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Intellectuals Show Impatience With the New Administration

PRINCETON, N.J.—Almost immediately after Professor Henry Kissinger was named Richard Nixon's chief White House aide in foreign affairs he dropped in on an international meeting of intellectuals here in Princeton. With good reason.

For all signs indicate that the intellectuals harbor deep feelings of resentment and hostility toward Mr. Nixon. And without some mending of fences, both the new President and the intellectual community will suffer.

The issue of Nixon and the intellectuals was explicitly raised here by George Kennan, the historian and former diplomat. In a formal speech, Mr. Kennan asserted the modest proposition that "the new Administration must be given the chance to show what it can do."

The playwright Lillian Hellman thereupon expressed wonder that anybody in her own sixtyish age bracket could utter so square an opinion. "I find it difficult to be patient with them," she said of the new Administration. "The battle is lost . . . for the next four years."

Came then one after another intellectuals of all sizes and shapes and ages to align themselves with Miss Hellman. The youngest of the lot, Sam Brown, a 24-year-old divinity student from Harvard, said: "I now know what it is to be in love with an older woman."

This pre-established hostility is dangerous to Mr. Nixon for an obvious reason. The intellectuals play a leading role in formulating issues that are then broadcast to the country through the mass media. "They murdered Johnson on Vietnam," a Nixon aide once said. And they can do the same to Nixon on that or some other

issue.

ALMOST AS important, the intellectuals are essential to the proper doing of Government business. It takes scientists and defense analysts to offset the influence of the professional military. Economists are required to balance off the bankers and the Treasury Department. Only the ur-

banologists can hold the ring against the pressure of the labor, welfare, and education bureaucracy. In order to have a wide range of choice, in other words, a President needs intellectuals.

The intellectuals need a degree of rapport with Mr. Nixon for reasons that are less obviously but not less weighty. During the past decade, the new technology has brought a great rise in the fortunes and prestige of the intellectual community in this country. Scientists, scientific managers, and scholars play decisive roles not only in national affairs, but in the major corporations and in popular culture. Not surprisingly, the high estate of the past decade has bred a certain headiness among the intellectuals, a disposition to be superior, to think of themselves as American mandarins.

One group, centering around insiders who have benefited most from the recent demand for intellect, has written its own success into an historical law. They have projected a future society (called post-industrial by the sociologist Daniel Bell or Technitronic by the political scientist Zbigniew Brzezinski) in which the dominant institution would be the university and the dominant person would be the intellectual.

A SECOND GROUP, the

outsiders who have not shared so much in the recent good fortune, has accepted the enhanced new status in a hostile sense. They have argued that, since the intellectuals have not been able to perfect American society, it is unsavable. In dress, language, and hair style as well as theory they have joined with the New Left challenge to all authority in this country.

The common denominator for both groups is a contempt for ordinary Americans, a lack of sympathy with what I have called Middle America. It is typical that one scholar here, asked what ordinary people would do in a society dominated by intellectuals, said they would go to committee meetings and wallow in "pornutopia"—meaning, I suppose, dirty pictures.

That contempt, not unnat-

urally, is returned with interest. All over this country there has been making up a wave of anti-intellectual feeling. The Nation has been losing confidence in its mandarins.

The nomination and election of Mr. Nixon are, to some extent, an expression of the popular suspicion of the intellectuals. And if the intellectuals have only contempt for the new Administration, if they oppose without discrimination and as a matter of reflex all its works and deeds, they can only stimulate further the wave of malevolence that has already been raised to uncomfortable levels.

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