellow at Hoover, argued that the best antidote for financial instability is greater bank capitalization, not complicated and risky regulatory regimes. Senior Fellow Caroline Hoxby demonstrated that recovery has been slow to reveal itself in US labor markets, where misguided extensions of unemployment and disability benefits, among other policies, prolonged market adjustments.

hoover.org/revisiting-2008-financial-crisis



John Taylor, George P. Shultz Senior Fellow in Economics.

PHOTO: PATRICK BEAUDOUIN

Economic Policy Challenges Facing California's Next Governor

California is the world's fifth largest economy and home to some of its most innovative organizations, workers, and entrepreneurs. Yet it ranks low in housing affordability, after-tax income, and performance of K–12 public schools. Factor in significant problems with poverty, homelessness, medical care, infrastructure, water, and energy, and a picture emerges of a Golden State that has been badly tarnished by misguided economic policies.

In the days before California's 2018 gubernatorial election, Hoover scholars published the white paper "Economic Policy Challenges Facing California's



Next Governor," outlining commonsense policy fixes that could open the door to hundreds of billions of dollars in potential cost savings for the state and substantial increases in economic growth. Featuring contributions by

David and Joan Traitel Senior Fellow Scott W. Atlas, Senior Fellow Lee Ohanian, and Paul and Jean Hanna Senior Fellow in Education Eric Hanushek, the report included detailed policy recommendations dealing with education, land use, health care, water, public pensions, and energy.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

H. R. MCMASTER, FOUAD AND MICHELLE AJAMI SENIOR FELLOW

At Hoover, I will think, research, write, and teach about the greatest challenges to national and international security. I hope to generate discussions that consider those challenges in historical context, on their own terms, and through the lens of US vital interests.

Today we are engaged in critical competitions that challenge American security, freedom, and prosperity. We are behind in those competitions. Across the three decades since the end of the Cold War we have not competed effectively. This was due, in part, to a decline of strategic competence and the dissipation of strategic confidence, resulting from a dramatic swing in the emotional impetus that underpinned American foreign policy. In the 1990s, overconfidence following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the lopsided military victory over Saddam Hussein's army led to complacency. After the turn of the century, strategic shocks—including the attacks of 9/11, the protracted wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the financial crisis of 2008—eroded our confidence and generated policies that regarded disengagement from complex problem sets overseas as an unmitigated good.

Today many of the assumptions on which previous policies were based are demonstrably false. For



PHOTO: PATRICK BEAUDOUIN

example, great power competition is far from being a relic of the past. The strategy of strategic engagement with the People's Republic of China did not result, as was hoped, in the Chinese Communist Party becoming a responsible stakeholder, upholding international rules, and liberalizing its economy. And Russia is engaged in a sustained campaign of political subversion against Europe and the United States.

To compete effectively and overcome these and other challenges, we must build strategic competence and confidence—confidence in who we are as a people, in our democratic institutions, and in our free-market economic system. That is why the mission of the Hoover Institution is as relevant and important today as it was one hundred years ago.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

**JENNIFER BURNS,
RESEARCH FELLOW**

This year I've focused all my energy on writing an intellectual biography of Milton Friedman. I've spent countless hours in the Hoover Archives, which hold Friedman's papers, to tell the story of Milton Friedman from his days as a Boy Scout to becoming one of the nation's most influential economists and political advisers.

I'm a historian of modern America who is interested in ideas and politics. Traditionally, intellectual historians have focused on scientists, artists, or writers who are either not very political or are interested in leftist politics. That left a huge gap when it came to understanding conservative ideas. I was inspired to tackle Friedman because of his importance across so many areas of policy.

Among the most exciting discoveries I have made are unpublished policy papers and proposals. I found one from 1939 on a "guaranteed annual income," a forerunner of current debates about universal basic income. I also found a confidential paper he wrote for George Shultz at the start of the Nixon administration proposing a new international



PHOTO: ERIC DRAPER

currency regime. This proposal underlies the modern globalized financial system. Friedman was ahead of his time in recognizing women's contributions to the field of economics, which was a big part of his success, and the role of his wife, Rose, was crucial. In some ways, this will end up as a joint biography.

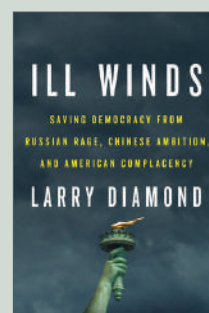
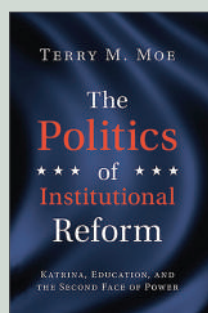
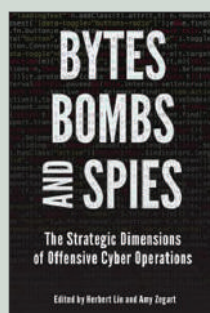
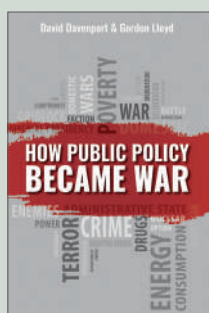
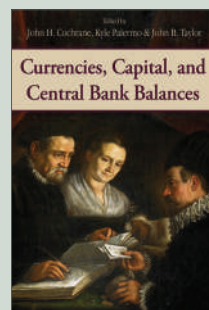
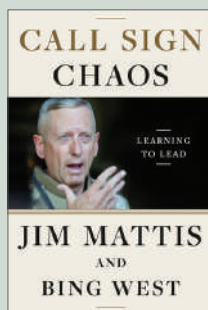
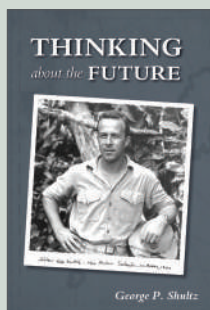
Focusing on the past while at a policy institute has been a dynamic experience. I hope my work reflects the excitement of trying to balance lessons of the past, challenges of the present, and hopes for the future.



*Milbank Family Senior Fellow
Niall Ferguson speaks with participants
at the 2019 Summer Policy Boot Camp.*

PHOTO: PATRICK BEAUDOUIN

RECENT BOOKS BY HOOVER FELLOWS



Thinking about the Future

GEORGE P. SHULTZ

Shultz collects and reflects on key writings from his rich and varied career, applying his past thinking to contemporary problems and providing a window into decision making in the halls of power. (Hoover Institution Press, 2019)

Call Sign Chaos: Learning to Lead

JIM MATTIS AND BING WEST

Call Sign Chaos is the account of General Jim Mattis's storied career, from wide-ranging leadership roles in three wars to his ultimately commanding a quarter of a million troops across the Middle East. (Random House, 2019)

Currencies, Capital, and Central Bank Balances

EDITED BY JOHN H. COCHRANE, KYLE PALERMO, AND JOHN B. TAYLOR

Leading academics and monetary policy makers discuss big-picture monetary debates and cutting-edge economic research. (Hoover Institution Press, 2019)

How Public Policy Became War

DAVID DAVENPORT AND GORDON LLOYD

This book calls for a reexamination of ill-defined and never-ending policy "wars" against everything from poverty and drugs to crime and terror, and for a return to the deliberative vision of the Founding Fathers. (Hoover Institution Press, 2019)

Bytes, Bombs, and Spies: The Strategic Dimensions of Offensive Cyber Operations

EDITED BY HERBERT LIN AND AMY ZEGART

Leading scholars and practitioners explore the strategic uses of offensive cyber operations and address the key technical, political, psychological, and legal dimensions of this fast-changing strategic landscape. (Brookings Institution Press, 2019)

The Politics of Institutional Reform: Katrina, Education, and the Second Face of Power

TERRY M. MOE

Moe treats Hurricane Katrina—which destroyed New Orleans's school buildings and its vested interests in the education system—as a natural experiment in the politics of institutional reform. (Cambridge University Press, 2019)

Ill Winds: Saving Democracy from Russian Rage, Chinese Ambition, and American Complacency

LARRY DIAMOND

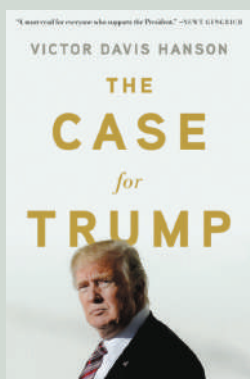
In 2019, freedom's last line of defense still remains "We the people." *Ill Winds* offers concrete, deeply informed suggestions to fight polarization, reduce the influence of money in politics, and make every vote count. (Penguin Press, 2019)



Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellow Victor Davis Hanson addresses overseers at the summer 2019 Board of Overseers meeting.

PHOTO: ERIC DRAPER

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON PROVIDES ANALYSIS OF THE 2016 ELECTION



“I have no interest in proving Trump either a demon or a deity, in contrast to whether he is unique and of the moment or a precursor to something that will endure.”

—VICTOR DAVIS HANSON,
MARTIN AND ILLIE ANDERSON
SENIOR FELLOW

“Trump is a polarizing figure whose very name prompts controversy that soon turns to acrimony,” writes Victor Davis Hanson, the Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellow at Hoover, in the preface to his latest book, *The Case for Trump*. Yet, through the lens of a seasoned historian and student of human affairs, Hanson is able to see through the fray to provide a reasoned analysis of why President Trump ran and won and how he succeeded in enacting long-overdue changes to America’s foreign and domestic policy.

Hanson opens this major volume of four hundred pages with an analysis of the electoral divide that separated coastal blue states from the “forgotten interior of America” that ultimately carried Trump to victory. He goes on to show how Trump engineered a campaign platform that spoke directly to these voters and separated him from every other candidate in the field, repudiating protracted wars, the loss of jobs to free trade and globalization, and mass immigration. He also explains why Trump alone—with his antagonistic relationship with Washington, controversial tweets, and even his accent and style of dress—was capable of riding this platform to the White House.

Subsequent sections examine why Trump was easily able to defeat his Democratic and Republican rivals and the entrenched interests of Washington; the overarching themes of his political agenda; the challenges he faced upon arrival in the White House; and his initial successes in office. The result is a nuanced, scholarly history that teaches readers as much about the United States and our government in the era of Trump as it does about the president himself. (Basic Books, 2019)





LIBRARY & ARCHIVES

LIBRARY & ARCHIVES

THE MISSION OF THE LIBRARY & ARCHIVES (L&A) is to collect, preserve, provide access to, and support engagement with the most vital material related to war, revolution, peace, and human liberty in the world. The L&A is both a repository of knowledge and a learning organization, so it is a resource simultaneously for serious scholarly work and for public education on the values it embodies. With a focused collecting program in alignment with the Hoover Institution's mission, digital programs, research and fellowship programs, academic events, publications, exhibitions, and teaching efforts, L&A continues to support a vibrant international community of scholars and a broader public interested in the meaning and role of history in policy, fulfilling Herbert Hoover's vision that "this Institution is not, and must not be, a mere library."

SUSTAINING A VITAL MISSION

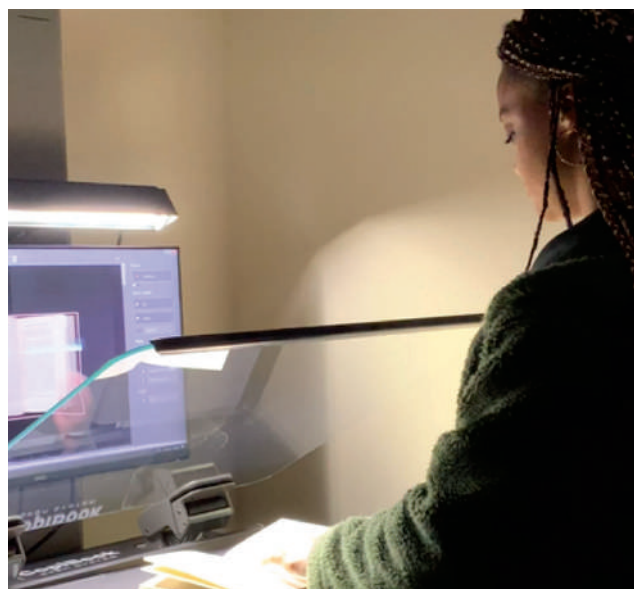
In 2019, two significant gift commitments by Hoover Institution overseers significantly expanded the horizons of the Library & Archives as it entered its second century. The first pledge aims to create a targeted acquisition fund to support expanding collections in key areas. The second pledge supports the creation of a Digital First/Virtual Library program. Together, they will allow new collections to reach new audiences.

Digital First/Virtual Library Program

With virtualization and digital content becoming essential, researchers using the Hoover Institution's Library & Archives expect to interact more with collections through technologically enhanced approaches.

The virtual library program enables L&A to build capabilities for enabling broad online distribution of its collections in digital form, which will allow future data-driven research activities. To realize the goals of this program, L&A is hiring staff with technical competencies, developing relationships with private-sector partners that have the capacity to digitize at scale, and building the physical structures to support our efforts. As part of the L&A's strategy to address this

demand, Hoover's new George P. Shultz Building (see page 51) will feature a state-of-the-art facility on its basement level designed to advance these digitization efforts. Archival material set to be digitized will progress through a series of rooms custom built for description, conservation, digitization, and holding before being relocated to an off-site facility for safekeeping.



Digitization specialist Fiore Irving images a rare book from Hoover Library. L&A's virtual library program uses digital images to increase remote access to collection material, allow for online exhibitions, and promote data-driven and machine-reading research.



Hoover's team of preservation specialists repairs and conserves the world's most significant artifacts pertaining to war, revolution, and peace from the twentieth century to today.

PHOTO: TIM GRIFFITH

Library & Archives Infrastructure

This centennial year has seen a reimagining of the Library & Archives' physical spaces in support of the digital program as well as other strategic goals.

SAL3.3 Archival Storage Facility: To convert valuable on-campus space from archival storage to Hoover research facilities and to modernize preservation capabilities, L&A is constructing an addition to the Stanford Auxiliary Library 3 storage facility in Livermore, California. Select Hoover collections will be stored in their own climate-controlled bay while remaining available to researchers via daily delivery.

Hoover Tower Exhibition Galleries: This year also saw a major renovation of the exhibit spaces in Hoover Tower, the historic center of the Institution, which receives well over one hundred thousand annual visitors from around the world. In fall 2019, these new museum-quality galleries were inaugurated with the *Hoover@100* centennial anniversary exhibition.



The renovated exhibition spaces in Hoover Tower were inaugurated with Hoover@100, which opened October 10, 2019.

PHOTOS: PATRICK BEAUDOUIN

SIGNIFICANT ACQUISITIONS

This year the Library & Archives brought a number of significant collections to Hoover, from the papers of a Nobel Prize-winning economist to the diaries of a former confidant of Mao Zedong. Below, Hoover curators and archivists describe the rarest and most unique acquisitions of 2018–19.

Friedrich Hayek Collection

“This spring, thanks to a generous donor, we were able to acquire an outstanding collection of material created by economist and Nobel Prize recipient Friedrich Hayek, a towering intellectual figure of the second half of the twentieth century. His writings as an economist and political philosopher, and especially his explanation of the relationship between market forces and personal freedom, have had a profound impact in shaping the modern world. Hoover is already home to the most significant Hayek collection in the world, thanks to the generosity of Hayek himself and his children. Adding this portion of the only significant Hayek material remaining with the family makes the collection truly preeminent. New additions include the remaining portion of Hayek’s original manuscript copy

of *The Road to Serfdom* (Hoover already has the other parts); Hayek’s personal, annotated photo album of the 1947 founding meeting of the Mont Pelerin Society; a plethora of unpublished manuscripts and lecture notes; diaries; photographs; and more.”

—Eric Wakin, Robert H. Malott Director of the Hoover Library & Archives

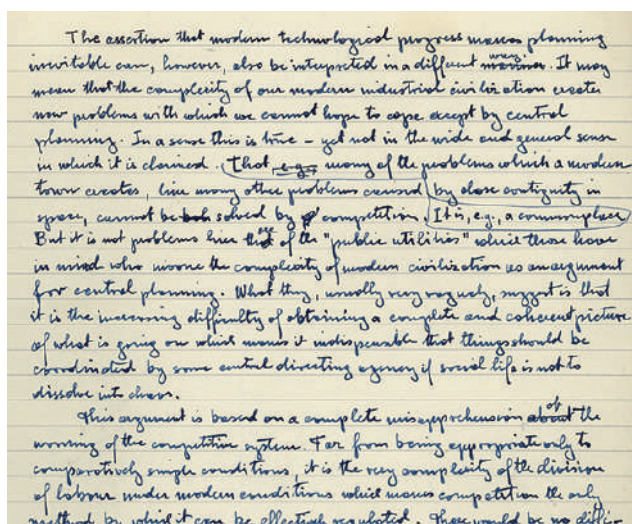


Li Rui Papers

“This year, Hoover opened the papers of Li Rui, a senior Chinese Communist Party official who became one of its most trenchant critics. In the 1950s, Li served as Mao Zedong’s personal aide, but he was later

imprisoned for almost a decade. The collection, including his diaries from 1935 to 2018, provides a unique opportunity to view Communist China’s leadership, power politics, and decision making. The papers arrived at Hoover with the help of Li Nanyang, working with her father, Li Rui.”

—Hsiao-ting Lin, Curator for Modern China Collections



Hoover Archives houses the manuscript of Nobel Prize-winning economist Friedrich Hayek’s famous treatise *The Road to Serfdom*, seen above.

Andrei Siniavskii Papers

“The Andrei Siniavskii papers provide invaluable research materials relating to the history, culture, literature, and dissident movement of the Soviet Union in the late twentieth century. Andrei Siniavskii was a Russian writer, dissident, political prisoner, emigrant, professor, and publisher. Siniavskii’s name first became known in the West in 1965, when he was arrested and tried for publishing ‘anti-Soviet’ works abroad. He spent six years in a Soviet prison camp. His trial drew indignation and protests from prominent literary figures, left-wing intellectuals, and even fellow communists in the West. His collection includes trial documents and a vast amount of correspondence

between Siniavskii and his wife, Maria Rozanova, and well-known figures such as Boris Pasternak, Saul Bellow, and Svetlana Allilueva (Stalin's daughter)."

—*Lora Soroka, Assistant Archivist for Russian Collections*

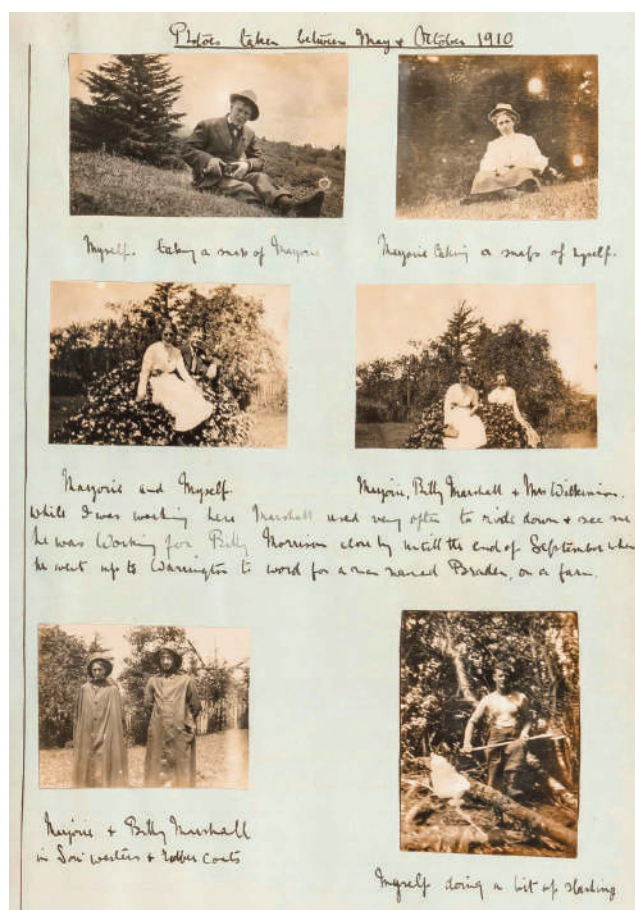
Wojciech Jaruzelski Papers

"The Hoover Archives received the papers of Wojciech Jaruzelski at the end of September 2018. General Jaruzelski was one of the best-known individuals of postwar Poland, initially as the first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party; then as the prime minister who used martial law to suppress Solidarity; and finally, becoming Poland's president as a result of the famous Round Table Talks in 1989. The collection consists of invaluable primary sources, such as personal documents, unpublished articles and reports, court testimonies, handwritten notes, and more than one thousand photographs—mostly from 1980s Poland. This collection provides a unique opportunity for researchers and historians to dive into the world of one of the most recognizable and controversial politicians of not only Poland but the entire Soviet bloc."

—*Gerardina Malgorzata Szudelski, Archival Specialist for European Collections*



Wojciech Jaruzelski (left) with Jerzy Wiatr next to a bust of Polish socialist politician Ignacy Daszyński, in the Polish parliament, Warsaw, 1994.



The diaries of Gerald "Jack" Beadle tell the story of Beadle's service in World War I, when he was a sniper for the British army in the Dardanelles.

Beadle Diaries

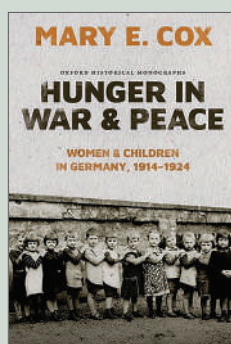
"This spring Hoover acquired the lively and illuminating diaries of Gerald 'Jack' Beadle, a Britisher living in Oregon in the early twentieth century, who enlisted in the First World War and became a sniper at Gallipoli. The detailed diaries, which include photographs of Beadle during his years of service, give readers an eyewitness view to one of the most harrowing military campaigns. Diaries of soldiers who fought in Gallipoli are extremely rare, and this one is tremendously compelling—one that certainly will be a fantastic resource for researchers."

—*Jean Cannon, Curator for North American Collections*

SCHOLARLY PROGRAMS & ACTIVITIES

Library & Archives fellowship programs support year-long visiting fellows and shorter-term visitors, including undergraduate and graduate students from Stanford University and elsewhere, postdoctoral and early-career faculty members, and independent scholars. L&A hosts four week-long scholarly workshops annually, each run by a Hoover fellow, which bring scholars together to use the archives and present their research. In addition, L&A hosts a thematic annual conference, brings speakers in for book talks, and publishes books, both through the Hoover Institution Press and the Yale-Hoover Series on Authoritarian Regimes. Its curators and staff regularly present material and teach classes to Stanford students and visitors.

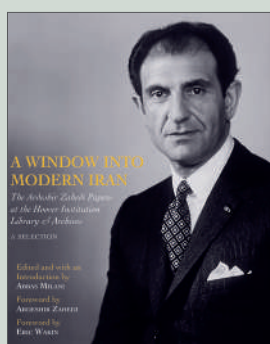
Thousands of scholars from around the globe use L&A materials to produce books, articles, and dissertations that break new ground in the understanding of history, economics, public policy, law, and governance. Some of the last year's most significant titles drawn from research at Hoover include the following.



Hunger in War and Peace: Women and Children in Germany, 1914–1924

MARY E. COX

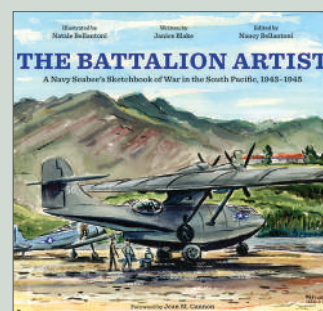
In *Hunger in War and Peace*, Hoover Visiting Fellow Mary Elisabeth Cox, lecturer and fellow at Brasenose College, Oxford, and host of the annual “Hunger Draws the Map” conference at Hoover, used quantitative data from Hoover’s American National Red Cross records to study the dramatic toll of wartime food shortages on European children. Her groundbreaking work was featured in a *New Yorker* article by Adam Hochschild, which focused on the centenary of the First World War Armistice. (Oxford University Press, 2019)



A Window into Modern Iran: The Ardeshir Zahedi Papers at the Hoover Institution Library & Archives

EDITED AND WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY ABBAS MILANI

As foreign minister under the last shah and ambassador to the United States, Ardeshir Zahedi was Iran’s preeminent statesman in the two decades preceding the 1979 Iranian Revolution, which toppled the nation’s leadership. This publication draws from the thousands of records, letters, documents, and photographs held at the L&A to provide a rare and unmediated view of a century of Iran’s social and political history. Edited and with an introduction by Research Fellow Abbas Milani, the Hamid and Christina Moghadam Director of Iranian Studies at Stanford University, this volume is the first to make significant use of one of the world’s most important collections of materials on modern Iran. (Hoover Institution Press, 2019)



The Battalion Artist: A Navy Seabee's Sketchbook of War in the South Pacific, 1943–1945

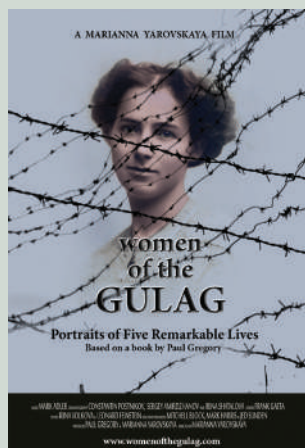
WRITTEN BY JANICE BLAKE,
EDITED BY NANCY BELLANTONI,
ILLUSTRATED BY NATALE BELLANTONI

Featuring never-before-published watercolors, sketches, and photographs from Hoover’s recently acquired Natale Bellantoni collection, *The Battalion Artist* documents American servicemen’s experience in the Pacific theater of World War II through the life and artwork of a US Navy Seabee. This stunning volume offers an authentic window onto history, showing readers the intensity of wartime life and the joys and sorrows of a creative young artist as he travels from Boston to Okinawa and back. (Hoover Institution Press, 2019)



Participants in the 2019 Summer Policy Boot Camp make surprising discoveries within the collections of the Hoover Library & Archives.

PHOTO: PATRICK BEAUDOUIN



POSTER: DANA BERRY

Women of the Gulag

In June Hoover hosted a screening and panel discussion of the award-winning documentary film *Women of the Gulag*, a project based on Research Fellow Paul Gregory's book of the same name (Hoover Institution Press, 2013).

Directed by Russian American filmmaker Marianna Yarovskaya, the film tells the compelling and tragic stories of five remarkable women—survivors of the Gulag, the brutal system of repression that devastated the Soviet population during the Stalin years and for which the L&A is an international hub of scholarship. The film was short-listed in the Best Documentary category in the 2019 Academy Awards competition and was named Best Short Documentary at the 2019 Reykjavík Film Festival.



Jan Karski Medal Awarded to Hoover Curator Maciej Siekierski

In February 2019, Maciej Siekierski, curator of the European Collections of the Hoover Institution, was awarded the Medal of the 75th Anniversary of Jan Karski's Mission. This is a distinction given to those fostering respect for Karski, the renowned courier of the Polish Underground during World War II. Siekierski received the medal as an unwavering guardian of the history of Poland. "There are few people in the United States with such a scale of contributions for Polish national memory as him. The Hoover Institution saved invaluable historical documents related to the fight for freedom and independence during the Second World War and postwar activities," said Wiesława Kozielewska-Trzaska, deputy chairwoman of the Jan Karski Society and also niece and goddaughter of Karski.

CELEBRATING ONE HUNDRED YEARS

ON APRIL 22, 1919, HERBERT HOOVER sent his wife, Lou Henry, a telegram pledging \$50,000 to collect historical material on the First World War. Hoover's collection rapidly expanded to document not only the causes and course of that conflict but also its tumultuous aftermath and, within a few years, the broader forces of war, revolution, and peace in the modern era. From these beginnings, the Hoover Institution would become one of the world's leading public-policy research centers, advancing the principles of freedom through the wide-ranging, interdisciplinary scholarship of Hoover fellows and the greatest library and archival collections of their kind.

During its centennial year, Hoover has worked with its supporters to reinforce its strengths in research and education, accelerate the pace of innovation, and extend the reach and impact of its programs. In addition, this year has provided an opportunity to explore the Institution's remarkable history, the policy questions confronting the nation and world at this critical juncture, and the principles that will continue to guide Hoover as the next century unfolds. Here are highlights of the major initiatives commemorating this centennial year.



Herbert Hoover at his house on the Stanford University campus, composing his presidential nomination speech, 1928. Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and Museum.

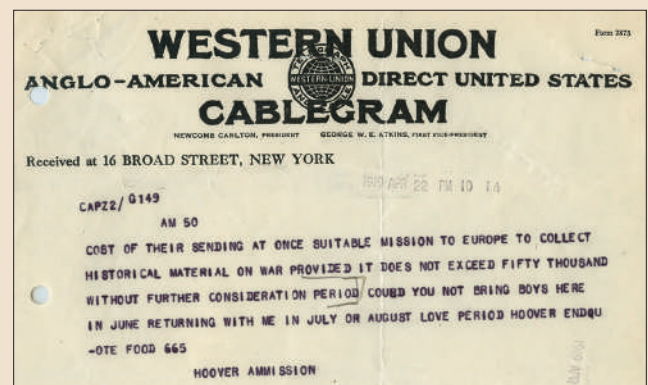
HOOVER@100: IDEAS DEFINING A CENTURY

Fall 2019–Summer 2020

In celebration of its centennial, the Hoover Institution opened the exhibition *Hoover@100: Ideas Defining A Century* on October 10, 2019. The first exhibition held in the Hoover Tower's renovated exhibition spaces, *Hoover@100* is a showcase of documents and artifacts centered around the ideas of peace, freedom, and education—ideas that are embodied in the lives of Herbert Hoover and his wife, Lou Henry, and that drove the Institution's collecting and the work of its eminent fellows in its first century. The following pages offer a preview of the exhibition and its posters, correspondence, photographs, artifacts, and manuscripts, drawn exclusively from the collections of the Library & Archives.

“The purpose of this Institution is to promote peace. Its records should stand as a challenge to those who promote war. They should attract those who search for peace.”

—HERBERT HOOVER, 1941



Herbert Hoover's cablegram of April 22, 1919, changed Stanford forever. It established the Hoover War Library by authorizing funds for a "mission to Europe to collect historical material on war."



Belgians in Saint-Gilles, a suburb of Brussels, express their gratitude to the Commission for Relief in Belgium, led by Herbert Hoover.

AN UNCOMMON COUPLE

Herbert and Lou Henry Hoover both came from the Midwest, ended up on the West Coast at a young age, and then enrolled at Stanford University. Herbert Hoover went on to a remarkably successful career as a mining engineer, then roles as a humanitarian, public servant, and eventually president of the United States. Lou Henry Hoover was a remarkable person in her own right, an activist and independent woman ahead of her time, who brought these characteristics to her role as First Lady.

During the First World War, Herbert Hoover's Commission for Relief in Belgium bought and shipped 5.7 million tons of food to nearly 9.5 million civilians in Belgium and northern France. After the Treaty of Versailles began the process of peace making in June 1919, Hoover served as chairman of the American Relief Administration, which conducted humanitarian operations in more than twenty countries, including Soviet Russia during the Great Famine of 1921–23. These activities earned Herbert Hoover an international reputation as “the Great Humanitarian.”

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

Herbert Hoover believed that a free society was defined by individual liberty, limited government, and private enterprise. Today, Hoover scholars continue to advance ideas that promote freedom and the related concepts of economic opportunity and prosperity.

Economic Freedom

Two champions of economic freedom affiliated with the Hoover Institution were Friedrich Hayek (1899–1992) and Milton Friedman (1912–2006), both Nobel laureates in economics. Hayek, named a Hoover honorary fellow in 1976, fled the Nazi regime and won worldwide fame for his book *The Road to Serfdom* (1944), which told of the dangers of socialism and state planning and explained the economic advantages and moral superiority of a free market. Friedman, who became a senior research fellow in 1977, brought to Hoover an extraordinary combination of theoretical depth, unparalleled policy influence, and enormous popularity. His fundamental message was that economic freedom is as vital as political freedom to a free society.



This photograph from the European Pictorial Collection depicts a Solidarity demonstration in Kraków in 1989, during a period leading to the dissolution of the communist government in Poland.

Solidarity Movement

Solidarity (Solidarność) was a Polish labor union formed in the Lenin Shipyard in the city of Gdansk in 1980 and cofounded by an electrician named Lech Wałęsa. Solidarity quickly grew into a nationwide, nonviolent, anti-Communist resistance movement. In December 1981, Solidarity was outlawed and Wałęsa arrested as the Polish government introduced martial law and began a brutal crackdown. The organization survived in the underground and, as Communist rule began to falter in the late 1980s, emerged as Poland's largest political party. In the national elections of June 1989, Solidarity won a resounding victory and led Poland's first post-Communist government. The following year, Wałęsa was elected president of Poland.

Umbrella Movement

Another symbol of freedom emerged in 2014 in China when thousands of people in Hong Kong joined the so-called Umbrella Movement, a series of large-scale sit-in protests against the Beijing government that involved tens of thousands of people over the course of seventy-nine days. Printed leaflets and pamphlets designed by protesters show the umbrella symbolically protecting the seedling of democracy, although in real life the activists' umbrellas also served a practical purpose: they were used to ward off the pepper spray used by the police to disperse the protesters. To some extent the Umbrella Revolution was an inspiration that brought

about political awakening for the ongoing protests against China's infringement of Hong Kong's autonomy and civil liberties.

TO PROMOTE PEACE

Herbert Hoover's directive to collect materials on the First World War was driven by the belief that only through the retention and study of these records could the world hope to learn from its past mistakes and avoid future cataclysms. A century on, the Institution continues to study and build collections that inform the prevention of war and the safeguarding of peace.

United Nations

The United Nations Conference on International Organization took place from April 25 to June 26, 1945, in San Francisco. Fifty countries gathered at the conference, whose purpose was to draft the text of the UN Charter. The executive secretary of the conference was C. Easton

Rothwell, who later served as director of the Hoover Institution from 1952 to 1959. The Hoover Institution Archives hold a collection on the UN's founding conference that includes sound recordings of the proceedings and photographs depicting delegates and scenes at the conference.

Disarming the Atom

The Cold War spurred an arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States that created enormous

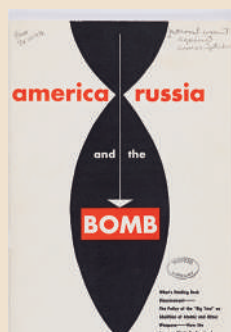


Center, counterclockwise from top: Demonstrators at the 2014 Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong produced leaflets demanding a general election.

This pin features a peace flag from 1913, designed to communicate ideas of peace through universal symbols. America, Russia, and the Bomb: published during the early years of the Cold War, this 1950 pamphlet by John M. Swomley Jr. discusses nuclear disarmament in America and Russia.

nuclear arsenals. Post–Cold War initiatives to reduce these stockpiles were met with early success but have since stalled. In 2006 the Hoover Institution launched the World Free of Nuclear Weapons Project, led by Hoover fellows George P. Shultz, Sidney D. Drell, and James E. Goodby, working together with former national security adviser and secretary of state Henry A. Kissinger and former secretary of defense Sam Nunn. The collaboration led to a landmark *Wall Street Journal* op-ed of January 4, 2007 (updated on January 15, 2008), a 2007 conference at Hoover, and the 2014 Hoover Institution Press publication *Nuclear Security: The Problems and the Road Ahead*.

THE PAST AS PROLOGUE



Education—encompassing research, publication, teaching, policy advice, and access to significant archival collections—has been a part of the Hoover Institution’s mandate since the early 1920s. Hoover’s educational impact is seen today through its fellows’ engagement with both

policy makers and the general public, as well as through the collections of the Library & Archives, which offer unique and valuable historical insights for students, scholars, and others interested in the meaning of history and its role in understanding contemporary issues.

The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact

One of the most notorious treaties of the twentieth century was the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, also known as the Hitler-Stalin Pact or the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Publicly, the treaty was a statement of nonaggression and friendship between the two countries. Secretly, the treaty’s protocols divided Poland and the Baltic states between the signatories, setting the stage for the German invasion of Poland and the outbreak of World War II. Photographs taken by Joachim von Ribbentrop’s private photographer during the German



Hoover’s William Philp collection includes pictures of Stalin at the signing of the 1939 Nazi-Soviet nonaggression treaty (above), a 1944 X-ray of Hitler’s skull, secret plans for Operation Overlord, and a signed photograph album from the Nuremberg Trials.

foreign minister’s trip to Moscow to sign the pact provide a unique visual record of the event.

The Long March

In 1937, Helen Foster Snow, also known by the pen name Nym Wales, made her way to the Chinese Communists’ headquarters in Yan’an and spent four months there interviewing and photographing Mao Zedong and his comrades. A highlight of the Nym Wales papers is a collection of twenty-four black-ink sketches by Huang Zhen, a Red Army general and later China’s minister of culture, made during the Long March. These were the only known visual representations of the Long March and are iconic images in China. For decades the originals were presumed to have perished, but they were eventually discovered among the Wales papers at Hoover.



The Huang Zhen sketches housed at Hoover capture in vivid detail the hardships of the 1934–35 Long March undertaken by the retreating Red Army of the Communist Party of China.



A CENTURY OF IDEAS FOR A FREE SOCIETY

Throughout 2019, the centennial lecture series invites Hoover fellows to participate in eleven lectures examining critical issues facing America and the world, designed around themes reflecting the values of the Hoover Institution. To date, hundreds of guests have packed the David and Joan Traitel Building for each session, and thousands more have streamed the talks online—with each talk receiving on average nearly ten thousand views. Lectures held through August are listed here. The complete video archive of the series is available at Hoover.org.

One Hundred Years of Democracy and Foreign Policy

Featuring Condoleezza Rice, Niall Ferguson, and Stephen Krasner

Examining the changing role of democracy building in America's foreign policy over the past century.

A Century of Prosperity: A Review of the Standard of Living, 1919 vs. 2019

Featuring Terry Anderson, John Cogan, Lee Ohanian, and George Shultz, Moderated by Peter Robinson

Discussing the role of free markets, property rights, innovation, and national security in our dramatically improved standard of living.

Technology, Innovation, and the Future of the US Economy

Featuring Edward Lazear, Amit Seru, and Stephen Haber, Moderated by Jonathan Levin (Stanford Graduate School of Business)

Exploring the drivers of US prosperity in the twentieth century and into the next.



H. R. McMaster, Larry Diamond, Ayaan Hirsi Ali, and Niall Ferguson at the "Battleground of Perception" discussion on June 4, 2019.

PHOTO: PATRICK BEAUDOUIN

Battleground of Perception: Countering Threats to Free and Open Societies

Featuring Ayaan Hirsi Ali, Larry Diamond, and H. R. McMaster, Moderated by Niall Ferguson

Addressing the fundamental battle of free and open societies against repressive, closed systems.

The Big Three: Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill during the Second World War

Featuring David Kennedy, Stephen Kotkin, and Roger and Martha Mertz Visiting Fellow Andrew Roberts, Moderated by Peter Robinson

Exploring the relationship of the Allied leaders and their nations during and after World War II.

Changing the Education Debate

Featuring Margaret Raymond, Eric Hanushek, and Terry Moe, Moderated by Robert Pondiscio

Discussing the far-reaching educational research conducted by Hoover scholars.

hoover.org/researchcentury-ideas-free-society-centennial-speaker-series

HOOVER INSTITUTE

STANFORD UNIVERSITY



COMMUNICATIONS & EDUCATION

TION



COMMUNICATIONS & EDUCATION

MORE THAN A GENERATOR OF IDEAS, THE HOOVER INSTITUTION is dedicated to using its research—and the principles that guide it—as the basis for both public policy and public education. Working from the “top down,” Hoover fellows advise the executive branch leadership on policy development and implementation, testify before congressional committees, and maintain an authoritative presence in the Washington policy-making community. Working from the “bottom up,” Hoover fellows are fixtures in top national media outlets and are active in major educational programs such as the Institution’s PolicyEd.org web platform. As the Institution marks its centennial anniversary and invests in continued intellectual and policy leadership, it remains dedicated to its charge to, in the words of Herbert Hoover, “point the road to peace, to personal freedom, and to the safeguards of the American system.”

MEDIA COMMUNICATIONS

When Americans are confronted with questions of public policy, they often turn to news media—on television and radio, in print, and increasingly online—as their principal forums for information and commentary. Long-standing relationships with America’s leading journalists, along with Hoover’s reputation as one of the nation’s most reliable sources for incisive, real-time policy analysis, have established the Institution as a leader in this market for ideas.

Hoover Media Programs

Whether in traditional or digital media, reporters, editors, commentators, and producers still hold the keys to our daily news cycle. Hoover’s considerable news presence is based on an extensive network of relationships in the media, cultivated through programs such as the William and Barbara Edwards Media Fellows Program, which embeds established and up-and-coming journalists among Hoover fellows. This year, journalists from many of the nation’s top broadcast and print outlets participated in the Media Fellows Program, including *Wall Street Journal* editorial board member Jason Riley, *Financial Times* comment and analysis editor Brooke Masters, *New York Times* book



John Taylor, George P. Shultz Senior Fellow in Economics, gives a media interview during Strategies for Monetary Policy: A Policy Conference at Hoover in May 2019.

review editor Barry Gewen, CNN host and political commentator S. E. Cupp, and *Washington Times* books editor Carol Herman.

Hoover’s Media Roundtables serve as fast-paced counterparts to the Media Fellows Program, bringing as many as forty reporters at a time to our headquarters for one-to-two-day briefings and panel discussions with fellows. This year’s three Media Roundtables included a September 2018 pre-election session in which Hoover’s top political scientists and policy experts briefed journalists on political polarization, polling and election analysis, foreign and domestic policy debates, and the 2020 presidential race. An October 2018 roundtable focused on the cyber threat landscape, including briefings by Hoover cyber experts Herbert Lin, the Hank J. Holland Fellow in Cyber Policy and Security,



Participants in Hoover's April 2019 media roundtable, "Outside the Beltway," discussed US foreign policy toward China and other national security issues.

PHOTO: ROD SEARCEY

and Visiting Fellow Alex Stamos, former Facebook chief security officer. In May 2019 Hoover scholars, including Michael McFaul, H. R. McMaster, and Research Fellow Ayaan Hirsi Ali, met with journalists for a national security roundtable focusing on China, Russia, and emerging technologies affecting the future of warfare. A total of eighty-two journalists participated in Hoover Media Roundtables this year, representing virtually every major news outlet.

2019 in the Media

Hoover's media programs support a major presence in the nation's most influential broadcast, print, and online outlets. Hoover fellows made nearly one hundred appearances, for example, on the nation's cable news leader, Fox News, including eleven appearances on *Hannity*, seventeen on *Tucker Carlson Tonight*, and thirty-two on *The Ingraham Angle*—cable news's first-, second-, and fourth-ranked shows, each averaging two to three million viewers. Hoover fellows were featured in an additional four hundred television interviews this year, including more than fifty appearances on the United States' second-highest-rated cable news network, MSNBC, and other leading networks such as ABC, CBS, CNN, and CNBC.

Hundreds of national radio appearances included a marathon series of interviews featuring Victor Davis Hanson on his new book, *The Case for Trump* (see page 13), on more than a dozen nationally syndicated shows and nearly fifty stations across the country. Nationally syndicated radio hosts Hugh Hewitt and Brian Kilmeade—both alumni of Hoover media programs—also interviewed fellows including Payson J. Treat Fellow in Contemporary Asia Michael Auslin, David and Diane Seffy Fellow in American Public Policy Studies Lanhee Chen, David Davenport, and Niall Ferguson this year for their respective weekly audiences of 8 million and 4 million.

This year's nearly seven hundred op-eds by Hoover fellows included fifty in the *Wall Street Journal*, a longtime staple of Hoover coverage with a print circulation of more than 1 million, and 40 million online readers per month. More than one hundred other print and online outlets ran op-eds by Hoover fellows this year, including Beltway fixtures such as the *Washington Post*, *The Hill*, and *Politico*, as well as outlets with global reach and influence, such as the *New York Times*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Financial Times*, and *Forbes*.

HOOVER FELLOWS IN THE NEWS

“Cyber competition is here and it is getting worse, threatening to undermine democracies, upend the international order, and erode American power.”

—AMY ZEGART, DAVIES FAMILY SENIOR FELLOW, IN *THE ATLANTIC*, FEBRUARY 2, 2019

“For the first time in forty years the Chinese really feel that there is pressure coming from the United States and not just rhetoric.”

—MICHAEL AUSLIN, PAYSON J. TREAT FELLOW IN CONTEMPORARY ASIA, CBS NEWS, FEBRUARY 27, 2019

“When people are starving in Venezuela under socialism, the young people right out of our colleges are flocking to Bernie Sanders, because they’re judging by his words and how wonderful it sounds, and not by what happens when you try to put those notions into practice.”

—THOMAS SOWELL, ROSE AND MILTON FRIEDMAN SENIOR FELLOW, ON *THE INGRAHAM ANGLE*, MARCH 6, 2019

“We have an insurance system in the US that makes us minimize your concern for the cost because ‘someone else is paying.’ We need to have the patient be empowered to shop, to care about the price.”

—SCOTT W. ATLAS, DAVID AND JOAN TRAITEL SENIOR FELLOW, ON *THE LARS LARSON SHOW*, MARCH 18, 2019

“Deterrence cannot protect the world from a nuclear blunder or nuclear terrorism. Both become more likely when there is no sustained, meaningful dialogue between Washington and Moscow.”

—HOOVER SCHOLARS GEORGE P. SHULTZ, WILLIAM J. PERRY, AND SAM NUNN IN *THE WALL STREET JOURNAL*, APRIL 10, 2019

“The goal of policy makers, in education and the labor market, should be to bring up the skills of the lower half of wage earners so that they compete more effectively with the top.”

—EDWARD LAZEAR, MORRIS ARNOLD AND NONA JEAN COX SENIOR FELLOW, IN *THE WALL STREET JOURNAL*, MAY 6, 2019

“If you want to see state ownership in action, along with the corruption, inefficiency, and poverty that invariably go with it, I recommend Caracas, Pyongyang or—more picturesque—Havana. Don’t look for it in Europe.”

—NIALL FERGUSON, MILBANK FAMILY SENIOR FELLOW, IN *THE BOSTON GLOBE*, MAY 13, 2019



Milbank Family Senior Fellow Niall Ferguson on the set of Life, Liberty & Levin.

COURTESY OF FOX NEWS

“It’s really more strategies-based versus not strategies-based, rules-based versus not rules-based . . . [describing policy makers as] ‘doves’ or ‘hawks’ depends on the timing, depends on the events, but whether you’re following a strategy or not is really time invariant.”

—JOHN B. TAYLOR, GEORGE P. SHULTZ SENIOR FELLOW IN ECONOMICS, ON *THE EXCHANGE* PODCAST, REUTERS, MAY 13, 2019

“The whole premise of the Green New Deal is socialism, and yet we have mainstream candidates that embrace it, not because they believe in it, but because . . . they think there’s poll data that suggests support, especially among young people.”

—VICTOR DAVIS HANSON, MARTIN AND ILLIE ANDERSON SENIOR FELLOW, ON *TUCKER CARLSON TONIGHT*, MAY 22, 2019

“No state will act decisively and effectively to secure and defend democratic progress in the world unless the US is in the lead. There will not be another leader.”

—LARRY DIAMOND, SENIOR FELLOW, IN *TIME*, JUNE 24, 2019



Senior Fellow Larry Diamond on C-SPAN

PHOTO: COURTESY OF C-SPAN

THE HOOVER INSTITUTION IN WASHINGTON

Amplifying the voices of Hoover scholars to reach those in Congress, the White House, and the national policy community, the Hoover Institution in Washington is a cornerstone of the Institution's "top down" efforts to advance freedom and prosperity. Headquartered blocks from the White House, the Hoover Institution in Washington provides a forum for events and meetings with lawmakers, facilitates testimony and briefings on Capitol Hill, and helps educate influential congressional and executive branch staff members about Hoover principles and policy solutions.

Events in Washington, DC

Jamal Khashoggi, Mohammed bin Salman, and the Future of US-Saudi Relations

The Hoover Institution in Washington's twenty-two public events this year included a forum on the alleged state-sponsored killing of Saudi journalist and *Washington Post* contributor Jamal Khashoggi, featuring panel discussions on the case, its implications for press freedom and human rights, and how US policy makers should respond. "[Khashoggi] was part of us," said Larry Diamond in an opening address to the audience. "He had come here seeking refuge, and I think if you read his columns . . . he had drawn inspiration from the United States." Other speakers included Karen Attiah, global opinion editor at the *Washington Post*, who first recruited Khashoggi as a columnist, as well as former US ambassador to Saudi Arabia James Smith, who met regularly with Khashoggi while serving in the country.

Representative Mike Gallagher on Fixing Congress

As part of Hoover's Opening Arguments: Conversations on American Constitutionalism event series, Wisconsin representative Mike Gallagher visited Hoover for the discussion "How to Fix Congress—and Why." The discussion paralleled Gallagher's widely read *Atlantic* article arguing that Congress has defanged itself by



Rep. Mike Gallagher at Hoover in Washington's "How to Fix Congress and Why."

PHOTO: LANDER PHOTOGRAPHY, 2019. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

"How did an institution that was once admired around the world become so toothless? I have come to believe that the problem is not the people [but] a defective process and a power structure that . . . stifles debate and initiative within the ranks."

—MIKE GALLAGHER, "HOW TO SALVAGE CONGRESS,"
THE ATLANTIC

relinquishing control over spending and defense and that House rules and procedures have left members powerless to resist senior leadership or advance substantive legislation. In conversation with Research Fellow Adam White, Gallagher proposed reforms, including modifying the congressional calendar to reduce legislators' travel between Washington and their districts, allowing committees rather than leadership to select their chairs, and directing the attention of members away from fundraising and media and back to the legislative process.



Eric Hanushek, Paul and Jean Hanna Senior Fellow in Education, at the Education Next event, Hoover in Washington, April 2019.

Research Conferences

The Hoover Institution in Washington also serves as a research outpost for Hoover scholars, allowing them to convene influential members of the Washington policy community and present their work to lawmakers. Events held by senior scholars this year in Washington included “Tools of Regulatory Reform: Maintaining Executive and Constitutional Order,” a conference of Hoover’s Regulation and the Rule of Law research initiative, chaired by Senior Fellow Michael McConnell and Distinguished Visiting Fellow Charles Calomiris. Gathering leading legal scholars and an audience of nearly seventy representatives from the White House, Capitol Hill, think tanks, and private industry, the event explored the flood of orders from single-district judges enjoining Trump administration policy, the authority of such courts to issue nationwide injunctions extending to parties not present before the court, and techniques for improving regulatory reform.

Another recent Washington conference centered on a new *Education Next* report coauthored by Eric Hanushek and Senior Fellow Paul Peterson, along with Laura Talpey of Stanford University and Ludger

Woessmann of the University of Munich. Drawing on nearly fifty years of student performance data in math, reading, and science, the authors found that \$1 trillion devoted to federal programs to close the academic achievement gap between children in low- and high-income households has yielded no change. Cosponsored by Harvard University’s Program on Education Policy and Governance, the event featured a presentation of results by Hanushek and a panel discussion on the study’s findings and policy implications. Hanushek and Peterson also briefed numerous senior policy staff on Capitol Hill and in the executive branch on their findings, and Hanushek fielded questions about the study on C-SPAN’s *Washington Journal*.

Informing the Policy-Making Community

Supporting members of Congress and White House appointees, Capitol Hill and executive staff members play an integral role in the development, debate, and implementation of policy in the United States. Each year, Hoover hosts two classes of approximately thirty congressional staffers in the Stuart Family



Participants in the April 2019 Congressional Fellowship Program. Twice a year, Hoover in Washington convenes a group of congressional staffers on the Stanford University campus for an educational seminar that features Hoover scholars.

PHOTO: PATRICK BEAUDOUIN

Congressional Fellowship Program, an intensive, two-day introduction to Hoover fellows and their research held at Hoover's California headquarters. More than two hundred staffers have participated to date, representing both major parties, both houses of Congress, and a wide cross section of roles and levels of seniority. The program builds relationships that result in additional exposure for fellows. For example, after his keynote dinner address at the spring 2019 session, Alex Stamos was invited by two staff members from the House Committee on Homeland Security to testify on artificial intelligence and counterterrorism.

This year the Hoover Institution in Washington also launched the new Economic Fellowship Program for exceptional junior Hill and executive branch staffers. The inaugural class of twenty-seven included executive agency advisers, legislative assistants to members of both houses of Congress, congressional committee staff, and other influential policy professionals. The program began with a twice-monthly seminar series

on the Hill led by Hoover scholars, including talks by Wohlford Family Senior Fellow Michael Boskin on capitalism, socialism, and democracy; and Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow Stephen Haber on property rights. Participants then traveled to Hoover's California headquarters for an immersive, three-day seminar spanning the full range of Hoover research areas.

The Hoover National Security and Technology Congressional Briefing Series is a program that seeks to provide congressional staff with greater understanding of the nexus between national security and technology policy. As Congress grapples with policy challenges related to technology, innovation in national security is at great peril, particularly as Silicon Valley and Washington work toward sometimes divergent purposes. Hoover is uniquely placed to facilitate these conversations with its eminent scholars and geographic locations in both Palo Alto, California, and Washington, DC.

SELECTED TESTIMONY AND BRIEFINGS

SEPTEMBER 18, 2018: George P. Shultz met with Senators Angus King, Sheldon Whitehouse, and Dianne Feinstein to discuss energy policy and participated in a Capitol Hill briefing on the subject in collaboration with MIT's Energy Initiative and Stanford's Precourt Institute for Energy.

SEPTEMBER 26, 2018: John and Jean De Nault Research Fellow Russell Roberts testified before the Joint Economic Committee at the Examining the Rise of American Earnings and Living Standards hearing.

OCTOBER 23-24, 2018: Research Fellow Andrew Grotto briefed staff members from the House and Senate Select Committees on Intelligence and staff from the National Security Council, Executive Office of the President, and Council of Economic Advisers on "deep fakes" and other cybersecurity issues.

NOVEMBER 13, 2018: Senior Fellow Douglas Rivers and Davies Family Senior Fellow David Brady spoke to members of the diplomatic community as a part of the Hoover Institution in Washington's Diplomatic Salon Dinner Series.

NOVEMBER 30, 2018: Visiting Fellow Jamil Jaffer spoke to Capitol Hill staff as part of Hoover's National Security and Technology Congressional Briefing Series.

DECEMBER 13, 2018: Congress's Joint Economic Committee released a report on health savings accounts citing research and testimony by Hoover scholars John Cogan, R. Glenn Hubbard, and Scott Atlas.

JANUARY 30, 2019: Hoover fellows Amy Zegart and Herb Lin briefed members of the House Intelligence Committee and Senate Armed Services Committee on the strategic dimensions of offensive cyberoperations.



John and Jean De Nault Research Fellow Russell Roberts testifying before the US Congress Joint Economic Committee.

MARCH 14, 2019: Senior Fellow Elizabeth Cobbs briefed Senator John Tester (D-MT) on her book *The Hello Girls: America's First Women Soldiers* and briefed Michael Kratsios, deputy chief technology officer (since confirmed as chief technology officer) of the United States, on her documentary *CyberWork and the American Dream*.

MARCH 26, 2019: Senior Fellow Larry Diamond briefed congressional staffers on findings from Hoover's Chinese Influence and American Interests report.

MARCH 28, 2019: Senior Fellow Michael McFaul testified before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence concerning state-sponsored Russian activities to advance foreign-policy objectives abroad.

MAY 29, 2019: Paul and Jean Hanna Senior Fellow in Education Eric Hanushek briefed senior officials from the departments of Education and Health and Human Services on student performance.

JUNE 12, 2019: Senior Fellow Amy Zegart briefed Senator Mike Rounds, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee Subcommittee on Cybersecurity, on the strategic dimensions of offensive cyber operations.

EDUCATING AMERICANS IN PUBLIC POLICY

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

The digital-media revolution has transformed the way people obtain information and form opinions, creating an urgent demand for credible and readily available sources for public-policy facts and analysis. A component of the Institution's Educating Americans in Public Policy (EAPP) Initiative, Hoover's PolicyEd platform hosts the works of Hoover fellows that has been transformed into accessible, engaging videos and other educational content to spark deeper interest in our research and ideas.

Now a cornerstone initiative as Hoover begins a second century advancing individual freedom, economic prosperity, and the rule of law, PolicyEd has grown remarkably since its launch in 2016. Its strong and constantly expanding library of content includes seventeen distinct projects, comprising well over a hundred educational videos. Aimed primarily at younger viewers (ages eighteen to forty-four) who are not necessarily currently aligned with Hoover principles or policy solutions, PolicyEd has gained significant traction among a crucial but difficult-to-reach demographic. Our videos have been viewed more than 90 million times to date. Facebook users have shared the PolicyEd page with their friend groups—one of the most powerful metrics of engagement—more than 115,000 times. And 75,000 individuals have registered accounts at PolicyEd.org. These numbers represent considerable new grassroots support for ensuring the principles of freedom and signal a growing role for Hoover as a trusted educational resource for young people and the broader public.

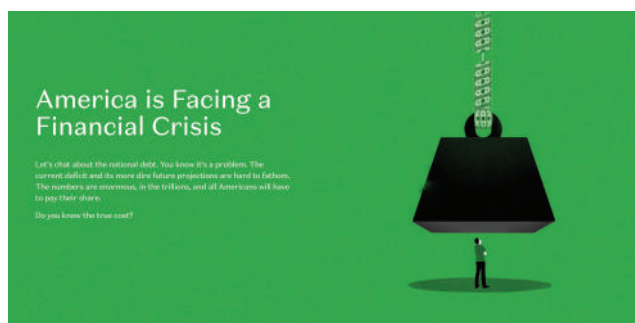


THE FUTURE OF POLICY EDUCATION AT HOOVER

This year, Hoover supporters charted an exciting new future for Hoover's efforts to educate young people and other new audiences about freedom. After their generous seed gift to launch Hoover's Educating Americans in Public Policy Initiative—and three years of incredible results—Overseer Dick Kovacevich and his wife, Mary Jo, have come forward with an extraordinary second gift of \$10 million to secure the continued impact of the program. In addition, Overseer Donald Beall, who has helped guide the program as a member of the Board of Overseers' Communications Committee, has joined Kovacevich with a remarkable gift of \$5 million to help make this highly successful startup program a permanent component of Hoover's work.

“We launched EAPP in 2016 in the hopes of greatly expanding the audience that is exposed to the ideas of Hoover fellows—from tens of thousands to tens of millions. Today we have far surpassed our goals, reaching nearly 100 million individuals, primarily through social media, most of whom are young people who self-describe as left leaning.”

—DICK KOVACEVICH, HOOVER OVERSEER AND LEAD FUNDER, WITH HIS WIFE, MARY JO, OF THE EDUCATING AMERICANS IN PUBLIC POLICY INITIATIVE AT HOOVER



AMERICA OFF BALANCE

America is facing a fiscal crisis of epic proportions, one that threatens our country's ability to provide for the next generation. Despite this reality, few Americans seem concerned. Many are unaware of the problem. Others wrongly conclude that minor reforms, enacted in the distant future, will be sufficient to stave off disaster. A first-of-its-kind interactive platform based on research by John Cogan, the Leonard and Shirley Ely Senior Fellow at Hoover, and Boyd and Jill Smith Senior Fellow John Raisian, America Off Balance doesn't only show users that difficult structural changes are needed to escape fiscal disaster—it lets them discover that irrefutable conclusion for themselves.

One Nation under Debt

The America Off Balance web platform welcomes visitors with an interactive, scrolling web experience that introduces the fundamentals of the debt and deficit. The federal government spent \$4.1 trillion in 2018, the site explains, while collecting only

\$3.3 trillion in revenue. As a result, a \$780 billion shortfall was tacked on to the national debt—a number that pales in comparison to the \$5.8 trillion budget deficit and \$95 trillion federal debt projected for 2049.

The Balancing Act

America Off Balance's interactive budget tour allows users to model tax hikes, spending cuts, and economic growth assumptions with the goal of keeping net federal debt below 100 percent of GDP over the next thirty years. A visitor who sees tax hikes as the way out of the crisis, for instance, will discover that, while an increase of just 7 percent across the board will do the job, it translates into a loss of \$1,000 in post-tax income for the average family. Limiting the increase to corporations, on the other hand, would require a 90 percent increase, which would make our corporate rate the highest in the world.

The Budget Calculator

The America Off Balance platform is powered by a state-of-the-art budget calculator based on the latest data and projections from the Congressional Budget Office, Office of Management and Budget, and other government agencies. The tool supports adjustments of economic growth rates, personal income-tax rates and dozens of other tax variables, discretionary and nondiscretionary spending categories, total-factor productivity growth, labor-force participation rates, and more. Though the calculator is suitable for advanced policy analysis by lawmakers and researchers, its user-friendly interface and wealth of annotations make it fully accessible to the layperson.

americaoffbalance.org

PERSPECTIVES ON POLICY

The first PolicyEd series to put multiple Hoover scholars on screen to present original research on a variety of topics, *Perspectives on Policy* pairs traditional academic lectures with engaging motion graphics and visual metaphors. As John Cogan explains that the majority of entitlement spending flows to middle- and upper-income Americans, animated rail cars cross the table in front of him to stack corresponding shares of cash across each income quintile. Red and blue figures retreat to their respective big-top tents as Senior Fellow Morris Fiorina explains the concept of party sorting.



Trees dotting a forest landscape in front of John and Jean De Nault Senior Fellow Terry Anderson disappear as he explains why the absence of property rights leads to deforestation. Like the pieces in other PolicyEd series, each *Perspectives on Policy* video is accompanied by supplementary educational resources, such as in-depth articles and reports supporting the lessons in the videos, illustrated key points and glossaries of terms, and quizzes allowing users to test their knowledge. With eight videos released to date, the series has been viewed more than 4 million times.

policyed.org/perspectivesonpolicy

“For nearly two decades political pundits have been telling us that our country is coming apart. They suggest that we are more deeply divided today than we have been at any time since the Civil War. . . . Fortunately for our country, these pessimistic predictions are exaggerations. We are not nearly as divided as pundits often claim.”

—MORRIS FIORINA (LEFT), SENIOR FELLOW, “UNSTABLE MAJORITIES”

“Environmental problems result from the tragedy of the commons. The tragedy is that unlimited access to the use of resources—forests, rivers, or air—results in adverse effects on others. . . . The tragedy is no one has an incentive to take care of resources they don’t own.”

—TERRY ANDERSON (RIGHT), JOHN AND JEAN DE NAULT SENIOR FELLOW, “FREE MARKET ENVIRONMENTALISM”



FRIEDMAN FUNDAMENTALS

Milton Friedman, who made his intellectual home at the Hoover Institution for nearly thirty years, remains unrivaled in his ability to explain complex economic and political concepts in a cogent and concise manner. This year, PolicyEd premiered *Friedman Fundamentals*, a new video series that pairs select audio recordings of Friedman with animations of the Nobel laureate and Hoover fellow as he makes the case for freedom. The recordings are part of the Hoover Library & Archives' Collected Works of Milton Friedman, a vast online archive of more than 1,400 digitized items spanning seventy-seven years of Friedman's work. *Friedman Fundamentals* episodes launched to date include "The Appropriate Role of Government," which argues that peace, prosperity, and social harmony are fostered by freedom; "What Drives Economic Progress," which explains that the world thrives when individuals are able to pursue their interests without government interference; and "What We Learned About 70%



"Tax Rates 50 Years Ago," which shows why high tax rates lead to loopholes and why low rates on a broad base lead to a more equitable system. Each video is accompanied by an extensive list of additional readings and resources by contemporary Hoover fellows that expand on the insights of Friedman captured in the piece.

policyed.org/friedmanfundamentals

EAPP BY THE NUMBERS

POLICYED.ORG
USERS

76,000

FACEBOOK
FOLLOWERS

360,000

TOTAL VIDEO
VIEWS

84.5 million

SHARES

139,000

VIDEOS

150

SERIES

17

VIEWS

INTELLECTIONS

34.9 million

BLUEPRINT FOR
AMERICA

7.9 million

THE NUMBERS
GAME

3.2 million

POLICY BRIEFS

9.8 million

PERSPECTIVES
ON POLICY

5.6 million

FRIEDMAN
FUNDAMENTALS

5.6 million



Thomas and Barbara Stephenson Senior Fellow Condoleezza Rice at Pizza and Policy.

PHOTO: PATRICK BEAUDOUIN

STUDENT PROGRAMS

A rapidly growing area of public education at the Hoover Institution is student programs that reach young people at Stanford and around the world with ideas and policy solutions that are too often ignored on college campuses. Drawing on classically liberal principles, economic reasoning, data-driven analysis, and other concepts underlying Hoover research, these programs equip students to make informed civic contributions and advance positive change through their careers.

Pizza and Policy

This year, the Hoover Institution launched the Pizza and Policy lecture series, which connects Stanford students interested in public policy with the history-making researchers and government leaders who share the campus as fellows at the Hoover Institution. Each event includes a pizza dinner and a short talk by a Hoover fellow, followed by an open question-and-answer session with students leading the discussion.

More than one hundred students, ranging from undeclared freshmen to graduate students, attended our inaugural talk featuring H. R. McMaster. After a brief introduction covering his nearly overnight transition into the role of national security adviser and his work to rebuild the strategic foundations of US military policy, McMaster opened the discussion to questions from the floor, which he addressed for more than an hour. Challenging topics ranging from the philosophy and ethics of war to the future of US involvement in Afghanistan and Syria proved that students hadn't come only for pizza.

"Pizza and Policy offers students a chance to diversify and deepen their education outside of the classroom," explained one of the student leaders affiliated with the series, "by informally engaging with researchers and policy makers they might not otherwise hear from." Held on campus at Hoover once per academic quarter, Pizza and Policy events are open to all Stanford University students.



Martin and Illie Anderson Senior Fellow Victor Davis Hanson at Pizza and Policy.

PHOTO: PATRICK BEAUDOUIN



Participants in the 2019 Summer Policy Boot Camp in the Fairweather Courtyard of the David and Joan Traitel Building at Hoover.

PHOTO: PATRICK BEAUDOUIN

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

KAILA WEBB, SUMMER POLICY BOOT CAMP PARTICIPANT

My week at the Hoover Institution Summer Policy Boot Camp was astonishing. While each lecture was no more than an hour, they often went further than any college course has. Some of the speakers have conducted research that has been foundational for my own, so the opportunity to question them was a dream come true. These scholars' works have been taught to me since high school—it was a surreal experience to even be in the room with them, let alone pick their brains on the world's most pressing issues.

Besides attending presentations by these intellectual all-stars, I got to spend my time with engineers, Marines, industry specialists, and policy writers. Lunch was over the singularity of artificial intelligence. Dinner came with a side of strategic approaches for the Korean peninsula. Just a walk in the dorm led to discussions on policy with people



PHOTO: PATRICK BEAUDOUIN

who live and breathe it. Every person had a specialty they were intensely passionate about and could speak for hours on. It was easily one of the most influential weeks of my life, and it holds a special, unique place in higher education. I cannot recommend this program enough, and am intensely grateful to have been a part of it.





PEOPLE & SUPPORT

as Defining A Free Society

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, 2019



PHOTO: PATRICK BEAUDOUIN

Tad and Dianne Taube Director
Thomas W. Gilligan

Deputy Director
Eric Wakin
Robert H. Malott Director
of the Library & Archives,
Research Fellow

Associate Directors
Christopher S. Dauer
Marketing and Strategic
Communications

Denise Elson
Research Operations

Colin Stewart
Development

Eryn Witcher Tillman
Bechtel Director of
Public Affairs

Director of Research
Joshua D. Rauh

**Director of Washington, DC,
Programs**
Michael Franc

Assistant Directors
Shana Farley
Marketing and Policy Education

Mary Gingell
Development Events
and Services

Jeffrey M. Jones
Operations

Sara Myers
Major Gifts

Charnette Richard
Human Resources and
Administrative Services

Karen Weiss
Finance and Information
Technology

SCHOLARS

AS OF SEPTEMBER 1, 2019

NAMED DISTINGUISHED FELLOWS

George P. Shultz
Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford
Distinguished Fellow

General Jim Mattis
Davies Family
Distinguished Fellow

NAMED SENIOR FELLOWS

Terry L. Anderson
John and Jean De Nault
Senior Fellow

Scott W. Atlas
David and Joan Traitel
Senior Fellow

Peter Berkowitz
Tad and Dianne Taube
Senior Fellow

Michael J. Boskin
Wohlford Family Senior Fellow

David W. Brady
Davies 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

Edward P. Lazear
Morris Arnold and Nona Jean
Cox Senior Fellow

Michael McFaul
Peter and Helen Bing
Senior Fellow

H. R. McMaster
Fouad and Michelle Ajami
Senior Fellow

John Raisian
Boyd and Jill Smith
Senior Fellow

Condoleezza Rice
Thomas and Barbara
Stephenson Senior Fellow
on Public Policy

John Shoven
*Buzz and Barbara McCoy
Senior Fellow*

Abraham D. Sofaer
*George P. Shultz Senior Fellow
in Foreign Policy and National
Security Affairs*

Thomas Sowell
*Rose and Milton Friedman
Senior Fellow on Public Policy*

Shelby Steele
*Robert J. and Marion E. Oster
Senior Fellow*

John B. Taylor
*George P. Shultz
Senior Fellow in Economics*

Amy B. Zegart
Davies Family Senior Fellow

SENIOR FELLOWS

Russell A. Berman
M. Kate Bundorf
Elizabeth Cobbs
William Damon
Steven J. Davis
Larry J. Diamond
Frank Dikötter
Darrell Duffie
Chester E. Finn Jr.
Morris P. Fiorina
Timothy Garton Ash
Jack Goldsmith
Justin Grimmer
Caroline M. Hoxby
Shanto Iyengar
Stephen Kotkin
Stephen D. Krasner
David L. Leal
Gary D. Libecap
Thomas E. MaCurdy
Harvey C. Mansfield
Michael McConnell
Terry M. Moe
Norman M. Naimark
Lee E. Ohanian
Paul E. Peterson
Raghuram Rajan
Joshua D. Rauh
Douglas Rivers
Jonathan A. Rodden
Thomas J. Sargent
Amit Seru
Robert Service
Michael Spence
James L. Sweeney
John Villasenor
Barry R. Weingast

NAMED DISTINGUISHED RESEARCH FELLOW

Michael R. Auslin
*Payson J. Treat Fellow
in Contemporary Asia*

NAMED RESEARCH FELLOWS

Lanhee J. Chen
*David and Diane Steffy Fellow in
American Public Policy Studies*

Timothy Kane
*J. P. Conte Fellow
in Immigration Studies*

Herbert Lin
*Hank J. Holland Fellow
in Cyber Policy and Security*

Toshio Nishi
Tadahiro Ogawa Fellow

Russell D. Roberts
*John and Jean De Nault
Research Fellow*

Peter M. Robinson
*Murdoch Distinguished
Policy Fellow*

Kiron K. Skinner
*W. Glenn Campbell
Research Fellow*

William L. Whalen
*Virginia Hobbs Carpenter
Fellow in Journalism*

DISTINGUISHED RESEARCH FELLOW

Margaret (Macke) Raymond

RESEARCH FELLOWS

Ayaan Hirsi Ali
David L. Berkey
Michael Bernstam
Clint Bolick
Jennifer Burns
Tom Church
David Davenport
Joseph Felter
Alexander Galetovic
Paul Gregory
Andrew Grotto
Daniel Heil
David R. Henderson
Charles Hill
Herbert S. Klein
Tai-chun Kuo
Hsiao-ting Lin
Abbas Milani

Alice L. Miller
Masafumi Okazaki
Elena Pastorino
Bertrand M. Patenaude
Christopher N. Ruskowski
Anatol Shmelev
Maciej Siekierski
Bruce Thornton

NAMED HOOVER FELLOW

Valentin Bolotny
Kleinheinz Fellow

HOOVER FELLOWS

Cole Bunzel
Jacquelyn Schneider

EMERITUS FELLOWS

Richard V. Allen
Annelise Anderson
Dennis L. Bark
Joseph Berger
Bruce Bueno de Mesquita
Gerald A. Dorfman
John B. Dunlop
Peter Duus
Thomas H. Henriksen
Robert Hessen
Kenneth Jowitt
Melvyn B. Krauss
Charles E. McLure Jr.
Thomas A. Metzger
James Miller III
Thomas Gale Moore
William J. Perry
Alvin Rabushka

ANNENBERG DISTINGUISHED VISITING FELLOWS

Pedro Aspe
Admiral James O. Ellis Jr.
James E. Goodby
Adele Hayutin
Jim Hoagland
Raymond Jeanloz
Sam Nunn
Christopher William Stubbs
James Timbie

NAMED DISTINGUISHED VISITING FELLOWS

George Osborne
*William C. Edwards
Distinguished Visiting Fellow*

Gary Roughead
*Robert and Marion Oster
Distinguished Military Fellow*

Kevin M. Warsh
*Shepard Family Distinguished
Visiting Fellow in Economics*

DISTINGUISHED VISITING FELLOWS

Michael D. Bordo
Bruce Caldwell
Charles Calomiris
Arye Carmon
Elizabeth Economy
Kevin Hassett
Edward Ifft
Thomas Hendrik Ilves
Bobby Inman
Josef Joffe
Henry A. Kissinger
David Mulford
Joseph Nye
George Tavlasi
Pete Wilson
Ludger Woessmann

NAMED VISITING FELLOW

Andrew Roberts
*Roger and Martha Mertz
Visiting Fellow*

VISITING FELLOWS

Charles Blahous
Brandice Canes-Wrone
Chiranjit Chatterjee
Wendy K. Tam Cho
Mary Elisabeth Cox
David DeCremer
Andrew J. Filardo
Jakub Grygiel
Brian Hayashi
Laurie Simon Hodrick
Robert J. Hodrick
Erik Hurst
Edward Kasinec
Markos Kounalakis
Roman Kraussl
Nanyang Li
Cheng-Wei Lin
Bjørn Lomborg
Ellen R. McGrattan
Nicolas Petit
Michael J. Petrilli
Charles I. Plosser
Nadia Schadow
Zachary Shore
Raj Shah
Alex Stamos
Glenn Tiffert
Yuma Totani
John Yoo
Lei Zhang

(Continued on next page)

SCHOLARS *continued*
**W. GLENN CAMPBELL
AND RITA RICARDO-
CAMPBELL NATIONAL
FELLOWS**

Emmerich Davies
March Di Maggio
Vasiliki Fouka
Xiaobao Lu
David Schoenherr
Arill Zimran

Lieutenant Colonel Matthew
"Fuego" Tuzel
US Air Force

Lieutenant Colonel Angela
"pH" Waters
US Air Force

In Memoriam

The Hoover Institution mourned the loss of esteemed fellow Martin Feldstein this year. We recognize this treasured colleague and friend for his exceptional intellectual achievements at Hoover and in the larger worlds of policy and ideas.

**ROBERT AND MARION
OSTER NATIONAL
SECURITY AFFAIRS
FELLOWS**

Lieutenant Colonel
Warren C. Cook Jr.
US Marine Corps

Lieutenant Colonel Theodore
"Leo" Liebreich
US Army

Commander Jillian Malzone
US Coast Guard

Colonel Ian Palmer
US Army

Captain Christopher Sharman
US Navy

L. Reece Smith
US Department of State



PHOTO ©TIM GRIFFITH



PHOTO: ERIC DRAPER

**MICHAEL J. BOSKIN NAMED WOHLFORD
FAMILY SENIOR FELLOW**

Hoover scholar Michael J. Boskin (left) has been named the Wohlford Family Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution. Burnet "Tig" and Anne Wohlford and their children have been longtime supporters of Hoover. The Wohlfords previously supported Boskin as the Wohlford Professor of Economics at Stanford University. Significantly, next year marks one hundred years—and three generations—of the Wohlford family's involvement with Stanford University, and it is the honor of the Hoover Institution to share this centennial anniversary with them.

Boskin is an internationally renowned scholar of economics who has been recognized for his research in areas that include world economic growth, and tax and budget theory and policy. Boskin earned his BA with highest honors and the Chancellor's Award as outstanding undergraduate in 1967 from the University of California-Berkeley, where he also received his MA in 1968 and his PhD in 1971. An integral member of Hoover's fellowship for over twenty years, Boskin has authored more than 150 books and articles and has also disseminated his research through numerous high-profile media outlets.

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, 2019, are listed here.

CHAIR

Thomas F. Stephenson+
Atherton, California

James J. Carroll III+
Los Angeles, California

Warner W. Henry
Pasadena, California

Howard H. Leach
Palm Beach, Florida

Robert H. Castellini
Cincinnati, Ohio

Kenneth A. Hersh
Dallas, Texas

Davide Leone
London, England

VICE CHAIR

Susan R. McCaw+
Seattle, Washington

Jean-Pierre L. "JP" Conte
San Francisco, California

Heather R. Higgins
New York, New York

Walter Loewenstern Jr.
Los Angeles, California

MEMBERS

Katherine H. Alden
Woodside, California

James W. Davidson
Miami, Florida

Allan Hoover III
Castle Rock, Colorado

Howard W. Lutnick
New York, New York

Paul Lewis "Lew" Davies III+
Dallas, Texas

Margaret Hoover
New York, New York

Frank B. Mapel
San Marino, California

Neil R. Anderson
Plano, Texas

Herbert M. Dwight+
Healdsburg, California

Philip Hudner
San Francisco, California

James D. Marver
San Francisco, California

Barbara Barrett
Paradise Valley, Arizona

Steven L. Eggert
Sacramento, California

Claudia P. Huntington
San Antonio, Texas

Craig O. McCaw
Kirkland, Washington

John F. Barrett
Cincinnati, Ohio

Jeffrey A. Farber
San Francisco, California

James D. Jameson
Rancho Santa Fe, California

David McDonald
Vero Beach, Florida

Robert G. Barrett
Vero Beach, Florida

Henry A. Fernandez
New York, New York

Gail A. Jaquish
Austin, Texas

Harold "Terry" McGraw III
New York, New York

Donald R. Beall
Corona del Mar, California

Robert A. Ferris
Atherton, California

William E. Jenkins
Houston, Texas

Henry A. McKinnell
Jackson, Wyoming

Peter S. Bing
Los Angeles, California

Carly Fiorina
Lorton, Virginia

Charles B. Johnson
Palm Beach, Florida

Carole J. McNeil
San Francisco, California

Walter E. Blessey Jr.
Mandeville, Louisiana

James E. Forrest
Bloomfield Hills, Michigan

Franklin P. Johnson Jr.
Palo Alto, California

Mary G. Meeker
Woodside, California

Joanne Whittier Blokker
Palo Alto, California

Stephen B. Gaddis
Reno, Nevada

Mark Chapin Johnson
Mission Viejo, California

Jennifer L. "Jenji" Mercer
New York, New York

William Kay Blount
Portland, Oregon

Samuel L. Ginn+
Hillsborough, California

John Jordan
Healdsburg, California

Rebekah Mercer
New York, New York

James J. Bochnowski
Atherton, California

Michael W. Gleba
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Mary Myers Kauppila+
Boston, Massachusetts

Roger S. Mertz
Hillsborough, California

David Booth
Austin, Texas

Jerry Grundhofer
Park City, Utah

Michael E. Kavoukjian
New York, New York

Harold M. "Max" Messmer Jr.
Woodside, California

Jerry Bruni
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Cynthia Fry Gunn
Palo Alto, California

John B. Kleinheinz
Fort Worth, Texas

Jeremiah Milbank III
New York, New York

John L. "Jack" Bunce Jr.
Ketchum, Idaho

Arthur E. Hall
Minden, Nevada

Richard Kovacevich
San Francisco, California

+Executive Committee members
++Ex officio members of the board

William F. Callanan
London, England

Everett J. Hauck+
Lake Forest, Illinois

Allen J. Lauer
Portola Valley, California

(Continued on next page)

BOARD OF OVERSEERS *continued*

Mitchell J. Milius
San Marino, California

Scott Minerd
Marina del Rey, California

K. Rupert Murdoch+
New York, New York

George E. Myers
Saint Helena, California

George A. Needham
New York, New York

Robert G. O'Donnell
Atherton, California

Robert J. Oster+
Atherton, California

Joel C. Peterson+
Salt Lake City, Utah

Jay A. Precourt
Edwards, Colorado

Jeffrey S. Raikes++
Seattle, Washington

George J. Records
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Christopher R. Redlich Jr.+
Hillsborough, California

Samuel T. Reeves
Palm Beach Gardens, Florida

Kathleen "Cab" Rogers
Oakland, California

Robert Rosenkranz
New York, New York

Adam Ross
Dallas, Texas

Theresa W. "Terry" Ryan
Hamilton, Montana

Douglas G. Scrivner
Los Altos Hills, California

Peter O. Shea
Newport Beach, California

Roderick W. Shepard
Atherton, California

Robert Shipman
Palm Beach, Florida

Thomas M. Siebel
Redwood City, California

George W. Siguler+
New York, New York

William C. Steere Jr.
Bonita Springs, Florida

David L. Steffy
Newport Beach, California

Stephen K. Stuart
Orlando, Florida

W. Clarke Swanson Jr.
Oakville, California

Curtis Sloane Tamkin
Los Angeles, California

Robert A. Teitsworth
Laguna Beach, California

Marc Tessier-Lavigne++
Stanford, California

Thomas J. Tierney+
Boston, Massachusetts

David T. Traitel+
San Francisco, California

Victor S. Trione
Santa Rosa, California

Darnell M. Whitt II
Carmel Valley, California

Paul H. Wick
Portola Valley, California

Diane B. "Dede" Wilsey
San Francisco, California

Richard G. Wolford
Glenbrook, Nevada

**DISTINGUISHED
OVERSEERS**

Martin Anderson
Palo Alto, California

Stephen D. Bechtel Jr.
San Francisco, California

Peter B. Bedford
Napa, California

Wendy H. Borchardt
McLean, Virginia

W. Kurt Hauser
Greenbrae, California

Peyton M. Lake
Tyler, Texas

Shirley Cox Matteson
Palo Alto, California

Bowen H. McCoy
Los Angeles, California

Boyd C. Smith
Palo Alto, California

**OVERSEERS
EMERITUS**

Frederick L. Allen
San Marino, California

Joseph W. Donner
New York, New York

Dody Small
Santa Barbara, California

John R. Stahr
Corona del Mar, California

Robert J. Swain
Tulsa, Oklahoma

IN MEMORIAM

*We honor the memory of
Overseer Burton J. McMurtry,
who died during the 2019
fiscal year.*

DISTINGUISHED OVERSEERS

The Distinguished Overseer category was approved by the Executive Committee in 2003 as a special distinction or honor to be appointed "based on significant Board leadership." Two exceptional overseers were recognized with this status this year.

W. Kurt Hauser has been deeply involved with the Hoover Institution since 1986. The generous financial support of Hauser, along with his late wife, Julie, in 2017 was instrumental to the growth of Hoover's Summer Policy Boot Camp, which just completed its third year. The Boot Camp is now a crucial venue through which the Institution reaches younger audiences and tomorrow's leaders. In 1996 and 2017, it was the privilege of the Hoover Institution Press to publish two of Hauser's books, *Taxation and Economic Performance* and *Invisible Slaves: The Victims and Perpetrators of Modern-Day Slavery*. Hauser's list of philanthropic beneficiaries is wide-

reaching and distinguished, and it has been Hoover's honor to have a long-standing place on that list.

With contributions to Hoover spanning nearly three decades, **Boyd C. Smith** has been an integral member of the Institution's community and a leader who has furthered its mission and vision. The generosity of Smith and his wife, Jill, is evident throughout Stanford, which Boyd attended for his MBA, and within the wider Bay Area. Smith founded the Golden Gate Family Foundation, which provides college scholarships to low-income students in the Palo Alto area. At Stanford, Smith founded the Student Athlete Outreach Program, which works with at-risk youths. He also co-endowed the Housing Assistance Program, for families attending Stanford, and the Martin Luther King Jr. student scholarships. A cornerstone of Smith's philanthropic efforts is his focus on ensuring that youths, particularly those that are underprivileged, are looked after.



Architectural renderings of the new George P. Shultz Building.

COURTESY WILLIAM RAWN ASSOCIATES AND CAW ARCHITECTS

A TRANSFORMATIONAL INVESTMENT IN THE FUTURE: THE GEORGE P. SHULTZ BUILDING

In fall 2018, the Hoover Institution received concept and site approval from Stanford University for a landmark addition to the Institution's campus: the George P. Shultz Building, named in honor of the distinguished Hoover fellow and former secretary of state under President Reagan.

Thanks to the leadership of longtime Hoover overseer and current board chair Tom Stephenson and his wife, Barbara, along with numerous others who have joined them in making extraordinary gifts to honor Shultz's legacy, the \$75.2 million capital project is now fully funded. Tom and Barbara Stephenson's role in making this visionary capital project a reality underscores the remarkable dedication they have for the Hoover Institution.

Hoover is pleased to announce that significant design work has been completed for the Shultz Building. Comprising four floors and 58,000 gross square feet, the building will revitalize the research facilities available to Hoover fellows by including collaborative office spaces and modern classroom and conference areas. In addition, the building will include a state-of-

the-art Library & Archives digital imaging studio, supporting the full cycle of describing, conserving, and digitizing crucial materials and preserving them in secure storage. Ground-breaking is scheduled for 2020.

Hoover is grateful to the supporters of the George P. Shultz Building:

Thomas and Barbara Stephenson

Bloomberg Philanthropies

John Gunn and Cynthia Fry Gunn

Ann and Charlie Johnson

Jay Precourt

Charles and Helen Schwab

**George P. Shultz and
Charlotte Maillard Shultz**

S. D. Bechtel, Jr. Foundation

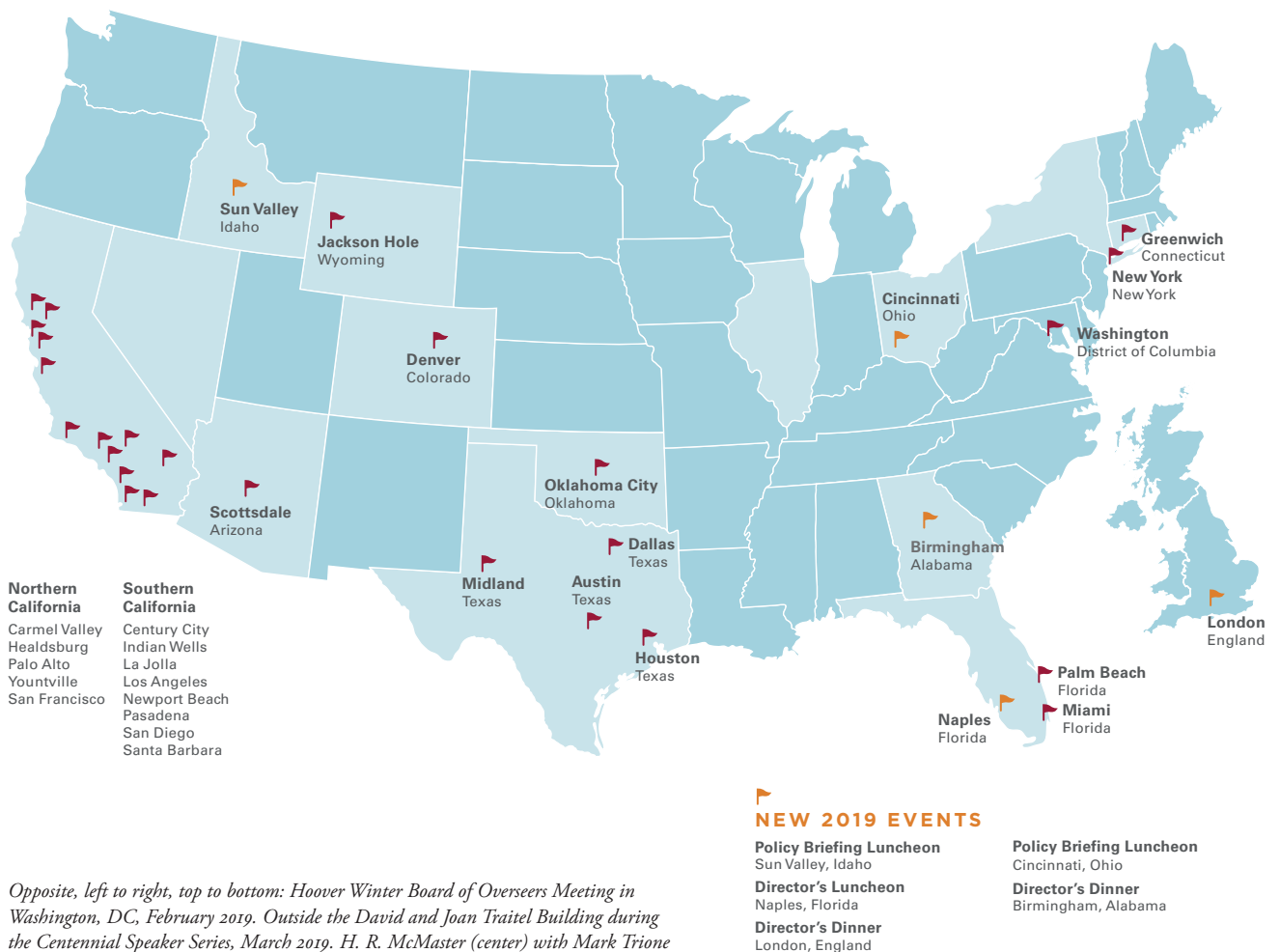


EVENTS AND CONFERENCES

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

In 2019 we were proud to host a number of new events, including Hoover's first-ever international Director's Dinner, held in London and featuring Larry Diamond. We also relaunched our event series in the Midwest with a Policy Briefing Luncheon in Cincinnati, Ohio, that featured Edward Lazear; and on the west coast of Florida with a Director's Luncheon in Naples, with remarks by Michael Auslin. In addition, we held our inaugural Director's Dinner in Birmingham, Alabama, with a conversation featuring Condoleezza Rice, and a Policy Briefing Luncheon in Sun Valley, Idaho, featuring Michael Boskin. Other new and ongoing regional events are highlighted on the map below.

RECENT REGIONAL EVENTS



Opposite, left to right, top to bottom: Hoover Winter Board of Overseers Meeting in Washington, DC, February 2019. Outside the David and Joan Traitel Building during the Centennial Speaker Series, March 2019. H. R. McMaster (center) with Mark Trione (left) and Vic Trione (right) at the Hoover Spring Retreat, April 2019. Guests enjoy a presentation at the Hoover Fall Retreat, October 2018. A talk by John Cochrane at the Hoover Summer Board of Overseers Meeting at Stanford, July 2019.

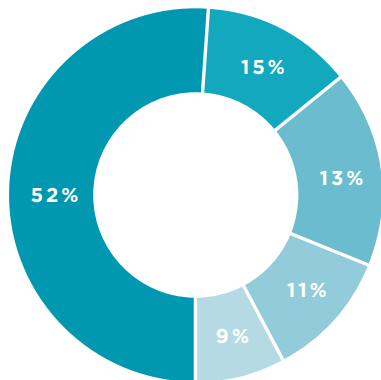
PHOTOS: ERIC DRAPER AND ROD SEARCEY

FINANCIAL REVIEW

Hoover is funded almost exclusively by the generosity of our donors, with expendable gifts and payout on invested gifts comprising 97 percent of the annual operating budget. As such, 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. Donor funds held in endowment are expertly invested by Stanford Management Company. Finally, gifts to the Institution are tracked from receipt to expenditure to ensure that donor intent is honored.

The bulk of Hoover's activity occurs as expenditures in the operating budget. The primary expenditure is compensation to scholars and staff, comprising more than 70 percent of the total operating budget. The operating budget also includes programmatic expenses and general operating costs. For fiscal year 2019 (September 1, 2018–August 31, 2019), total expenditures on the operating budget were \$69.4 million, funded with \$66.7 million in current revenue and \$2.7 million in expendable gifts and endowment payout accumulated in prior periods.

OPERATING EXPENSES FY2019 = \$69.4M



Research = \$36.3 Million

- Direct support to Hoover fellows and their staffs, research expenses, and research initiatives and programs

Outreach and Education = \$10.5 Million

- Educating Americans in Public Policy, Hoover Institution in Washington, media and public affairs, Hoover Institution Press, and communications

Library & Archives = \$9.1 Million

- Library & Archives staff, programs, and exhibitions, visitor services, and archival acquisitions

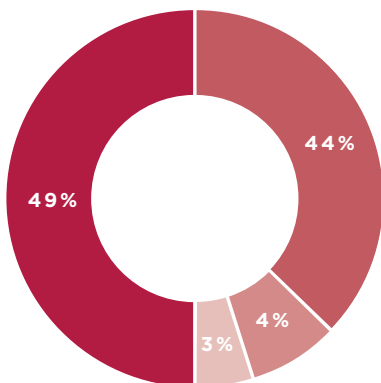
Development = \$7.4 Million

- Development staff and events, and travel and promotional expenses

Administration and Operations = \$6.1 Million

- Administration and operations staff, noncapital facilities projects, utilities, and general operating expenses

OPERATING REVENUES FY2019 = \$69.5M



Expendable Gifts = \$34.1 Million

- Unrestricted gifts totaled \$18.3 million while gifts restricted to specific purposes totaled \$15.8 million.

Endowment Payout = \$30.5 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.

Revenues from Prior Periods = \$2.8 Million

- The use of revenues from prior periods was planned and was primarily for large-scale, prefunded projects, such as Educating Americans in Public Policy.

Misc. Income and Stanford Support = \$2.1 Million

- Publications revenue, interest income, sponsored projects, and Stanford support for Library & Archives and utilities.

FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES*Year Ended August 31, 2019***OPERATING REVENUES**

Expendable Gifts	\$34,116,000
Endowment Payout	30,463,000
Stanford Support and Other Income	2,118,000
TOTAL OPERATING REVENUES	\$66,697,000
OPERATING EXPENSES	(\$69,392,000)
CHANGE IN FUNDS DUE TO OPERATIONS	(\$2,695,000)

NONOPERATING ACTIVITIES

Endowment Gifts	\$4,692,000
Endowment Withdrawal as Payout	(30,463,000)
Capital Gains on Endowment Principal	26,978,000
CHANGE IN ENDOWMENT FUNDS	\$1,207,000

Capital Gifts and Interest Income	\$14,110,000
Capital Expenses	(8,115,000)
CHANGE IN CAPITAL FUNDS	\$5,995,000

SELECTED FINANCIAL ASSETS*As of August 31, 2019***CASH BALANCES LOCALLY HELD**

Unrestricted Funds Raised in Prior Periods	\$2,407,000
Restricted Funds Raised in Prior Periods	22,699,000
Cash Balances for Capital Projects	20,103,000
TOTAL CASH BALANCES	\$45,209,000

ENDOWMENT FUNDS

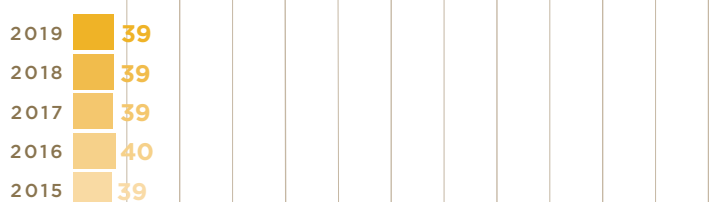
Pure Endowment	\$340,958,000
Funds Functioning as Endowment*	164,965,000
Reserves Invested in Endowment**	41,725,000

ENDOWMENT MARKET VALUE **\$547,648,000****TOTAL SELECTED FINANCIAL ASSETS** **\$592,857,000****Funds functioning as endowment are gifts originally given as cash that have since been designated as endowment by Hoover.****Includes \$37.0 million in unrestricted reserves and \$4.7 million in facilities reserves.***CONSOLIDATED BUDGET (in \$Millions)**

The consolidated budget includes operating expenses as well as costs for capital facilities projects. In FY15, FY16, FY17, FY18, and FY19, costs for capital facilities projects totaled \$4.8 million, \$28.4 million, \$28.0 million, \$9.3 million, and \$8.1 million, respectively. In FY19, costs were primarily for preliminary projects associated with the George P. Shultz Building. In prior years, costs were primarily for construction of the David and Joan Traitel 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. Of the \$37.0 million in unrestricted reserves invested in endowment, \$27.0 million is available for immediate withdrawal. Aside from capital gains on endowment, the unrestricted reserve has remained relatively flat over the last five years, indicative of an operating budget in balance.

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

The rate of return on the endowment for FY19 was approximately 4.9 percent, slightly less than the 5.5 percent taken as payout. This result follows healthy returns in FY17 and FY18, reflecting a softening investing environment. Regardless of market conditions, Stanford Management Company has consistently outperformed the composite benchmark for peer university endowments.

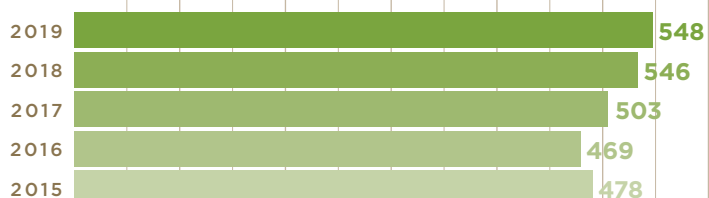




PHOTO: © TIM GRIFFITH

SUPPORT THE HOOVER INSTITUTION

To learn more about joining the community of supporters and scholars working together to advance *ideas defining a free society*, contact Hoover's Office of Development or visit Hoover.org/get-involved.

HOOVER INSTITUTION
Office of Development
434 Galvez Mall, Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305-6003
650-725-6715
hooverdevelopment@stanford.edu

Visit Hoover.org for the latest Hoover research, ideas, and events.





1969



1970



1971



1972



1973



1974



1975



1976



1977



1978



1979



1980



1981



1982



1983



1984



1985



1986



1987



1988



1989



1990



1991



1992



1993



1994



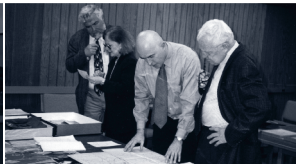
1995



1996



1997



1998



1999



2000



2001



2002



2003



2004



2005



2006



2007



2008



2009



2010



2011



2012



2013



2014



2015



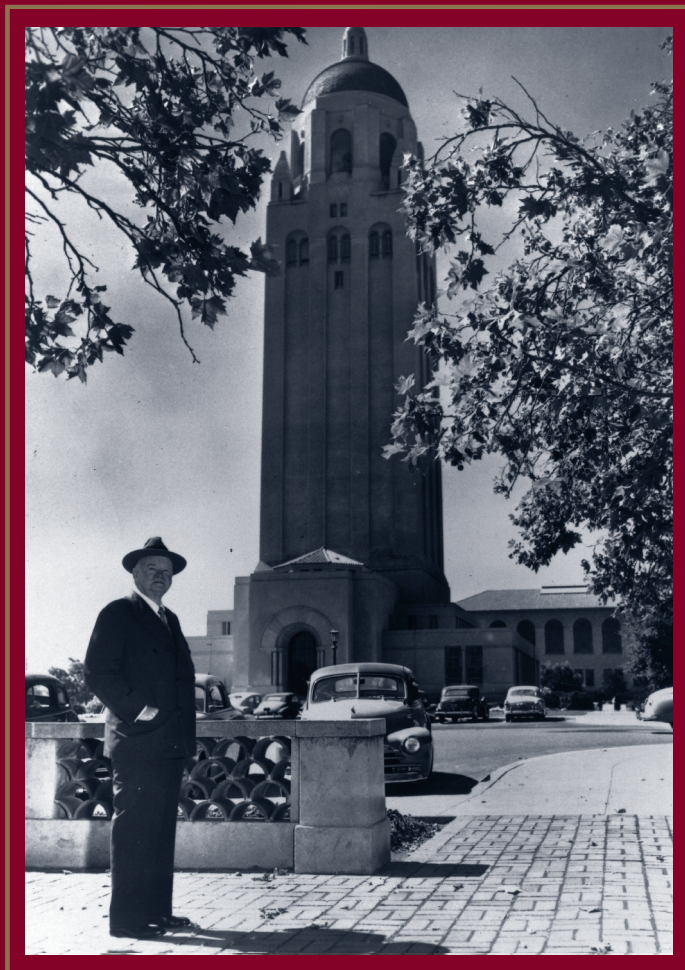
2016



2017



2018



Herbert Hoover, 1951