

become a local patronage dispenser, rather than the keeper and patron of standards in humanistic scholarship and mass education that it has been.

In view of Pell's behavior it is astonishing that Williams and the ranking Republican on the committee, Jacob Javits of New York, are playing along with Pell. Indeed, the two of them had pledged to any number of men and women in the universities and public television that they would not countenance Pell's efforts, which would first demoralize and then cripple the Endowment. Berman, a Nixon appointee and a Republican conservative, has been scrupulously fair in the conduct of his office. Liberals, radicals and reactionaries all have found him to be a model of intellectual tolerance, tempered only by his insistence on excellence. As a result, he has widespread support in Congress and elsewhere. Pell appears to have none. And yet it looks as if the unsupported will prevail—because Williams and Javits have allowed senatorial courtesy to supplant senatorial responsibility.

It is widely assumed that, given a chance, the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare would vote overwhelmingly for Berman, and that the whole Senate would follow suit. But Pell's tactic is the familiar congressional one of stringing out the matter, and preventing a vote. Pell's most recent fiction, in which Williams and Javits are now implicated, is that Berman's hearing will take place after a vote on the legislation reauthorizing the agency. But since Pell heads the reauthorizing subcommittee, he can postpone everything indefinitely. All he needs to do is to put off Berman's hearing until after October 1, when all nominations lapse with the adjournment of Congress.

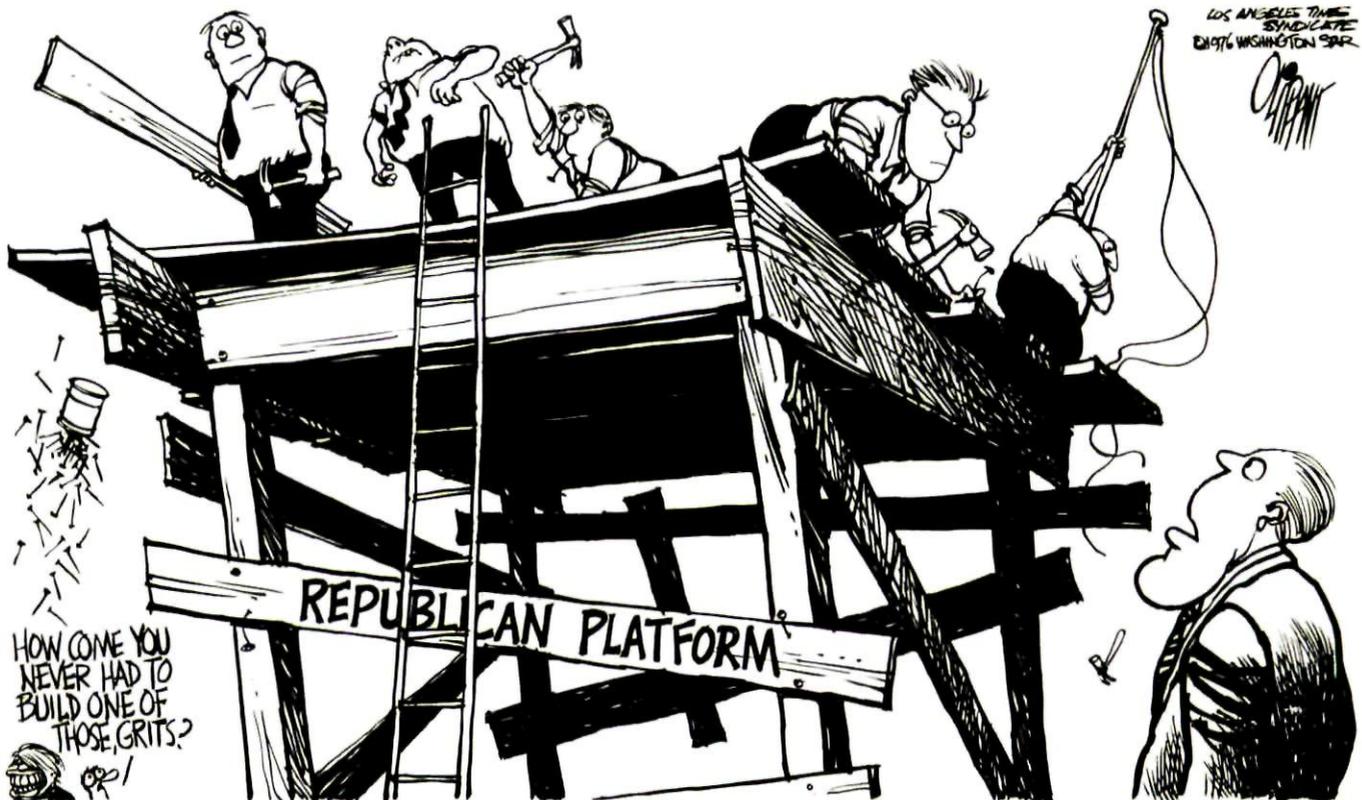
And that's exactly what he seems to be planning.

The committee should give Berman the hearing he deserves. Is it too much to expect that Williams and Javits be responsive to justice in this matter and not to the aberrations of the Senate club?

## Who's Got the Platform? Reagan, That's Who

A week after the Republican convention, I thought I'd read the party's platform. I knew that no one takes such things seriously, but assumed that the Republican National Committee and the President Ford Committee would at least pretend to. I was wrong. Ronald Reagan seems to have taken the party's only correct copy home with him to California.

Phoning the Republican National Committee, I was connected with Publications, and someone there explained she had received hundreds of calls, but the platform had not been printed yet. She offered to take my name and put it on a *mailing list* and in two weeks she'd mail me one. At this point, I revealed that I am no mere citizen, but a member of the press! Perhaps ordinary folks might have to wait more than two weeks, but for a member of the Fourth Estate? She said the only accurate copy at the headquarters of the Republican party was in *Congressional Quarterly*. Full of hope, I suggested that she xerox a copy and send that. "I shouldn't do it," she said—Republican to the core—fearful that by reproducing her party's own platform



"Never mind building it solid—just build it safe!"

she might be infringing on CQ's copyright. "I know you *shouldn't*," I said, humoring her, "but *would you?*" She wouldn't.

Remembering CREEP and four years ago when no one would tell Bob Dole anything, I called the Ford for President headquarters. The Press Office had no copy available, but maybe Research might have one. At Research, Ralph Stanley said, "We don't even *have* a copy," explaining that platforms are the responsibility of the Republican National Committee, not the President Ford Committee.

Back at the RNC, I asked for Press, which is called Communications. Barbara Chaisson, an administrative

assistant, explained that because of the federal campaign law, the RNC couldn't coordinate the convention and that a separate Media Operation headed by Mike Miller of the public relations firm of Wanger and Baroody had been set up. She said that it would be useless to dial the Kansas City number, (816) GOP-1976, "because Miller is dismantling the office and everything is en route from Kansas City." Incorrect platforms, sent after the Convention approved the final version, "are due any day now." She explained that they got held up in the mail. Presumably, a correct version will be printed when Ronald Reagan's phone number is found or when *Congressional Quarterly* gives permission.

Joel Solkoff

## A Symbol and a Cause

# Moynihan's Candidacy

by Dorothy Rabinowitz

One had occasion in recent weeks to think again on Daniel Patrick Moynihan's remarkable performance as UN ambassador. That occasion was provided by the action of Lawrence H. Silberman, US ambassador to Yugoslavia, who earned the disapproval of certain of his fellow diplomats at the East European desk of the State Department for the vigor with which he pursued the case of Lazlo Toth, a naturalized American citizen held in jail for a year by the Yugoslavs on contrived charges that he was a spy. When Mr. Toth was released, it was revealed that the ambassador whose insistence on pressing the case had brought it to its happy conclusion was now to be the object of criticism by fellow diplomats at the East European desk, some of whom asked that he be reprimanded for undiplomatic conduct. In the course of his pursuit of the Toth case, Ambassador Silberman had gone so far as to refer to it in a speech before the joint Yugoslav-American chamber of commerce, an instance of willingness to mention the unmentionable that alarmed those of Mr. Silberman's colleagues by now long habituated to the

prevailing belief of diplomats in the democracies that silence in the face of affront is diplomacy in action.

The charges of "undiplomatic behavior" directed at Ambassador Silberman for his breaches of orthodoxy in Mr. Toth's behalf are precisely the sort directed at Moynihan when it became clear that, as UN ambassador, he would not be deterred from calling attention to the corrupt behavior of the totalitarian majority. Unmindful of the chastising murmurs from fellow diplomats, State Department sources and their editorial admirers, Moynihan persisted, eschewing the torturous indirections and circumlocutions—those diplomatic equivalents of taking a firm stand that are resorted to *in extremis* when the strategy of silence is finally insufficient—and proceeded to call tyrannies by their right name. The results are by now well known to history. Moynihan's position as UN ambassador became untenable, the chorus of disapprobation having grown frantic, if expertly orchestrated by Henry Kissinger, whose displeasure with Moynihan was not connected with the fact that the ambassador had stirred the hearts of Americans as no American diplomat had for many years, and in so doing had become a hero. Americans had heard spoken aloud by Daniel Patrick Moynihan that which they had known in their hearts to be true all along. Indeed, as the volume of mail that poured into the US ambassador's office at the UN told, Moynihan's representations in the Security Council

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*Dorothy Rabinowitz*, who writes widely on politics, is the author of *New Lives* (Knopf), to be published this fall. This is the last of three articles on the New York Democratic primary, having been preceded by an analysis of the race by Ken Bode and a profile of Bella Abzug by Judith Martin.

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