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# Today and Tomorrow . By Walter Lippmann

## Politics and the Eggheads

AS THE POLITICAL campaign gets under way, both parties are in serious trouble, and they know it.

For the Democrats the trouble developed when, about a month after his inauguration, the President adopted the war policy which he had denounced in



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the campaign. For the Republicans the trouble goes back further. It goes back to the 1950s when the Eisenhower Administration turned its back on the great national majority which elected it, and missed the chance to overcome the predominance which the Democrats have enjoyed since the Great Depression.

President Johnson's trouble today and President Eisenhower's in the fifties have, I believe, a common and exceedingly important element. Both Presidents allowed themselves to become separated from the main body of the American intellectual community and the universities and in the scientific and artistic and legal professions—in other words, the eggheads. The influence of this intellectual community cannot be measured by a Gallop Poll. But the historic evidence shows, I think, that the successful Presidents, the two Roosevelts, Wilson, Truman and Kennedy have had the active support of the intellectual community, whereas the Presidents who have done poorly have not had that support.

The reason for this is not mysterious. The highly educated and professionally trained men and women are the producers of the new discoveries, the new inventions, and the new ideas without which a great, complex society like ours will stagnate and decay. There is no use pretending that al-

most anybody can run a modern government, and that it does not require knowledge and intellectual training along with practical political experience. Because this is the fact, a political party which fails to recruit a sufficient number of innovators, experts, and first class professional men will lose its energy and will fall apart, while a party that does those things can succeed.

THIS IS SHOWN by what has happened to the Republican Party in the past 30 years or so. It separated itself from and it alienated the eggheads who had gathered around Theodore Roosevelt. As against this, when John F. Kennedy was elected after eight years of General Eisenhower, he proceeded to recruit into the Federal service a new generation from the professions and the universities.

The Republicans have not recovered from the fact that for more than 30 years they have never welcomed sincerely, in fact have for the most part rejected and repelled the American intellectual community. At bot-

tom, this has not been, I believe, because the Republicans were conservative and opposed to this or that particular progressive measure.

It has been because the atmosphere at the top was benighted and philistine. The professors were looked down upon because they had never met a payroll, and it was never regarded as certain that an intellectual was not a subversive or beatnik or both. The Republican Party's main trouble to this day is that it is not very bright at the top, and to govern successfully in America today, a great many first-class brains are indispensable.

THE DEMOCRATS should

be studying what has happened to the Republicans. For they are on the way to making the same mistake that the Republicans made when they split their party in 1912 and when they persecuted the intellectual community in the 1950s. The Democrats, too, are now on bad terms with the main body of the highly educated and professionally trained men and women. Their hatchet men, in the Senate and in the press, are making tentative efforts to treat the dissenting intellectuals as disreputable.

Certainly the Democratic trouble began with the military decisions taken between February and July of last year. But that is not the only reason for the gradual exodus of the intellectuals from the Johnson Administration. After all the personal excuses have been made for their resignations, the real reason is the fact that their presence is not urgently desired and that there does not exist a climate in which they can work happily.

This does not mean that there is likely to be a serious defection of Democratic voters in 1966, or even in 1968. The Democratic Party can probably count upon the continuing feebleness of the Republican Party.

But it is ominous for the future of the Party. For if the Party leadership is separated too long from the best brains of the country, it will lose touch with the realities of the modern world—as the Johnson Administration has already done to an alarming extent. If this continues, the Democratic Party will do what the Republican Party did and enter upon the period of its decline.

THAT THE President is aware of the trouble he is in is obvious enough, particularly from the recent activity of the Vice President. But the trouble will not, I believe, be cured by words, especially by such unbelievable words as that what we are doing in Vietnam is the beginning of an attempt to extend the Great Society to the whole continent of Asia. If I may borrow the term from Clare Luce, this is globaloney. It will not bring back to the Democratic Party the support and confidence of anybody who has any sense of reality and a knowledge of the facts of life.

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