

6/9/57

THE EDITORS OF **LIFE** PRESENT A NEW SERIES

by  
Theodore  
H.  
White

A "brotherhood of scholars," writes Theodore White, "has become the most provocative and propelling influence on all American government and politics." He is describing the action-intellectuals, the large and growing body of men who choose to leave their quiet and secure niches on the university campus and involve themselves instead in the perplexing problems that face the nation. They sit today in the highest councils; their ideas are molded into policy; the judgments they make are crucial. Who are they? Where did they come from? And in what direction are they taking America? In the first article of this three-part series, which begins on the next page, White explores the workings of the action-intellectual community, the bases from which it draws its power and the men who belong to it. An accompanying portfolio of photographs shows some of its representative members. Next week, the involvement of American intellectuals in matters of state from the earliest days of the republic will be examined—and a special section will tell of their profound first achievement. In a final installment, White explains the dilemma the action-intellectuals themselves face in dealing with the future of the nation.

# The Action

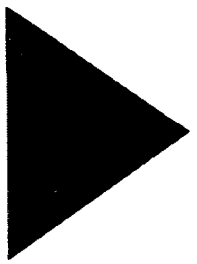
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# The

# Action

# Intellectuals

A brotherhood of scholars forms



the most powerful community in our society

## PART I

**T**his is the story of a new power-system in American life—and the new priesthood, unique to this country and this time, of American action-intellectuals.

In the past decade this brotherhood of scholars has become the most provocative and propelling influence on all American government and politics. Their ideas are the drivewheels of the Great Society: shaping our defenses, guiding our foreign policy, redesigning our cities, reorganizing our schools, deciding what our dollar is worth.

Change has called this new power-system into being—raw, dislocating change rushing over us in such torrents that the problems left in its wake overpower our understanding. As the world outruns its comprehension of itself, inherited knowledge and tradition no longer grip onto reality. "Folk-wisdom," said the late Robert Oppenheimer, "can cry out in pain. But it can't provide solutions."

Yet governments must have solutions. They cannot let change simply happen; their duty is to place a discipline on events. Thus, with almost primitive faith, American government has turned to the priesthood of action-intellectuals—the men who believe they understand what change is doing, and who suggest that they can chart the future. For such intellectuals now is a Golden Age, and America is the place. Never have ideas been sought more hungrily or tested against reality more quickly. From White House to city hall, scholars stalk the corridors of American power:

► Last year one half the Cabinet of the U.S. was drawn, not from politicians, but from the brotherhood of learning: Secretaries Gardner, Katzenbach, Weaver, Wirtz, McNamara, Rusk—all were, at one time or another, college professors or teachers. One catches best the temper of the time as HEW Secretary John Gardner begins a sentence with a slip of the tongue: "When the faculty gets together—I mean, when the *Cabinet* gets together . . ."

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► For decades, the largest office in the West Wing of the White House, facing out on the Executive Office Building, has usually been the lair of the President's most important assistant. During the last seven years, however, it has been chiefly occupied by Theodore Sorensen, Bill Moyers, Joseph Califano—the successive chiefs of the task forces that ceaselessly scout the campuses and foundations of the nation in search of brains and ideas; and, from basement to third floor of the White House, professors and scholars have sifted what the scouts have brought back. The Presidency, in fact, has

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# In The Halls of Power

On the following pages, a portfolio by JOHN LOENGARD

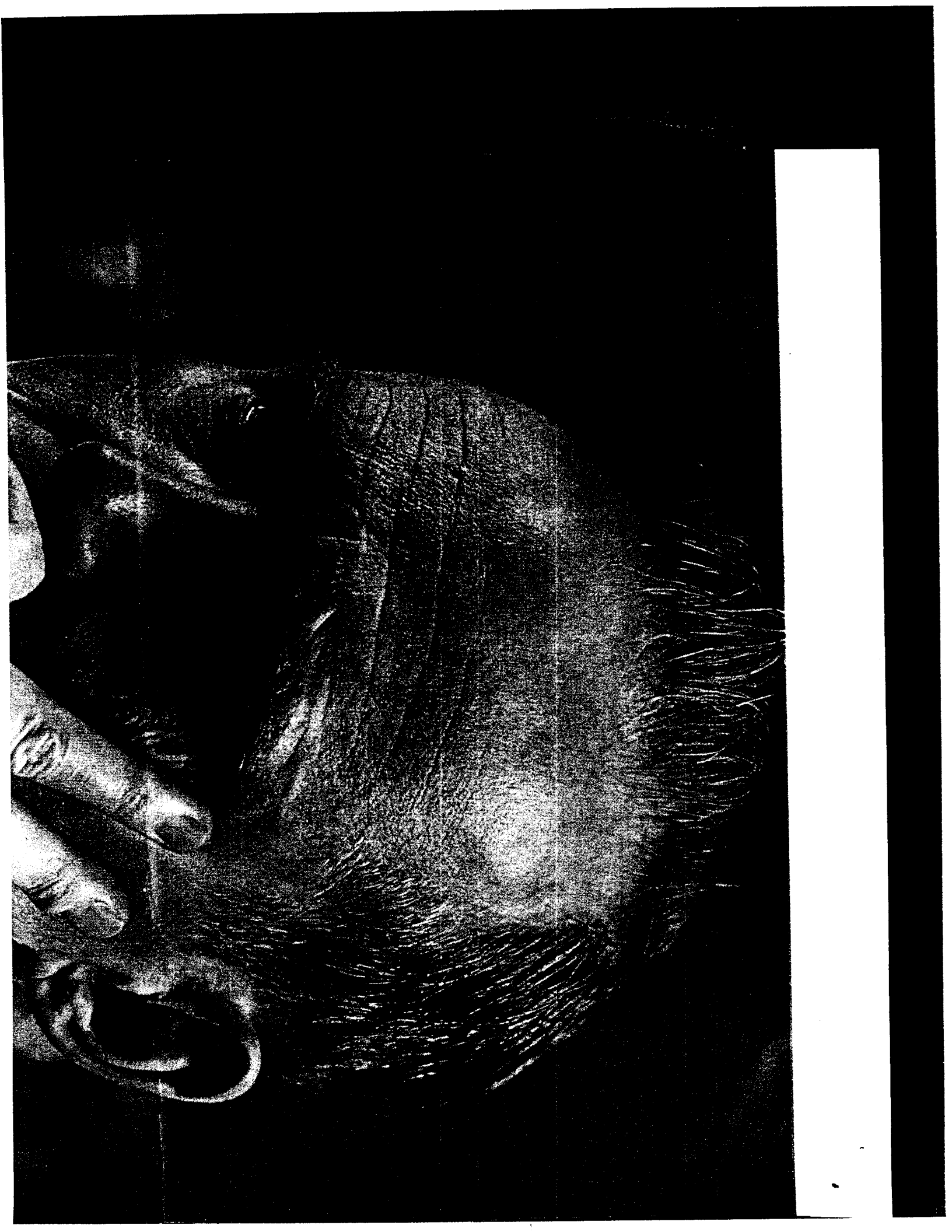


Jerome Wiesner is an amiable, low-key man. Passersby in the halls of



Jerome Wiesner is an amiable, low-key man. Passersby in the halls of M.I.T., where he is provost, often greet him with a casual wave and a "Hi, Jerry!" Yet he has also walked in the halls of vast power and cut a formidable figure there. In a time of incalculable importance to the nation in space, defense and the explosive course of all science, Wiesner served Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, and was chief science adviser to the last two. The limited nuclear test ban treaty of 1963 was largely Wiesner's handiwork; during World War II, he had helped make possible the bomb itself. His main concern today is in the delicate area where he has operated for so long: the proper relationship between science and government.

## Jerome Wiesner









## Hans Mark

As a senior physicist at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at the University of California, Hans Mark's job is devising ways to make more efficient atomic weaponry. In the political atmosphere of Berkeley, such an occupation (as Mark puts it with great restraint) "wins no applause from our colleagues." Still, he believes absolutely that the U.S. must keep ahead of the Russians in bomb technology in order to insure a continuing stalemate and buy more time against the day when tensions can be dissolved. Meanwhile, Mark, who came to this country from Germany in 1940 and is now 37, enjoys the obloquy, munches a hero sandwich in the lab for lunch, and would like to see nuclear explosions used for happier purposes, such as the construction of a new canal across the Isthmus of Panama.

McGeorge Bundy will occasionally deny that he is really an intellec-



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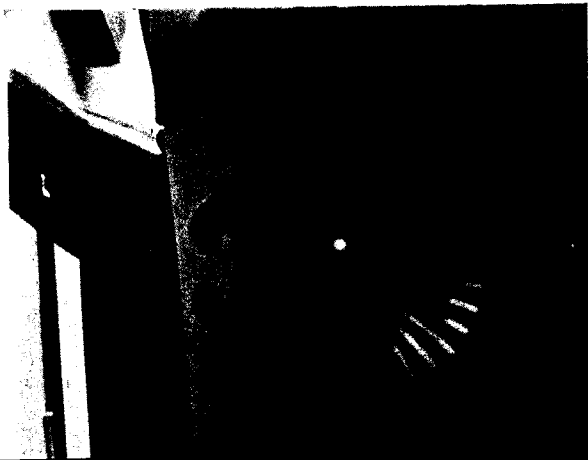
McGeorge Bundy will occasionally deny that he is really an intellectual; his trade, he says, is recognizing ideas, as though this were a gift of some lesser order. As a matter of fact, when President Kennedy reached out for him, he was professor of government at Harvard and dean of the faculty of arts and sciences. In Washington he was Special Assistant for national security for Kennedy and Johnson. His daily briefings of the President on all intelligence and security problems, a function he totally reorganized, carried enormous responsibility for him and great influence with the President. When he moved to the Ford Foundation as president last year, he set about streamlining that organization too, turning away from unfocused philanthropy and toward the development of ideas for solving core problems, chief of which in the U.S., he believes, is the securing of full equality for the Negro.

# McGeorge Bundy

# James Tobin

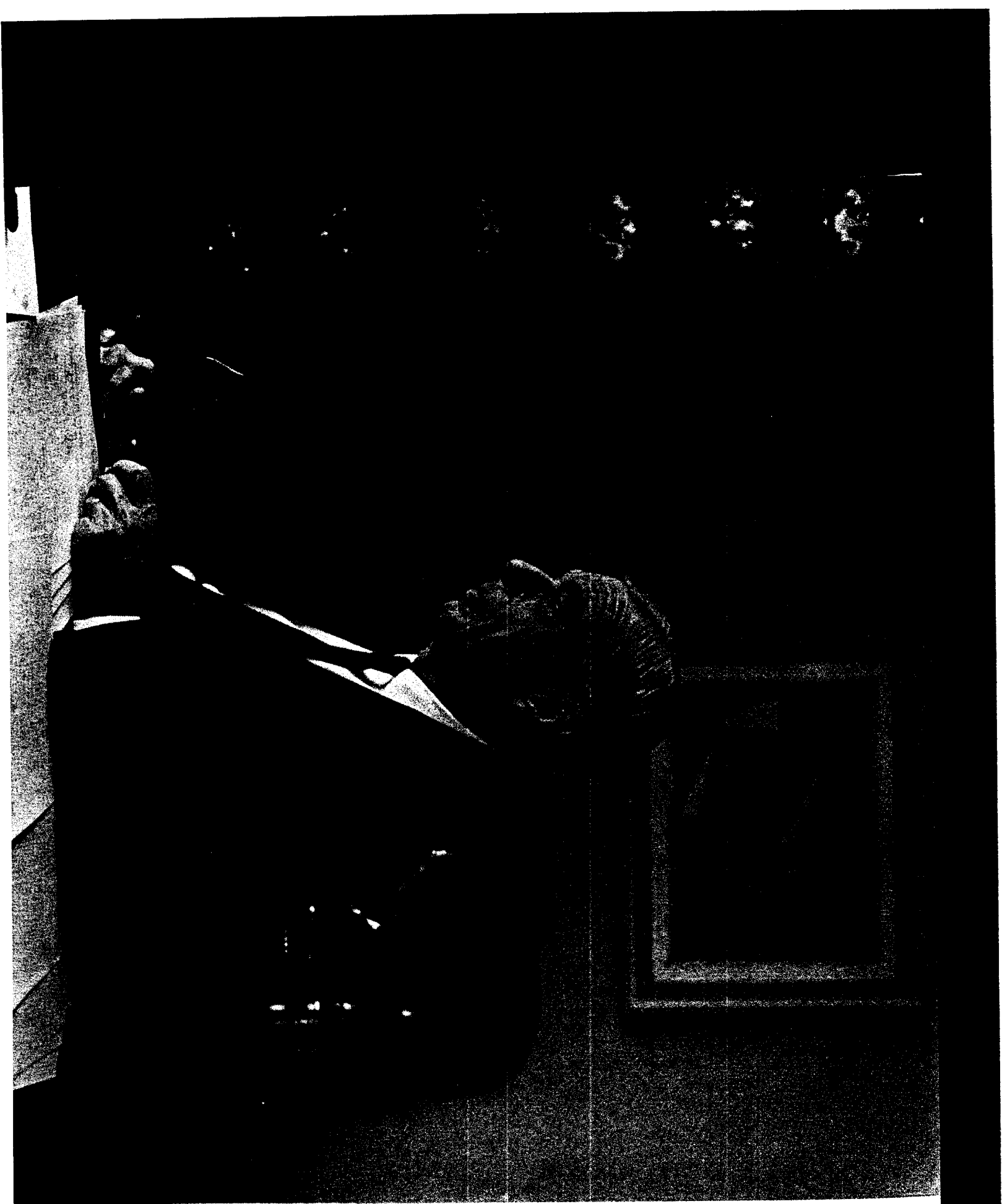
At Yale, where he is Sterling Professor of Economics, James Tobin works in a tiny, paper-cluttered office large enough for a desk, two chairs and a filing cabinet. He is a shy man and a scholar—he once described himself as an “ivory tower economist.” Yet if, as seems more and more possible, the world someday replaces the present gold exchange standard in favor of a more rational system of international payments, James Tobin will have been one of the men most responsible. He was reluctant, in 1961, when Kennedy urged him to join the Council of Economic Advisers. When he did, his influence was significant, notably as a strong proponent of the investment tax credit which has helped to spark and prolong the economic boom.





Charles J. Hitch, who for 13 years was a fellow of Queen's College at Oxford, is now a vice president of the University of California, monitoring how that three-quarters-of-a-billion-dollars-a-year institution spends its money. Before moving to Berkeley, he was chief economist for the Rand Corporation and then spent four years in Washington as Assistant Secretary of Defense. There Economist Hitch developed a "cost-effectiveness" accounting system he had suggested while at Rand. The system introduced new, hard-eyed methods of evaluation and revolutionized not only the budgetary but also the strategic thinking of the Pentagon.

## Charles Hitch



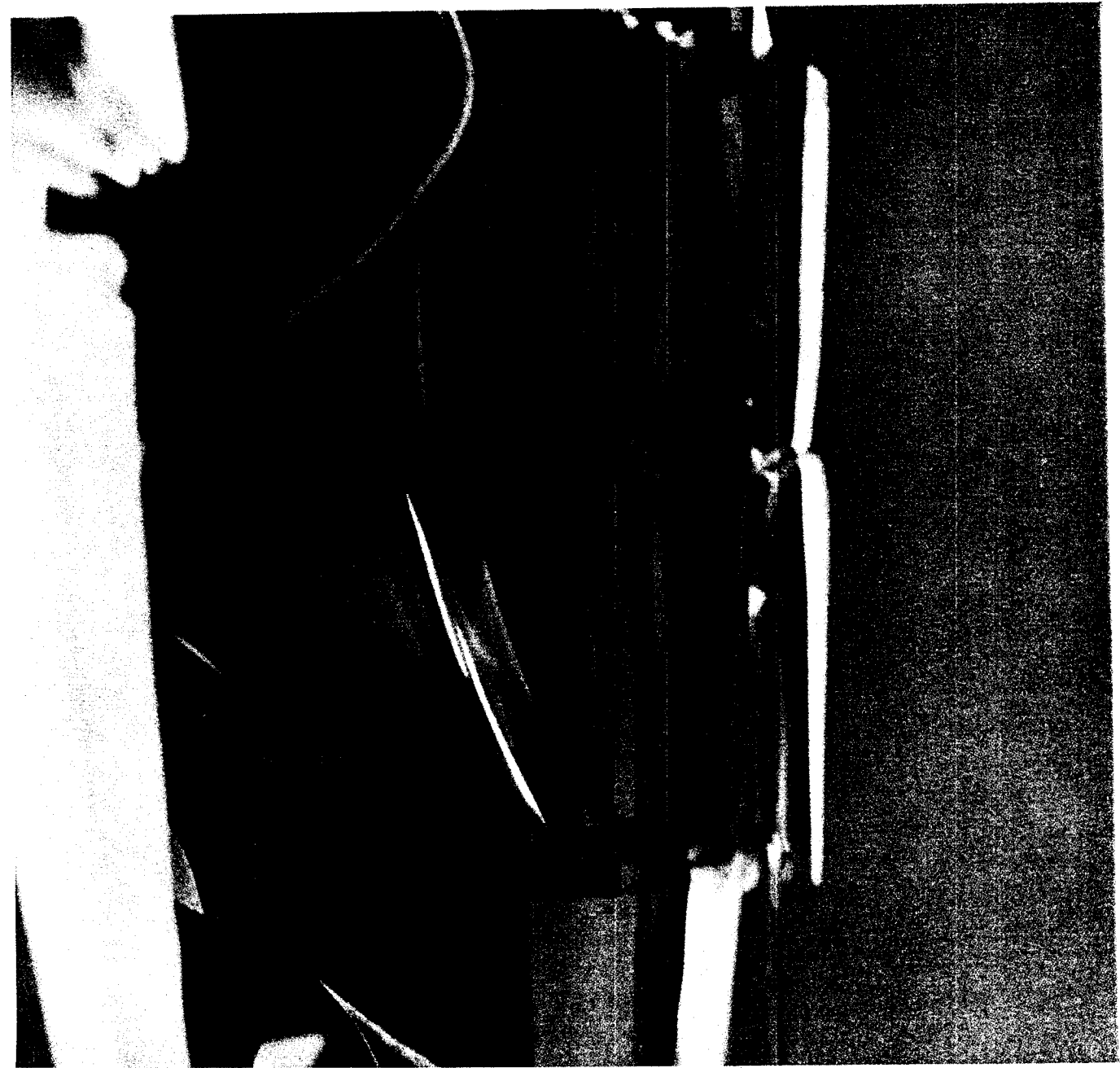


## James Conant

Among all living Americans, James Bryant Conant is the exemplar of the involvement of the intellectual in public life. During World War II, while president of Harvard, he directed the critical flow of research which led, among other things, to the atomic bomb. In

1953 he left Cambridge to serve as High Commissioner to Germany and then as our first ambassador to Bonn. Leaving diplomacy, he turned back to an old preoccupation, the state of education in the U.S., and has published a series of enormously influential studies on

the subject. But a merely formal listing of his accomplishments would miss the most profound contribution of this gentle Yankee: he encouraged other intellectuals to engage themselves in public matters and thereby enriched the tradition of patriotic service.

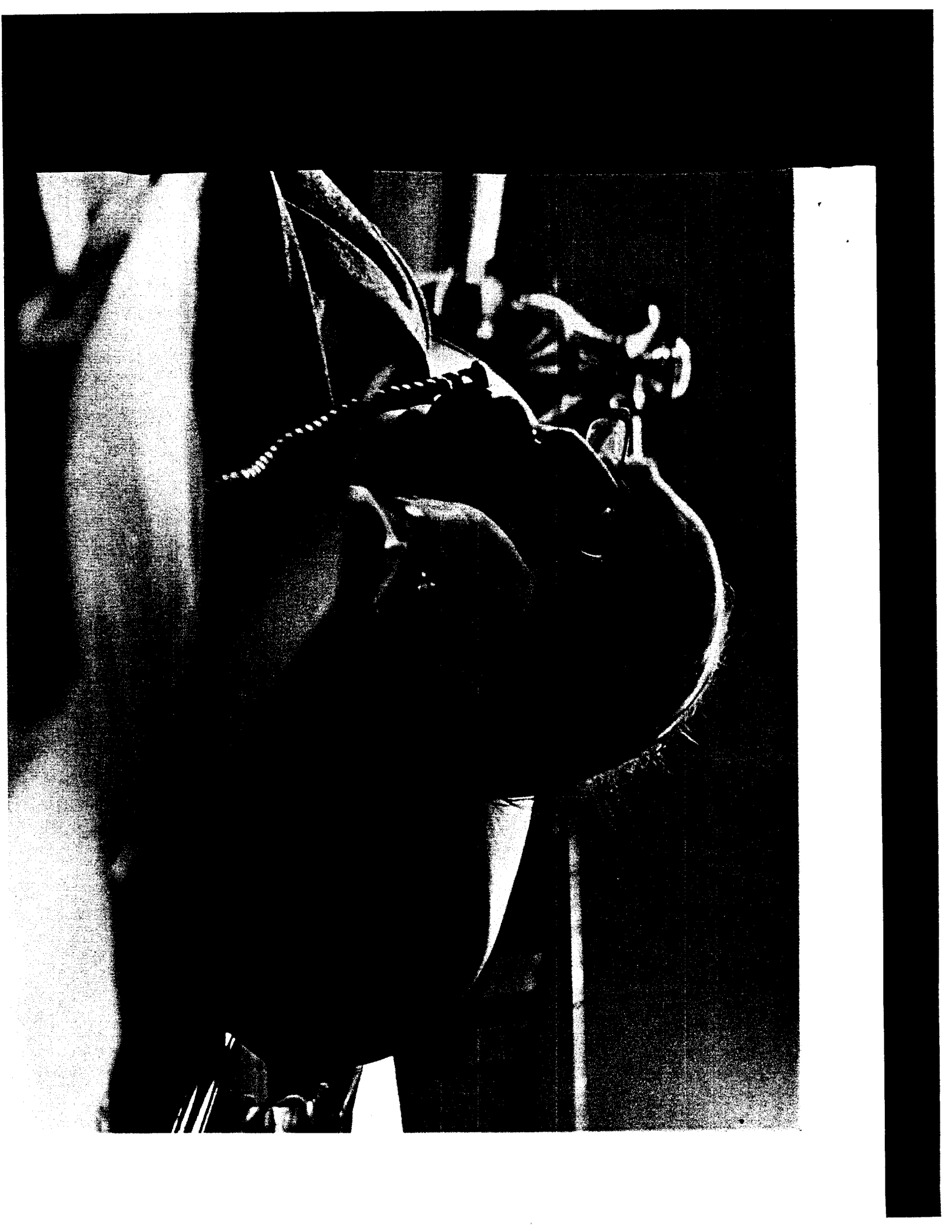


Wilbur J. Cohen, elfin and bouncy, first came to Washington in 1934 as an assistant to F.D.R.'s Cabinet committee on economic security, which drafted the original Social Security Act. In the 30-odd years since—spent mostly in Washington—he has had a hand in virtually every piece of social legislation considered by the Congress. He was a professor of public welfare administration at the University of Michigan when he joined HEW in 1961 as an Assistant Secretary; four years later, Johnson made him Under Secretary and he scored a triumph as the Medicare bill swept through Congress. After all his years in the capital, Cohen has lost none of his humanitarian glow—"as though," an acquaintance once said, "he feels every person in the country who is home alone sick is his personal responsibility."



Wilbur Cohen

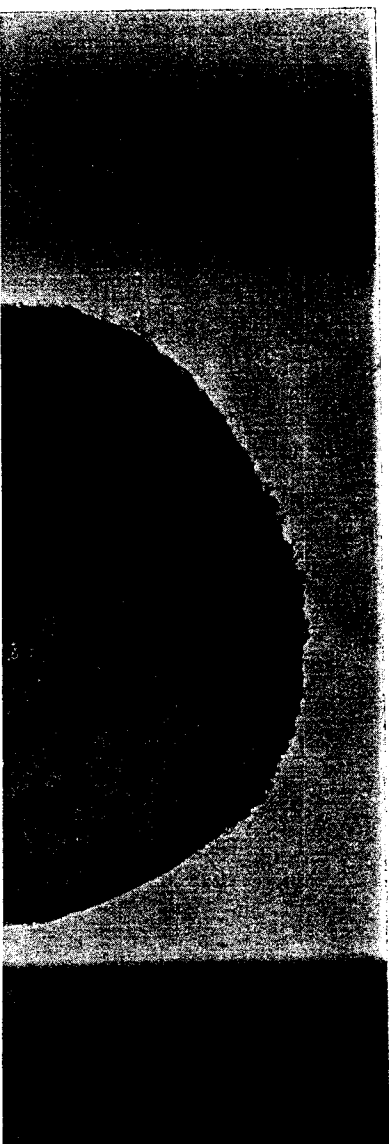
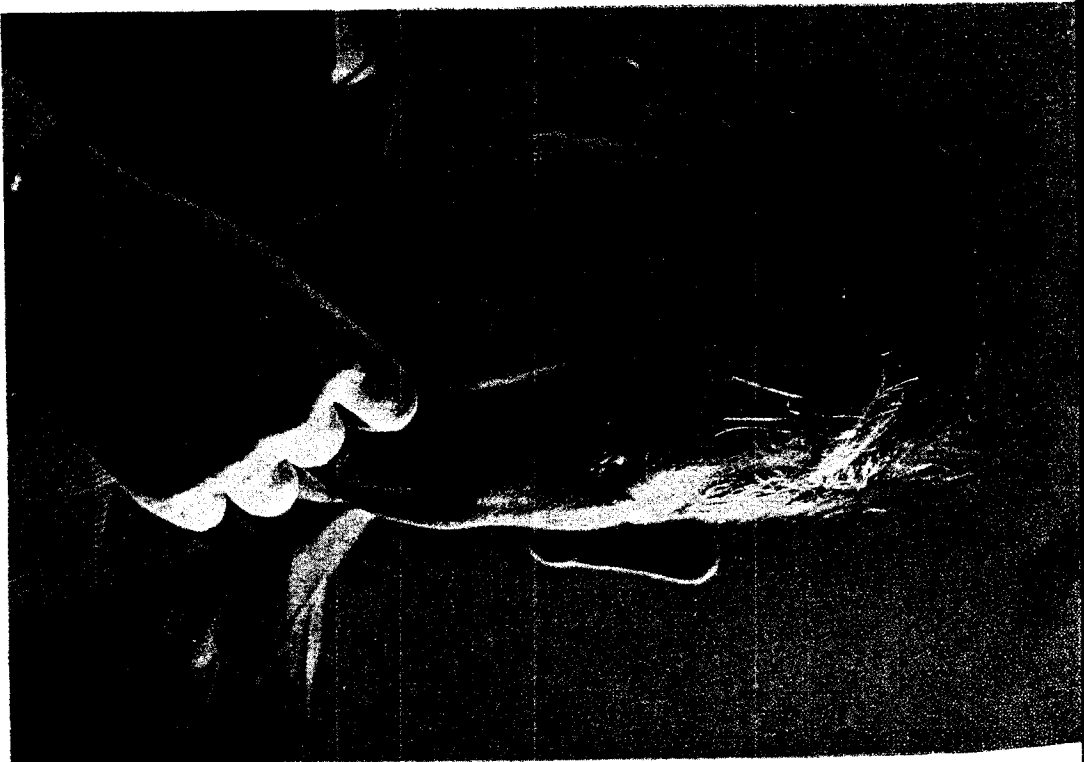






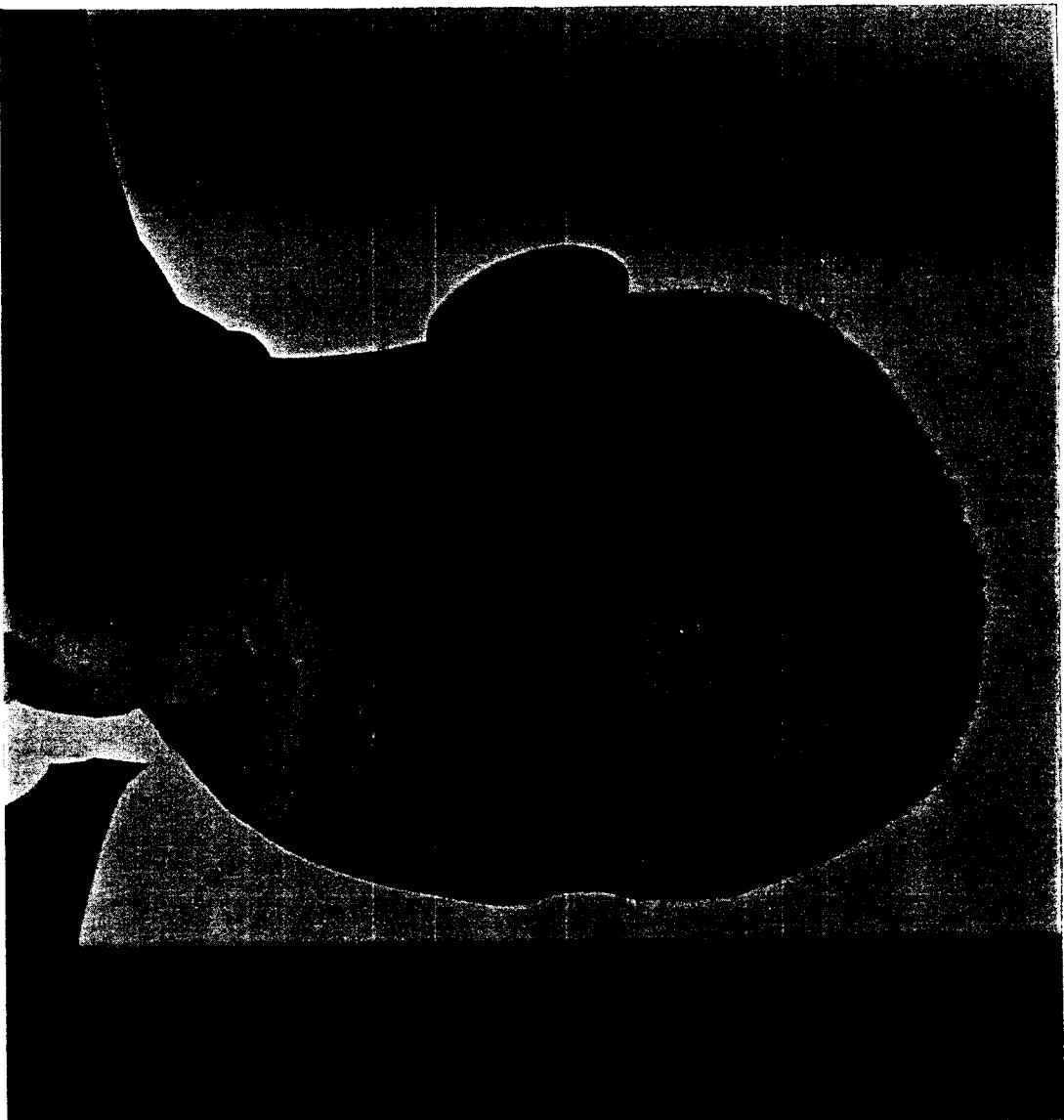
# Carl Kaysen

Carl Kaysen is a friendly and talkative economist whom an eminent colleague characterized as "the most perfectly informed man I have ever known." For 20 years after World War II, Kaysen's home base was Harvard, where he became a professor of economics. He became a Deputy Special Assistant for national security affairs to Kennedy in 1961, and still advises Johnson in this area. Last year he headed a nongovernmental task force that recommended establishment of a National Data Center, in which a whole range of statistics on individual citizens would be stored in a giant computer system. Kaysen is director of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, a haven for pure researchers which his predecessor, J. Robert Oppenheimer, described as "an intellectual hotel."

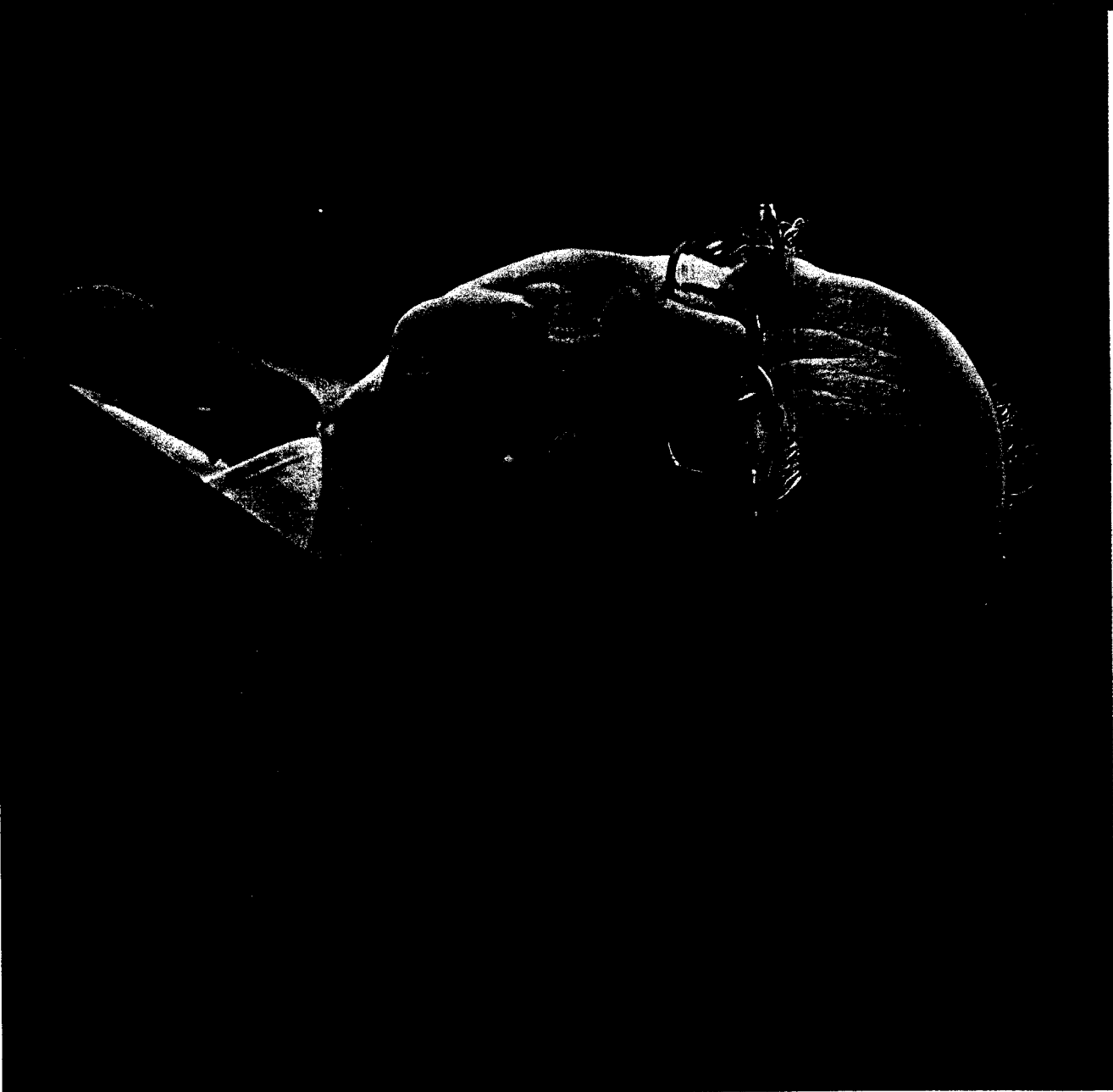


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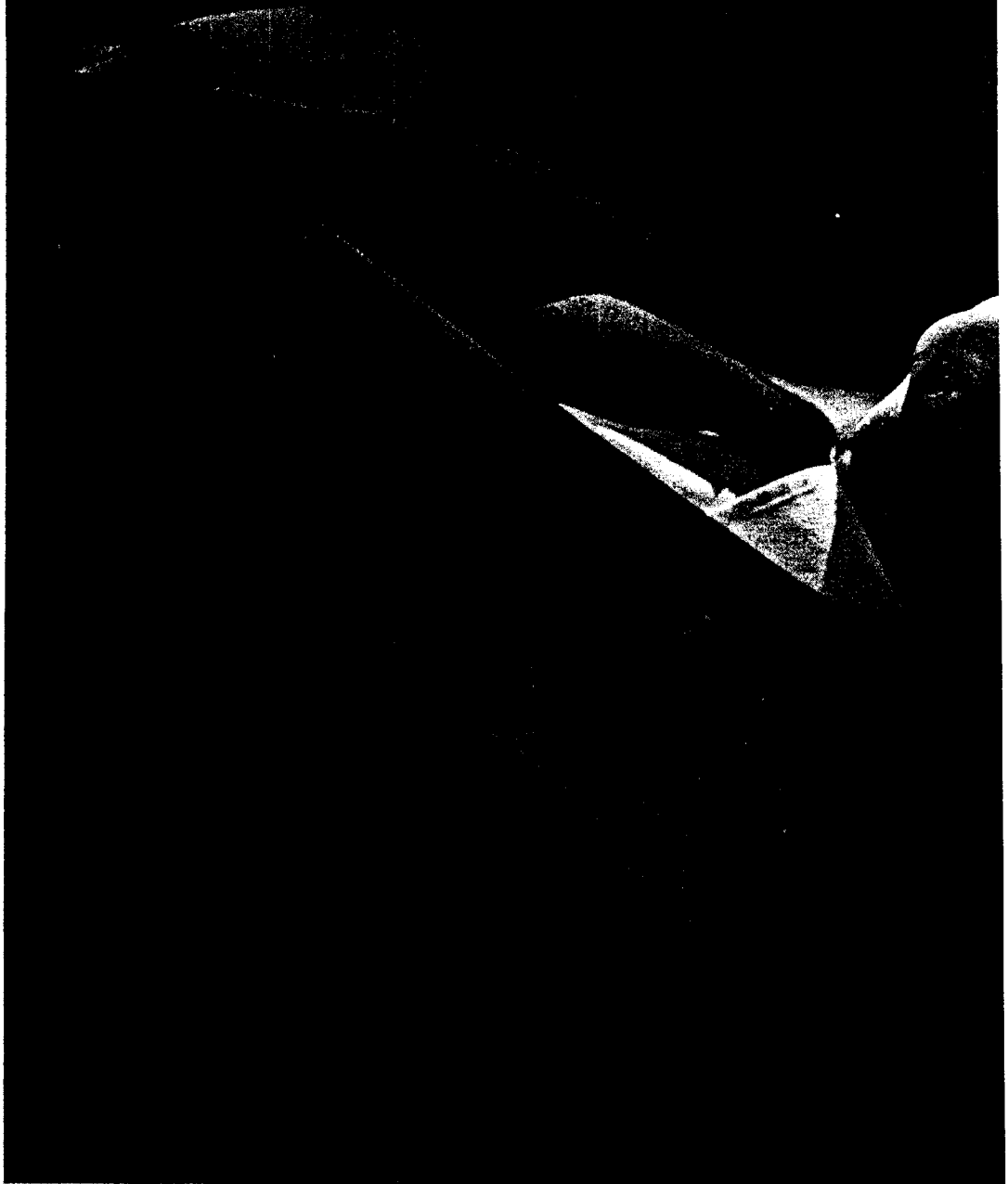
Kenneth Bancroft Clark made an enduring contribution as an action-intellectual when he put together a brief to the U.S. Supreme Court. Civil rights advocates had for years insisted that segregated schooling was unconstitutional and morally wrong, but it remained for Clark, now a professor of psychology at the City College of New York, to set down in precise, scholarly terms the true extent of the psychological damage done by the system to both Negro and white children. In its landmark decision of 1954, the Court specifically acknowledged Clark's work. Since that time Clark has remained mainly outside the Washington policy-making sphere. He has been active, however, on the local level in New York—studying, setting up and working on civil rights and anti-poverty programs.



**Kenneth Clark**



Edward Sagendorph Mason, 68, spends a great deal of time in his office at Harvard, reading. He keeps the door to his office open but is so absorbed that the clatter outside does not ordinarily disturb him. It is possible to interrupt Mason, although a conversation with him is likely to be brief—he is notably short on small talk. Economist Mason has been a member of the Harvard faculty since 1923 and for the last 30 years has been almost continuously placed into the



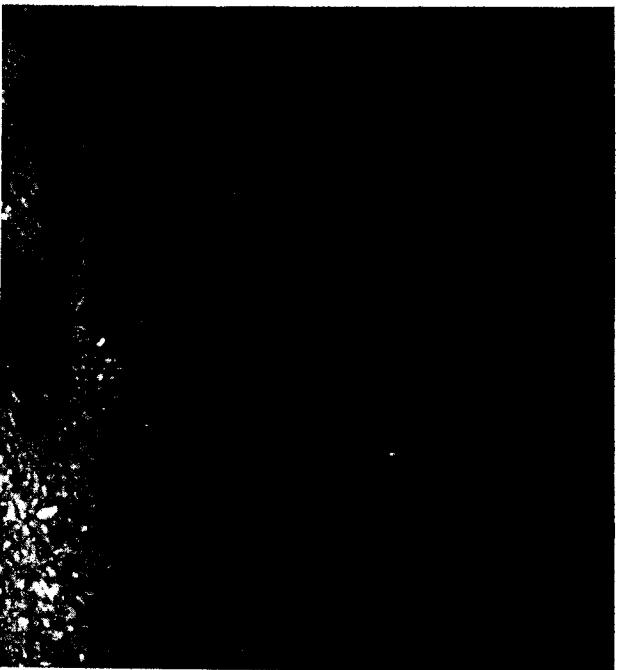
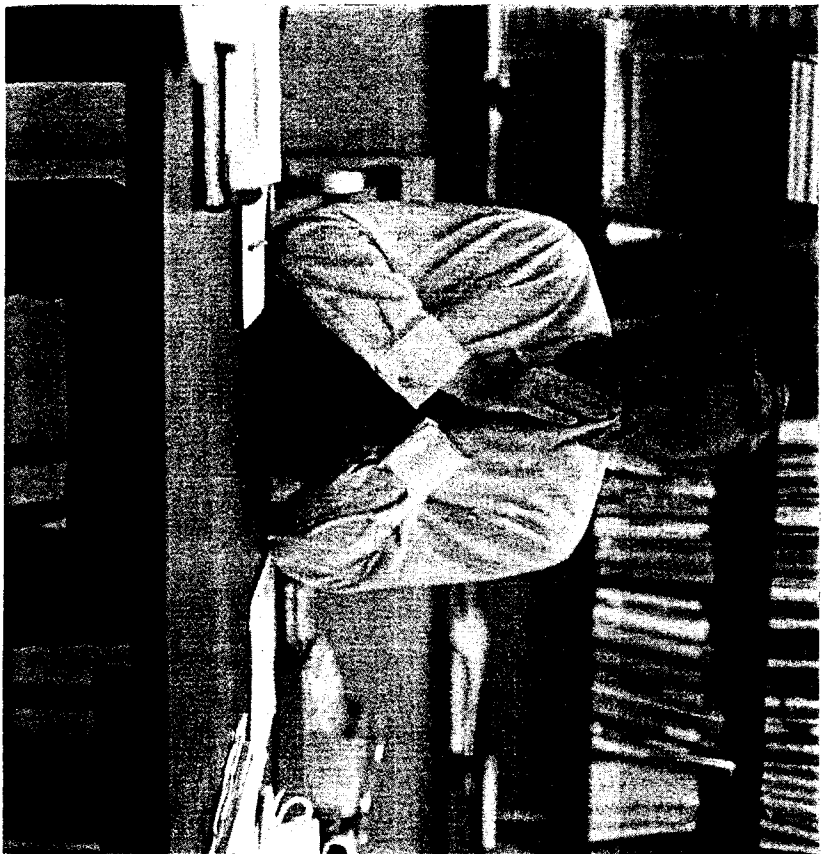
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## Edward Mason

# John Gardner

"I am first and foremost a nation-watcher," John Gardner has said of himself. The Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has an ideal vantage point since HEW owns a piece of the action on virtually every difficult domestic problem facing the U.S. In 1965, when Gardner took over, HEW had a jumble of pro-

grams and bad relations with Congress. But Gardner, who had been president of the Carnegie Corporation, had had considerable experience as a consultant to government departments. He has proved to be administrator enough to get some of the kinks straightened out and visionary enough to keep HEW rolling on the Great Society track.





# Daniel Moynihan

Pat Moynihan has a way with statistics. If he talks about urban development, it will be in terms of people—Mrs. O'Leary and her friends. Illegitimacy charts are translated by him into fatherless families. Moynihan, now 40, came to Washington from Syracuse University in 1961. As Assistant Secretary of Labor, he wrote the now-

famous Moynihan report with its shocking findings on the deterioration of urban Negro family life. Predictably, the report generated heat. But Moynihan, who grew up in New York slums and is now director of the Harvard-M.I.T. Joint Center for Urban Studies, did not flinch from the conclusions to which his research had led him.



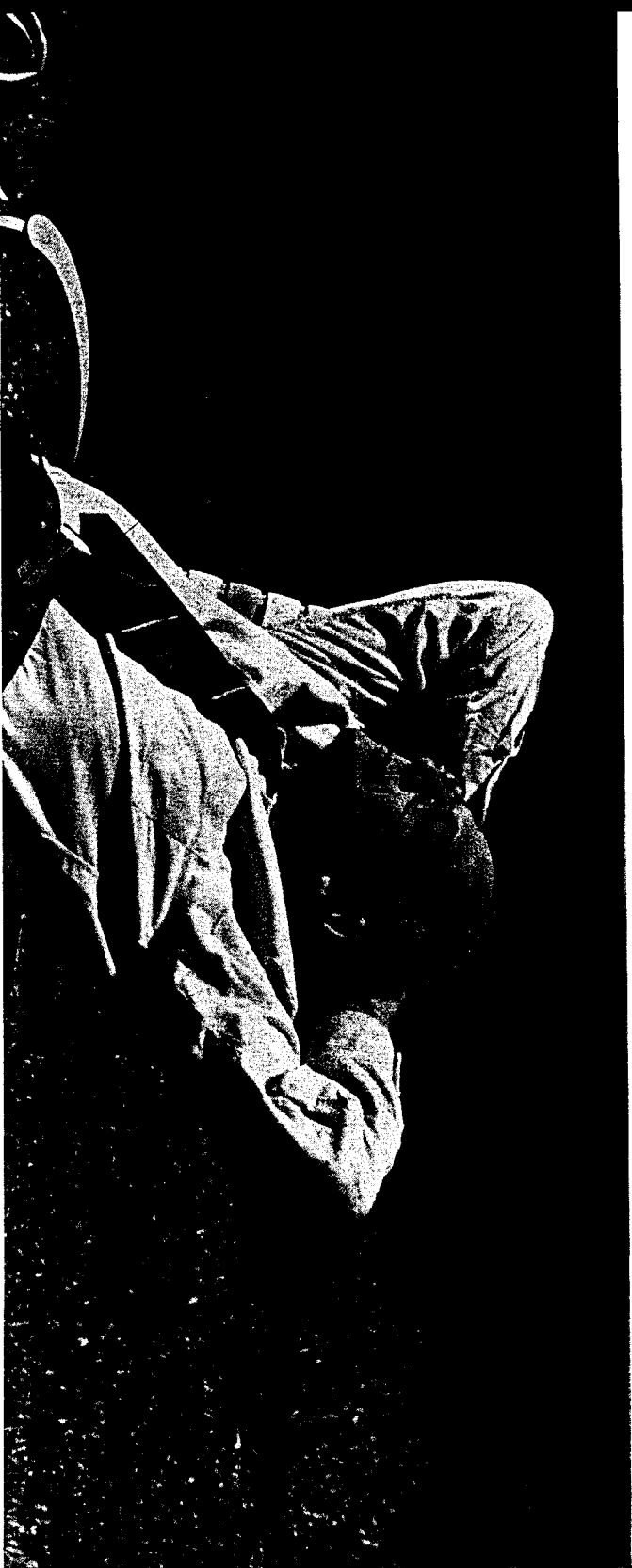


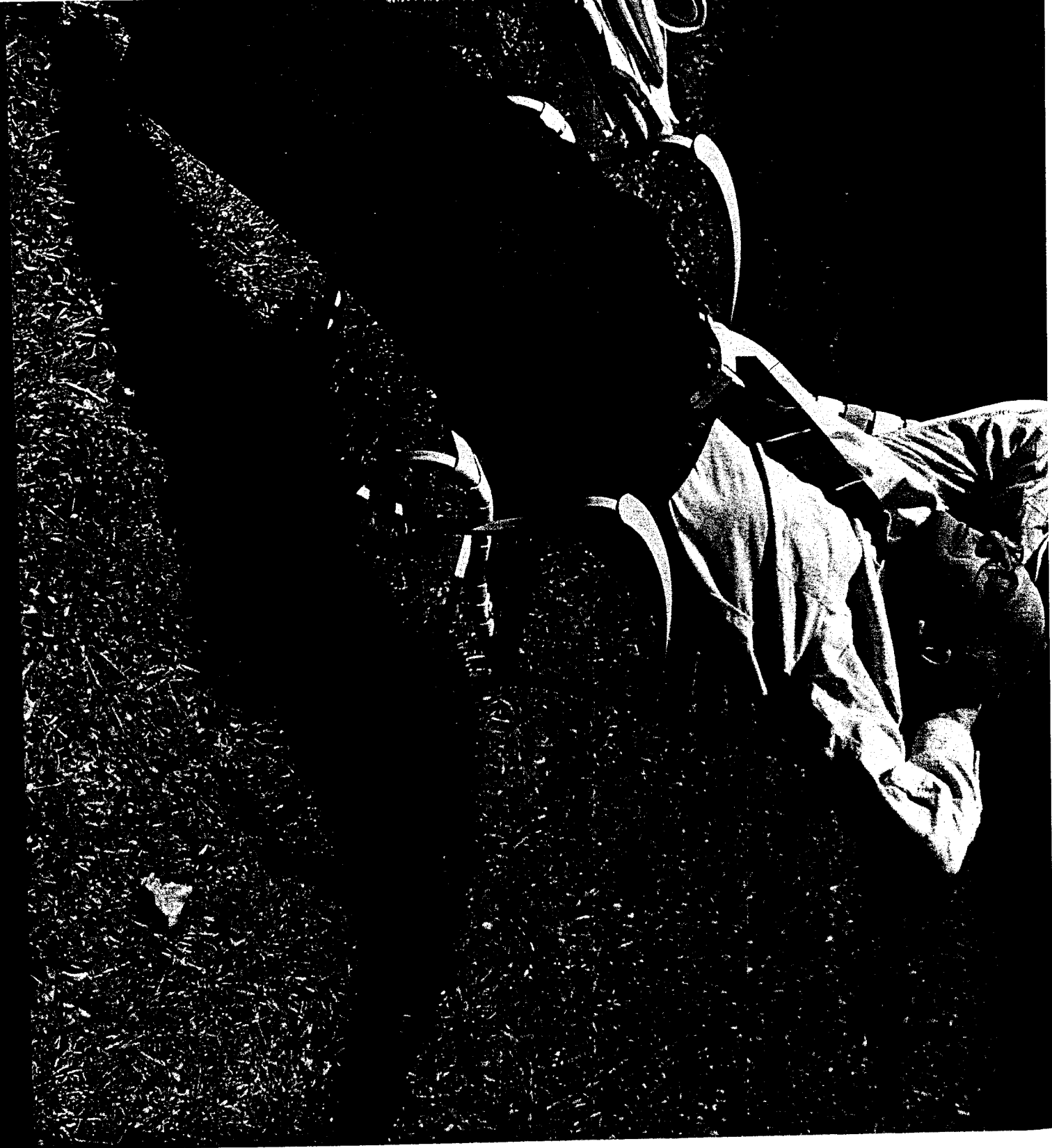


At 11 o'clock on a sunny Sunday morning, Walt Whitman Rostow stretches out in the backyard sun, momentarily at rest but pleased that in an hour he will be leaving for the White House for a pre-luncheon conference. He is the President's Special Assistant for national security affairs and has become Johnson's chief White

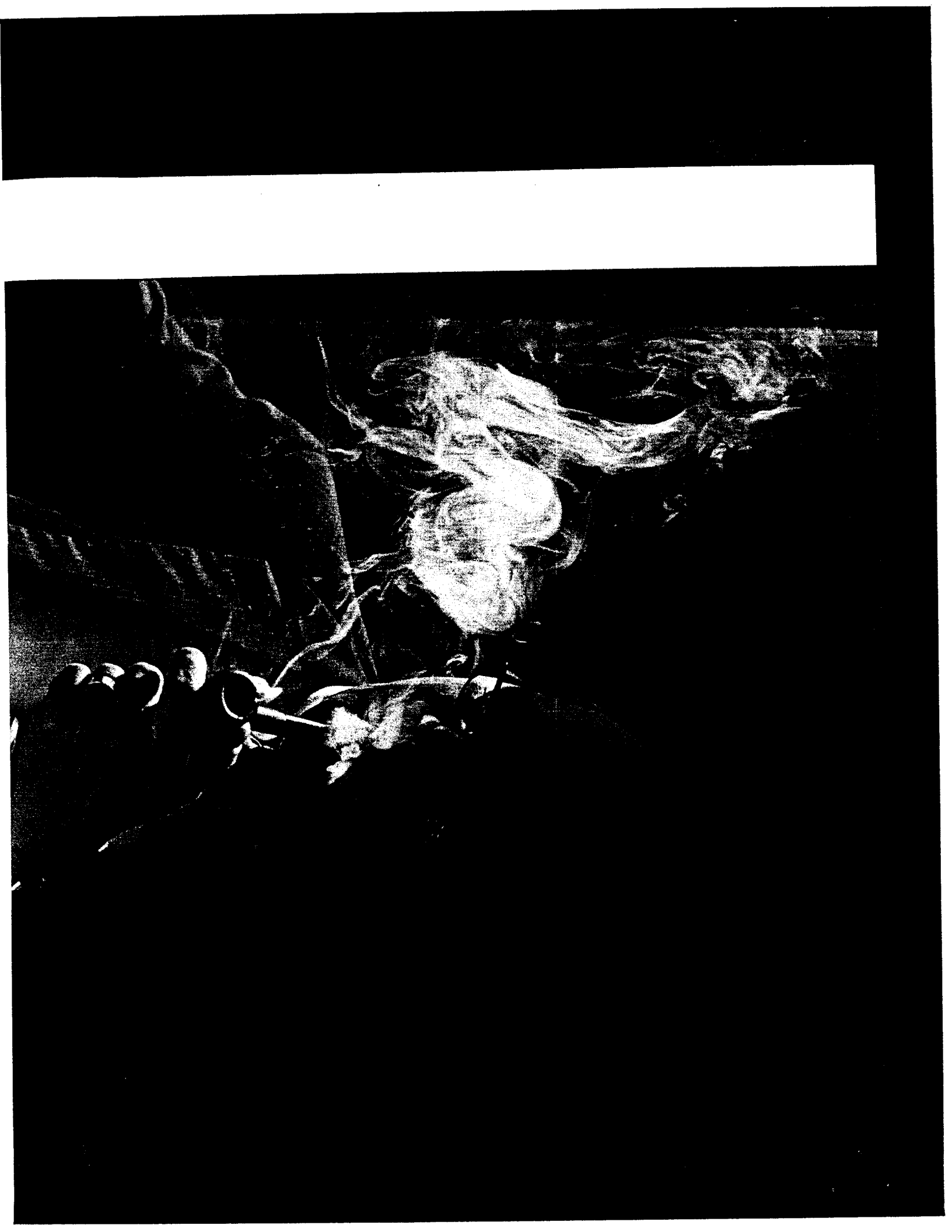
House spokesman and adviser on foreign policy matters. When President Kennedy brought him into government from M.I.T. in 1961, Rostow left behind an outstanding academic career as an economic historian which included 10 books and visiting professorships at both Cambridge and Oxford as well as a permanent post at M.I.T.

## Walt Rostow





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# 'To act is to sin, and you have to sin a little'



Text continued from page 44

become almost a transmission belt, packaging and processing scholars' ideas to be sold to Congress as program.

► No political reporter travels the campaign trail today without realizing that backroom bosses are steadily being pushed out by backroom professors who define the issues, draw up position papers, draft the speeches the candidates will voice. "We are a new establishment without initiation rites," says one of them. "You never know when you're in, but you certainly know when you're out."

► By now, beachheads of scholarship are being set up even in the city halls. In his first year in office, Mayor John Lindsay of New York City appointed no fewer than 17 college deans, professors and lecturers to his staff. "If you got together all the books they'd written," says an old city hall hand, "they'd fill every shelf in this room."

No one can describe to any intellectual's satisfaction what the word "intellectual" means—let alone define the elite new category of action-intellectuals who generate such waves of impact on the American government. Yet, broadly speaking, intellec-

poetry or compromise which action forces on dreams. But the new action-intellectuals have transformed the ivory tower. For them, it is a forward observation post on the urgent front of the future—and they feel it is their duty to call down the heavy artillery of government, now, on the targets they alone can see moving in the distance. Courted by politicians and press, suspected alike by men-of-affairs and ivory-tower colleagues, the action-intellectuals worry about the contradictory tugs of pure contemplation and contaminating involvement. Yet they cannot draw back.

Says Richard N. Goodwin, one of the youngest and most creative of the new breed, former adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, now at Wesleyan University: "The ultimate commitment to ideas is to act on them; action can involve a commitment to an idea that the most brilliant thinking never approaches. It's easy to be pure when you're detached. But Goethe said to act is to sin, and so you have to be willing to sin a little. It's only when the necessity for compromise or accommodation begins to drown the ultimate conviction

and explore the stream of science and technology has been fully established in Washington. More recently, with greater difficulty, the government has learned to absorb the wisdom of economists whose way of thinking in symbolic aggregates colors all Washington decision from defense to urban housing. Today, with utmost difficulty, government is groping to find guidance from a third category of scholars—social scientists, the men nominated by history to explain how communities shall master the changes provoked by the physical scientists and economists. And it is just here that controversy blisters. Do social scientists yet know enough to guide us to the very different world we must live in tomorrow? Do they offer wisdom as well as knowledge?

Says Professor Edward C. Banfield of Harvard: "The premium of scholarship for a professor is all too often originality—not correctness. A politician or businessman must pay a price for being wrong; the academic never does. The college professor has no knowledge of what people want now, or what they are going to want; he deals in generalities, and there is no way of applying a gen-

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Yet, broadly speaking, intellectuals are men for whom ideas provide more than the thought patterns that weave connections among facts—as ideas do for most thoughtful men. For the true intellectual, ideas have an electric vitality of their own which is sensed only by other artists-of-the-mind; ideas engaged his passion more than reality or humanity itself.

In the classic—or pure—intellectual, this distinctive passion commonly voices itself in tones of outrage or despair as he looks down from the ivory tower on man-in-action and scolds the hy-

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**I**f the action-intellectuals recognize that peril is hidden in their new roles, so, too, does government. For the flood of new learning flows in no patterns tested by the past; it flows in separate streams, bubbling wildly from separate sources of restless curiosity.

By now, to be sure, the authority of those scholars who ex-

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To all of which the action-intellectuals might reply: in the Kingdom of the Blind, the one-eyed man is King. Man must find

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In 1964, while he was Director of the Budget, Kermit Gordon rode around Washington in a bullet-nicked sedan revenuers had seized in a moonshine raid. President Johnson was promoting economy, but the gesture was pure Gordon. He has remained whimsical but down-to-earth through three intertwined careers—in government, in the academic world, in the foundations. He moved from the OPA and the OSS during World War II to Williams College (he was professor of economics), to the Ford Foundation for two tours, to the Council of Economic Advisers, to the Budget Bureau, and in 1965 to the Brookings Institution, a Washington research group specializing in economics and public affairs. He becomes Brookings' president next month.

# Kermit Gordon

## Scout-packs on the prowl in the country's great idea centers



CONTINUED

his way across the buckling landscape of the changing world either by instinct and tradition—or by knowledge and ideas.

No tactical manual or operational guide describes how the action-intellectuals operate. Chance, impulse, ambition, discontent and public spirit all lead such men by a dozen different paths to the seats of power. Yet all paths start from the dynamics of modern knowledge. Learning today accumulates at such an accelerating rate that no one can keep up with all of it. Monographs and books, papers and surveys, statistics and theories pour off the press in avalanche-flow until the desks of professors frequently resemble the snowforts that children make—white dens over whose barricades of tumbling, still unread documents, the eyes of the professor are barely visible.

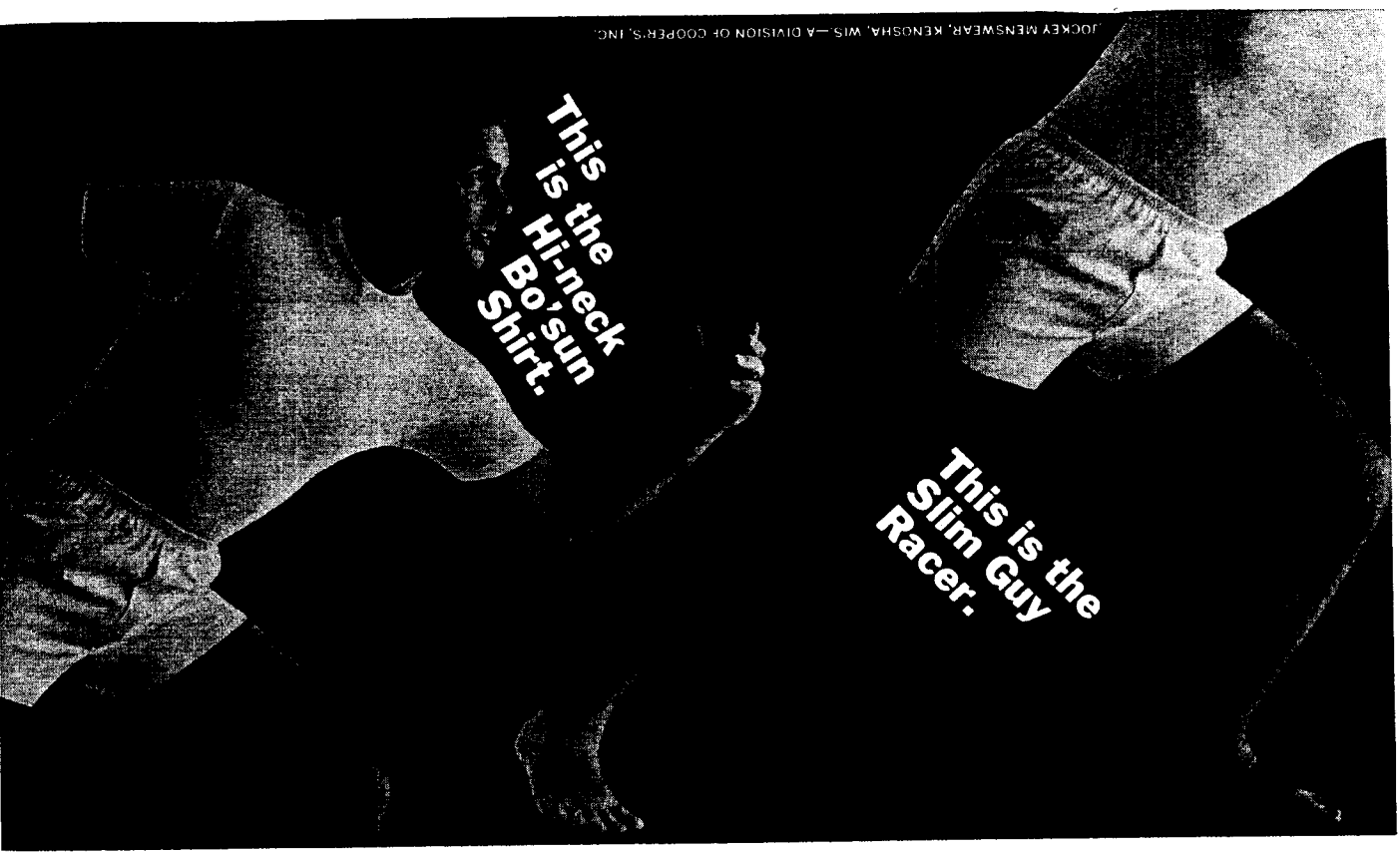
Truly revolutionary ideas, as always, are rare in this flow, because authentic, historic geniuses—like Newton, Darwin, Einstein and Keynes—are rare in any age. Yet within the disciplines carved out by the giant thinkers toil thousands of brilliant minds, primary producers of really good ideas.

Between such idea-producers

Harry McPherson and Douglass Cater returned to package a black loose-leaf volume of 19 separate families of ideas—which were promptly assigned to 10 announced task forces (and a number of as-yet-unannounced task forces) already processing these ideas into the raw stuff of legislation.

Some action-intellectuals cross the bridge as messengers or consultants, returning to their studies between campaigns. Others take leave from scholarship for a year or two to accept government posts, with the sure knowledge that they can always return to a university or pick up a foundation grant afterward. Still others cross to the government side and then never return to teaching; the experience of action transforms them into executives.

Francis Keppel, former dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, for example, was among a group of economists and political scientists who seven years ago joined a mission to Nigeria to advise on what should be done about education in that emerging African state. Out of their thinking came a theory that has shaped Keppel's professional



This is the  
Slim Guy  
Racer.

This is the  
Hi-neck  
Bo'sun  
Shirt.

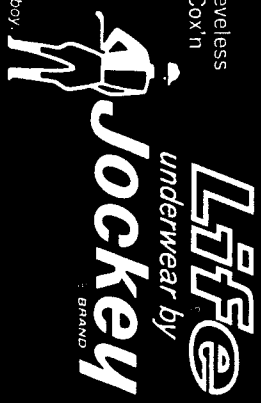
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*It's not Jockey brand if it doesn't have the Jockey boy.*



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Between such idea-producers and government stretches a gulf, and across this gulf the action-intellectuals throw a bridge. Government, pressed by change, calls for information, explanation, analysis. The action-scholar first perceives how the ideas of the primary producers can be given the dimension of time and program that may guide action. Stirred by government's call, he responds.

From White House, from state houses, from city halls, from Washington departments and agencies, scouts continuously reach across the gulf to the action-oriented scholar. At times, as last summer, the White House will send its scout-packs to tour the country and hold audience in the great idea-centers. From one such tour last summer, White House staffers Joseph Califano,

university or pick up a foundation grant afterward. Still others cross to the government side and then never return to teaching; the experience of action transforms them into executives.

**F**rancis Keppel, former dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, for example, was among a group of economists and political scientists who seven years ago joined a mission to Nigeria to advise on what should be done about education in that emerging African state. Out of their thinking came a theory that has shaped Keppel's professional perspective since: that education is not simply a moral matter of providing equal opportunity; it is a national investment—as much so as roads, bridges, dams, defense. Education nourishes strength. As a national investment it cannot be left entirely to local budget-makers: it requires a national policy of research and development, to modernize it, stimulate it, make it better.

Returning in 1960 to join a task force of scholars in the Kennedy campaign, Keppel was able to thread this theory into the rhetoric of the election. In 1961, the new President stated the theory to be his policy. Then, nothing happened—for ideas require political motors. Scholars, in their jargon, call the junction between ideas and power “the interface.” But the unfortunate

CONTINUED



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## Ideas that reshaped education, SAC and a city's parks

CONTINUED

scholar appointed by Kennedy as his first chief of education could not penetrate the interface or master the art of gaining a busy leader's attention; and so, frustrated, he resigned after 18 months. When Kennedy was informed of the resignation, he asked, "Who is he? I never heard of him." To which his assistant, McGeorge Bundy, replied, "That, Mr. President, is just the trouble."

If, then, someone is disposed to translate an idea into action, he must be willing to soil himself in politics. Thus Keppel, crossing the bridge in 1962, decided to resign from Harvard to accept the post as chief of the Office of Education for a three-year adventure in the mechanics of government.

His first task was to mobilize within Kennedy's inner court the necessary political and administrative support to revitalize the original idea and make it move—for the President's new education program lay fragmented and trapped in the lobbies and corridors of the 87th Congress. With the help of Ted Sorensen, J.F.K.'s intellectual chief-of-staff, Keppel nailed this down. Then Keppel began his own crash course: learn-

professors, had led the federal government across the watershed that made Washington, for the first time, responsible for modernizing education all across the nation.

Drawn by conviction, other scholars have followed the same route on state and city levels. Dr. William Roman, a burly, soft-spoken professor of government, was first called 10 years ago to consult on revision of New York's constitution. He caught the attention of Nelson Rockefeller and became his chief-of-brains-staff, then last year was appointed chairman of a new Metropolitan Transportation Authority—New York's massive \$2 billion project to untangle the mass-transit and commuting problems of the lower Hudson metropolitan jungle.

August Heckscher, the sensitive and urbane director of the Twentieth Century Fund, was first called to government as consultant on the arts to Eisenhower and Kennedy. But Heckscher's book on the civilized use of leisure (*The Public Happiness*) indicated where his true interest lay. Thus, when called by Mayor



GREAT WESTERN NEW YORK STATE BRUT EXTRA DRY SPECIAL RESERVE PINK CHAMPAGNE AND SPARKLING BRILLIANTLY HAVE BEEN PRODUCED CONTINUOUSLY SINCE 1860 BY THE PLEASANT VALLEY WINE COMPANY OF HAMMONDSPORT, NEW YORK.

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By 1965, five years after his journey to Nigeria, Francis Keppel, now an accomplished administrator and operator, could watch as President Johnson signed the \$1.3 billion Elementary-Secondary Education Act of 1965. He could, if he wished, boast that he and Cohen, two

tan Transportation Authority—New York's massive \$2 billion project to untangle the mass transit and commuting problems of the lower Hudson metropolitan jungle.

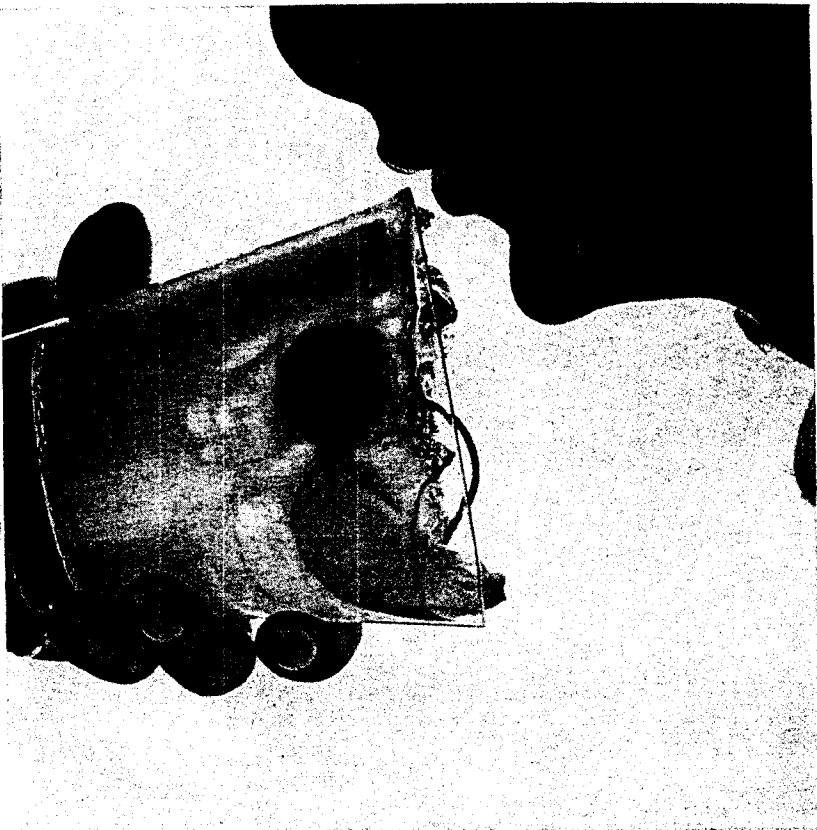
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Over the past 10 years, theories incubated by such action-intellectuals have: reshaped the hasing and strike patterns that deploy SAC's bombers around the globe; led to the great nuclear test ban treaty of 1963; cut our taxes, reshaped our economy, lifted national income by 50% in the past seven years, made us rich. In the next 10 years, their theories will change America even more: changing how we travel, how we live, how our medicine is given us, how we make war, how we seek peace, the air we breathe, the water we drink.

Yet the community that produces these ideas—its geography, its power centers, its in-

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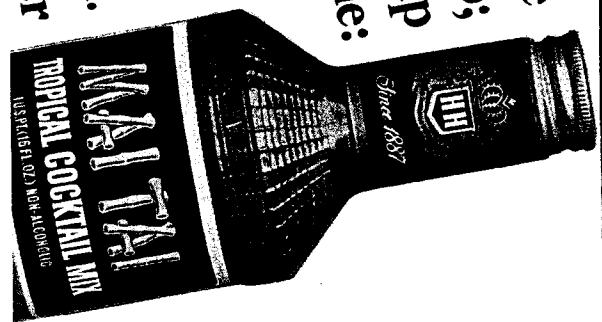
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## Reserve bank for big ideas, little ideas and oddball ideas

CONTINUED

terstrands—remains largely unknown.

Of the 300,000 or so American college professors, only a handful—probably no more than a few thousand—claim membership in the action-community. But they have subtly transformed our old tree-shaded campuses from transmitters of knowledge to brokerage houses of ideas. And no one has even attempted to guess how many action-intellectuals cluster in other institutions, for they wear no uniforms, carry no badges, and glide back and forth between centers of deceptive names and origins. Some make their base in foundations. Others are housed in new-fashioned "think-factories," commissioned by the government to think for it. All, however, are bound together by the dominant philosophy that no idea is neutral, no fancy so pure that somehow it is irrelevant to life.

exchange of scholars between the world of Communism and the West. It proceeded next, in 1960, to initiate unprecedented meetings and conferences between Soviet and American leaders in science, education, industry; proceeded next, in 1963, to draw Western European leaders into the discussions on war, peace and disarmament. If the détente between East and West is today a fundamental of world politics, the Ford Foundation can boast that its \$6 million investment in an idea first explored the opportunity to unlock doors for a tentative handshake across the threshold of friendship.

Or again: way back in 1952, before demographers alarmed the world with the phrase "population explosion," the Ford Foundation made a tiny grant (\$60,000) in this problem area. Year by year the Foundation increased its investment in birth control until, by 1959, it had begun to assemble scholars in conferences on reproductive biology, on the motivations and communication of family planning. By 1960 it was financing adventures in birth control—from the laboratory work that developed the intra-uterine coil to staffing the birth-control programs of India, North Africa, Egypt and Pakistan. For

The Ford Foundation, for example, wears the mantle of an old-fashioned, "do-good" charity, chartered "to advance human welfare." It has been described by cynics simply as "a large body of money completely surrounded by outstretched hands." Actually it is the world's largest in-

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At left, two new mixes from Holland House: exciting Margarita from south of the border and Sip 'n Slim, the new low-calorie, sugar-free Whiskey Sour Mix.

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The Ford Foundation, for example, wears the mantle of an old-fashioned, "do-good" charity, chartered "to advance human welfare." It has been described by cynics simply as "a large body of money completely surrounded by outstretched hands." Actually, it is the world's largest investor in new ideas—big ideas, little ideas, oddball ideas, foolish ideas, seminal ideas; and its president, McGeorge Bundy, is, in function, director of the "Federal Reserve Bank" of most new American intellectual enterprises. Each year from his wood-paneled office on Madison Avenue he must suggest to the trustees how to gamble and give away \$200 million on ideas that somehow, for better or worse, will influence the thinking of the men who make American policy. Since 1950 he and his predecessors have spent nearly \$3 billion on such ideas.

Ten years ago, for example, the Ford Foundation sensed that the easing of tension between Russia and the West was creating a momentum for the "uncocking" of pressure—and began to finance an

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McGeorge Bundy's present dreams go even further. Three programs now top his agenda: a family of plans, all designed to break the commercial networks' domination of American broadcasting by creation of a competitive, imaginative public television system; a massive expansion of the Foundation's support of Chinese studies—with the long-range hope of breaking through to an understanding of Red China; and an overriding research effect on the confrontation between black

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## Legendary triumphs of the biggest 'think-factory'

CONTINUED

and white Americans which Bundy calls "the most urgent domestic concern of this country."

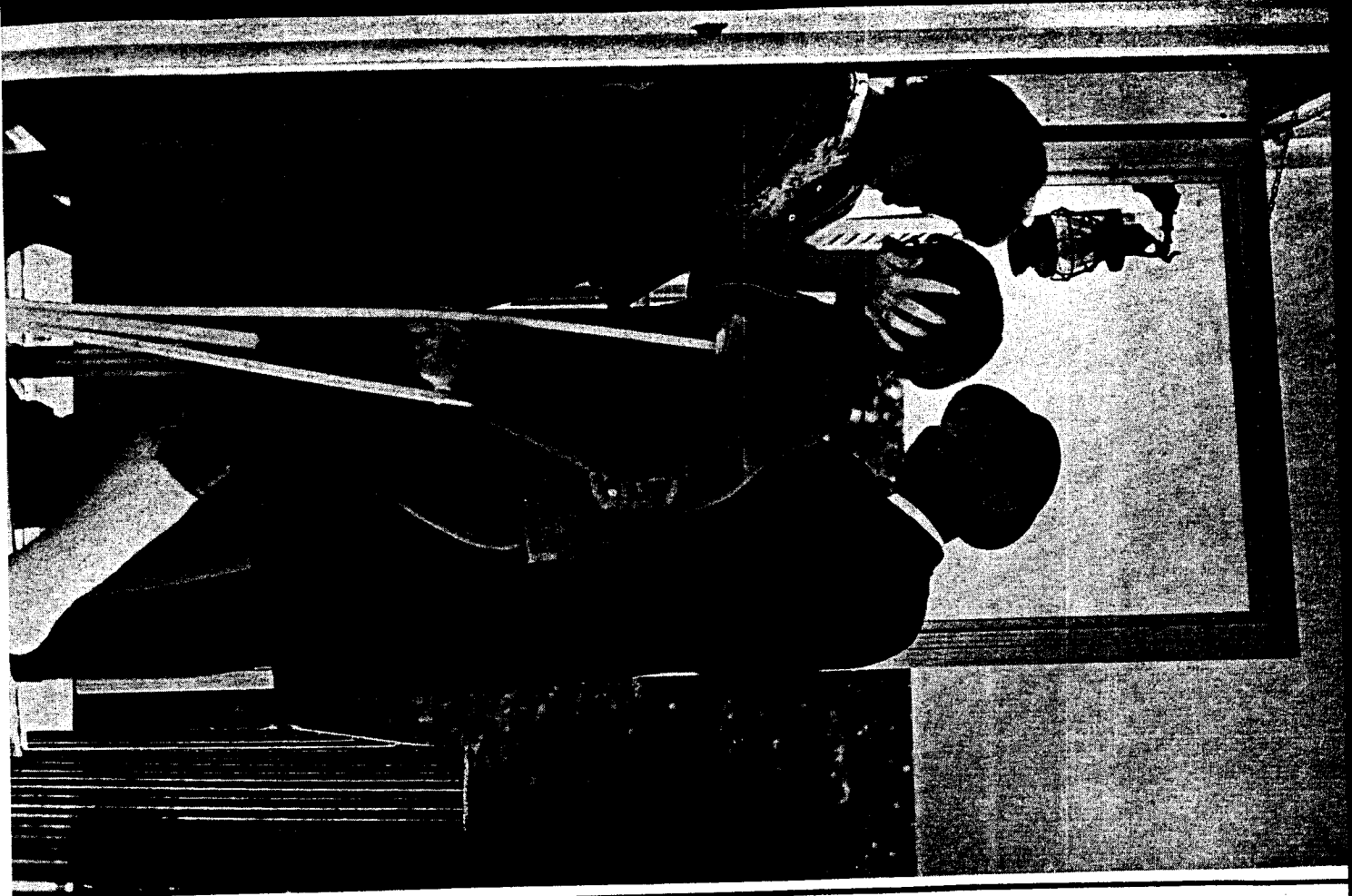
From the Ford Foundation, a hundred threads lead out to support or subsidize spin-off and dependent foundations: to a score of research centers studying Russia, Africa, the Middle East, the Atlantic Community; to the Brookings Institution, which drafted a law that governs presidential transition and, even before the Ford Foundation began to help it, structured the Marshall Plan and first conceived the idea that the U.S. must have a central Bureau of the Budget; to an agricultural research center in the Philippines, where scientists have discovered startling new ways to multiply rice production in Asia; to a scholarly research foundation in Princeton, which is exposing the extreme cost and squalor of political campaign financing.

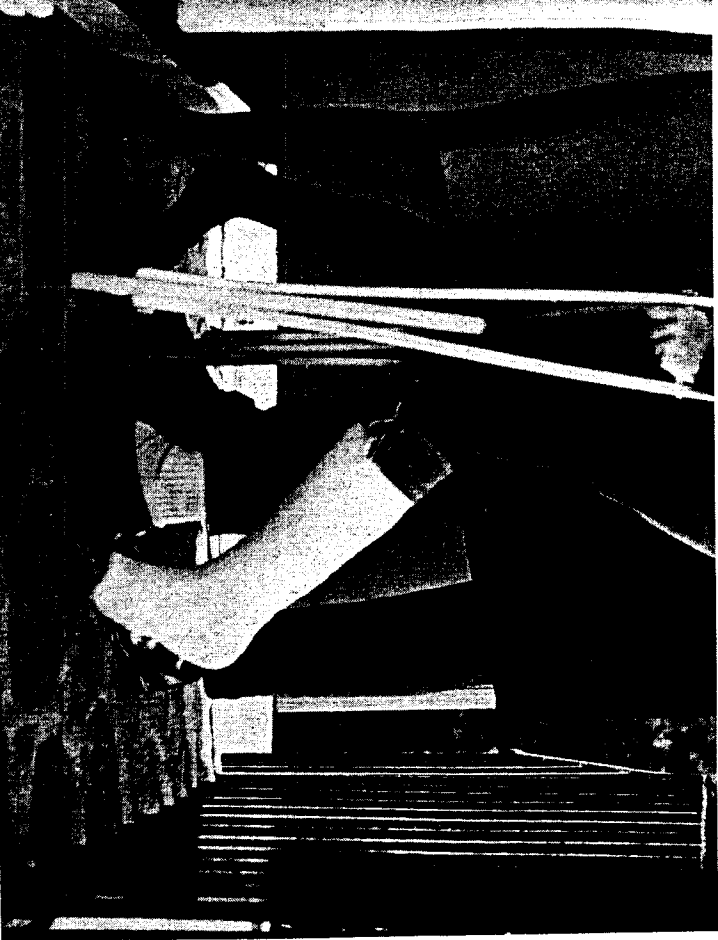
If the past record is any guide, any of the 2,500 projects and ideas the Ford Foundation is now financing may someday result in new laws passed by legislators who will never know it was the Foundation which first moved the ideas on the way to their

ty guards check identity at every gate and issue visitors' permits. In its red-taped sales are to be found every secret of American security: our intelligence on China and Russia, the number of our bombs, the deployment of our missiles, the design and technology of the thermonuclears. Out of such information RAND's economists, physicists, engineers, social scientists have woven theories that have already changed American history.

**B**y now, of course, RAND's triumphs are legend within government: its perception in 1953 of how the ICBM could be fashioned long before official Washington believed it feasible; its spectacular analysis of intercontinental bombing strategy, which saved the Strategic Air Command some \$10 billion while at the same time increasing its power; its cost-effectiveness studies of strategy, which led to McNamara's reorganization of the Pentagon; its analysis of the resources and policies of Russia and Red China; its predictions of China's nuclear capacity.

RAND insists that the way its





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an agricultural research center in the Philippines, where scientists have discovered startling new ways to multiply rice production in Asia; to a scholarly research foundation in Princeton, which is exposing the extreme cost and squander of political campaign financing.

If the past record is any guide, any of the 2,500 projects and ideas the Ford Foundation is now financing may someday result in new laws passed by legislators who will never know it was the Foundation which first moved the ideas on the way to their in-basket. "Our job is not to do what government does," says onetime professor Joseph McDaniel, secretary of the Foundation. "Our job is to help those who experiment and think ahead of the government."

One must cross the entire continent, to the cliffs of Santa Monica by the broad Pacific, to observe another archetype of new intellectual center. The RAND Corporation, first and greatest of the "think-factories," was created by the federal government in 1946 to gather thinkers who would ponder the nature of modern war.

Housed in a totally undistinguished complex of concrete-and-glass buildings, RAND is as ugly as any of the flat, new electronic plants of New England. One enters by appointment only; securi-

ment; its perception in 1953 of how the ICBM could be fashioned long before official Washington believed it feasible; its spectacular analysis of intercontinental bombing strategy, which saved the Strategic Air Command some \$10 billion while at the same time increasing its power; its cost-effectiveness studies of strategy, which led to McNamara's reorganization of the Pentagon; its analysis of the resources and policies of Russia and Red China; its predictions of China's nuclear capacity.

RAND insists that the way its scholars think is just as important as what they think about or what their thinking has produced. "We have bred," says its new president, Henry Rowen, a tall transplanted Bostonian, "a new generation of people with a new kind of problem-solving skill. So few people can structure a problem: What's the hypothesis? What are the data? What are the alternatives? By what criteria should government assess alternatives? How much should we decide now—how much later?"

It is as difficult to measure RAND's ultimate influence as the Ford Foundation's. From RAND have developed a series of spin-off "think-factories," such as the Hudson Institute and the System Development Corporation, authorized—like RAND—to think for government as public service, nonprofit corporations. RAND's graduates have left to

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An elm-lined campus  
changing the nation's standards



CONTINUED

spread their way of thinking at Harvard, M.I.T., Chicago—even to France. For a while, in the early '60s, they prowled the corridors of the Pentagon with such authority that one observer likened them to the Jesuits at the courts of Madrid and Vienna three centuries ago. When RAND talks, government need not obey, but it listens.

It has been relatively easy for American leaders to adjust to the input of ideas from its new "think factories" and from the public-service foundations. It has, however,

been far more difficult for American leaders to adjust to the changing nature of the parent source of the new elite—those great universities where first bubbles up the learning which the activists impose on policy. The adjustment is all the harder because the American universities of yesterday are still so familiar to the American memory, so washed in nostalgia that examining them today is as if one woke to find Frank Merriwell of Yale commanding an airborne division in Vietnam.

The University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, for example, is picture-book pretty. Its little girls and lean boys, its campus elms,

old graduates, to have changed. At the north edge of the central campus squats the Frieze Building, home of Michigan's School of Social Work. It is also the base of Professor Wilbur Cohen, now Under Secretary of HEW, and of Dean Fedele Fauri. The thinking of their school has overhauled, revised and rewritten this nation's social security laws; has fashioned both Medicare and Medicaid; is changing our national standards of relief and welfare; is currently devising and shaping the comprehensive new legislation for an all-embracing National Youth Act.

Nearly stands the white brick building of Michigan's Economics Department. Its erstwhile chairman, Professor Gardner Ackley, like Professor Cohen, is on leave in Washington, overseer of the national economy as Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. On the fringe of the campus stands the cubist monolith of the Institute of Social Research, presided over by Dr. Renais Likert, master of opinion-survey techniques. Every year the greatest corporations in the country send their economists to the university's November seminar on consumer-buying plans; the production schedules of *General Motors*

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The University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, for example, is picture-book pretty. Its lithe girls and lean boys, its campus elms, its sprawl of bookstores and hamburger joints offer the tranquil portrait that most middle-aged Americans like to think of when they think of the Old School. The fact that NASA has placed \$17 million in continuing contracts at the university is, of course, acceptable—that is science. The fact that the final validation of the Salk vaccine which conquered polio was announced from Michigan's Rackham Building is also acceptable—that, too, is science. The fact that GIs in South Vietnam use techniques developed by Michigan's post-World War II studies of battlefield surveillance is also acceptable—that is public service.

But beyond all this, the Ann Arbor campus pulses with such vitality that the very nature of its original mission seems, to some

Nearby stands the white brick building of Michigan's Economics Department. Its erstwhile chairman, Professor Gardner Ackley, like Professor Cohen, is on leave in Washington, overseer of the national economy as Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. On the fringe of the campus stands the cubist monolith of the Institute of Social Research, presided over by Dr. Rensis Likert, master of opinion-survey techniques. Every year the greatest corporations in the country send their economists to the university's November seminar on consumer-buying plans; the production schedules of General Motors and Ford respond to the institute's survey findings. Of Likert's institute's \$4.5 million budget, only 10% comes from the parent state of Michigan; more than half comes from federal agencies, the rest from giant businesses and foundations that feel they simply must know what he learns before they can act wisely.

Some 25 to 30 new centers and institutes have been created at Ann Arbor since World War II, adventuring into such fields as computer techniques, mental health, water resources, nuclear engineering, the ecology of man. Each sets up a new impact wave. Dean William Haber of Michigan speaks from strength when he says, "The leadership of this country today lies on the campuses. It is the businessmen who are alienated from the revolutionary

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## On the Charles River, the seedbed of the new elite

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change of our life, rather than the college community.”

All this is, without doubt, a kind of glory. Yet the Michigan legislature, which provides funds for this state university, is disturbed by the strength that builds from such intellectual energy.

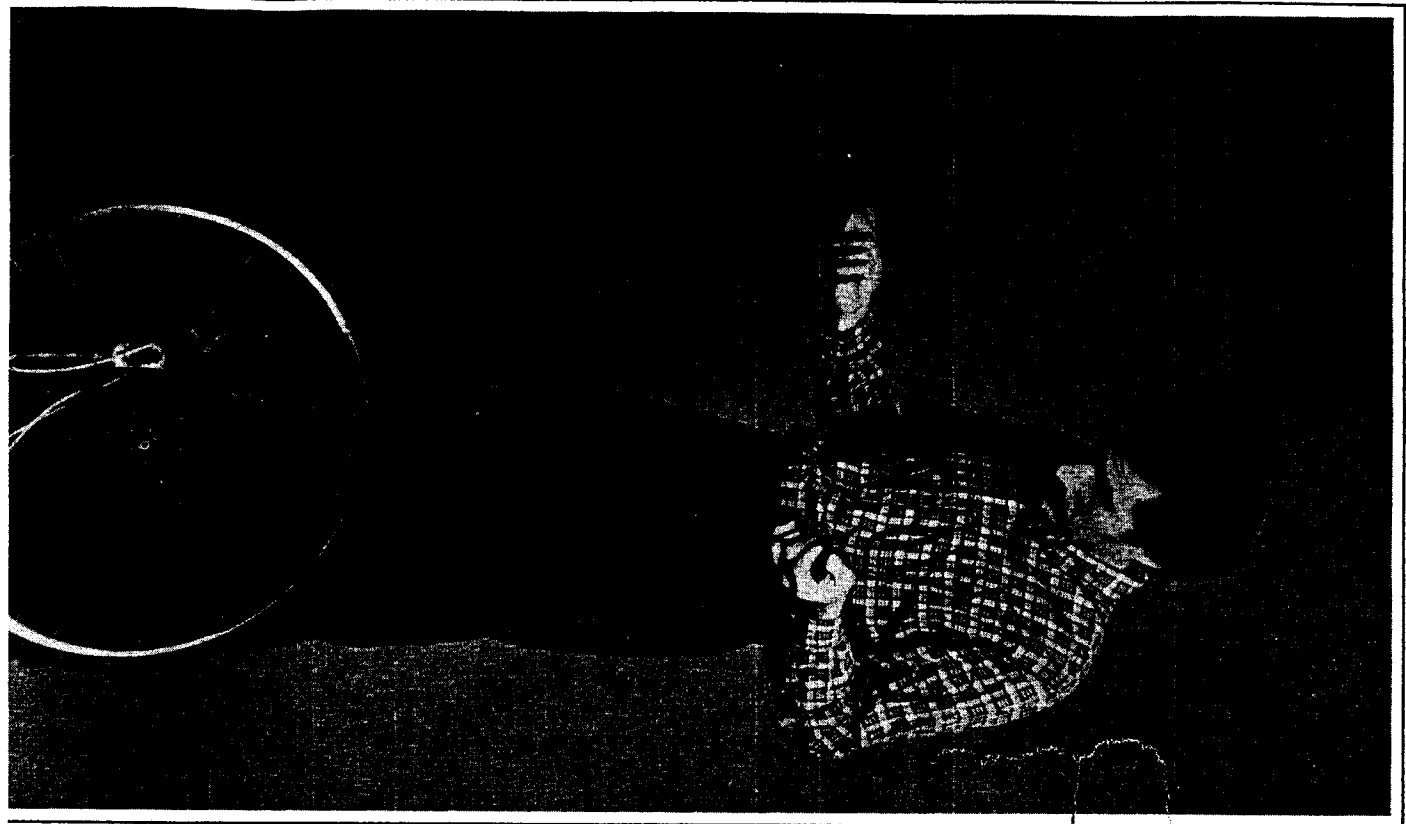
When courtly, aristocratic President Harlan Hatcher, soon to retire, pulls up before the state house in Lansing in his chauffeured limousine and pleads for money for his university—its old buildings are too cramped to hold the burst of students its fame has drawn—does he plead as functionary or as master? Does the dominance of this one overpowering center of excellence at Ann Arbor contradict Michigan's egalitarian tradition? Should the Ann Arbor campus be reduced in size, as some legislators feel, and the state's nine other universities and colleges be developed to equality in excellence? In short, is their university getting too big for its breeches?

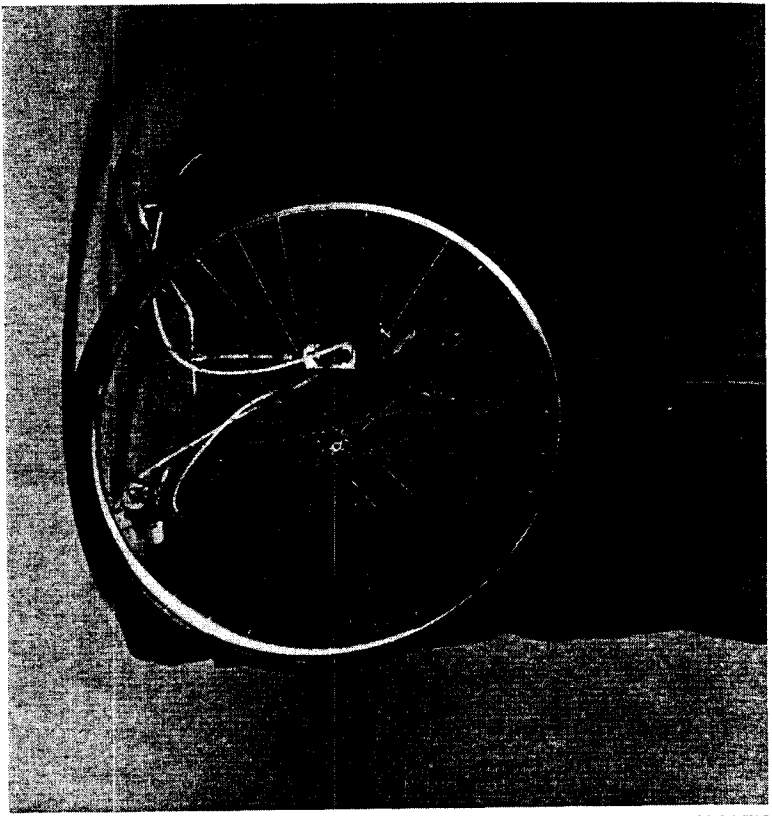
Such uneasy mutterings and mumblings of politicians are heard in states all across the nation—but louder and with most resentment in Washington. Who do the professors think they are? And, since the Boston power-

modern outline of Boston University's new buildings, then streams toward the Atlantic, past the gray-limestone Roman temples of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

This complex of scholars has for generations been part of American history. Harvard is the oldest university in our country and its robust tradition of patriotism and involvement goes all the way back to the Revolutionary War, which its graduates triggered. Harvard's tradition of involvement has always been, however, a matter of individual response—whether by scholars, students or graduates—to outside calls for participation in public affairs. Today, though participation at Harvard is still individual, it has a new twist: a matter of aggressive initiative, a response to discovery in the halls of learning that forces scholars to act outside in the halls of power.

No catalogue of billboard names can give the full dimension of the current participation of Harvard's scholars in national affairs. But today, for example, back again teaching on campus are three former U.S. ambassadors: John Kenneth Galbraith (India), Edwin O. Reischauer (Japan) and





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Such uneasy mutterings and mumblings of politicians are heard in states all across the nation—but louder and with most resentment in Washington. Who do the professors think they are? And, since the Boston power-center of Harvard and M.I.T. stands to the entire nation as Ann Arbor stands to Michigan, it is well to examine what that remarkable energy cluster does, and to consider its dimensions. It is more than an archetype; it was the seedbed of the new elite, and it rises above all other intellectual centers as tall as Washington does above, the state capitals.

The Charles River oozes down from Watertown, Mass. to divide Boston from Cambridge and, as it broadens, enters what is probably the greatest single gathering place of academic minds in the world. It passes the gypsy-colored turrets of Harvard's Houses on the one side, the neo-Georgian campuses of Harvard Business School on the other; then opens into a basin as it skirts the blockhouse-

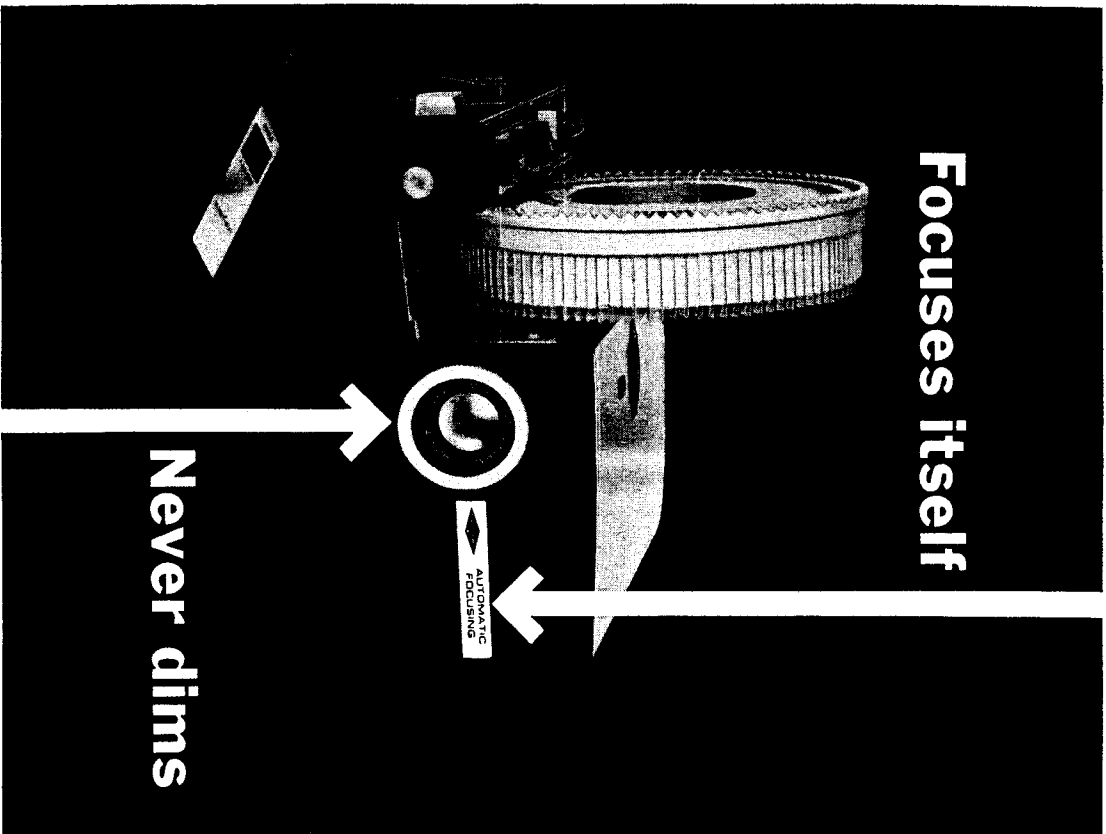
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Backing up such platoons of front-line operators are the support elements of great scholar-illuminators, equally influential

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## Harvard quarter that hammered out the test ban



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on national policy. For example, Professor John K. Fairbank,

America's most distinguished China-watcher, a former OSS man, never set foot in the new State Department building until this winter, when he gave his headlined public testimony before the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee. Yet this reflects his influence less than his private correspondence and the unannounced comings-and-goings to Cambridge of U.S. senators who seek his wisdom on Asia's revolution. Professor Merle Fainsod has lifted American study of Soviet society and politics to entirely new levels of sophistication. Professor Simon Kuznets, by developing periodic measurements of U.S. economic activity, has delivered to Washington the analytical tools that are making Keynesian theory work.

Beyond these are the names, yet again, of the professors who, as consultants, make their influence felt on a per-diem or per-assignment basis in the military, in industry and in medicine as well as in government. A quick glance at Harvard's files one morning turned up a random and incomplete list of 50 names, but their

joint contributions to American policy.

Most major universities casually credit themselves with acts of Congress or of their state which their professors have written into law. The University of Chicago proudly asserts that in the halls of its Law School, its scientists and law professors drafted the first version of the McMahon Act which placed control of atomic energy in the hands of civilians rather than the military. Berkeley can boast of atomic legislation and of enforcing federal land laws. But Harvard and M.I.T. together are responsible for an almost unbelievable range of statutes.

As early as 1954, for example, a group of Harvard and M.I.T. professors began to get together privately on Friday afternoons. Their knowledge told them the world was at the rim of nuclear destruction, and they felt it was their duty to peer beyond the rim and think about arms control. By 1956 the original group had grown to a formal seminar in which defense scientists, political scientists and historians joined as



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Now broaden the focus to include Harvard's chief partner in public adventures, M.I.T., and examine the substance of their

eral land laws. But Harvard and M.I.T. together are responsible for an almost unbelievable range of statutes.

As early as 1954, for example, a group of Harvard and M.I.T. professors began to get together privately on Friday afternoons. Their knowledge told them the world was at the rim of nuclear destruction, and they felt it was their duty to peer beyond the rim and think about arms control. By 1956 the original group had grown to a formal seminar in which defense scientists, political scientists and historians joined as a working group. By 1960 they were hammering their ideas into the speeches of John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign. By 1961 four of the members of their seminar (Jerome Wiesner, McGeorge Bundy, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Carl Kaysen) held White House posts. By 1963 they had seen their ideas written into international law as the test ban treaty. In response to pleas from presidents, senators, congressmen, the Harvard-M.I.T. professors have by now written a dozen major laws, from investment-tax credits to labor legislation, from civil rights to education and model cities and metropolitan development.

The outburst of public activity, as we have seen, disturbs other scholars, even at Harvard and M.I.T., who interpret it as a subtle betrayal of the real purpose of scholarship, the pur-

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## The fear that a brain cartel is taking over the U.S.



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suit of truth for its own sake.

In Washington and at other political centers, however, it disturbs other men for different reasons—not so much for the power that Harvard and M.I.T. wield in national thinking (or the right and wrong of their contributions) as for the way this great center links together with the other centers at Ford, in California, in the Ivy League belt, in Washington itself. "If I had my way," burst out one of the highest executives of the Johnson Administration, "there wouldn't be another federal dollar going to those schools or laboratories in Boston and California. They're draining the rest of the country of its brains."

Those who see a brain cartel inexorably taking over the nation's thinking can trace, like all amateurs of cartel theory, neat and precise interlockings and directors: Harvard Dean Mc-

George Bundy leaves Cambridge to go to the White House as presidential security assistant, then emerges as president of the Ford Foundation to be central banker for all American ideas. Carl Kay-sen teaches at Harvard, is simultaneously a consultant at RAND, then leaves for the White House

force in the election of 1960 to screen names for candidates to run his Department of State. Of the first 82 names on the list handed him, 63 are members of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. Johnson succeeds Kennedy and creates a new Department of Housing and Urban Development. Its No. 1 man, Secretary Robert Weaver, is an ex-professor at Columbia; its No. 2 man, Under Secretary Robert C. Wood, is a professor on leave from M.I.T.; its No. 3 man, Assistant Secretary Charles M. Haart, is a professor on leave from Harvard.

Those who like to draw lines between boxes with names in them ask: Is this truly a community of scholars? Or a new kind of political machine?

Nothing annoys the senior action-intellectuals more than this kind of cartel diagram. They see themselves as a community, with recognizable community centers across the nation. But a community is different from a cartel. A cartel sets out to exclude; a community reaches out to include. And their community they in-

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or laboratories in Boston and California. They're draining the rest of the country of its brains."

Those who see a brain cartel inexorably taking over the nation's thinking can trace, like all amateurs of cartel theory, neat and precise interlockings and directorates: Harvard Dean McGeorge Bundy leaves Cambridge to go to the White House as presidential security assistant, then emerges as president of the Ford Foundation to be central banker for all American ideas. Carl Kay-sen teaches at Harvard, is simultaneously a consultant at RAND, then leaves for the White House as a Kennedy assistant, then emerges to become head of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. Dean Rusk, professor of government at Mills College in California, enters government during World War II, leaves it 12 years later to become head of the Rockefeller Foundation in New York, then returns to become Secretary of State. Kermit Gordon leaves Williams, becomes a member of the Council of Economic Advisers, then Director of the Bureau of the Budget, then emerges to become head of the Brookings Institution. Charles Hitch goes from Oxford to RAND to Yale and to RAND again, achieves distinction as a RAND economist, becomes comptroller of the Department of Defense at the Pentagon, then emerges at Berkeley as a vice president of the University of California.

John F. Kennedy sets up a task

Harvard.

Those who like to draw lines between boxes with names in them ask: Is this truly a community of scholars? Or a new kind of political machine?

Nothing annoys the senior action-intellectuals more than this kind of cartel diagram. They see themselves as a community, with recognizable community centers across the nation. But a community is different from a cartel. A cartel sets out to exclude; a community reaches out to include. And their community, they insist, is the most open in the U.S. Credentials for entry are, simply, brains—plus the ability, the cunning, or know-how to get their ideas listened to in high places. No one gets rich. Scholars start as consultants to government at \$50 a day (plus \$12 per diem) and reach a peak of \$100 a day (plus \$16 per diem) as top advisers to the White House or the Atomic Energy Commission. Any good professor can earn more as a consultant elsewhere.

"My fee to industry is \$250 a day at home, or \$300 a day plus full expenses if I have to travel," says Robert Machol, professor of systems at Northwestern University in Chicago. "The post office pays me \$75 a day when I advise them—and I lose money on expenses—but it's the government of the United States. There's nothing like it."

No ethnic barriers, no financial-

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## The lore of service passed on from generation to generation

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means test, no geographical origin prevents a scholar from entering the intellectual community and, with luck, making his way via Harvard or RAND or M.I.T. or Michigan to the very top. No

professional seats are inherited the way that executive leadership of business, estates and sometimes labor unions is. No dynastic names open the ladder to the top, as do the names Kennedy, Taft, Stevenson, Rockefeller or Roosevelt in politics.

Instead of dynasties, there are traditions; instead of conspirators who guide a cartel, there are only father-figures, great teachers who pass on to younger men not only old learning but the zest for application. A Robert Oppenheimer or Ernest Lawrence of California; a Julian Levi of Chicago, a Renzis Likert at Michigan, a Felix Frankfurter of Harvard—teachers like these breed and recruit their talent from the rawest of student material, then select the best, place them, and guide them over the years on the zigzag escalation back and forth between campus, foundation and government to leadership. How such father-teachers have affected American government over the past 20 years could be demonstrated by taking any one of a dozen of them. Professor Edward

of Washington ways; and when his colleague, Professor William Langer of Harvard, became chief of research and analysis at OSS, he was ready to serve as that office's chief economist.

To be chief economist of the OSS was a new level of academic experience, for Mason's economic analyses were to guide the heavy bombers of the 8th Air Force in target selection, locating the guts of German industry so that the planes could pick those guts apart and destroy them. To assist him, Mason chose 10 or 12 young men for what, at a university, would be called a graduate-student seminar; half a dozen were sent to London where they became "the Jockey Committee" of the combined Allied Air Forces. These young scholars were to learn early the terror that can coil in ideas—that ideas can not only create but kill. "Those last few months," recalls one of them, "when we were choosing the last cities in Germany, we knew we were just killing them, murdering civilians, and we had to go on." They were to learn responsibility, too. They read the secret cables and knew that one three-star general was telling Eisenhower that the D-day invasion would fail and he could not take responsibility. Yet the bright

over target, they should die well—on a worthwhile mission." Professor Carl Kayesen, onetime deputy security assistant to John F. Kennedy, was another of Mason's young men and he remembers:

"It was a dedicated, passionate group. We were kids, captains and majors, telling the whole world what to do. We knew more about what was going on in German industry than the whole apparatus of regulars. We worked harder. We lived it around the clock, four or five of us in one big house in London, talking shop all through the day and night. I was 22 or 23, seeing high politics and government from the inside."

None of the young men ever forgot the experience—or the excitement of what ideas, linked to government, could do. Of Mason's young OSS recruits, at least six went on to become professors: Charles Kindleberger and Walt Rostow at M.I.T., Carl Kayesen at Harvard, Moses Abramovitz at Stanford, Kermit Gordon at Williams, Tibor Scitovsky at Berkeley. All passed on to their students, in turn, the lore of government as they had acquired it from Mason when they too were young.

Mason was to train not one generation of young men but sev-

of Nigeria, to survey and help (as they are doing today) the economies and problems of Ghana, Colombia, Liberia, Greece, Malaysia.

Not since 1946 has Mason spent a year without a government assignment, obligation or consultancy. But he still teaches Economics 287 in Room 217 of Harvard's neo-classic Littauer Center. His career is summed up in no specific piece of legislation. It has crested, rather, in the attitudes of a generation of young men now grown to command positions in American policy and power. His famous graduates include not only his OSS boys. Postwar protégés include Kingman Brewster, now president of Yale; Anthony Solomon, now Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs; Donald F. Turner, antitrust chief at the Department of Justice; David Bell, former chief of AID, who now heads the Ford Foundation's vast international division; Lincoln Gordon, Assistant Secretary of State, about to become president of Johns Hopkins University.

What Mason has taught, over and above pure economics, is not only what governments *do* in public affairs, but what they *should* do, and how. Nor does he find his career strange, any more than

only old learning but the zest for application. A Robert Oppenheimer or Ernest Lawrence of California, a Julian Levi of Chicago, a Rensis Likert at Michigan, a Felix Frankfurter of Harvard—teachers like these breed and recruit their talent from the rawest of student material, then select the best, place them, and guide them over the years on the zigzag escalation back and forth between campus, foundation and government to leadership. How such father-teachers have affected American government over the past 20 years could be demonstrated by taking any one of a dozen of them. Professor Edward Sagedorff Mason will do as well as any.

Professor Mason of Harvard is still, at 68, a large, burly man, his balding head a Daniel Webster dome, his high cheekbones and Roman nose giving him a senatorial visage, his virile Midwestern voice strong enough to fill any lecture hall. Appointed a junior economics instructor at Harvard way back in 1923, when Harvard was a bastion of the most conservative economic views, Mason found his thinking changed by the Depression and then went to Washington as a consultant. The New Deal was first reaching out for scholars then, and the Labor Department asked him to do a study of the inflexibility of industrial pricing. By the time World War II broke out, he had learned something

were sent to London where they became "the Jockey Committee" of the combined Allied Air Forces. These young scholars were to learn early the terror that can coil in ideas—that ideas can not only create but kill. "Those last few months," recalls one of them, "when we were choosing the last cities in Germany, we knew we were just killing them, murdering civilians, and we had to go on." They were to learn responsibility, too. They read the secret cables and knew that one three-star general was telling Eisenhower that the D-day invasion would fail and he could not take responsibility. Yet the bright young men had to assume theirs.

Professor Walt W. Rostow, now chief White House security assistant to President Johnson, was one of Mason's young assistants and became secretary of the Jockey Committee. He remembers: "We were all kids. Guys our age were being sent to die over Germany. I couldn't qualify for the Air Force because of my eyesight. It was important to me that if my friends died inside."

None of the young men ever forgot the experience—or the excitement of what ideas, linked to government, could do. Of Mason's young OSS recruits, at least six went on to become professors: Charles Kindleberger and Walt Rostow at M.I.T., Carl Kaysen at Harvard, Moses Abramovitz at Stanford, Kermit Gordon at Williams, Tibor Scitovsky at Berkeley. All passed on to their students, in turn, the lore of government as they had acquired it from Mason when they too were young.

Mason was to train not one generation of young men but several. With the war over, Mason went back to Harvard to study the economics of the postwar world, in particular, the economic problems of emerging nations. At Harvard's new postwar Center for International Affairs he created an advisory committee for underdeveloped nations—and recruited another generation of young men to reorganize the finances of Pakistan and Iran, to examine the educational system

## NEXT WEEK PART 2

# Historic ebb and flow of influence

postwar protégés include Avram Brewster, now president of Yale; Anthony Solomon, now Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs; Donald F. Turner, antitrust chief at the Department of Justice; David Bell, former chief of AID, who now heads the Ford Foundation's vast international division; Lincoln Gordon, Assistant Secretary of State, about to become president of Johns Hopkins University.

What Mason has taught, over and above pure economics, is not only what governments *do* in public affairs, but what they *should* do, and how. Nor does he find his career strange, any more than would James Bryant Conant, Edward Teller, William Langer, Charles Hitch. This, they all feel, is the duty of a scholar—to take part in public affairs. But if their present influence is now so great, it is chiefly because of their time and generation—for it has been the jolt and sweep of change as much as their instruction which has created the community of action-intellectuals.

Always when there comes a periodic deep shift in mood, a great undefined need to alter the structure and shape of American life, the American system has sought and found idea-men to guide it. Thus the present obstructive eminence of American intellectuals in practical politics presages, like the flocking of geese in the fall, a movement of political climate. They have been the heralds of change since the beginning of American history.