

feels most at home writing essays and is even more comfortable when he turns them out in abundance.

As a political scientist, Roche is literary and historical rather than quantitative. He writes on topics chosen from American history, which include the preservation of civil liberties and the course of American foreign policy. His writing is strongly opinionated, highly readable, and quite autobiographical. Roche never seems hesitant about throwing in a few "I's" and relating a personal experience to illustrate his point. In many of his essays the reader senses—to use Roche's phrase—his "joyous commitment to battle against injustice and inequality." Roche believes that civil liberties have been increasingly well protected in the United States, and he often rails against the "Yahoos" across the nation who want to reverse this tradition.

In addition to his literary production, Roche has consistently maintained his political activism. After a 2-year term as a highly energetic national chairman of the ADA, he was given the unusual distinction of being asked to serve a third year, and he accepted. ADA national director Leon Shull termed this request "a mark of the affection that the membership held him in."

Roche, because of his buoyancy, forthrightness, lack of affectation, and loyalty to his friends, seems to inspire a corresponding loyalty in those who know him. He is free of pretensions which would hamper his relationships with those of a different age (he is 43) or intellectual status. One White House staff member curtly said that Goldman had, at times, been guilty of "academic pomposity." Whether or not this was true of Goldman, it is a charge not likely to be made about Roche.

While still chairman of the ADA, Roche was one of the chief speechwriters for Hubert Humphrey during the 1964 campaign. The Humphrey camp, which was under the constraint of trying to elicit Republican votes, was forced to keep a close watch on Roche's polemical speech-writing style. "Unleash John Roche" became the battle cry of the more militant Humphrey workers.

Since 1964 Roche has continued to work on a part-time basis for Humphrey. He has also kept contact with the White House staff, including Moyers, and has sent the President memoranda on various subjects. The

Roche on Johnson

"Yet despite his accomplishments President Johnson has achieved little standing among the intellectuals. . . . They have tended to see in him a reincarnation of William Jennings Bryan, the rural cornhusker. The contrast with President Kennedy is, of course striking—for lack of a stronger word. . . . Johnson seems to have come from a different universe; his rhetoric is extravagant, his hats are wide—everything about him seems to symbolize a reversion to the political style of yesteryear. . . . [Lyndon Johnson] seems to fall into the category of anti-intellectual politicians—or at least he has given little indication that he feels that intellectuals have a meaningful, creative role in American society. . . . —JOHN P. ROCHE, *New York Times Magazine*, 26 July 1964.

White House sent Roche to Vietnam in June for his advice on the development of a political structure in that country. The President had him brief congressional leaders at the White House upon his return from Vietnam. Roche is still close to Humphrey, a fellow ADA member, but the Vice President had no hand in getting him the White House assignment.

Although the White House has implied that Roche would work mainly on domestic problems, it is likely that he will become involved in foreign affairs as well. Roche was one of those considered for the recently-filled post of chairman of the Policy Planning Council in the Department of State. Vietnam is an obvious area for Roche's attentions, and he may become one of the principal people in government urging that greater emphasis be placed on the political and economic aspects of the Vietnam struggle. On the domestic side, it would be natural for Roche to be assigned tasks in such areas as racial problems, civil liberties, and immigration. In both the domestic and foreign fields he is likely to help fill the long-existent White House speech-writing gap. White House observers will watch carefully for any increase in the Presidential use of Yiddish phrases.

Roche's friends hope that the President will not use him to attempt to change the minds of liberal academics on Vietnam. They regard that attitude as a "frozen" one which a hundred White House resident intellectuals could not hope to change.

In light of his personality and political experience, those who know Roche think he is likely to survive in the White House jungle and retain his integrity while doing so. As one of his associates put it, "Roche is a tough guy. If someone kicks him in the groin, he'll kick him right back." In assuming his staff duties this week, Roche will be sure to avoid the pontifical role of "White House intellectual." No doubt, from his first day at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue he will be demanding real work to do.

In discussing the switch in resident intellectuals at the White House, Moyers noted that "you cannot consider the academic community a union. You have to deal with it on an individualistic basis with people on functional assignments. That is what we try to do and will continue to try to do, and no one man can be expected to be the liaison."

Despite the White House denial that Roche had been hired as a direct replacement for Goldman, the timing of the announcement of his hiring makes it clear that Roche is meant to be at least a partial substitute for the Princeton professor.

In his 1964 *New York Times Magazine* article on Johnson and the intellectuals, Roche blamed both sides but concluded that "a heavy burden of responsibility for this deterioration of relations lies on the White House. It would be ironic if in this year of fence mending, no efforts were made to reestablish the critical dialogue that existed between John Kennedy and the intellectuals. And it would be tragic if the Johnson Administration did not understand why these efforts are worthwhile."

Roche's appointment may be a sign that President Johnson has some hope that an effort to revive a dialogue with the intellectuals is still worthwhile. But patience is short in Washington these days. Some observers believe that if the President cannot adequately utilize a man like Roche, he might as well give up hiring independent-minded professors for the White House staff.

—BRYCE NELSON