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Martin Anderson criticized President Bush for not sticking with the congressional Republicans, back in 1989, when he cut a deal with Democrats that violated Bush's read-my-lips no new taxes pledge. Or, Raisian suggests, take a look at the frequent criticism of affirmative action policies that Hoover's John Bunzel, a Democrat, has long aimed at members of both political parties.

"What is true is that most of the people here share a broad consensus in terms of philosophical approaches," maintains Raisian, dressed casually in a blue open-neck sports shirt and khaki slacks. "That doesn't mean we all think alike or lead to a circumstance where everyone in the place is ex-

saying that everything is right with the Soviet Union, that they were building a new kind of society that would better meet the needs in people's lives. And then you had another group that was saying, 'no, it's an evil empire,' and then the walls came down and you take a look and it turns out that we were dead on right and correct," he says. "And the obvious question is: 'why should anyone pay attention to those people who, very frankly, were proven wrong?'"

So while it seems unlikely that Angela Davis will receive an appointment at Hoover any time soon, Raisian says that he is trying to move the institution beyond the Cold War capitalism good/communism bad duality that underscored Hoover's first several decades.

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actly the same. The diversity of opinions here is probably much greater than you imagine."

"It's just that one tries to be excellent in what one does—and I don't see how you do that," he adds, without what he calls "some normative notions of objectivity."

And yet, as it emerges from the shadows of the Cold War, Hoover's roster remains heavily laden with the names of those who made early and winning bets on capitalism, big defense budgets and strident anti-communism. There's George Shultz, arguably the GOP's best utility player of the last 30 years, who held down a variety of cabinet posts in GOP administrations including Secretary of Labor, State and the Treasury. Count also Star Wars enthusiast Edward Teller and Bush economic adviser Michael Boskin as just a few of the major overtly Republican players who now call Hoover home.

According to Raisian, however, only 60 percent of the institution's scholars are formally affiliated with the GOP, while 30 percent are Democrats and the remaining 10 percent are either independents or libertarians, as is the case with Hoover scholar and former national Libertarian Party leader Bill Evers.

"I would contend that first and foremost," Raisian says, "our principles are above ideology." Those principles, which include a distrust of centralized government, an aversion to taxes, support for a strong military and an orientation toward free and unfettered trade, Raisian says, are now much more a part of the mainstream than they were when the nation shunned Barry Goldwater's presidential aspirations back in 1964.

"What's really interesting," says Martin Anderson, "is that you had two groups of scholars. One was

Three new research programs—focusing on American institutions, transitions to new economic and political institutions, and sovereignty and statecraft—are, Raisian says, all aimed at broadening the scope of Hoover's research. "This is a spectacularly exciting time for us," Raisian notes. "The argument about socialism versus capitalism is over. We won. And we are now faced with the enormous task of helping formerly communist nations build their own democratic institutions. If you look at the three new programs we've created, you can see that there is virtually no topic of significance that does not fall under one of those umbrellas."

And, in fact, if one looks at Hoover's current research portfolio it does defy the easier-to-categorize right-wing political agenda that preceded Raisian's tenure. While most of the top-level Hoover scholars could hardly be called "liberals," the word "conservative" does seem an equally unsuitable label. For some of the more recent arrivals at Hoover, "radical" might be a more accurate descriptor.

In recent months, for example, Hoover scholars have called for the legalization of drugs, the elimination of the current federal income tax, and crackdowns on imports from slave labor factories in China. Last May, Hoover Fellow and former San Jose police chief Joe McNamara hosted a seminar for 38 of the nation's leading law enforcement officials that ended with a unanimous vote urging the creation of a blue-ribbon commission to evaluate the war on drugs and to study alternative methods of controlling them.

"I take on Republicans and I take on Democrats," the former SJ

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