



THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Chinoiserie

"Mao Tse-tung and Jackie are the two most inscrutable people I know," William Manchester told a reporter for the *New York Times* recently. We hadn't been aware that Mr. Manchester knew Mao Tse-tung, but we are not surprised. For several months now we have been trying to understand the Cultural Revolution in New York, and all along we have been gaining the impression that there was something very Chinese about it. Immediately after Mr. Manchester made his newest charges, Richard N. Goodwin put up a poster denouncing him for a "complete disregard of the truth." To be sure, it was at variance with numerous other posters put up by nameless spokesmen for both sides in recent weeks, and newsmen who have been reading the walls with interest believe it contained still another departure. Mr. Goodwin disclosed that Mr. Manchester's publisher, Harper & Row, had at one point characterized the book as "tasteless and gratuitously insulting" to President Johnson.

Mr. Manchester, in the tradition appropriate to cultural revolutions, seems earlier to have confessed to this. The "prejudice showed through," he wrote to Mrs. Kennedy. "This was cheap of me." More recently, however, he has reversed himself, avowing that "the book is not pathologically anti-LBJ. . . . I am distressed that there have been so many anti-Johnson stories attributed to the book." As any sinologist worthy of the name could tell you, there is solid precedent for this development. We are referring to our favorite episode in what we now think of as the Other Cultural Revolution. On January 14, Liu Shao-chi, the Chinese chief of state, announced that he was retracting his self-criticism of last October.

The virtue of the wall poster is that it can be papered over. Not so

the bound volume, and in this respect Mr. Manchester at present is considerably better off than another *littérateur* who has recently run afoul of Mrs. Kennedy. Indeed, Paul B. Fay, the former Under Secretary of the Navy and the author of *The Pleasure of His Company*, a cheerful recollection of friendship, has immortalized his self-criticism. On that book's acknowledgment page, Mr. Fay expresses his gratitude to Senator Robert F. Kennedy "for providing immeasurable help in identifying aspects which if left unchanged because of my literary immaturity and political ineptness could have caused me humiliation and reflected improperly on his brother, the late President." The style was reminiscent of Madame Liu this time ("My mistakes were personally discovered and reversed by our great leader . . .") but apparently it was not enough. Mrs. Kennedy, Fay has since further confessed, rejected his offer of some of the book's proceeds for the Kennedy Library on the grounds that she disapproved of the book and considered Mr. Fay's generosity "hypocritical."

For a while we considered that the charges and countercharges, the assertions and outright denials thereof, might be little more than an ambitious effort on the part of the Kennedy camp to lay claim to what is known as Credibility Gap. Now we aren't so sure. As elsewhere on this troubled globe, strange and powerful forces seem to be contending in Manhattan. For what, we do not know. Perhaps a watching outpost could be established nearby—near enough to receive defectors and big enough to house a Reuter's bureau. We suggest Hoboken.

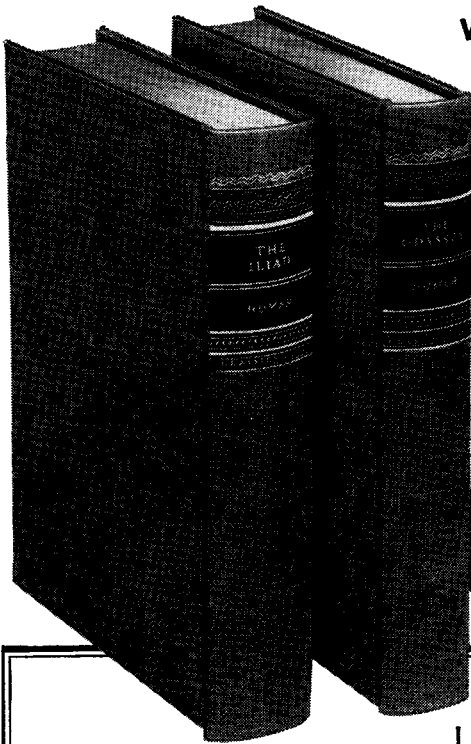
The Littler Germany

The imminent establishment of full diplomatic relations between the German Federal Republic and the Communist governments of Roma-

nia, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia would have qualified as sensational a year ago—or even six months ago. Today, some two months after the formation of the grand coalition between Christian and Social Democrats and the subsequent reanimation of the Franco-German Friendship Treaty with its shared policy of building bridges toward Eastern Europe, it hardly generates the raising of an eyebrow. No more surprising to observers in Europe is the almost hysterical reaction of the East German régime that followed the Bonn announcement. In characteristically downright fashion, the East German spokesman exhorted the fraternal Socialist governments of Eastern Europe roundly to reject all overtures of the "revanchist," militaristic German state which "illegally" claims to represent the whole German people.

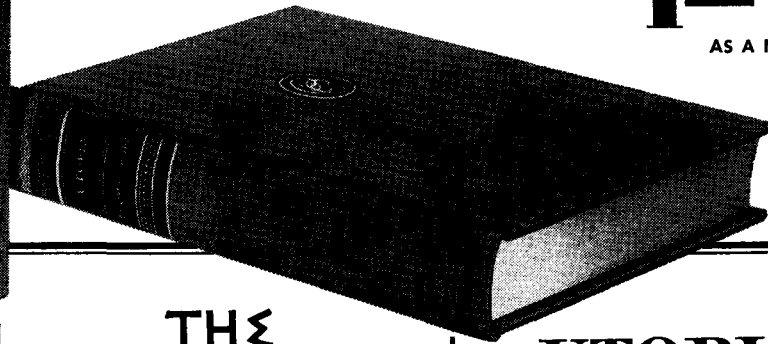
In the tortuously intricate equation of the German problem, there is, indeed, always this simple key question: who represents the German people? The Federal Republic claims the right to represent the whole German people; the German Democratic Republic claims the right to separate representation of approximately one quarter of the German people. The ominous thing about the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bonn and the Eastern European countries is that for the first time the two claims will be put to an open test. Not long ago, a West German diplomat traveling privately in East Germany had occasion to discuss the possibility of diplomatic relations between West Germany and Romania with an East German acquaintance. "Once you have established diplomatic relations," said the East German, "I shall go to Romania as a tourist, go straight to the West German embassy in Bucharest, and demand political asylum. What will you do then?" That is a rhetorical question, for one of the concessions

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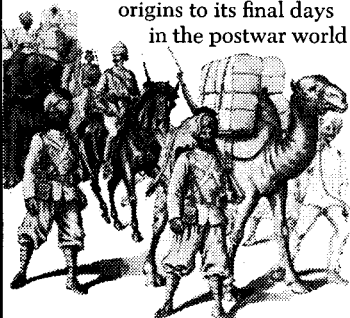
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that Bonn cannot conceivably make in the pursuit of its "eastern policy" would be the agreement to turn away supplicant East Germans from its doors in those countries where there are two German embassies. This is why the East German régime is so profoundly disturbed at the prospect of open and active competition with Bonn for the right of representing the German people. In this regard, the East German authorities last year ceased granting permission for private travel of East German citizens to the Soviet Union where there have long been two German embassies—both carefully guarded by Soviet police.

With Moscow so far showing no disposition to discourage its satellite states from building bridges to the West, the Ulbright government more and more feels itself to be the odd man out. The January 26 issue of the government's Party organ, *Neues Deutschland*, announced in a headline: "No Unification is Possible Between Our Socialist Fatherland and the Capitalist Federal Republic." It was hardly a promising platform from which to compete with Bonn for the leadership of the German people.

Rule 22

For several months prior to the opening of the Ninetieth Congress, columnists and other assorted wise men in Washington had been speculating about Vice President Hubert Humphrey's predicament on the question of revising the Senate's rules. At issue was Rule 22, which holds that debate can be cut off in the Senate only by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Since 1953, with one exception, every newly convened Senate has had some sort of battle over this issue as Northern Democrats allied with numerous Republicans have sought to break the power of filibuster. The parliamentary complications are many but basically the question is this: is a two-thirds vote required to change the two-thirds rule? Rule 22's opponents have argued that under Article I, Section 5, of the Constitution, which grants both houses the right to draw up their own regulations, only a majority is needed.

While he was Senate Majority Leader, President Johnson put through some very modest changes in the rule, but generally he acted to prevent a major showdown on the issue—with ironic effect: it is the Vice President in the chair who must make the controversial ruling, and because Lyndon Johnson invariably spared Richard M. Nixon a parliamentary situation where he would actually have to rule, Nixon was free to issue "advisory opinions" that took the liberals' side but failed to inflame their Southern opponents because as "opinions" they had no binding force. This last fine point was not widely understood; thus, when Vice President Johnson himself failed to rule against the Southerners in 1963, he was loudly and unfavorably contrasted with Nixon, who was thought to have ruled in the Northerners' favor.

Humphrey and his advisers were not exactly unaware of the malicious glee with which pundits began to commiserate with him last fall and to wonder aloud whether Humphrey (himself an old opponent of Rule 22) would follow Johnson's precedent of 1963 or revert to the position taken by that great liberal, Nixon. Accordingly, they devised a scheme that was both ingenious and sound. Using parliamentary precedents enunciated by none other than Senator Richard B. Russell (on other matters), Humphrey let it be known that he would in effect grant a majority the right to cut off debate on the two-thirds rule. Despite the numerical strength of the Senate liberals and the exertions of certain of their number, they once again failed to work their will: they only mustered thirty-seven votes.

Why? A lot of reasons and contributing causes have been suggested. The only thing everyone seems agreed on is that the open opposition of the Democratic leadership—Mike Mansfield, Russell Long, and Robert Byrd—was decisive. They were allied with Minority Leader Everett Dirksen, who gathered votes so skillfully for the Southerners that few of those august gentlemen even bothered to speak. Some of the civil-rights and labor lobbyists who were doing the canvassing for the liberals now allege that the Humphrey plan was not



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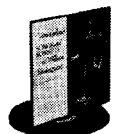
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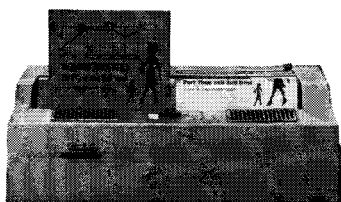


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"clear." The argument is a strange one, since it was apparently clear enough for them to report on the eve of the vote that they had fifty solid commitments to it. These evaporating liberal-labor votes are a peculiar feature these days.

In many ways, power within the Senate is based on a kind of capacity to negate, the power to block, delay, and finally reject. For this reason, the attack on Rule 22 goes to the heart of much held dear within the Senate, and prying loose votes to repeal the two-thirds rule has never been easy. Still, the bad count and the meager vote are a commentary also on the present political skills and organization of Democratic liberals in the Senate.

Shock Treatment

"Perhaps at long last," said Dan McIntosh, president of the student body at Berkeley, "we have found a way the university community can unite on common principles." McIntosh was as loudly cheered by the faculty members to whom he was speaking in the Student Union as he was by the students listening to the loudspeakers downstairs.

Like the New Left, Governor Reagan seems to have learned something from the uproar over the Board of Regents' dismissal of Clark Kerr as president of the University of California. After the board's action, he told a press conference that the next university president probably should be another scholar rather than an administrator and deplored the timing of Kerr's dismissal. Then, several days after the Berkeley faculty denounced Kerr's dismissal as "reckless and precipitate," the governor announced that he was postponing indefinitely the investigation of the university that he had promised during his campaign.

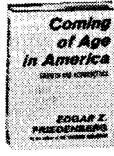
Whether a new president who is both first-rate and acceptable to the faculty can be found remains to be seen. On the answer to that question hangs not only the future of the university but the outcome of the first test of Reagan's ability to use the power that has accrued to him now that he has emerged from the make-believe world of Hollywood to the real world of governing the nation's most populous state.



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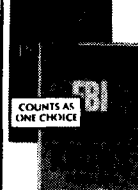
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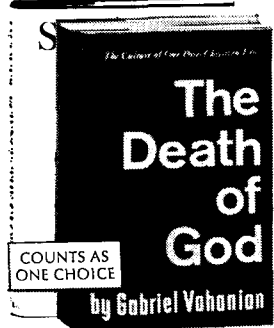
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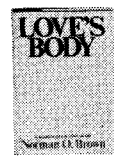
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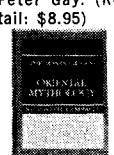
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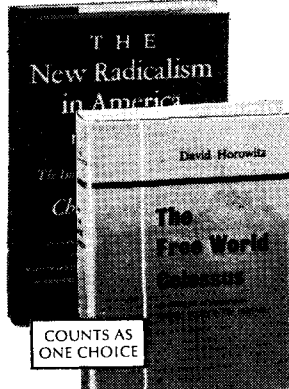
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THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler® No.162

by HENRY ALLEN

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DIRECTIONS

- 1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
- 2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
- 3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the Acrostician.

- A 162 84 198 44 "We know her____, her texture; she is given / In the dull catalogue of common things." Keats, "Lamia."
- B 38 118 222 122 "For while the tired waves, vainly breaking, / Seem here no painful____ to gain." Clough, "Say Not, the Struggle Naught Availeth."
- C 216 132 72 British colloquialism for Lord.
- D 34 96 10 124 46 150 Said of type lines spaced out.
- E 22 128 192 Famous Christian abbreviation (3 letters).
- F 136 120 114 220 70 112 32 4 178 78 146
204 92 Subject of 121 across and 30 down.
- G 200 130 56 102 When new, a confusing subject to present-day parents.
- H 174 202 206 166 Poem by Tennyson.
- I 126 48 6 164 158 214 42 24 90 An instrument for measuring density of fluids.
- J 68 194 76 18 148 An English laborer.
- K 2 80 156 172 58 106 190 62 54 30 California woodpecker.
- L 188 168 108 28 152 180 Famous heiress.
- M 20 154 94 12 184 Kind of day in the Church calendar.
- N 176 64 196 104 224 "____about that." Catch phrase from television.
- O 36 60 140 86 8 52 182 142 134 Bête noir of the Ides of April (3,6).
- P 50 100 66 A newt.
- Q 170 26 208 218 74 98 160 Procyon lotor.

	2	K	3		4	F	5		6	I	7		8	O	9		10	D	11		12	M	13					
			18	J			20	M			22	E			24	I				26	Q			28	L		30	
31		32	F	33		34	D	35		36	O	37		38	B	39				41		42	I	43		44	A	45
46	D			48	I			50	P			52	O			54	K			56	G			58	K		60	
61		62	K	63		64	N	65		66	P			68	J	69		70	F	71		72	C	73		74	Q	75
76	J			78	F			80	K							84	A			86	O						90	
91		92	F	93		94	M	95		96	D			98	Q	99		100	P	101		102	G	103		104	N	105
106	K			108	L							112	F			114	F							118	B		120	
121		122	B	123		124	D	125		126	I	127		128	E			130	G	131		132	C	133		134	O	135
136	F							140	O			142	O							146	F			148	J		150	
151		152	L	153		154	M	155		156	K	157		158	I			160	Q	161		162	A	163		164	I	165
166	H			168	L			170	Q			172	K			174	H			176	N		178	F			180	
181		182	O	183		184	M	185				187		188	L	189		190	K	191		192	E	193		194	J	195
196	N			198	A			200	G			202	H			204	F			206	H		208	Q				
				213		214	I	215		216	C	217		218	Q	219		220	F	221		222	B	223		224	N	

ACROSS

2. They had no need for union suits.
31. Agricultural journey, perhaps (5,4).
41. Rod found in making the best taffy kisses.
61. Place to go to in the last extremis.
68. Characteristic of new SST design and of a kind of medicine (4,4).
91. Allow a bean, Al?
98. Kind of oil well where one may get his feet wet.
121. With 30 down, work of the Acrostician (3,5,2,1,9).
130. A.B.'s get upset in alum.
151. Housewife's aim of chamber decoration? (4,4).
160. Fresh sorrow we own isn't quite enough (3,3).
181. Weird in what happens without results.
187. A hot post at hand for such a copy.
213. Have an itch? (4,8).

DOWN

3. The 5 down government may say too much.
5. They are fled to form such an organization.
7. I'm tired with no point. It seems to soil.
9. Rebukes have a roof inside!
11. Rests at samplers.
13. The way up in the best aircraft.
30. See 121 across.
31. One far-over trend for great love (7,5).
103. Where I tell time during my duty period (2,2,5).
112. How to get hides when father has the only rabbits or the dance step of a dancer? (5,3).
125. It's the limit!
131. What a fibber does in a sticky situation (4,3).
153. Not in a foot, you know (3,2).
174. Tie up the first part of 151 across.