

## **Think-Tank Confidential**

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I have been presiding at the American Enterprise Institute for twenty-one years. Today I am announcing that I will step down before the end of 2008. The search for a successor has begun – this being AEI, it will be a competitive search, and we expect a happy conclusion long before the target date.

I hope to remain at the Institute, if my successor will have me, pursuing my own research and writing. Policy think tanks such as AEI have become important centers of applied scholarship, and friend and foe alike say we are terribly influential. But our position at the crossroads of politics and academics draws a certain amount of fire from both directions, and the reasons for our success are not widely understood. Here is my kiss-and-tell.

Think tanks are identified in the public mind as agents of a particular political viewpoint. It is sometimes suggested that this compromises the integrity of their work. Yet their real secret is not that they take orders from, or give orders to, the Bush administration or anyone else. Rather, they have discovered new methods for organizing intellectual activity – superior in many respects (by no means all) to those of traditional research universities.

### **Secrets of Success**

To be sure, think tanks – at least those on the right – do not attempt to disguise their political affinities in the manner of the (invariably left-leaning) universities. We are “schools” in the old sense of the term: groups of scholars who share a set of philosophical premises and take them as far as we can in empirical research, persuasive writing, and arguments among ourselves and with those of other schools.

This has proven highly productive. It is a great advantage, when working on practical problems, not to be constantly doubling back to first principles. We know our foundations and concentrate on the specifics of the problem at hand. Working in schools encourages collegiality, and boldness and clarity in our work. These are healthy correctives to the vices of “academic politics” (personal and overwrought) and “academic writing” (timid and overqualified), but their positive virtues are more important. The solitary genius is a wonderful romantic figure, and a rarity. Intellectual progress depends heavily on milieu: significant achievements in the arts and sciences have been highly concentrated in time and place. Think tanks try to apply that lesson in the realms of political and social criticism and policy reform. We like to work on hard problems, and there are many fertile disagreements in our halls over bioethics, school reform, the rise of China, constitutional interpretation, and what to do about Korea and Iran. In contrast to political partisans and ideologues, we welcome competition from other schools of thought.

Think tanks aim to produce good research not only for its own sake but to improve the world. We are organized in ways that depart sharply from university organization. Think-tank scholars do not have tenure, make faculty appointments, allocate budgets or offices, or sit on administrative committees. These matters are consigned to management, leaving the scholars free to focus on what they do best. Our research faculties are organized around issues rather than academic disciplines, and include not only scholars in established fields but also intellectuals (who make up their own fields) and people with practical experience in government, politics, and the professions who have the knack for generalization and organized argument and the zest for reform.

On the management side, we promote our output with an alacrity that would make many university administrators uncomfortable. And we pay careful attention to the craft of good speaking and writing. Many AEI scholars do technical research for academic journals, but all write for wider audiences as well. When new arrivals from academia ask me whom they should write for, I tell them: for your Mom. That is, for an interested, sympathetic reader who may not know beans about the technical aspects of your work but wants to know what you've discovered and why it makes a difference.

### **Our Origins**

These methods are not new. They were in all essentials invented at AEI in the 1950s by William Baroody, Sr., its president, and W. Glenn Campbell, its research director. The two would commission top academics to study front-burner policy issues, publish the results as pamphlets and distribute them around Washington, and organize conferences and appearances before congressional committees. A particularly important innovation was to offer extracts to newspapers to run as "op-eds" (long before that term was coined) or to draw upon for their own editorials. No one had thought to do these things systematically before Baroody and Campbell.

They hit the big-time in the summer of 1954. In a matter of weeks, the *Wall Street Journal* ran a lengthy excerpt of an AEI critique of farm price supports, accompanied by a vigorous editorial applying its teaching to an upcoming Senate vote, and both the *Journal* and *Barron's* lauded another AEI study proposing that fixed currency exchange rates be abandoned in favor of free convertibility. The currency-convertibility proposal heralded some distinctive AEI traditions. *Barron's* noted that it was a radical concept, challenging conventional thinking both in Washington and among the "hard-headed businessmen" who were AEI's backers, and that it was advanced not only on economic but "political and indeed moral" grounds. And then, of course, the idea gained adherents over time and eventually prevailed – although only when practical exigencies coincided with the intellectual arguments.

Bill Baroody refined these methods at AEI for more than thirty years. Glenn Campbell transplanted them to the Hoover Institution at Stanford after becoming its director in 1960, and other AEI alumni applied them with variations at newer conservative and libertarian think tanks in the 1970s and 1980s. By the measures of participation in political debate and generation of influential policy ideas and proposals, the right-of-center think tanks have been stupendous successes. They appear in the national media, liberal as well as conservative, well out of proportion to their numbers and output. AEI essays appear more frequently than those from other think tanks of all persuasions, not only in the opinion pages of the *Wall Street Journal* but also those of the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*.

What accounts for this growth and prominence? It is not publicity techniques, which are straightforward and available to all: today any assistant professor can e-mail his latest brainstorm to a dozen newspaper editors, and the blogosphere is filled with the writings of independent policy wonks, some of them quite brilliant. Part of the answer is organization by school-of-thought and specialization within think tanks – methods that have proven productive and therefore attract scholars of talent and ambition. So too is attention to clear, interesting writing.

But there is a deeper and more important reason. I have tried to explain it to people who have been setting up liberal and leftist think tanks in recent years, advising them that the secret of success is to go away and spend thirty years in the political wilderness. They have thought I was joking. Let me try again here.

### **Dissent and Independence**

Every one of the right-of-center think tanks was founded in a spirit of opposition to the established order of things. Opposition is the natural proclivity of the intellectual (it's what leads some smart people to become intellectuals rather than computer programmers), and is of course prerequisite to criticism and devotion to reform. And for conservatives, opposition lasted a very long time – in domestic policy, from the New Deal through 1980.

These circumstances meant that the think tanks in their formative years attracted many contrarian characters who were strongly disaffected by some aspect of politics or policy. One of AEI's founders was Raymond Moley, the FDR brain-truster who coined the term "New Deal" and then became disillusioned with the project (a liberal mugged by reality long before the 1960s, he was a proto-neoconservative). Milton Friedman was an active AEIer when he was still considered a crackpot in polite academic circles. Robert Bork and Jeane Kirkpatrick worked at AEI long before they became public personalities.

These were intellectual outcasts of extraordinary talent, seeking the company of kindred spirits. As dissenters, they were fiercely attached to the principles of intellectual independence, freedom of inquiry, and open debate (AEI's motto was: "Competition of ideas is fundamental to a free society"). And

as dissenters with little hope of influencing actual policy, at least in the short run, they were politically independent, too – uninterested in accommodating their views to strategic calculations or partisan interests.

At think tanks such as AEI, that spirit of independence continued after 1980, when conservative, neoconservative, and libertarian ideas acquired real purchase in practical politics and our phones started ringing. At AEI, we have spent more time kibitzing with friends in high office and talking about current events on television, and the attention has not been unwelcome. But we are in a different line of work from those on the inside, and have never hesitated to offer blunt criticism when we thought it was justified.

And the most gratifying moments in the think-tank world have come when ambitious ideas, politically out of the question at first, have worked their way through academic and professional debate, got noticed by public officials and legislators, and eventually were adopted as policy. That usually takes at least a dozen years – the period from the publication of Robert Bork’s first antitrust critiques to the adoption his ideas by federal enforcers and courts in the 1980s, and from the publication of Charles Murray’s *Losing Ground* to the passage of the Welfare Reform Act of 1996. Currency convertibility took twenty years, as did the Friedmanite idea that monetary policy should target price stability rather than the unemployment rate.

Today we seem to be on schedule with the idea of reducing or eliminating capital taxation, and moving toward taxing consumption rather than income. (I predict that if Senator Clinton is elected president, the corporate income tax will be further reduced during her tenure.) The idea of eliminating the tax exclusion of employer-provided health benefits, scorned for decades as politically infeasible (especially by conservative activists), has now been embraced by President Bush and several smart legislators.

Think-tank mavens like to point to episodes such as these as evidence that “ideas have consequences,” but we know better than anyone how partial and contingent is the role of ideas in the march of politics. Public inattention, well-organized interest groups, anti-social ideologies, and sheer happenstance powerfully shape the actions of governments. Think tanks serve as storehouses of ideas, patiently developed and nurtured, waiting for the crisis when practical men are desperately seeking a new approach, or for the inspired leader who sees the possibilities of action before the crisis arrives.

Sometimes the moment comes with astonishing speed. Last December, a group of military specialists closeted themselves at AEI to see if they could devise a new strategy for the war in Iraq, one that might have a reasonable prospect of victory following three years of catastrophic mistakes. Their plan was adopted within weeks by the White House, Pentagon, and new commanders in the field, with all credit due to our soldiers in action for their great success to date.

Other times it seems that the moment will never come. That 1954 study of farm price supports is still waiting. Undaunted, AEI published twenty-one studies of agriculture policy this year, intrinsically as good as our Iraq reports. When I showed them to an ambitious young Republican congressman, he smiled and shook his head.

My own think-tank slogan is: “No one knows when the Berlin Wall will come down.” It is imperative to maintain intellectual sanctuaries in a world where Harvard University forbids the discussion of certain important issues and Columbia University welcomes the contributions of a master terrorist. Our sanctuaries have been instrumental to the expansion of human freedom in recent decades. We are laying the groundwork for further advances – as opportunities arise, as they surely will.

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**The AEI Succession –  
A Personal Postscript**

If think tanks are as vital and wonderful as the foregoing essay says they are, then why should the author – after a considerable tenure as president of AEI, but still reasonably young and energetic – be stepping aside from leading one? My purpose is to prompt a change in the succession traditions of think tanks. The tradition, at AEI and elsewhere, is tribal: president-for-life, followed by a crisis. This seems to me a weakness standing alongside the strengths described in my essay. I believe that, if more regular, businesslike succession procedures can be fashioned, this will make the think tank a more stable and durable form of institution. In thinking the matter through, I have been guided by AEI’s larger philosophical precepts.

The AEI philosophy may be said to be a melding of the conservative and the liberal. Our conservatism is that of Edmund Burke and Michael Oakeshott. It respects tradition and is skeptical about human reason. It is therefore suspicious of change and cultivates appreciation for the world as we find it: in particular, it recognizes that institutions that have endured for long periods probably have virtues greater than we can rationalize at any point in time.

Our liberalism is that of John Stuart Mill, Friedrich Hayek, and Milton Friedman. It celebrates progress and human reason and cultivates criticism and the spirit of reform. It is impatient with the shortcomings of the world as we find it and devotes itself to devising schemes for improvement. I would say that AEI is conservative in temperament but liberal in practice: we are reformers but not planners, and our reforms are grounded in a realistic, not romantic, view of human nature.

So maybe there are advantages that we do not completely comprehend about the leadership traditions of policy think tanks, and maybe we should not fuss with practices that have worked well enough to bring us to our current

success. AEI is not simply academic, in the manner of a university, but also engagé – driven by a strong philosophy which unites its members and is controversial in the outside world. Perhaps it is in the nature of such an institution that, when it finds a leader who personifies its philosophy and terms of engagement, the personification cannot be transferred to another until mortality intervenes. It would not be the only instance of a seemingly primitive arrangement that finds continuing utility in the modern world.

But there is another side to the matter. We at AEI may be chronic dissenters, and sometimes embattled ones, but in recent decades we have nonetheless become respectable, a recognized part of the Establishment. Our views are also the views of many of our fellow citizens – but these are often inchoate in democratic practice, and in need of the kind of development, exposition, and mobilization that we can provide. We have won too many policy arguments to ignore the possibility that our victories might be multiplied and expanded and even made routine.

In all events, we and our sister think tanks have clearly moved from the fringe to the mainstream. In so doing, we have evolved from what Irving Kristol has called “intellectual clubs” into mature institutions. If we are to become what we might become – an independent intellectual force in American politics that is entrenched and effectively permanent – we need to attend to many institutional fundamentals that have been handled on an ad hoc basis in the past. And the conservative traditionalist in me can’t help but notice that virtually all mature institutions – commercial, professional, and political – have eventually moved beyond the personal in their leadership, and that the move has proven to be a source of continued strength and success.

The matter is by no means free from doubt. Leadership succession is among the most problematic issues facing any organization, movement, or political system – and AEI, along with other think tanks, is in part all three of these. What can be said with certainty is that the risks of succession are eventually unavoidable, and that the advantages of facing them on our own time could be substantial. AEI’s trustees and scholars are determined to do it right, at least for ourselves and perhaps as a precedent for others.

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