cluding a statement from the candidate describing the rationale of his teaching efforts). But the undercurrent of uneasiness rests less on specifics than on a general feeling that the extreme emphasis on undergraduate education is misplaced. "It is research and graduate education that have made Berkeley great," commented one eminent physicist, "and they're the only things that will keep it that way." Recent plaudits for Berkeley's graduate programs (discussed elsewhere in these pages) tend to reinforce this view.

The emphasis on research, so natural to the scientists, has two aspects. One is a suspicion that people turn to teaching because they are not good researchers: "The educational reformers are rarely leaders in their fields," observed one scientist. "I can write a hell of a good essay on education and still not know a thing about teaching physics." A second aspect involves a rather frank elitism. "By catering to the mass you have to neglect the best," remarked another researcher, "and even if you don't neglect them you debase the whole currency by giving credit for less scholarly work."

Whether elitism can find a comfortable home in a university specifically charged with serving a mass public is not by any means clear. In any case, by no means all the opposition to the Muscatine report has come from academic traditionalists. A number of members of the faculty—inevitably those most interested in educational reform—feel that the committee failed by not laying out concrete proposals for particular experiments and not developing the organizational structure for carrying them out. Quite a few would agree with the criticism by former FSM leader Michael Rossman, a teaching assistant in the Tussman experimental program, that "the measure of their imagination has been to add a machine to the Machine."

The criticism of the reformers rests on three major grounds. First, there is a feeling that the select committee was too optimistic in assuming that, once the facilitating machinery comes into existence, imaginative proposals will be forthcoming. Members of the committee, perhaps because they have so many ideas of their own, believe, as one of them put it, that "the woodwork is bursting with new ideas." Many of their colleagues are more skeptical. "With few exceptions people around here like the way things are done," one sociologist commented, "and they are not about to take the initiative for change. The Board is a mandate to act, but it's not going to make things happen." This criticism grows partly out of experience. Both the Tussman college and an innovative interdepartmental course in the social sciences have run into difficulties in recruiting faculty members willing to take part in their experiments. "If we couldn't get the people before," asks one disappointed reformer, "where are they going to come from now?"

A second criticism is the argument that, having developed interesting experimental programs, BED will find it difficult to make them available to large numbers of students. "The difficulty with demonstration projects," one faculty member commented, "is that they tend to stay demonstration projects. We wanted something that would affect the character of life for all undergraduates here." Committee members have little use for this argument. "If something we do works out well, pressure from the students will feed back into the regular departments," one member observed. "No department is going to stand still while it loses undergraduates to a new program. They'll adapt. They'll have to."

Finally, there is the criticism of disappointed visionaries who imagined that the Berkeley campus could be transformed from a mass-production factory to a cluster of cottage industries, each with its own product and purpose, something for everybody—one campus having the unique facilities of a great university but containing a series of separate Swarthmores or Antiochs.

The absence of such dramatic proposals is not merely a reflection of the pragmatism of the select committee but a reflection of the feeling the committee's members appear to share with much of the faculty—that, as one of them put it, "when all is said and done, this is a pretty good life and we wouldn't want to do anything to jeopardize it." As one of the students pointed out, it is a pretty good life—for the faculty. Whether it is also a good life for undergraduates is something the students themselves will have to tell us. And, to judge from the explosive effects of the Free Speech Movement, next time around someone had better be listening.

—ELINOR LANGER

LBJ at Princeton: Some Words about Intellectuals and Government

Two weeks ago the President went to Princeton to receive an honorary degree, and used the occasion to touch upon one of the paradoxes of the Johnson era: he has probably exceeded all his predecessors in bringing learned men to the service of government and in bestowing money and homage upon the nation's academic and cultural communities. Put simply, because of Johnson, intellectuals have never had it so good. Nevertheless, while the dimensions of the disaffection are disputable, there is no doubt that the community of scholars is not wholly enamored of Lyndon Johnson.

Vietnam, of course, is the focus of the most raucous discontent, and it is academic dissent from our Vietnam policy to which the President mainly spoke. But, though Vietnam may be the principal occasion, it is only in part the cause of the academic community's reserve toward Johnson. For, like it or not, it might as well be recorded that a good many academicians feel rather snooty and condescending toward the man in the White House, and it would be naive to think the sensitively attuned, affection-craving President is unaware of this.

To some extent the Princeton address constituted a pained and exasperated

expression of puzzlement. "Each time my Cabinet meets," the President declared, "I can call the roll of former professors, Humphrey and Rusk, McNamara and Wirtz, Katzenbach, another distinguished Princetonian, Gardner and Weaver. The 371 major appointments that I have made as President in the two and a half years that I have occupied that office collectively hold 758 advanced degrees. . . . And so many are the consultants called from behind the ivy that a university friend of mine recently said to me, 'At any given moment a third of the faculties of the United States are on a plane going somewhere to advise if not always to consent'. . . . The intellectual today is very much an inside man. Since the 1930's, our Government has put into effect major policies which men of learning have helped to fashion. More recently, the 89th Congress passed bill after bill, measure after measure, suggested by scholars whom I had placed on task forces. . . ."

Against this background of the academy being perhaps the single largest source of recruits for the nation's policy councils, the President strongly addressed himself to the foreign policy dissent that has become a standard feature of campus life. "The aims for which we struggle," he declared, "are aims which in the ordinary course of affairs men of the intellectual world applaud and serve—the principle of freedom over coercion, the defense of the weak against the strong and the aggressive, the right of a young and frail nation to develop free from the interference of her neighbors. . . . These are all at stake in that conflict. It is the consequence of the cost of their abandonment that men of learning must examine dispassionately, for I would remind you, to wear the scholar's gown is to assume an obligation to seek truth without prejudice, and without clichés, even when the results of a search are sometimes at variance with one's own predilections and own opinions."

Reply to the Critics

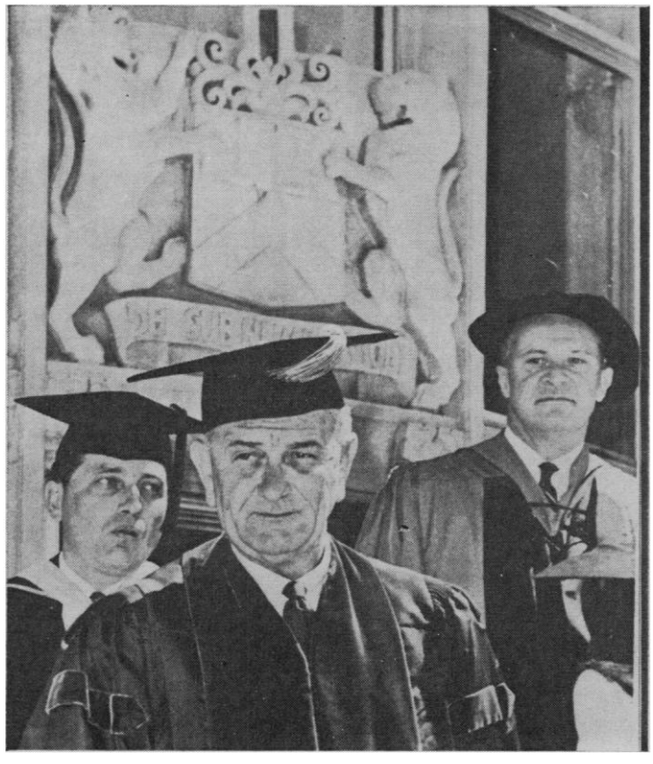
And, in a reference to Senator Fulbright's warnings of the "arrogance of power," and possibly also in reference to a lot of nasty gossip in Washington about the current psychological state of the White House, the President said, "Surely it is not a paranoic vision of America's place in the world to recognize that freedom is still indivisible, still has adversaries whose challenge must be answered."

What is going on between Johnson and those who are loosely referred to as "the intellectuals"? And, in what real ways does the state of affection make any difference? The answers to both questions must necessarily be impressionistic, rough, and speculative, since the intellectual community is not monolithic, and the relationship between affection and public behavior is not always direct or clear. But a number of things appear to be significant. The first is that the manner, speech, and style of the President from Texas are not the manner, speech, and style that are considered *de rigueur* in the network of institutions, mainly northern, that have long dominated and set the tone for much of American intellectual life. On reflection, this may seem to be a trifling matter as compared with substance, but form counts heavily in the community of culture, and Lyndon Johnson is not a Cosmos Club type. When, in his address last year at the Johns Hopkins University, he referred to it as the *John* Hopkins University, the trivial slip did not go unremarked among academicians. When, prior to the Vietnam escalation, academicians throughout the country helped organize Scientists and Engineers for Johnson, it was generally apparent—and some even put it in such terms—that the bulk of the membership was actually scientists and engineers against Goldwater. Unquestionably there were many participants who felt positively toward Johnson, but a strong impression, based on conversations with many key members of the campaign organization, is that fear of and aversion to Goldwater far outweighed esteem for Johnson.

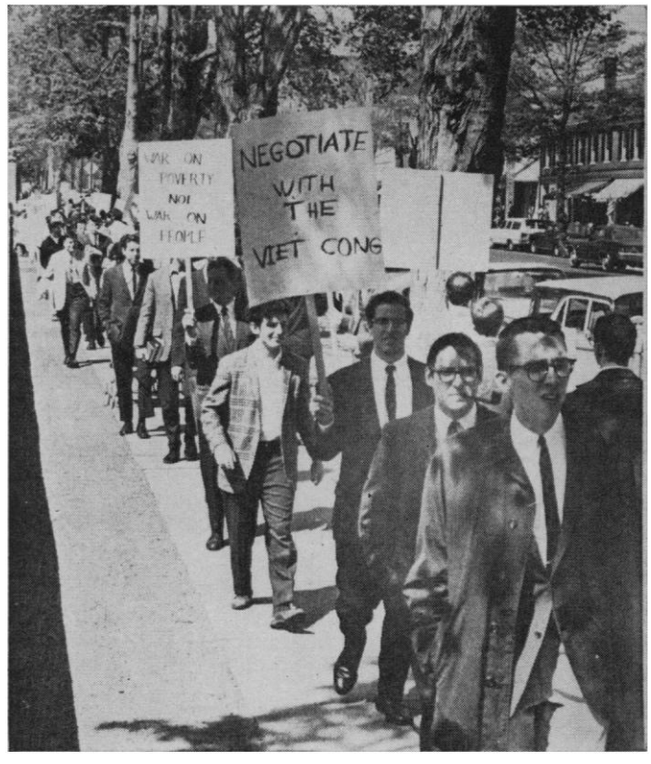
In terms of the affection of the intellectuals, Johnson's greatest, though increasingly diminishing, liability is that he is inevitably compared to his predecessor—a man with whom intellectuals generally were enchanted. If anything, Johnson has exceeded Kennedy in paying court to learning and culture with well-funded programs, influential appointments, kind words, medals, and White House social affairs. But one gets the impression that many of the beneficiaries, while gratified to be courted by the center of political power, are disturbed by the socially and intellectually rough edges of their benefactor. It was Lyndon Johnson who brought into being the Arts and Humanities Foundation, and it was Johnson who raised federal education expenditures from $4 billion to $10 billion a year. But though these long-delayed legislative achievements are appreciated by the nation's academic and cultural communities they did not love him pre-escalation, and despite what he has done for them—and done for them lately—they still don't love him. When the incredibly successful legislative record gets equal time with fascinated gossip over the President's private lapses into barnyard vernacular, there is at work a curiously selective vision that has nothing whatever to do with the horror many people justifiably feel toward the bloodshed in Vietnam. If intellectuals had been so inclined, they could have been propelled from the bandwagon by the Bay of Pigs fiasco, which, though duly apologized for, and shorter in duration and infinitely less bloodletting than Vietnam, was one of the most deplorable and unthinking episodes in modern American history. But, by and large, Kennedy was given the benefit of doubt and, in the scholarly community, came out with his image only temporarily blemished.

A Question of Distribution

A further source of intellectual chill toward this administration—but one that must be assessed with proper attention to all its complexities—is the fact that the Johnson regime does not hold to the orthodox view of how the brainpower is and should be distributed in this country. A visit to the front offices of the academic institutions that have long been in the mainstream of federal support for research reveals a good deal of insecurity about Johnson's designs to build up new centers of excellence. The designs are always accompanied by assertions that the new must not be built at the expense of the old. And, in general, efforts have been guided by this belief. Nevertheless, the pie is not growing apace with the pressures and desires to build new centers of quality. Furthermore, the geographic makeup of some of the institutions for relating brainpower to government has undergone something of a revision under Johnson. For example, until recently, about one-third of the 18-member President's Science Advisory Committee (PSAC) was drawn from



Honors: President Johnson en route to ceremony at Princeton, where he delivered dedication address at the new Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.



Pickets: Some of the estimated 300 demonstrators who marched at Princeton in protest of the administration's Vietnam policies during the President's visit to the University.

Harvard and M.I.T. At present there is only one member from Cambridge, Charles Townes of M.I.T., although there are several Cambridge veterans of PSAC who remain close to the committee in the capacity of consultants. In the grand scheme of things, PSAC probably is not sufficiently important to be regarded as a barometer of presidential sentiment; nevertheless, according to one administration official who is close to PSAC and the President, the geographic shift is not out of harmony with presidential thinking. It cannot be said that the "establishment" intellectuals are disturbed about westward trend; but let's face it—it used to be their committee; now it no longer is.

In assessing the relationship that prevails between Johnson and the intellectual community at large, it is difficult to separate the intellectuals' general reserve toward Johnson from the aversion many of them feel toward the administration's Vietnam policy. Accepting the accuracy of the observation that many of them do not feel warmly toward the President, one must nevertheless recognize that scholars of one sort or another fill the upper ranks of this administration to an unprecedented extent. Walter Lippmann wrote last month that a "gradual exodus" of intellectuals is taking place from Washington because "their presence is not urgently desired and . . . there does not exist a climate in which they can work happily." But whatever the atmosphere for happiness, the fact is that on domestic affairs, the scholarly traffic to Washington still remains heavy; sometimes you can't see the tourists for the ex-academic bureaucrats. And in foreign affairs, where the sense of alienation would be the greatest, the one-time academics may not be happy, but they still abound in the ranks. It is possible that disenchantment may have had something to do with McGeorge Bundy's departure from the White House, but after five grueling years as the President's special assistant for national security affairs, the presidency of the Ford Foundation would have obvious appeal. And Bundy's shoes are at least in part being filled by a replacement from the academic world, Walt Rostow, of M.I.T.

Does it matter that, to a considerable extent, the intellectual community feels unhappy with this administration, and that, as Lippmann goes on to suggest, the administration and, in turn, the Democratic Party are thereby being cut off from the very springs that have given them vitality? Quite obviously it would matter if the unhappiness actually resulted in a mass exodus. Government, as Lippmann stresses, is too dependent upon expertise to get along successfully without manpower drawn from the universities. But, however unhappy the intellectuals may be with Vietnam, and however cool they may feel toward the Johnson style, it is probable that, deep inside, they recognize that the intellectual enterprise has fared extraordinarily well under Johnson. And on the subject of Vietnam—the so-called New Politics is an entrancing spectator sport, but, in sheer voting power, the alternative to Johnson is an assemblage of dissatisfied citizens who feel that the most expeditious way out of Vietnam is through a bigger war. The President's Princeton speech clearly shows that he is concerned about the agitation on campus, but the intellectuals and this administration have a community of interest that outweighs New England's aversion to barbecue manners and the widespread and understandable revulsion toward our ever-deepening involvement in the gore of Vietnam.

—D. S. GREENBERG