



The Key Reporter

VOLUME XXXX □ NUMBER THREE □ SPRING 1975

FOURTEEN TO PARTICIPATE IN 1975-76 VISITING SCHOLAR PROGRAM by Kathy Navascues

Each year outstanding men and women journey to colleges and universities which shelter Phi Beta Kappa chapters for two-day visits during which they take full part in the academic life of the institution. The Visiting Scholar Program, begun in 1956 to enable undergraduates to meet and talk with established scholars in diverse disciplines, has seen a total of 1410 visits made by 139 Scholars during its eighteen years of operation. In an effort to put the Scholar in touch with as many undergraduates as possible, the local chapter in cooperation with interested departments works out an hour by hour schedule consisting of a variety of formal and informal encounters which usually include classroom discussions, seminars, individual student conferences, and a public lecture, open to the entire community. The Scholars willingly take on these busy and oftentimes rigorous schedules, giving generously of their time, energy, and expertise. Most reports received from the host institutions after the visits attest to the important stimulation the program provides to the intellectual life of the academic community. The words of one correspondent reveal the opinion of many: "The visit gave the kind of image for Phi Beta Kappa that some of us have been seeking to develop, and it supported the contention that the life of the mind is an exciting one." Approximately 100 visits have been

planned for 1975-76. The Visiting Scholars taking part in the program this coming academic year represent the fields of political science, physics, English, economics, philosophy, classics, art, psychology, history, anthropology, law, and chemistry. As a preliminary to the bicentennial anniversary, the size of this year's panel has been increased to fourteen. Some of the funding for the program is provided by the Phi Beta Kappa Associates. The fourteen panel members are:

WAYNE ANDREWS, Archives of American Art Professor at Wayne State University, has a special interest in American history and architecture. His publications include *Architecture, Ambition, and Americans* and *Germaine: A Portrait of Madame de Staël*.

HOUSTON A. BAKER, JR., is director of Afro-American Studies and professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania. He has written *Singers of Daybreak: Studies in Black American Literature* and *A Many-Colored Coat of Dreams: The Poetry of Countee Cullen*.

L. H. BUTTERFIELD has been editor-in-chief of *The Adams Papers*. He was an associate editor of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, and he has directed the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg.

MARSHALL COHEN, professor of

philosophy at Richmond College and The Graduate School of the City University of New York, has been editor of *Philosophy and Public Affairs* since 1971. He was a senior fellow in law at Yale Law School.

JAMES S. COLEMAN was director of the African Studies Center at U.C.L.A. during 1960-65, and is now representative of the Rockefeller Foundation's Education for Development Program in the Republic of Zaire.

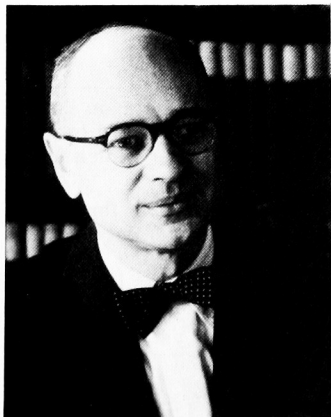
FREEMAN J. DYSON has done work on elementary particles, quantum field theory, ferromagnetism, nuclear reactors, spaceships, and astronomical telescopes. He is professor of physics at the Institute for Advanced Study, and during 1974-75 is visiting professor at the Max-Planck-Institute.

JOHN FISCHER is associate editor of *Harper's Magazine* and a visiting fellow in the Institute for Social and Policy Studies at Yale University. His most recent book is *Vital Signs, U.S.A.*

DAVID A. HAMBURG, an authority in the study of hormonal responses to psychological stress and founder of the Laboratory of Stress and Conflict, is Reed-Hodgson Professor of Human Biology at Stanford University.

JUANITA M. KREPS, author of *Lifetime Allocation of Work and Income* and *Sex in the Marketplace: American*

(continued on back cover)



L. H. Butterfield



Houston A. Baker, Jr.



Juanita M. Kreps



Howard Nemerov



WATERGATE — THREE YEARS OF DOCUMENTS AND WRITING

*I knew of . . . things which would
derive me
ill to speak of; therefore I will not speak
what I know.*
PAROLLES. SHAKESPEARE.
ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

*Oh that I were as great
As is my grief, or lesser than my name!
Or that I could forget what I have been!
Or not remember what I must be now!*
KING RICHARD. SHAKESPEARE. RICHARD II.
*Thou has done much harm upon me
. . . God forgive thee for it! now am I
. . . little better than one of the wicked.*
FALSTAFF. SHAKESPEARE. 1 HENRY IV.

"Leave him to history" were the words of Richard Nixon's second-grade teacher echoed by William Safire in the conclusion of his book.¹ But then what? Can we anticipate history's verdict? Will Nixon's offense, in the phrase of David Eisenhower, "look pretty small" fifteen or fifty years from now? Or will he be evaluated by another generation, in the words of historian Arthur Schlesinger, as "the greatest threat to representative government in our history"? Or will Watergate be described by the statement of former Senator Sam Ervin as "the greatest tragedy this country has ever suffered"?

Within the definition fixed by the legal philosopher, Stephen Schafer, the former President falls in the category of a pseudopolitical criminal — he is not the heroic political criminal who challenges the conventional values of the state and unselfishly acts to enhance the welfare of society.² Nor is he the classical tragic hero, as Safire would have us believe. For Aristotle's tragic hero is a person of "great repute and prosperity," a worthwhile and noble person who, not because of "real badness or wickedness but because of some mistake," brings about his own ruin. Nixon is not an Aristotelian hero who has committed crime without full knowledge of his act; unlike Oedipus, Nixon did not commit crime innocently.³

Historical interpretations of Nixon and Watergate in the future will clearly not be monolithic; they will depend upon the society, the social

¹ Safire echoes the Ghost in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, I, V, 86, "Leave her to heaven. . . ."

² Schafer's political criminal, a hero who acts from conscience, is part of the category of convictional criminals. His pseudopolitical criminal is nothing more than a common criminal. See *The Politi-*

Victoria Schuck is professor of political science, Mount Holyoke College and a member of The Key Reporter's Book Committee

and political conditions and perceptions of new generations. Yet the consensus that finds its way into high school texts is traditionally drawn from one of the contemporary judgments made during a chief executive's life or soon after his death. The judgment about Nixon then may have been already written. What it is will depend upon the refining and correcting of materials, the reading of all of the evidence including the Nixon Presidential papers whose ownership is still at issue, the civil and criminal cases, listening to the tapes.

What legacy then are contemporary writers bequeathing to future writers? Who knows how many tons of newspaper, or news magazines or special articles there are. Such magazines as *Atlantic*, *Harpers*, the *Washington Monthly*, *Commentary*, and the *British Economist* and such writers as Elizabeth Drew in the *New Yorker* and I. F. Stone in the *New York Review of Books* presented numerous articles which offered explanations of the unfolding scene. Aside from the full coverage in law reviews — a preliminary count of law review articles after June 1972 comes to just under ninety — professional publications gave sparse recognition to the subject.⁴ Even the professional journals of the social sciences contain no papers, with the possible exception of one article in the midwest political science journal.⁵

The books and documents by this review encompass not merely the break-ins at the Democratic National Committee and the coverup but the

cal Criminal, The Problem of Morality and Crime, Free Press, 1974, pp. 119-159. In employing the word "crime" here, it must be recognized that Nixon's resignation precluded impeachment and conviction, and Ford's pardon aborted further judicial action.

³ For Aristotle's definition of the tragic hero, see *Poetics* translated by Gerald Else, Univ. of Michigan Press, 1967, 53a1, 48a1, 48b1, 49a1. Some have defined the former President as a comic character, one who is "inferior" but who does not go the full way to "villainy" yet imitates "the ugly." But pettiness and ignobility of man are portrayed in satire. The ideal tragic hero, Oedipus, tries to undo the coverup — the antithesis of the present situation. The virtue that destroys Oedipus is his interest in knowledge, a mistake which does not ruin others; it destroys him.

⁴ About 41 percent of the law review articles pertain to impoundment, 14 to executive privilege, 11 to separation of powers, 10 to electronic surveillance and eavesdropping, 6 percent to the subject of the special prosecutor, 5 percent each

"dirty tricks" in the 1972 campaign, violations of campaign contribution laws, the Milk fund, Dita Beard and the ITT. They go back to the gift of pre-Presidential papers, the private use of public funds, the secret bombing of Cambodia, illegal wire tapping, surveillance and burglary of journalists and officials in 1969; the Presidential tax "errors," and the Huston plan in 1970; the White House "plumbers" and the burglarizing of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist in 1971; the political use of the Justice Department, the FBI, and the CIA in 1972; the Agnew resignation and the removal of the Special Prosecutor in 1973. Here the bulk is measurable.

Senate and House committee documents, White House tape transcriptions, briefs of the Justice Department and of White House Counsel St. Clair, reports of the Special Prosecution Force, and the books and monographs total 185 volumes over 65,400 pages; they weigh more than 210 pounds (for the metric fans, 95.79 kilograms) and require some twelve feet of shelf space. The cost of the collection is approximately \$743 unless a Congressional member donates sets of the hearings and reports to you. With a donation one is still left with the expense of the 59 volumes of books, more than \$400.

Over half of the authors of books are journalists; the next largest group consists of the lawyers. Among others are the Democratic party officials, a few historians, two novelists, several humorists, a psychiatrist, and the penitent perjurers. The political scientists have put together a couple of collections of articles from popular magazines or comments by colleagues designed to catch the teaching market. Two books only offer any defense of the former President. But the gush of publication promises to continue with new accounts of the story, a monograph on the women of Watergate, and further confessionals and memoirs of the peripheral actors and convicted insiders.

to impeachment and the Pentagon Papers, and the remainder to a variety of topics such as legislative power to punish for contempt.

⁵ Note should be made here of the excellent article by political scientists John Schaar and Francis M. Carney, "The Circles of Watergate Hell," in the *American Review*, October 1974 (Bantam, \$1.95).

⁶ The 126 (two more not yet printed) volumes of documents, 50,806 pages, far outnumber and outweigh (costing \$336.85) the 14,611 pages of the 59 volumes of (57) books (costing \$406.15).

None of the books can convey the reaction one has from listening to just a portion of the tapes. Nor do these books convey the emotions of the spectators in Washington waiting to witness some of the action on the Hill or in the courts in 1973 and 1974. They cannot measure the effect during the first summer of the near paralysis of government as federal workers sat glued to television sets which carried the Senate hearings, or the impact of a similar hiatus the next summer as event after event from the release of the "transcripts" to the Judiciary Committee's debate took place. Missing too are the melancholy, anguish, and shock of Americans as they found headlines in the morning paper or sat transfixed listening to Cox and Richardson's press conferences or tried to comprehend the repeated lies of the President and his diversionary tactics.

What the books and documents do reveal is a wide spectrum of insight ranging from the nature of the American society to a conventional and psychological evaluation of the former President. These things we know:

We are a society and generation with a belief in the rule of law — to act above the law is inexcusable, but there is no guarantee of "equal justice under the law."

The power of the court system to intervene in decisionmaking institutions probably exceeds that of any other country in the world; without the courts, Watergate could not have been resolved.

Executive privilege recognized by the Supreme Court as having a constitutional basis cannot be asserted when information about possible crime is needed.

Congress is capable of reasserting its constitutional authority and bringing balance to the separation of powers.

The investigatory function of Congressional committees is essential to the maintenance of executive accountability. This function established the basis for a resolution of Watergate.

The House Judiciary Committee's definition of impeachment rejects the narrow view that Presidents can be impeached only for major federal crimes.

The federal bureaucracy's conscientious members helped prevent violations of the law as perpetrated by the Chief Executive.

Watergate demonstrated the fallacy of accumulating administrative functions in the White House.

The results of Watergate, however moral relativism or amoralism in the White House justified wrongdoing, reinforced the absolute moral imperatives of the Judeo-Christian ethic.

A free press proved as essential to the maintenance of democratic government as the Founding Fathers contended.

Campaign reforms cannot be avoided. Indeed they were not — though the effectiveness of new legislation has not been tested.

There is no substitute for a strong party system.

The electorate must bear responsibility for accepting packaged candidates.

The existence of Watergate corruption and conviction of some of the guilty have reinforced the belief of the radical Left that Watergate was inevitable and that civil rights are only for the benefit of the "ruling class."

Richard Nixon has been perceived by his contemporaries the most corrupt President in our history.

The systems worked — the Congress, the Courts, the bureaucracy, and the press.

These conclusions may be drawn from Watergate. Yet how chancy was the discovery — but for band-aids on the doors, but for police arriving in plain clothes, but for a couple of police reporters, but for . . . the outcome would have been different. Whether constitutional or statutory changes should be pursued to ensure against future Watergates is another question.

[This is Part I of a two-part article. Part II, the list of books and the review of documents and books, will appear in the next issue of *The Key Reporter*.]

CONGRESSIONAL, JUSTICE, GENERAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION AND PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

U. S. Congress

Senate. Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities.

Presidential Campaign Activities of 1972, Sen. Resol. 60, Feb. 7, 1973. Hearings, 93rd Cong., 1st-2nd sess. GPO, 1973. 28 v. \$107.70.

Final Report. Senate Report 93-981, June 1974, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. \$11.35. [Also available in paper edition of *The Senate Watergate Report*. Intro. Daniel Schorr. Dell, 1974. 2 v. \$5.00.]

Senate. Committee on the Judiciary.

Richard G. Kleindienst, Attorney General, Louis Patrick Gray III, Deputy Attorney General, Hearings, 92nd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1972. Not priced.

Richard G. Kleindienst — Resumed, Hearings, 2 Pts. 92nd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1972. 2 v. \$7.00.

Nomination of Richard G. Kleindienst. Report, together with individual views, 4 Pts. Sen. Exec. Rept. 92-19, 92nd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1972. 4 v. Not priced

Nomination of Elliot L. Richardson, Attorney General, Hearings, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1973. Not priced.

Nomination of William D. Ruckelshaus, Deputy Attorney General, Hearings, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1973. Not priced.

Nomination of William B. Saxbe, Hearings, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1973. Not priced.

Extension of Watergate Grand Jury. Report No. 93-527, to accompany H. R. 10937, Nov. 16, 1973, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1973. n.p.

Independent Special Prosecutor Act of 1973, Report No. 93-595, to accompany S. 2611, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1973. n.p.

Independent Special Prosecutor Act of 1973. Report No. 93-596, to accompany S. 2642, Dec. 1973, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1973. n.p.

Nomination of Earl J. Silbert, Hearings, 2 Pts. 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. 2 v. n.p.

Louis Patrick Gray III, Nomination, Director, FBI, Hearings, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1973. \$3.00.

Executive Privilege, Secrecy in Government, Freedom of Information, Hearings, With Comm. on Gov't Operations, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1973. 3 v. \$10.05.

Special Prosecutor, Hearings, 2 Pts. 93rd Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1973. 2 v. n.p.

Warrantless Wiretapping and Electronic Surveillance — 1974, Joint Hearings with Sen Foreign Relations Comm., 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. \$4.40.

Warrantless Wiretapping and Electronic Surveillance. Report of the Comm. and the Foreign Relations Comm., Comm. Print, Feb. 1975. GPO, 1975. Not priced.

Senate. Committee on Armed Services.

Bombing in Cambodia, Hearings, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1973. Not priced.

Nomination of William E. Colby, Hearing, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1973. n.p.

Possible departures from terms of National Security Act of 1947 with respect to Watergate affair, Ellsberg, etc., Heard Richard Helms, May 17, 1973 [Executive Session], 93rd Cong., 1st sess. Not printed.

Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations.

CIA Foreign and Domestic Activities, Hearing, 94th Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1975. n.p.

Nomination of Richard Helms, Ambassador to Iran, Hearings, Comm. Print, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. 1973. GPO, 1974. n.p.

Executive Sessions, not printed: Richard Helms on CIA relation to police departments in the U. S. and the agency's activities with multi national corporations, Feb. 7, and March 6, 1973; availability of FBI report on wiretaps with Elliot Richardson and William D. Ruckelshaus and meeting on subject September 10, 1973; meeting on electronic surveillance, Sept. 11, 1973; organization meeting on subcommittee on surveillance, October 18, 1973 and April 2, 1974.

Subcommittee on Surveillance, Executive Sessions, not printed: William Saxbe and Clarence Kelly and Otto Otepka (present only) May 23, 1974; documentation concerning Kissinger's role in wiretapping, William Saxbe and James Wilderotter, July 10, 1974; Bernard Wells, retired FBI agent, July 16, 1974; Henry Kissinger, Phillip Trimble and Dean Rusk, July 23, 1974; Alexander Haig, July 30, 1974.

Senate. Committee on Rules and Administration.

Impeachment: Miscellaneous Documents,

Aug. 7, 1974, Comm. Print, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. Not priced.
Procedure and Guidelines for Impeachment Trials in the U. S. Senate, Prepared at the Request . . . of Sen. Robert C. Byrd by Floyd M. Riddick . . . Sen. Doc., 93-102, Aug. 8, 1974, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. \$.95.

Amending the Rules of Procedure and Practice in the Senate when Sitting on Impeachment Trials, Report . . . to Accompany S. Res. 390. Sen. Rept. 93-1125, Aug. 22, 1974, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. n.p.

House. Committee on the Judiciary.
H. Res. 803, Feb. 6, 1974.

Extension of Watergate Grand Jury. Report No. 93-618, to accompany H. R. 10937, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1973. n.p.

Impeachment: Selected Materials, Comm. Print, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1973. \$4.40.

Impeachment: Selected Materials on Procedure, Jan. 1974, Comm. Print, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. n.p.

Constitutional Grounds for Presidential Impeachment; Staff Report, Feb. 1974, Comm. Print, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. \$.65. [Also available in paper edition, same title but without appendices, Public Affairs Press, 1974. \$1.00]

Procedures for Handling Impeachment Inquiry Material, Feb. 1974, Comm. Print, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. n.p.

Statement of Information: Background Memorandum, Hearings, Comm. Print, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. \$.30.

Statement of Information, Hearings, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. Books I-XII and Appendices I-IV [25 v.] \$100.60.

Statement of Information Submitted on Behalf of President Nixon, Hearings, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. 4 v. \$9.85.

Testimony of Witnesses, Hearings, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. 3 v. \$9.90.

Transcripts of Eight Recorded Presidential Conversations, Hearings, May-June 1974, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. \$1.85.

Comparison of White House and Judiciary Committee Transcripts of Eight Recorded Presidential Conversations, Hearings, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. \$1.10.

Impeachment Inquiry, Hearings [Executive Sessions], Jan. 31-July 23, 1974, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1975. 3 v. \$12.35.

Impeachment Inquiry Procedures, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. Not priced.
Minority Memorandum on Facts and Law, July 22, 1974, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. \$1.50.

Summary of Information, Hearings, July 19, 1974, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. \$1.60.

Debate on Articles of Impeachment, Hearings, July 24-30, 1974, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. \$4.70.

Impeachment of Richard M. Nixon, House Report 93-1305, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. \$3.70.
Impeachment of Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, The Final Report of the Committee on the Judiciary. Introduction, R. W. Apple, Jr. Viking, \$17.50.

House. Committee on the Judiciary. Sub-

committee on Criminal Justice.

Special Prosecutor and Watergate Grand Jury Legislation, Hearings, Serial No. 18, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1973. n.p.
Pardon of Richard M. Nixon, Hearings, Serial No. 60, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. 1974 GPO, 1975. Not priced.
[Pardon and Report of Special Prosecutor — not titled] Henry Ruth, Leon Jaworski, James Vorenberg, Peter Kreindler, Hearings, Jan. 30, 1975, 94th Cong., 1st sess. [GPO 1975 — not yet printed.]

House. Armed Services Committee.

Full Committee Consideration of Report of Intelligence Subcommittee Regarding G. Gordon Liddy, H.A.S.C. No. 93-19, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. July 1973. GPO, 1973. n.p.
Proceedings against George Gordon Liddy. Report No. 93-453, Sept. 10, 1973, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1973. n.p.
Inquiry into the Alleged Involvement of the CIA in the Watergate and Ellsberg Matters, Hearings, H.A.S.C. No. 94-4, 1973 and 1974, 94th Cong. 1st sess. GPO, 1975. \$10.00.

Inquiry into the Alleged Involvement of the Central Intelligence Agency in the Watergate and Ellsberg Matters, Report of the Special Subcommittee on Intelligence, H.A.S.C. No. 93-25, Oct. 23, 1973, Comm. Print, 93rd Cong. 1st sess. GPO, 1973.

Subcommittee on Intelligence. Executive Sessions, not printed: testimony, Charles Colson and lawyer Kenneth Adams, June 17, 1974; draft report on CIA-Ellsberg matter, no witnesses, Oct. 1 and 16, 1973; testimony, CIA-Watergate-Ellsberg matter, G. Gordon Liddy and counsel Peter Maroulis, July 20, 1973; testimony, John Dean and counsel Charles Shaffer, July 19, 1973; testimony, David Young and counsel Anthony Lapham, July 18, 1973; testimony, Egil Krogh, counsel Stephen N. Shulman, July 17, 1973; testimony, Gerald Alch, counsel to James McCord (not present) July 13, 1973; testimony, Tom Charles Huston, July 9, 1973; testimony, Charles Colson, June 29, 1973; testimony, E. Howard Hunt, counsel William Bittman, June 28, 1973; testimony, James McCord, June 22, 1973; testimony, John Ehrlichman, June 3, 1973; testimony, H. R. Haldeman, June 7, 1973; meeting to consider matters related to Watergate-Ellsberg-CIA matters June 4, 1973.

House. Committee on Government Operations.

Expenditure of Federal Funds in Support of Presidential Properties, Hearings, Comm. Print, 93rd Cong., 1st sess. GPO, 1973. \$5.15.

Joint Committee on Congressional Operations.

Special Report, Court Challenges to Executive Branch Impoundments of Appropriated Funds Cumulative to March 15, 1974, Comm. Print, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. Not priced.

Special Report, U. S. v. John Mitchell and U. S. v. Richard M. Nixon and Richard M. Nixon v. U. S., July 24, 1974, Comm. Print, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. \$4.00.
For Supreme Court citation, Nixon v. U. S. 417 U. S. 683, 1974.

Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation.

Investigation into Certain Charges of the Use of the Internal Revenue Service for Political Purposes, Staff Report, Comm. Print, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1973. n.p.

Examination of President Nixon's Tax Returns for 1969 through 1972, Staff Report 93-768, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess. GPO, 1974. \$6.50.

U. S. Department of Justice. Office of Legal Counsel.

Legal Aspects of Impeachment: An Overview, February 1974. 5 v. mimeos. n.p.

White House Documents

President Richard Nixon. Submission of Recorded Presidential Conversations, to the Committee on the Judiciary of The House of Representatives, April 30, 1974. GPO, 1974. \$12.25. [Also available in paper edition of *The White House Transcripts*. Introduction by R. W. Apple, Jr. General ed., Gerald Gold, New York Times. Bantam Books, 1974. \$2.50; and *The Presidential Transcripts with Commentary* by the Staff of the Washington Post. Dell, 1974. \$10. p. \$2.45.]

An Analysis of the Constitutional Standard for Presidential Impeachment. Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents. v. 10. no. 9 (March 4, 1974) pp. 270-283. \$.50.

Brief filed in the Supreme Court, June 21, 1974. Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents. v. 10. 26 (July 1, 1974) pp. 710-713. \$.50.

Brief filed in the Supreme Court July 1, 1974, Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents. v. 10, no. 27 (July 8, 1974) pp. 772-787. \$.50.

Brief submitted to the House Judiciary Committee, Impeachment Inquiry, July 19, 1974. Released July 20, 1974. Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents. v. 10. no. 30 (July 29, 1974) pp. 840-993. \$.50.

General Services Administration

Report to Congress on Title 1, Presidential Recording and Materials Preservation Act P.L. 93-526, March 1974. Genl. Services Adm., 1975.

Watergate Special Prosecution Force, U. S. Dept. of Justice

Status Report, February 1, 1975. [Washington, D.C. 1975]. Mimeo. See for list of Watergate cases on Watergate Break-in and Cover-up, Fielding Break-in, Campaign Activities, Dirty Tricks, ITT, Mitchell-Stans Trial, Subpoenas for Presidential Tape Recordings, Nixon Tapes and Documents, Miscellaneous U.S. District Court and Appellate Proceedings.

Watergate cases. Limited number of briefs available without charge. [Washington, D.C. 1975].

Final Report [to be published when Office of Special Prosecutor is closed]. Appendices may contain briefs filed by the Special Prosecution Force.

Watergate Related Cases. Papers filed in the cases including indictment, motions, any other pleadings, documentary exhibits, available for reference in U. S.

[n.p. — not priced] (continued on back cover)

reading recommended by the book committee

humanities

GUY A. CARDWELL, ROBERT B. HEILMAN,

FREDERICK J. CROSSON

social sciences

EARL W. COUNT, RICHARD BEALE DAVIS,

LEONARD W. DOOB, ANDREW GYORGY,

MADLINE R. ROBINSON, VICTORIA SCHUCK,

JAMES C. STONE, ELLIOT ZUPNICK

natural sciences

KIRTLEY F. MATHER

RICHARD BEALE DAVIS

The Papers of John Marshall. Vol. 1. Ed. Herbert A. Johnson, et al. North Carolina for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. \$17.95.

The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. IV 1763-1765. Ed. George C. Rogers, Jr., et al. South Carolina. \$25.

This inaugural volume of the Marshall papers is primarily a gathering of public and professional documents dates 1775-1788. The account book is especially significant in indicating the development of Marshall's career. These two years of the Laurens papers show him as curtailing his role as merchant and becoming more of a planter. There are letters on the importation of blacks and on the slave trade of more than economic interest.

The Indian in America. The New American Nation Series. Wilcomb E. Washburn. Harper & Row. \$10.

A significant subject well presented in a fine series. If the going is a trifle slow, it seems the fault of the subdivisional topic grouping rather than the writing.

The Politics of Diversity: Essays in the History of Colonial New York. Milton M. Klein. Kennikat Press. \$10.95.

The Fur Trade in Colonial New York, 1686-1776. Thomas Elliott Norton. Wisconsin. \$12.50.

Klein's beautiful group of essays, the work of a master New York historian, reassesses the colony's nature and situation on the threshold of the Revolution. An examination of family, gubernatorial, and legal history is the basis for the demonstration of the situation. Norton, a former student of Klein's, does his mentor credit in his study of a significant element in colonial economics. That the Dutch traders strengthened rather than weakened the English frontier relationship or position with the French-Indian coalition is apparently a new contention.

Harvard Guide to American History, Revised edition. Ed. Frank Freidel. 2 vols. Belknap/Harvard. \$45 the set.

A most important updating as well as partial organizational revision, with useful instructions on formats in writing, book reviewing, indexing, as well as impressive assemblage of imaginatively grouped bibliographies. Though a real attempt is made to bring everything up to date, this reader was disappointed in the omission of the latest or most important biography of a number of important figures, from Anne Bradstreet to Com-

missary James Blair, and some confusions, as that regarding the two Virginia John Claytons and their work. About one third of its entries are new, however, and that alone would be enough to make this a necessary tool for the hands of every American historian.

Barefoot in Arcadia: Memories of a More Innocent Era. Louis B. Wright, South Carolina. \$5.95.

A humorous, modest, anecdotal, hard-common-sense account of a great scholar-librarian's youth in the early twentieth-century South. A wise, tolerant book by one of the great Americans and major intellectual historians of our time.

The American Puritan Imagination: Essays in Revaluation. Sacvan Bercovitch. Cambridge. \$10.95.

A gathering of first-rate critical essays by major scholars working today in the area suggested by the title. In three groupings this book presents revaluations of four major figures, something on approaches-genres-themes, and a group of three pieces on "continuities." The editor's introduction is an additional essay of value.

FREDERICK J. CROSSON

Diderot: The Virtue of a Philosopher. Carol Blum. Viking. \$8.95.

Hero of that successful counter-culture which was the Enlightenment, Diderot had an acute, lifelong need to appear, to be and especially to feel virtuous. Blum traces the expression and self-examination of that need through his works and letters, with sensitivity and insight. Fascinating reading about a strangely contemporary psyche.

Luther: Richard Marius. Lippincott. \$8.95. A very well-written, religiously cynical, critical biography. The emphasis is on Luther's writings and debates, and the theological issues are concisely dissected and laid out, nominalism being identified as a central component of both spirituality and doctrine. The reformer's vindictiveness, anti-Semitism and arrogance are unsparingly delineated but not dwelt on. A good work for the general reader, provided one keeps in mind its particular perspective.

The End of Philosophy. Martin Heidegger. Translated by J. Stambaugh. Harper & Row. \$4.95.

Composed of the last three chapters of his work on Nietzsche plus a separate essay, this dense treatise deals with the coming-to-an-end of metaphysical

thinking. It is a highly condensed and difficult original attempt to think what Whitehead called the "form of the forms of thought" about being, from Plato to Nietzsche. Not an introduction to Heidegger, it requires some knowledge of the thinkers with whom it deals.

First Century Judaism in Crisis. Jacob Neusner. Abingdon. \$4.50.

This is a revision for the non-specialist of a prize-winning biography of the Pharisee Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai, who died about 80 A.D. The author is a leading scholar of the intertestamental period who has pioneered in applying form-critical and other methodological hermeneutics to early rabbinic texts. An illuminating study of an axial age for Western civilization.

The Mystics. Aubrey Menen, Dial. \$15. **Mystical Experience.** Ben-Ami Scharfstein. Penguin. \$2.50.

Menen's book, profusely illustrated and handsomely printed, deals exclusively with the Indian tradition, from the Upanishads to contemporaries. It is urbane, ironic and delightful reading. Most of the swamis and gurus he thinks are charlatans, but the core of the ancient teaching, still faithfully taught by some today, has a message worth hearing for those few who can understand and follow it. Scharfstein is a philosopher, detachedly but seriously inquiring into the meaning and validity of the whole mystical tradition, East and West. His lucid and intelligent discussion concludes agnostically, with skepticism about the doctrines but respect for the experiences underlying them.

Time and Necessity: Studies in Aristotle's Theory of Modality. Jaakko Hintikka. Oxford. \$17.75.

Collections of previously printed studies are not often as cohesive as these, unified by their concentration on the logical modalities in Aristotle and their consequences for his ideas on time, determinism and infinity. The author, himself a competent and sensible logician, is the more convincing because he does not try to understand Aristotle better than he understood himself.

A Religious History of the American People. Sidney E. Ahlstrom. Yale. \$19.50. Prodigious in conception and achievement, this thousand-page panorama maintains an openness and balance in narration and judgment which will remove it from evanescence for many years. It provides a salient warrant for Justice Douglas' dictum that "we are a religious people."

Formal Philosophy: Selected Papers of Richard Montague. Ed. R. Thomason. Yale. \$12.50.

A posthumous collection of unusual interest because the essays develop the theory that the syntax and semantics of natural languages — specifically of English — are part of mathematics, and hence can be formalized. The treatment is technical and rigorous, but the implications would affect linguistics more than logic.



ROBERT B. HEILMAN

The Selected Letters of Voltaire. Edited and translated by Richard A. Brooks. New York University. \$12.95.

The 1% of extant Voltaire letters presented here give a remarkable picture of the extraordinary man of letters, historian, philosopher, scientist: skeptic and theist, statesman and recluse, flatterer and polemicist, lover of his niece, and friend of many.

The New Criticism in France. Serge Doubrovsky. Trans. by Derek Coltman. Intro. by Edward Wasiolek. Chicago. \$10.50.

Doubrovsky varies between an objective account of "old" (Raymond Picard) vs. "new criticism" (Ronald Barthes) since 1964 in France and a furious cut-and-thrust against the former, and ends with some theorizing of his own. Wasiolek's essay on French vs. American "new criticism" is excellent.

The Political Identities of Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot. William M. Chace. Stanford. \$8.95.

Two orderly and lucid essays, systematically tracing out, and accounting for, the political ideas appearing in the prose and poetry of two major writers. Critically evaluative, but detached.

Theatre in Dada and Surrealism. J. H. Matthews. Syracuse. \$13.

A very useful historical and critical study of a dozen practitioners in these provocative modes from the 1920s to the 1960s. Vitrac and Artaud survive best. The book is discriminating and well documented.

Letters of Sir George Etherege. Ed. by Frederick Bracher. California. \$15. Some 200 letters, about 100 not printed before, report on Etherege's life as Resident at Ratisbon (Regensburg), 1685-89. Mostly on political business, the letters at times reveal the witty observer of German life, and later the devoted Jacobite.

The Good Soldier Svejk. Jeroslav Hasek. New and unabridged translation by Cecil Parrott. Original illustrations by Joseph Lada. Crowell. \$10. p. \$3.95.

A lively, uncut, uncensored version of a classic war story in which everything is said by exuberant humor and irony. The 156 drawings are great cartoons.

Here Comes Dickens: The Imagination of a Novelist. John Carey. Schocken. \$9. An excellently documented low-key study of Dickens' imagination as revealed in his humor, his symbols, and his attitudes to various subjects (sex, children, violence). Carey wisely cautions against modernizing Dickens by seeking "meanings" and attributing our attitudes to him.

Letters to an Actress: The Story of Ivan Turgenev and Marya Gavrilovna Savina. Translated and edited by Nora Gottlieb and Raymond Chapman. Ohio. \$7.50. Extending through Turgenev's last four years, this January-May relationship, mainly epistolary, was unusual: she, her heart elsewhere, still a warm, devoted admirer; he, in love, picturing might-have-beens, but never self-deceiving or sentimental. A touching record of superior people.

The Priest of Love: A Life of D. H.

Lawrence. Harry T. Moore. Revised ed. Farrar, Straus, Giroux. \$15.

This greatly expanded edition of the 1954 study is vastly informative, especially with reference to the impact of Lawrence's life on his works.

A Poet's Journal: Days of 1945-1951.

George Seferis. Trans. by Athan Anagnostopoulos. Harvard-Belknap. \$7.95. Revealing notations on many moods and feelings, on many objects (artifacts, ocean, sky, writings), and on other poets (especially Eliot, Cavafy). These are most continuous and moving when Seferis travels from Ankara, his diplomatic post, through native scenes in western Turkey.

Thieves of Fire. Denis Donoghue. Oxford. \$6.95.

Donoghue discusses the Promethean temperament — tense, impatient, driving, willful, defiant, prescriptive — as it appears in Milton, Blake, Melville, and D. H. Lawrence, with T. S. Eliot for contrast. Perceptive criticism.

V. Sackville-West: A Critical Biography.

Michael Stevens. Scribners. \$7.95.

A detached, compact, straightforward story of a writer's life viewed primarily through her works. We see an unusual personality in an unusually happy marriage. Good illustrations.

H. G. Wells and Rebecca West. Gordon N. Ray. Yale. \$7.95.

Wells' letters and Dame Rebecca's recollections are the sources of an almost novelistic account of a ten-year liaison that was very happy for a time but was broken up by the difference in ages (26 years), aims, and temperaments. We see most of Wells, alternating between the gay lover and the self-centered mastermind.

Selected Stories: I. L. Peretz. Edited with an Introduction by Irving Howe and Eliezer Greenberg. Schocken. \$6.95.

Eighteen fables explore good and evil in novel and charming ways. Peretz's tone is sometimes laconic, almost deadpan; often he breaks into a spry, sly gaiety. Fine revealing scenes in heaven and hell.

ANDREW GYORGY

The Politics of Modernization in Eastern Europe. Testing the Soviet Model.

Charles Gati. Praeger. \$22.50.

This pioneering volume is the first systematic political study of the phenomenon of modernization as applied to Eastern Europe and deserves maximum attention not only from specialists but also the general public. The book is based on papers presented at a Columbia University Conference in 1973 dealing with aspects of Eastern European political development. Brilliantly edited, this study has contributions by such leading scholars as Aspaturian, Black and Sharlet.

From Enlightenment to Revolution. Eric Voegelin. Ed. John H. Hallowell. Duke. \$12.75.

This thoughtfully edited work is based on a careful sequence of selections from

Voegelin's writings of the past 30 years. Hallowell's preface puts the classical writings of Eric Voegelin into their proper perspective. The selections range from Voltaire to Karl Marx. To this reviewer, the chapters on "Bakunin: The Anarchist" and "Marx" were the most valuable. A must for students interested in the history of great political ideas.

Crisis 1918. Joseph Gies. Norton. \$7.95. This interesting and challenging study focuses on the climactic turning point of World War I, namely the little-appreciated events of 1918. Gies ably reconstructs the events surrounding the decision of the German high command which spurned Allied offers of peace, and opted instead for total victory. The book is more than an account of battlefield developments. It gives a uniquely absorbing insight into the Allies' counter-reaction leading to the "great defensive" victory along the Marne River on July 15-17, 1918 and the final battles which were won by Allied tanks and American infantry.

Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography, 1888-1938. Stephen F. Cohen. Harper & Row. \$15.

Professor Cohen of Princeton has contributed to the current recreation of one of the exciting chapters of the Bolshevik victory of 1917. Paralleling his colleague, Robert C. Tucker, whose first volume of Joseph Stalin's biography is equally path-breaking, Cohen's painstaking analysis of the rise and fall of N. I. Bukharin deals with a most difficult and murky aspect of pre-Soviet and Soviet politics. To this reviewer, the two most dramatic chapters were "The Fall of Bukharin" and "The Last Bolshevik." These reveal a well-documented, typical Stalinist-vintage horror story.

War and Politics in Cambodia: A Communications Analysis. Sheldon W. Simon. Duke. \$7.50.

Author of an earlier major contribution to the field of Southeast Asian politics, *The Broken Triangle: Peking, Djakarta and the PKI*, Professor Simon has produced another significant study of the current scene in that tortured part of our political world. The sub-title is most indicative of the general thrust of this book. In view of the dreadful, protracted death struggle of the state of Cambodia, this study, also reflecting North Korean and North Vietnamese military and political events, should be read by anyone interested in the politics of Southeast Asia.

Protest and the Urban Guerrilla. Richard Clutterbuck. Abelard-Schuman. \$10.

An absorbing comparative study of outbreaks and terrorist activities in Ireland, Great Britain, the United States and selected Third World countries. The last, and in many ways most valuable part of the book, deals both with professional terrorists in the Communist world, revolutionary students everywhere, and with future expectations on various possible patterns of "Revolution and Backlash." Rich in detail and sound in comparison, this book is a significant contribution to the politics of violence.

Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries. Alex Inkeles and David H. Smith. Harvard. \$15.

This work is a challenging study of socio-economic modernization based on quantitative studies denoting individual change in six developing countries. This reviewer's only critical remark concerning the over-all validity and significance of the study is its highly quantitative and overly statistical approach. Still, Chapter 21, discussing the social significance of individual modernization, contains a lasting and useful message.

National Politics and International Technology: Nuclear Reactor Development in Western Europe. Henry R. Nau. Johns Hopkins. \$12.50.

This new study examines the political and strategic ramifications of Western Europe's most recent nuclear energy developments. In addition to country-by-country chapters on Great Britain, France, and West Germany, the study also has sophisticated chapters on: "Technology and International Politics," as well as the: "Atlantic Dimensions of European Technology." A significant contribution to the complex field of the politics, both national and international and of technological cooperation in the atomic energy area.

LEONARD W. DOOB

The Secret Army: A History of the IRA. J. Bowyer Bell. MIT. \$4.95.

A detailed, fascinating, grim account of the IRA's warfare against the British and those Irish who opposed the freedom of Ireland and later (as well as at the present time) the unification of the entire land. "Every effort to coerce Ireland had required greater force and produced only stronger resistance" — the statement describes the situation in 1919, and can be used again in 1975. The desperate heroism of these stubborn fighters evokes respect, horror, sympathy, revulsion and grief. When will it end, and how?

The Dream Game. Ann Faraday. Harper & Row. \$8.95.

A breezy analysis of dreams which in fact is deeply indebted to Freud and Jung but which self-consciously tries to transcend their approaches by being allegedly eclectic and by adding a heavy dose of Perls' so-called Gestalt therapy. This is TV stuff, and the author keeps referring to another book of hers as well as, often in embarrassing manner, to her own private urges and blockages. These defects, however, are worth overlooking because the book effectively challenges one to use dreams "creatively"; it provides copious, almost convincing evidence that this can be accomplished; and it makes no taxing demands whatsoever upon the intellect.

A Recitation of Ifa, Oracle of the Yoruba. Judith Gleason, Awotunde Aworinde, and John Olaniyi Ogundipe. Grossman. \$15. A long, detailed description and analysis

of one diviner's attempt to understand his society and to forecast the future. A whole book to a single recitation derived from manipulating 16 palm nuts? Yes, because you cannot comprehend the subtlety of this African society and the complexity of the man's mental operations unless you become acquainted with all the details. It is almost certain that a reader with patience — with considerable patience — will feel so puzzled that he will emerge with at least one new insight that cannot be glibly conveyed.

Taking Part: A Workshop Approach to Collective Creativity. Lawrence Halprin and Jim Burns, MIT. \$9.95.

A far from objective hymn of joy to small-group sessions in which the participants follow an unobtrusive schedule, hopefully enabling them to be "creative" concerning their own problems or those of their organization or community. Here is a way, if one is so inclined—yes, if—to become acquainted with the current sensitivity fad out of which positive contributions are emerging. The authors are experienced professionals who provide concrete data in the form of schedules, photographs, diagrams, and testimonials. They thus convey reasonably well the experience of participating in a workshop which, however, is never really adequately described in straightforward words.

The Thin Blue Line: International Peacekeeping and Its Future. Indarjit Rikhye, Michael Harbottle, and Bjorn Egge. Yale. \$12.50.

A sober, factual, convincing account of how the heterogeneous forces of the United Nations have sought to prevent human beings from murdering one another, particularly in the Middle East, the Congo, and Cyprus. The three authors, all retired officers, write with authority because they themselves have been engaged in these tactful and sometimes futile battles against evil. They indicate specifically and forcefully the kinds of problems that must be at least partially solved if such missions are to be successful. They are now associated with the International Peace Academy which maintains and tries to implement the view that it is more challenging to cultivate a peacekeeping profession than it is to train and reinforce military and naval establishments.

Sigmund Freud. Ed. Paul Roazen. Prentice-Hall. \$6.95.

A useful, convenient collection of long-haired, critical, previously published appreciations of Freud's stimulating contributions not only to psychoanalysis but also to anthropology, biography, history, propaganda-analysis, psychology, and sociology. Almost all the authors, though displaying modestly their own immodest wisdom, unreluctantly also praise the Master's wisdom by admitting that he has inspired them. Truly modest and most stimulating is David Riesman's essay relating Freudianism to the conventions of Freud's middle-class society in Vienna.

Whatever your interests...

there's something for you in *The American Scholar*.

In every issue of the *Scholar* you'll find significant articles that provide fresh insights and new perspectives on a wide range of topics—history, music, literature, current affairs, science, politics, human behavior and much more.

Subscribe now, and you'll receive the Summer 1975 issue **FREE**.

Summer issue features

- Stoking the Oedipal Furnace:**
A Reappraisal of Edward Dahlberg's *Because I Was Flesh*
Herbert Liebowitz
- Under the Crunch:**
Letter from England
Renee Winegarten
- Televising Congress**
Richard Dyer MacCann
- Science and Ethics:**
A Forum
- The Promise of Dirty Words**
John P. Sisk
- Theater of Honesty**
George P. Elliott
- Sex and the Professors**
Aristides
- The Disposition of a Conservative:**
Michael Oakeshott
Gertrude Himmelfarb

And the *Scholar* brings you critical reviews of books, films, the arts, theater . . . poetry . . . previously unpublished letters and diaries . . . biographies . . . excerpts from forthcoming books of unusual interest.

Enter your subscription now and receive your free copy of the Summer issue immediately.

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR Dept. 10
1811 Q St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009

Please send me the Summer 1975 issue without charge and enter my subscription for the term checked.

- 1 year \$6.50
- 2 years \$11.00 Please bill
- 3 years \$15.00 Payment enclosed

Name

Address

City

State Zip



Helen North



David A. Hamburg



Freeman J. Dyson



Cyril Ponnampereuma



Marshall Cohen

VISITING SCHOLARS FOR 1975-76 (Continued)

Women at Work, is vice-president and James B. Duke Professor of Economics at Duke University.

HOWARD NEMEROV's book of verse, *The Blue Swallows*, brought him the first Theodore Roethke Memorial Award in 1968. Professor of English at Washington University, he is recipient of the Frank O'Hara Memorial Prize for Poetry.

HELEN NORTH received the Ameri-

can Philological Association's Charles J. Goodwin Award of Merit in 1969 for her book, *Sophrosyne: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint*. She is William R. Kenan Professor of Classics at Swarthmore College.

FRANCIS T. P. PLIMPTON, lawyer and diplomat, was ambassador and deputy U.S. representative to the United Nations 1961-65, and is presently a member of the U.N. Administrative Tribunal.

CYRIL PONNAMPERUMA was a member of the staff at NASA from 1962-71 and since then has been professor of chemistry and director of the Laboratory of Chemical Evolution at the University of Maryland.

WILLIAM B. WILLCOX is professor of history and editor of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* at Yale University. He has been a Fulbright lecturer, and was a recipient of Columbia University's Bancroft Prize.



Wayne Andrews



William B. Willcox



James S. Coleman



Francis T. P. Plimpton



John Fischer

(continued from page four)

District Court for the District of Columbia and Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. Such papers may be purchased from the Office of the Clerk of Court of the District Court, 25¢ a page (Legislation

pending to increase cost to 50¢). Transcripts of proceedings are available from the Court Reporter (Supervisor of Court Reporters, U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia, 50¢ a page when transcripts exist; \$1.25 when transcripts

have to be prepared). Sealed transcripts, not available until ordered unsealed by the U. S. District or Appeals Court. Requests should furnish Criminal or Civil Docket numbers or caption of the suit and specific documents being requested.



volume xxx • number three • spring 1975

Editor: Evelyn L. Greenberg

Editorial Committee: Irving Dilliard, William F. Hahnert, Robert H. Irrmann, Raymer McQuiston.

Published quarterly (Autumn, Winter, Spring, and Summer) 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, D.C. 20009. No responsibility is assumed for views expressed in articles published.

Advertising rates upon application. Single copies 20¢, ten or more copies 10¢ each. Subscription \$1.00 for one year, \$2.00 for two years, \$3.00 for five years. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C.

Copyright © 1975 by the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa. All rights reserved.



THE KEY REPORTER
PHI BETA KAPPA
1811 Q Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Return Postage Guaranteed

Second class postage paid
at Washington, D.C.

