ΦBK The Key Reporter

VOLUME 51 □ NUMBER ONE □ AUTUMN 1985

Whither the Gifted?

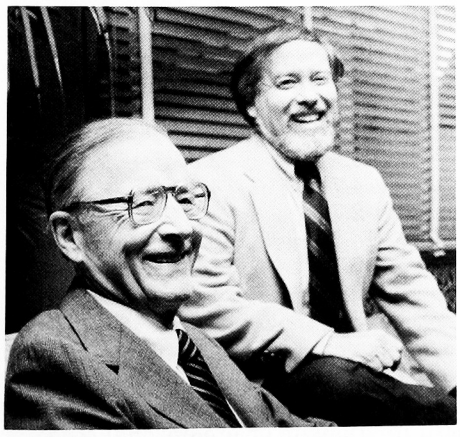
THE CHANGING CAREER INTERESTS OF THE NATION'S INTELLECTUAL ELITE

by Howard R. Bowen and Jack H. Schuster

WHAT DO THE ablest members of our society choose to do with their lives? Have the career choices of the intellectually gifted tended to shift over time? More specifically, are American colleges and universities losing some of their capacity to attract into academic careers the nation's most intellectually promising young people? These are among the questions considered in our recently completed study of the American professoriate.

Our concern about these questions stemmed from a statistical projection that lay at the core of our study. Using various assumptions relating to future student enrollments in higher education and to rates of retirement and other withdrawal from faculty careers, we estimated that almost a half-million people must be recruited into academic careers over the next 25 years. The bulk of this recruitment will occur between 1995 and 2010, when the number of openings will escalate rapidly.

With such a mammoth task confronting the higher education community, our attention was drawn to questions concerning the caliber of the persons who might be attracted to "the life of the mind." Our concern was also based initially on other evidence suggesting that academic careers were becoming less competitive with other careers—particularly medicine, law, and business—in their attractiveness to highly able young college graduates.



Howard R. Bowen (left) and Jack H. Schuster

To determine whether the nation's most intellectually able young people are less attracted to academe now than in previous years, we examined the scattered evidence available and conducted our own research using data on the career choices of members of Phi Beta Kappa and of American Rhodes Scholars.

College Freshmen

We began by looking at the career preferences reported by college freshmen in an annual survey—*The American Freshman*—that was begun almost 20 years ago by Alexander Astin and his colleagues at the University of California in Los Angeles. We found that the proportion of college freshmen who expected to have careers as college teachers or as scientific researchers had declined sharply since 1966 (from 1.8 percent to 0.3 percent for college teaching and from 3.5 percent to 1.5 percent for scientific research). Although these results were disturbing, there were some mitigating considerations. For instance, many—probably most—college freshmen end up in careers that they have not planned on; many factors intervene to reroute career plans, not least a young student's encounter with rigorous courses in mathematics and science.

A more detailed analysis of the data revealed that the proportion of freshmen who expressed an interest in college teaching increased with the selectivity of the institution attended. Freshmen attending selective four-year institutions were two to five times as likely to express an interest in college teaching as were freshmen in less selective institutions. Moreover, the proportion of freshmen who professed an interest in earning a Ph.D. slipped only slightly during this period (from 9.8 percent in 1966 to 9.2 percent in 1984). Thus it appears that interest in advanced degrees held firm but that much of the interest was being directed toward nonacademic employment. So, although the sharply downward trend among aspirants to college teaching was unsettling, that infor-

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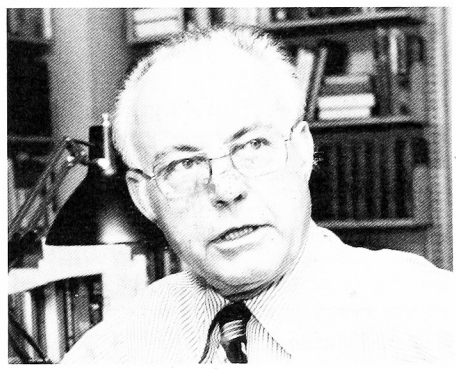
Mellon Grant

Noted American Historian To Write New History Of Phi Beta Kappa

Having agreed to commission a new history of Phi Beta Kappa, the Senate of the United Chapters recently announced that Richard N. Current has accepted its invitation to undertake the project. Current has taught history at a number of colleges and universities, including the University of Wisconsin–Madison, where he was William F. Allen Professor of History, and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, where he was Distinguished Professor of American History. He is a highly regarded authority on Abraham Lincoln and is the author or coauthor of some 20 books. He now reviews books on American history for *The Key Reporter*.



Richard N. Current

The new history will supersede Oscar Voorhees's *History of Phi Beta Kappa*, published in 1945. It is expected not only to bring the account of Phi Beta Kappa up to date but also to tell the story of the Society in the context of the intellectual and educational history of the United States.

A major part of the funding of the history will be provided by a grant of $65,000 from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

WHITHER THE GIFTED?

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mation per se did not establish that the academic profession would be hard-pressed to attract people of high ability in future years.

College Seniors

We then turned to an investigation of the career aspirations of graduating seniors. In recent years some excellent analyses of career preferences have been produced by the Consortium on Financing Higher Education, an association consisting of 28 of the nation's most respected private research universities and liberal arts colleges. One recent study published by this organization, *Highest Achievers*, focused on the top 3 to 5 percent of graduating seniors from a subset of institutions in the consortium.

The authors, Frank Goldberg and Roy Koenigsknecht, surveyed graduating classes of the years 1956, 1966, 1976, and 1981, giving particular attention to the actual postbaccalaureate activity of the high-achieving graduates. They noted specifically whether the graduates began graduate study in arts and sciences; matriculated at a professional school of law, medicine, or business; or did not continue with formal postbaccalaureate studies.

The authors found that the percentage of these "highest achievers" who actually enrolled in a Ph.D. program declined from 44 percent of those graduating in 1966 to 21 percent of those graduating in 1976. At the same time, the percentage of graduates opting for professional school rose from 37 percent in 1966 to 53 percent in 1976. The evidence derived from the responses of the class of 1981, although preliminary, suggests that the percentage entering professional school between 1976 and 1981 may have leveled off. Nevertheless, in 1981, interest in academic careers among highly qualified undergraduates was still markedly down from the late 1960s.

Phi Beta Kappa Members

Another population of intellectually gifted achievers consists of the members of Phi Beta Kappa. They are selected on the basis of two criteria: First, only those colleges and universities with chapters of Phi Beta Kappa are eligible to grant membership. These colleges and universities have been selected for their academic excellence and for their adherence to the principles of liberal education. They are among the nation's most respected institutions. Second, the persons elected to membership in Phi Beta Kappa from each chapter are students (mainly seniors, a few juniors, and a very few graduate students) who have earned a distinguished academic record. In recent decades, about 13,000 to 14,000 members have been elected annually—about 1.3 percent of the million or so students who earn baccalaureate degrees each year.

We surveyed a random sample of members of Phi Beta Kappa who were elected during the years 1945 to 1983. The sample consisted of about 2,500 members, 1 percent of the total membership elected during that period. We received 1,402 usable and timely responses for a return rate of 56 percent.

Our respondents were quite evenly divided between men and women. The academic fields of their undergraduate degrees were widely distributed: 32 percent had majored in the social sciences, another 32 percent in the biological and physical sciences, and 22 percent in one of the humanities. Almost 40 percent of the sample had earned master's degrees and 14 percent had obtained Ph.D.'s.

Aggregating the responses by five-year periods, we found that between 1945 and 1969 the proportion of Phi Beta Kappa members opting for faculty careers was remarkably stable (see table 1). The range extended from 19.4 percent in 1955–59 to a peak of 24.2 percent in 1960–64. For the entire 1945–69 period, somewhat more than one of every five members of Phi Beta Kappa chose academic careers. Put another way, the number of Phi Beta Kappa members choosing teaching careers in higher education during that quarter-century was almost equal to the number electing legal, medical, or business careers *combined*.

The 1970s told a very different tale. The proportion of Phi Beta Kappa members choosing academic careers plummeted to about 8 percent, while those entering one of the three "competing" fields soared to roughly 46 percent. We are disinclined to place much weight on the figures for 1980–83 shown in table 1 because a high percentage of graduates during these years had not chosen a ca-

Table 1
Percentage of Phi Beta Kappa Members in Selected Occupations, By Year of Election, Aggregated by 5-Year Periods, 1945–83

Selected Careers	1945–49	1950–54	1955–59	1960–64	1965–69	1970–74	1975–79	1980–83
Education								
Educator, college	20.6	22.6	19.4	24.2	21.7	8.6	7.2	2.4
Educator, other	7.8	14.0	9.1	10.8	6.4	7.4	4.3	9.7
Educator, total	28.4	36.6	28.5	35.0	28.1	16.0	11.5	12.1
Other Selected Careers								
Accountant or actuary	1.3	1.1	0	3.3	2.4	2.4	1.0	4.1
Business	7.8	14.0	9.1	9.2	9.0	12.3	9.5	13.1
Clergy	3.9	2.2	3.1	2.5	0	2.4	0.7	0.8
Computer programmer or analyst	0	1.1	3.1	3.3	3.0	3.5	4.2	5.7
Engineer	2.6	2.2	2.0	0.8	0.6	0.8	2.0	3.3
Homemaker	14.3	11.8	5.1	6.7	8.4	4.7	4.2	3.3
Journalist or writer	5.2	1.1	3.1	1.7	1.2	2.7	3.6	4.1
Lawyer or judge	5.2	6.5	5.1	5.8	9.6	15.3	20.2	6.5
Physician or dentist	3.9	10.0	15.3	10.0	7.8	16.1	18.9	5.6
Social or welfare worker	1.3	1.1	2.0	0.8	3.6	0.8	1.6	1.6
Other	26.1	12.3	23.6	22.4	27.1	22.6	22.3	40.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Percentages for 1980–83 and, to a lesser extent, for 1975–79 show sharp declines in some areas such as college educator, lawyer or judge, and physician or dentist because some aspirants to such careers are still in graduate or professional school. Percentages may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

reer by 1984. The results nevertheless suggest a growing interest in business while leaving unclear what proportion of recent Phi Beta Kappa graduates are destined for academic, legal, and medical careers.

As a sidelight, we found it reassuring that the substantial majority of Phi Beta Kappa members who had chosen academic careers indicated that they were very satisfied (38.4 percent) or reasonably satisfied (44.4 percent) with their choice of career; only 17.2 percent reported that they were merely somewhat satisfied or dissatisfied. In response to the question, "If you could start over, would you choose an academic career?" only one in six (16.8 percent) among the academic careerists responded no.

American Rhodes Scholars

Still another population of highly able college graduates we studied consisted of Americans selected for Rhodes Scholarships. Each year since 1904, except for some of the war years, 32 young Americans have been chosen to receive these prestigious scholarships, which ordinarily provide for two years' study in one of the colleges of Oxford University. Most Scholars are selected in their senior year in college (or soon after graduation) through a rigorous screening process beginning in each of the 50 states and culminating in the designation of four Scholars from each of eight geographic regions. Only since 1977 have women been eligible for the scholarships.

Our assessment of trends in the career choices of Rhodes Scholars relied primarily on a directory of all Rhodes Scholars; the latest issue was published in 1981 *(A Register of Rhodes Scholars, 1903–1981)*. The *Register* provides career information on almost all the Scholars selected during that span of nearly eight decades. We chose 1977 as the cutoff date, reasoning that a Scholar chosen after that date and completing a two-year course of study at Oxford very likely would not yet have embarked on a career; a high proportion of Rhodes Scholars return from Oxford to study further in America. In some instances we were able to update career information on Scholars by using published information in various issues of *The American Oxonian* and consulting with David Alexander, president of Pomona College, who serves also as U.S. secretary for Rhodes Scholarships.

Using a classification for careers that had been developed in a 1946 study of Rhodes Scholars by Frank Aydelotte *(The American Rhodes Scholarships: The First Forty Years)*, we classified each Scholar for whom sufficient information existed. (Because many Scholars have had more than one occupation, we devised several "mixed career" categories to which we assigned some of the "hybrid" Scholars.)

Table 2
Percentage of American Rhodes Scholars in Selected Careers, By Year of Selection, Aggregated by 5-Year Periods, 1946–77

Selected Careers	1946–49	1950–54	1955–59	1960–64	1965–69	1970–74	1975–77
Higher Education	47.5	49.4	48.0	38.8	22.5	23.8	18.2
Law	12.3	14.7	14.9	23.7	32.0	34.0	25.8
Business	13.9	7.1	7.1	11.8	13.6	8.8	13.6
Medicine	0.8	1.3	3.9	3.9	4.8	7.5	10.6

Note: The first period, 1946–49, spans four years and the most recent period, 1975–77, three.

In all, we reviewed 2,120 biographical entries. After we had eliminated Scholars for whom insufficient information was available or those who were still enrolled in academic programs, we were left with 1,984 Scholars to be classified. As with the Phi Beta Kappa members, we aggregated the Rhodes Scholars' career data in five-year periods, except when war, and the consequent nonselection of Scholars, dictated time periods of different length.

Our analyses revealed trends for the Rhodes Scholars similar to those for the Phi Beta Kappa members. As table 2 shows, from 1946 to 1959, almost half the Scholars chose careers in higher education. (We classified as faculty those Rhodes Scholars who had earned law, medical, or business degrees but whose careers had entailed primarily college or university teaching or administration.) This proportion declined in the 1960s, averaging about 31 percent for that decade, and it decreased further in the 1970s to approximately 20 percent. Whereas during the 1946–59 period nearly twice as many Rhodes Scholars chose academic careers in preference to careers in the three "competing" fields, during the succeeding 13-year period (1965–77), a sharp reversal occurred and more than twice as many scholars chose law, medicine, or business as opted for academe.

The Intellectual Elite

It may be that the Rhodes Scholars are too extraordinary to permit generalizations beyond their tiny numbers. Furthermore, the selection process (beyond the eligibility of women) may have changed in subtle ways. Nevertheless, it is instructive that so gifted a group, arguably possessing at least as much occupational mobility as any group in our society, has gravitated away from academic careers in recent years.

As for the much larger number of Phi Beta Kappa members, the numbers are also small compared with the huge college and university teaching force—some 700,000 strong, counting full- and part-time faculty members.

Surely, brilliant scholars are not needed to staff many of our college classrooms where skills other than scholarship may be more useful in teaching the many underprepared students. And clearly, the necessity of adequately staffing college classrooms goes far beyond the hypothetical prospect of attracting *every* Rhodes Scholar and Phi Beta Kappa member to an academic career.

The loss of talent among the very ablest, however, is a real blow to higher education. We do not disparage the need for highly able men and women in other careers, but higher education is the loser to the extent that it cannot compete successfully for a substantial share of the most academically gifted.

Beyond that almost philosophical observation lies a more practical one. The populations we studied have many more options than most college graduates do. The current glut of academics in most fields undoubtedly weighs heavily in the choices of any reasonably acute college graduate. But the actual loss in terms of talent may be less disturbing than the symbolism. The academy, it seems, grows less and less attractive as a house of intellect, as a nurturing and stimulating environment for the gifted and creative.

We do not feel the pinch now; there are too few jobs, so at least for the present the quality of persons entering professorial careers is excellent. Young men and women with fine academic training are "trickling down" to populate institutions unaccustomed to such good fortune. Almost everywhere the new recruits are busily raising academic standards and expectations (and anxieties, too) at their new academic abodes. The hiring institutions are rejoicing. But the attitudes of the newly minted professors themselves are often much more tempered. We suppose that the frustrations and stresses currently attendant to academic careers will readily become apparent to bright young men and women contemplating an academic career, perhaps obscuring the quieter, deeper satisfactions that retain the dedication of so many faculty.

We predict that the exceptional talent now in the pipeline will thin out. We are particularly troubled that the supply of

talented members of minority groups drawn to consider academic careers will surely be in acute, even catastrophic, shortage in the foreseeable future. Furthermore, the ever-escalating opportunities for women to choose among attractive professions will continue to deflect their interest from academic careers.

Reflections

More than a century ago, Charles W. Eliot, at the outset of his remarkable 40-year tenure as president of Harvard University (1869–1909), worried about "how the calling of professor is to be made more attractive to ambitious young men."* Before and since, Eliot's concern, expanded in this century to include young women, has been shared by observers of higher education who recognize the central importance to the nation's well-being of a vigorous, dedicated professoriate.

Eliot's concern is no less critical today than it was when America was on the verge of widespread industrialization. Indeed, the ability to attract excellent people to academic careers is far more urgent now, when our society must master rapidly changing technologies and further cultivate sensitivities to humanistic values.

The evidence we have examined here does not prove conclusively that academic careers have lost much of their magnetism for highly able young people, but it does strongly suggest that there are significant obstacles that propel would-be faculty members into other careers.

Such a finding is not surprising. Openings in most academic fields are scarce when enrollments are stable or declining. Faculty compensation (adjusted for inflation) is down sharply: approximately 16.5 percent in real earnings since 1970, although there has been a slight recovery in the past few years. The quality of working conditions for faculty also has deteriorated markedly over the past decade and a half: less clerical support, overcrowded facilities, outmoded instrumentation, tighter library budgets, and poorly prepared students. This litany is made all the more worrisome by the expectation, almost universal on campuses, of another decade or so of stringencies.

Moreover, as always, the traditional preparation for an academic career—that is, earning the Ph.D. "union card"—is arduous, time-consuming, and costly. We might add that some of the conditions afflicting the professoriate are perhaps less acute than those confronting elementary and secondary school teachers, although the decline in real earnings of teachers has been less severe than the decline in professiorial salaries.

Excerpt from *American Professors:* "When enrollments begin to recover and retirements mount, colleges and universities, as always, will strive to hire the best available faculty. But unless the conditions of faculty employment improve and incentives for entering the profession become stronger, they may well be obliged to settle for the not very talented. The openings will be filled, one way or another; there has never been an insufficiency of persons—leaving aside the adequacy of their preparation—willing to enter upon academic careers. The question concerns the quality of the persons available at that time."

Conditions in the academic profession would be a serious enough problem under any circumstances. But, as we noted at the outset, much of the professoriate will have to be replaced, beginning about a decade hence and continuing into the first decade of the next century. Thus, the decline of the academic profession's ability to compete effectively with other professions for "the hearts and minds" of superior undergraduates takes on an unsettling aspect. Unless an increasing proportion of highly able young persons can be drawn to prepare for an academic career, a sizable gap will emerge soon between the supply of, and demand for, well-prepared would-be professors. It is important to remember that, on average, the lapse of time between a baccalaureate degree and a Ph.D. is 10 years, so the problem is more immediate than is generally realized.

Beyond the relatively narrow concerns of higher education, we suggest that these trends reflect shifting values in our larger society. Astin and his colleagues, in analyzing their data on college freshmen collected systematically since 1966, commented in connection with their most recent (Fall 1984) report as follows:

> The movement in student values toward material concerns and financial security continued this year, reaching an all-time high. Fully seven students in ten (71.2 percent) indicated that "being very well off financially" was an important personal goal. The 1984 figure is up from 69.3 percent in 1983 and only 43.5 percent in 1967. In contrast, student interest in "developing a meaningful life philosophy" was at 44.6 percent this year, up very slightly from the 1983 low of 44.1 percent but well below the peak of 82.9 percent in Fall 1967.

Those findings confirm recent social analyses—for instance, the sweeping assessment of Robert Bellah of the University of California, Berkeley, and his associates. In their new book, *Habits of the Heart,* they posit significant shifts in American society away from community concerns.

Our view of the professoriate as a high calling that deserves to attract the ablest members of our society surely reflects our personal biases. Conceding as much, we regret the ebbing of interest in academic careers, both for what that implies about the importance of higher education and for what it signifies about shifting societal values.

Howard R. Bowen, a former president of the University of Iowa, is now Avery Professor of Economics, Emeritus, at the Claremont Graduate School. Jack H. Schuster, associate professor of education and public policy at Claremont, directs the Ph.D. program in higher education there. Their book, American Professors: A National Resource Imperiled, *from which this article is drawn, will be published in January 1986 by Oxford University Press.*

Associates Hold Annual Meeting in Princeton

The Phi Beta Kappa Associates held their 45th annual meeting in Princeton, New Jersey, October 4 and 5. Highlighting the weekend was a banquet at the Institute for Advanced Study. Institute Director Harry Woolf spoke on "Salomon's House Revisited: The University, the Corporation, and the Advancement of Learning." Another highlight was a tour of Princeton University, which included a meeting with President William Bowen.

Stanley A. Frankel, president, announced that 95 new members have joined the Associates this year, raising total membership to 614, of which 262 are regular members and 352 life members.

Three members were reelected to the board of directors: Madeline McWhinney Dale, Stanley Frankel, and George P. Jenkins; Alvin Edelman and Milton J. Margolis were elected to the board for the first time. Officers for the new year are Stanley Frankel, president; Madeline McWhinney Dale and Charles R. Longsworth, vice presidents; and George P. Jenkins, secretary-treasurer.

The next annual meeting is scheduled for October 1986 in Washington, D.C.

Wesleyan Chapter's Fees Provided Through Grant

Phi Beta Kappa keys, initiation fees, and a reception for new members of the Gamma Chapter of Connecticut are provided through a grant to Wesleyan University by Mrs. Emma Keeney in memory of her son, Robert. Robert A. Keeney, class of 1945, died at sea while serving in the U.S. Navy during World War II.

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*Henry James, *Charles W. Eliot* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930) vol. 1, p. 225.

reading *recommended by the book committee*

humanities FREDERICK J. CROSSON, ROBERT B. HEILMAN, ROBERT P. SONKOWSKY, LAWRENCE WILLSON
social sciences EARL W. COUNT, RICHARD N. CURRENT, LEONARD W. DOOB, ANDREW GYORGY, MADELINE R. ROBINTON, VICTORIA SCHUCK, ANNA J. SCHWARTZ
natural sciences RONALD GEBALLE, RUSSELL B. STEVENS

ROBERT P. SONKOWSKY

Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth. Walter Burkert. Trans. by Peter Bing. Univ. California, 1983. $24.95.
Ritual Irony: Poetry and Sacrifice in Euripides. Helene Foley. Cornell, 1985. $25.

Homo Necans, published in German in 1972, now translated into English, has been updated in its scholarly documentation and remains fundamental to the interdisciplinary study of myth and ritual. Burkert combines philology, sociology, psychology, ethnology, and ethology in a penetrating analysis of rituals and the mythic tradition related to them. His perspective stretches from primitive, even simian, man to the Greeks and Romans, with primary emphasis on Greek culture. The translation is quite readable. Burkert sees violence and sexual brutality at the center of the evolution of mankind, especially male mankind, and of human rituals, myths, and communities. The first humans were not "naked apes" but "hunting apes," and their ritualization of the kill for sacrifice and resurrection continues to shape human societies in patterns that repeat from generation to generation.

Ritual Irony is a brilliant application of the insights of Burkert and others to Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis, Phoenissae, Heracles,* and *Bacchae.* Beginning with a clear discussion of various anthropological approaches to ritual, Foley carefully transfers the useful aspects of these to literary and theatrical analysis. Essential for anyone dealing with these plays either as literature or in the theater.

Nero: The End of a Dynasty. Miriam Griffin. Yale, 1985. $25.
Literature and Politics in the Age of Nero. J. P. Sullivan. Cornell, 1985. $22.50.

With very little overlap these two volumes offer sophisticated approaches to the age of Nero, the former more historical, the latter more literary. Griffin focuses on the personality and biography of the emperor whose name became traditionally synonymous with "tyrant" and on the office of emperor itself, showing the interaction between man and office. Sullivan, who would be worth reading for his exquisite prose style alone, ranges over literary questions in relation to Nero's court, attempting to place its writers in literary history.

Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition: Anger's Privilege. Gordon Braden. Yale, 1985. $21.

Key concepts and techniques of Senecan tragedy, stoicism, and rhetoric are analyzed and then traced as unifying concerns of the Renaissance stage in Latin, Italian, French, and English works—for example, Mussato's *Ecerinis,* Corneille's *Médée,* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet.* Braden persuasively illuminates the importance of Seneca's influence.

Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt. Philip Rousseau. Univ. California, 1985. $29.

A sympathetic account of the founder of Egyptian Christian monasticism. The author attempts to see Pachomius in his own inner life and relations to others, apart from later traditions about him and developments under his successors.

The Aeneid of Virgil. Trans. by Robert Fitzgerald. Random House, 1983. Vintage, 1984. $9.95; paper, $4.95.

This was the last great gift of the poet, teacher, and scholar Robert Fitzgerald. It is a gift not only to pursuers of the classics but also to English literature. For readers who are just becoming acquainted with the greatest Latin poem as well as for those who wish to discover it anew, Fitzgerald has provided the greatest, most compelling translation.

ANDREW GYORGY

The World of Superpowers. Robert C. North, Nobutaka Ike, and Jan Triska. 2nd rev. ed. Notrik (Stanford), 1985. Paper, $9.90.

This excellently edited book develops an overall ideological and structural framework for the "competition, conflict, and constraints" operating in the rarefied atmosphere of the superpowers. This reviewer was particularly impressed by the chapters on the Soviet Union by Triska and on China by North. The short summaries of such complex phenomena as multinational corporations and the European Community are particularly valuable for survey courses on international politics and comparative (European) government, but the book should also appeal to the general reading public.

Global Mini-Nationalisms: Autonomy or Independence? Louis L. Snyder. Greenwood, 1984. $29.95.

This fairly technical book focuses on the problems of nations with turbulent minorities that often directly jeopardize the survival of the larger "mother" state. Case studies in this important work include Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, Iran, and Iraq. Recommended for specialists in modern nationalism.

Politics and Change in East Germany: An Evaluation of Socialist Democracy. C. Bradley Scharf. Westview, 1984. $25.

This study of one of the least known and least appreciated (probably for good reason) of the Soviet "satellites" of the middle and late 20th century is clear and well organized. The only objection this reviewer might raise concerns the factual-institutional perspective. Still, the three introductory chapters on various aspects of "Directed Democracy" present much useful political information and some hard-to-find statistics.

Dezinformatsia: Active Measures in Soviet Strategy. Richard H. Shultz and Roy Godson. Pergamon, 1984. $19.95; paper, $12.95.

This study analyzes the continuous overt and covert use of propaganda techniques as instruments of Soviet foreign policy. The authors' analyses of the 1960–80 themes are especially recommended for students of world Communist politics.

Soviet Foreign Policy Since World War II. Robert L. Nogee and Robert H. Donaldson. 2nd ed. Pergamon, 1984. $35; paper, $11.95.

Although this work stops short of the Chernenko and Gorbachev regimes in the Soviet Union, it is certainly one of the most comprehensive of the many books attempting to dissect Soviet diplomacy. Two excellent chapters are "The Origins of the Cold War" and "The Rise and Decline of Detente." Recommended both for classroom use and for the interested public.

Soviet Psychiatric Abuse: The Shadow over World Psychiatry. Sidney Block and Peter Reddaway. Westview, 1985. $25.

This scholarly book offers "operational" definitions of the "psychiatric shadow" extending over Soviet citizens, who should by now be used to psychiatric persecution on the home front and abroad. Highly recommended.

Putting Up With the Russians: Commentary and Criticisms, 1947–84. Edward Crankshaw. E. Sifton (Viking), 1984. $25.

The articles in this collection have been carefully selected and updated from the distinguished author's many original editorials and columns appearing between 1947 and 1985 to form some essential background reading for students of Soviet and East European politics. Each article is an historical or ideological gem, well worth studying. The book should appeal to experts and lay readers alike.

Russia: The Roots of Confrontation. Robert V. Daniels. Harvard, 1985. $25.

As the subtitle indicates, Daniels traces the roots of confrontation between the two sharply differing world systems throughout the long and tortuous history of "Russia" and the "Soviet Union." The book is brilliantly written and well documented. This reviewer was particularly impressed by chapters on "The Road to Revolution," "Cold War and Coexistence," and "The Soviet Union and the World." Highly recommended for specialists and all interested readers.

RUSSELL B. STEVENS

Size, Function, and Life History. William A. Calder III. Harvard, 1984. $32.50.
Scaling: Why Is Animal Size So Important? Knut Schmidt-Nielsen. Cambridge Univ., 1984. $29.95.

Although the Schmidt-Nielsen book is, apparently intentionally so, the one of these two books that is more nearly written for the nonspecialist, it would be misleading to cite either work as easy reading. Inescapably, an effective understanding of many of the implications of diversity in the sizes of living organisms requires considerable manipulation of equations, graphs, formulas, and logarithms. At the same time, even the mathematically naive can derive from either text a useful realization of how critically important is size

and how rapidly progress is now being made in research into this aspect of biology.

The Psychopharmacology of Smoking. G. L. Mangan and J. F. Golding. Cambridge Univ., 1984. $49.50.

Our daily newspaper tells us of a pending legal case in which the tobacco industry will be defending itself against the charge that the cancer victim in question was psychologically incapable of giving up the smoking habit. In law, we are told, this is an application of the "thin skull doctrine." Be that as it may, the basic questions why smokers begin in the first place, why they persist in the face of evidence of risk entailed, and so on have anything but simple answers. Mangan and Golding examine with commendable thoroughness and objectivity much of the evidence that bears on these issues.

Beauty and the Beast: The Coevolution of Plants and Animals. Susan Grant. Scribner's, 1984. $14.95.
Insects and Flowers: The Biology of a Partnership. Friedrich G. Barth. Trans. by M. A. Biederman-Thorson. Princeton, 1985. $35.

However warmly specialists may debate the process of biological evolution, the products thereof are remarkable almost beyond imagining—none more so that the exquisitely complex relationships between plants and animals, perhaps especially insects and flowers. Grant's treatment is rather brief, generalized, but well done; Barth's work is for readers who wish to know in substantial detail just how these interactions proceed.

Broken Code: The Exploitation of DNA. Marc Lappé. Sierra Club, 1985. $17.95.
Reshaping Life: Key Issues in Genetic Engineering. G.J.V. Nossal. Cambridge Univ., 1985. $11.95.

There can be little doubt that the techniques of gene transplantation that seem now irrevocably linked with the catch phrase "genetic engineering" are midcentury scientific discoveries of truly remarkable importance. So much is surely to be written about gene manipulation, in media showing the full spectrum of responsibility, that it behooves most informed persons to learn something of the nature and promise of the technique—if only to protect themselves from the unfounded and the bizarre. Here are two sources of information; there will almost certainly be others. Nossal is optimistic and writes with refreshing crispness; Lappé harbors more doubts as to the wisdom and desirability of what he sees in the future. Both points of view deserve to be heard.

Tropical Nature: Life and Death in the Rain Forests of Central and South America. Adrian Forsyth and Ken Miyata. Scribner's, 1984. $16.95.
Passage through El Dorado: Traveling the World's Last Great Wilderness. Jonathan Kandell. William Morrow, 1984. $15.95.

Tropical Nature is an eminently readable account of certain chosen aspects of the almost incredibly complex biological system represented by the humid tropics of the New World. The more people who read this and any of a number of other recent descriptions of the rain forests the better, because these forests are undergoing vast human-induced changes, the outcomes of which are the source of much uncertainty and concern. At the same time, observers from the industrialized Northern Hemisphere are all too often guilty of a superficial understanding of the difficulties faced by Latin American institutions and governments in formulating and carrying out wise management policies. Kandell's first-person account, by one who knew the people and the languages, goes far to provide a strong measure of realism to the picture.

Portrait of Jesus? The Illustrated Story of the Shroud of Turin. Frank C. Tribbe. Stein & Day, 1983. $19.95.

Granted this is hardly a volume in the natural sciences, per se; granted even that some portions will appeal only to people of a religious turn of mind—still, this book presents an arresting description of how modern scientific technology has been directed to age-old questions concerning the nature and authenticity of the shroud.

A Passion to Know: 20 Profiles in Science. Ed. by Allen L. Hammond. Scribner's, 1984. $15.95.

If, as I firmly believe, it is important for the public generally to understand the way science is done and the nature of those who do it, books of this sort are to be highly commended. True, 20 other scientists could have been chosen. True, also, these are exceptionally talented scientists. But the point is that these profiles destroy the myth of faceless, unemotional men in white coats pursuing a textbook methodology in their search for knowledge; if nothing else, the scientists are seen to be intensely human.

Medical Malpractice: A Preventive Approach. William O. Robertson. Univ. Washington, 1985. $20.
Orphan Drugs: Medical vs. Market Value. Carolyn H. Asbury. D.C. Heath, 1985. $27.

Unrelated as to specifics, these two studies both address the interface of science and society—especially its legal and economic implications. Robertson's book examines, through numerous case histories, why the issue of medical malpractice has become so troublesome and provides many suggestions to physicians on minimizing the difficulties that arise. As for orphan drugs—those that for a variety of reasons are unattractive to the companies that produce most of our medicines—Asbury paints an interesting and informative picture of the complexities involved.

ROBERT B. HEILMAN

Clarkey: A Portrait in Letters of Mary Clarke Mohl. Margaret Lesser. Oxford, 1984. $29.95.
Domestic Manners of the Americans. Frances Trollope. Ed. by Richard Mullen. Oxford, 1984. Paper, $7.95.

These books reveal the personalities of two intelligent, energetic English women who flourished roughly from 1800 to 1875. Lesser provides unobtrusive connective tissue for segments of nearly 300 letters to and by Clarke, a witty and spontaneous bluestocking who, married to a German orientalist, conducted a Paris salon frequented by intellectuals and writers, was a friend of various English novelists, and encouraged Florence Nightingale to pursue a nursing career. Mrs. Trollope's 1832 book is justifiably reprinted; she was a lively and fluent writer; an excellent observer of natural and social scenes; and a sharp critic of uncouth, self-defensive, and boastful Americans.

Amo, Amas, Amat: How to Use Latin to Your Own Advantage and to the Astonishment of Others. Eugene Ehrlich. Harper and Row, 1985. $14.95.
The Superior Person's Book of Words. Peter Bowler. Godine, 1985. $8.95.

Both glossaries, nominally committed to aiding verbal oneupmanship, entertainingly provide a great deal of information about meaning and usage. Ehrlich defines about 1,000 Latin phrases in many fields; Bowler deals with several hundred English words, mostly rare or archaic. Both editors' definitions variously combine etymology, linguistic history, humorous examples, double entendres, and witty observations on man as a word-using animal.

Harper Dictionary of Contemporary Usage. William and Mary Morris. 2nd ed. Harper and Row, 1985. $22.50.

A valuable reference work that invites pleasurable browsing. In opposing sloppy, bureaucratic, and verbose English, the editors speak for good taste and good sense. Consultants from a panel of 166 writers make salty comments, pro and con, on many entries.

Fair of Speech: The Uses of Euphemism. Ed. by D. J. Enright. Oxford, 1985. $15.95.

Essays by 4 American and 13 English writers discuss, with great liveliness and considerable wit and irony, euphemisms and related language habits in various countries, scenes (the office, the home), and professions (law, church, undertaking). They constantly distinguish the fitting, the finicky, and the falsifying.

Vladimir Nabokov: A Critical Study of the Novels. David Rampton. Cambridge, 1984. $39.50; paper, $12.95.

Using evidence from Nabokov's critical opinions and from eight novels, Rampton effectively counters the widespread view that Nabokov only plays aesthetic games and does exercises in form and ambiguity. Rampton points to the ways in which Nabokov deals with reality, examines values, and expresses views.

The Oxford Companion to English Literature. 5th ed. Ed. by Margaret Drabble. Oxford, 1985. $35.

This largest and best edition of the first of the *Companions* is as valuable as it is inexpensive. It covers ancient and recent matters (e.g., structuralism) fully.

A History of Spanish Golden Age Drama. Henryk Ziomek. Kentucky, 1984. $25.

A very useful assemblage of information about movements, dramatic types, playwrights (notably Lope de Vega and Calderon), and individual works between 1590 and 1630, though the critical vocabulary and general style are undistinguished.

[Alternative] Literary Publishing: Five Modern Histories. Sally Dennison. Iowa, 1984. $9.95.

Excluding vanity, subsidized, and coterie publishing, Dennison treats "alternative" (the word appears in brackets on the jacket and title page) as everything except the established commercial publishers. She shows the

importance of small and venturesome presses in the careers of Eliot, Woolf, Joyce, Nin, and Nabokov, and tells much about their publishing histories.

Tirant Lo Blanc. Joannot Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba. Trans. by David H. Rosenthal. Schocken, 1984. $21.95.

The distinguished 1490 romance in Catalan, now first translated into English, is long but consistently readable today. To the inevitable formulae of chivalric romance it adds psychological realism (notably in sex), social and political observation, comic and even farcical effects, and touches of parody.

Hesitant Wolf and Scrupulous Fox: Fables Selected from World Literature. Ed. by Karen Kennerly. Schocken, 1983. Paper, $9.95.

An interesting collection of 150 fables from ancient and modern sources, mainly English, American, Greek, French, and German, but with a good sprinkling from other European countries, Asia, South America, and Africa. The fables are conveniently arranged in nine divisions and followed by biographical entries on 50 fabulists.

Heartstop: Three Stories. Martin Grzimek. Trans. by Breon Mitchell. New Directions, 1984. $17.95; paper, $8.95.

Three striking tales by a West German writer, now first translated, all portray young married couples who are somewhat or very uncongenial. Recording, with casual pace, the vast details of everyday life, Grzimek creates an air of oppressive ordinariness, but laces it with strange and ominous elements that gradually take over.

The Tennis Players. Lars Gustafsson. Trans. by Yvonne L. Sandstroem. New Directions, 1983. $13; paper, $6.25.

This comic novel about a Swedish professor's year at the University of Texas is Sternian, though more surprising than sentimental. In pictures of local scenes, customs, and events, the common element is crisis, from interpretations of Strindberg's "Inferno Year" in class, to often zany happenings in campus and state politics and even in a U.S. defense computer headquarters.

EARL W. COUNT

Transylvanian Villages: Three Centuries of Political, Economic, and Ethnic Change. Katherine Verdery. Univ. California, 1983. $29.95.

Transylvania is one of Europe's premier perplexities: a robust spot, largely ignored by English-speaking writers, here treated excellently by an anthropologist with a sure command of English. Romanians, Magyars, Germans (Saxons) practiced different economies. Larger government could only enhance the differences. Government and geography could but constrain without integrating, and Transylvania did not escape that matchless mixer and shaper of ethnic identity—the Danube Valley's cultural cauldron.

Cities in the Round. Norman J. Johnston. Univ. Washington, 1983. $29.95.

The circle has cosmic amplitude and symbolic potential wherever man has driven stakes. As early as there were cities (the most ancient Near East), urban circular architecture had sought to replicate cosmic order. The classical world theorized and philosophized but did not build. The medieval world idealized, planned, and built. Plans grew sophisticated in the Renaissance, as rulers and their roving courts settled in palaces, and beauty made terms with the military engineer. The Baroque continued the theme. Religious philosophy of the circular city yielded to secular philosophy and utilitarian virtues. Circularity held, nevertheless, but Nature's informality arose to compete with it (e.g., English gardens). Speculatively, circularity still survives to some degree—should a city ever be planned on the moon, the round will have come full circle. The epilogue is worth the book, but the book must be read first. This review is unfair to this informed and powerful essay by a distinguished city architect and planner.

Geisha. Liza Critchfield Dalby. Univ. California, 1983. $25.

The geisha image is probably quite beyond Occidental comprehension—unless as plumbed here by a young American woman anthropologist. Already versed, along with her husband, in things Japanese, she became a geisha, and her companions became her friends. Yet she remained a field worker. She demonstrates a deft hand; the book is exquisite.

The Cult of the Goddess Pattini. Gananath Obeyesekere. Univ. Chicago, 1984. $42.50.

It is hard not to treat this book with superlatives. Surely no one else could have fashioned it. The author, one of modern anthropology's most profound thinkers, Singhalese inbred, Western bred, has finely etched this story of the pervasive cult of Sri Lanka: its pantheon, demonology, and rituals never recorded hitherto, its myth and ritual texts here translated for the first time. Caught up in it is the sociocultural history of kingship and its cosmologic integration. At anthropological and psychoanalytic levels, the cult becomes juxtaposable to the cult of Mary in Christendom (which is approximately the same age).

Islands of History. Marshall Sahlins. Univ. Chicago, 1985. $22.50.

By tradition, the pablum of history is event; the pablum of cultural anthropology, eventless "symbolic relations of cultural order," is "structure." This duality unfortunately obscures the facts that an event is always influenced by cultural structure and that structure is influenced by events. An "anthropology of history" would "explode" the constricted conception of history that has sprung from a European frame of reference. The earliest European (English) contacts with Fijians and Hawaiians (Captain Cook) are documented, but the recorded events are incomprehensible except within the context of structural antecedents. The author argues well—whether or not his hearers prove receptive.

The Intellectual Development of Karl Mannheim: Culture, Politics, and Planning. Colin Loader. Cambridge Univ., 1985. $34.50.

It is only par for the course that one of the greatest social philosophers of our century should wait 40 years after his death for this summing up. The founder of the Sociology of Knowledge led three successive lives: in his native Hungary among the bourgeois intellectuals; in Germany as a "refugee"; and in England as another kind of "refugee." If the world quickly moved beyond his solutions to sociopolitical problems, it has not yet outlived the problems he was the first to see. Mannheim's work is not easily read, and his critics have seized on this or that portion of his thought; as a result, the mind of the man has been lost. Here at last are brought together the thirds of his life of which the whole was made.

At the Dawn of Tyranny: The Origins of Individualism, Political Oppression, and the State. Eli Sagan. Knopf, 1985. $22.50.

Tyranny becomes possible, even inevitable, only when the hold of kinship in a "primitive"

(continued on back cover)

READING *(continued from page 7)*

society has been retired by the kingship of a "complex" society. No structure of the socioculture escapes participating in this transformation. The histories, of course, are on record for Buganda, Tahiti, and Hawaii; when treated psychoanalytically, they permit us to generalize. The author writes powerfully.

Rugged Individualism Reconsidered: Essays in Psychological Anthropology. Francis L. K. Hsu. Univ. Tennessee, 1983. Paper, $14.95.

The author declares himself an eclectic Platonist-Aristotelian-Confucian who is by birth Chinese and by choice long an American. The chapters are a sheaf of once-discrete essays, yet they cluster well: the roles and statuses universal to man, endlessly multiform of pattern and motive: marriage, family, kin, worship, taboo, crime. Finally, the anthropologist-psychologist looks at his professional fellows. Things we have known are entwined with things we have not known.

FREDERICK J. CROSSON

Minds, Brains, and Science. John Searle. Harvard, 1984. $10.

It is not often that a first-rate philosopher addresses a general audience on issues hotly debated among specialists but of central concern to everybody. Searle criticizes, radically and persuasively, the widespread notion that our minds and brains are like computer software and hardware, and that intelligence is something we share with these machines. Based on BBC lectures, the book is clear, brief (100 pages), and highly recommended.

Apocalypse Delayed: The Story of Jehovah's Witnesses. M. James Penton. Toronto Univ., 1985. $24.95.

A Canadian professor of history and former Witness, the author traces the history, doctrines, and sociological structure of the religious group founded in 1870 and now nearing 1 million members worldwide. Central to many struggles for freedom of speech and worship in America and elsewhere, the group has grown most during, and managed to survive, a series of confuted prophecies of the imminent end of the world. An informative and thought-provoking case study in one form of the religious consciousness.

The Nature of Selection: Evolutionary Theory in Philosophical Focus. Elliott Sober. MIT, 1984. $25.

Biology has received less attention from philosophers than has physics, but a philosopher of science here examines the nature of the theoretical formulations of evolution, isolating and clarifying concepts such as adaptation, chance, the survival of the fittest, and the place of causality and prediction in such a theory. His aim is to analyze the notion of selection and the sort of entity (gene, organism, or group) it operates upon, and he succeeds admirably.

The Talmudic Argument. Louis Jacobs. Cambridge Univ., 1984. $44.50.

Although not written for the general reader, this analysis of the literary form of the Talmud could serve nicely as an introduction to and sampling of that foundational work of Judaism. The author parses a score of sample tracts to argue that one should consider both content and form, both logic and dialogic context, in order to understand the issue and its resolution. An original and scholarly interpretation of the nature of Talmudic argument.

Hegel: The Letters. Trans. by Clark Butler and Christiane Seiler. Indiana Univ., 1984. $47.50.

In the Spirit of Hegel. Robert C. Solomon. Oxford, 1983. $29.95.

The massive (700 pages) collection of Hegel's letters—with a few letters written to him—is, as always with such figures, astonishing in its volume and captivating in the light it throws on a life invisible in his publications. Relatively few letters are of much philosophical interest, but his preoccupation with education and academic politics is amply displayed. It is striking—to this reader—how little traveled, even in Europe, such a cosmopolitan scholar as Hegel was, compared with us. The translation is very readable, the arrangement topical and roughly chronological.

Solomon's book is focused on the *Phenomenology of Spirit,* with references to later works, because he takes the later Hegel to have betrayed or mistakenly revised the thesis of the *Phenomenology* that philosophy and human nature have no terminus and are nothing but their history: no final truth, no absolute point of view. However that may be, his explication of the text is cogent and exceptionally helpful to anyone who is trying to read and comprehend that work.

Martin Buber's Life and Work: The Middle Years, 1923–1945. Maurice Friedman. Dutton, 1983. $29.95.

The second volume (of three) of the biography of the great Jewish thinker, translator, and witness deals with the period from *I and Thou* to his emigration to Israel. Central to these years were his deep involvement in education, his role in the Jewish community during the Zionist movement and the rise of Nazism, and his translation of the Bible (with Franz Rosenzweig). The writing is clear and graceful, the subject moving, the tone full of esteem but objective. Well worth reading.

Ethics and the Limits of Philosophy. Bernard Williams. Harvard, 1985. $17.50.

The least demand one can make on a philosophy of ethics is that it should properly understand the nature of what it discourses on, and the most is perhaps that it should help us direct our lives in response to Socrates' question, "How should one live?" Williams criticizes Kant and much of modern writing on the first ground, and sides with Aristotle in arguing that philosophy cannot fulfill the latter demand, *a fortiori* because of the distance of the ancient world from ours. The basic problem is a conception of rationality and of the relation of reflection to practice that pays insufficient attention to the social dimension and to the impossibility of equating rational action with ethical action. An elegant analysis.

Happiness, Justice and Freedom: The Moral and Political Philosophy of John Stuart Mill. Fred R. Berger. Univ. California, 1984. $24.95.

Contrary to what has been argued by some, Berger aims to show the textual and logical consistency of the whole of Mill's writings. In particular, *Utilitarianism* and *On Liberty* are presented as embodying a form of the "greatest happiness" doctrine, which provides a strong foundation of utilitarianism and political liberalism. Although the thesis remains arguable, the penetration of textual interpretation and the running commentary on other readings are impressive and enlightening.

The Key Reporter

volume 51 • number one • autumn 1985

Editor: Priscilla S. Taylor

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The Key Reporter is published quarterly by the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa at the Garamond/Pridemark Press, Baltimore, Maryland. Send all change-of-address notices to *The Key Reporter*, Phi Beta Kappa Editorial and Executive Offices, 1811 Q Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009. No responsibility is assumed for views expressed in articles published.

Single copies 50¢, 10 or more copies 25¢ each.

ISSN: 0023-0804

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