



## PHI BETA KAPPA PRESENTS 1975 BOOK AWARDS

Phi Beta Kappa awarded its three \$2,500 book prizes for 1975 at the annual meeting of the Senate in December. The books chosen represent significant contributions to learning in three areas of humanistic scholarship.

Robert Gittings, British biographer, poet and social historian, received the Christian Gauss Award in literary scholarship and criticism for his book *Young Thomas Hardy* published by Atlantic-Little Brown. The Ralph Waldo Emerson Award was given to the late Marshall G. S. Hodgson, who was professor and chairman of the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago, for *The Venture of Islam* published by the University of Chicago Press. The Emerson Award is made for studies of the intellectual and cultural condition of man. The Phi Beta Kappa Award in Science was given to Guido Majno, chairman of the Department of Pathology at the University of Massachusetts Medical School, for *The Healing Hand: Man and Wound in the Ancient World*, published by Harvard University Press.

The chairman of the committee for the Gauss Award, Helaine Newstead, professor of comparative literature at the City University of New York, cited *Young Thomas Hardy* as follows: "Mr. Gittings' book is a work of distin-

guished scholarship that illuminates the obscure but significantly formative years of a major novelist and poet, the problems that haunted him, the people who filled his life. The evocation of time and place is sensitive, and the biographical material is perceptively woven into the critical interpretation of the novels and poems that arose from Hardy's youthful experiences. The book is a rare combination of biography and literary criticism based on authoritative research, gracefully composed, and consistently interesting to both scholar and layman."

Marshall G. S. Hodgson was one of the foremost Islamic scholars. In a moving presentation to his widow, Thelma Lavine of the Emerson Award Committee stated: "It will be said of these three volumes for years to come that they represent a monumental and authoritative synthesis of the entire historical development and most of the geographic sweep of Islamic civilization; that the only comparison that can be made is with studies of the French historian Fernand Braudel. It is the Islamic perception of the world and its way of being-in-the-world as a civilization among other civilizations that Hodgson presents as a coherent unity more potently than it has ever before been presented to the Western world. It may be the case that Hodgson

has identified a new pattern of historical change. Hodgson's breakthrough is the concept of a civilization as an original identity shaped and reshaped in a continuum of dialectical change. Surely this concept is now needed to deal intelligibly with China, India, Israel as well as Islam — civilizations all of which have been fossilized by the prevailing interpretations of history." Lavine is professor of philosophy at George Washington University.

In commenting on Dr. Majno's book, biologist and historian of science Jane M. Oppenheimer of Bryn Mawr College who presented the Science Award said: "*The Healing Hand*, while it concentrates on ancient pathology, describes not only healing hands but healers' minds as they developed in their ambient civilizations. Trauma and its attempted cures are discussed for ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, China, India, and Rome. The author has not confined himself, in preparing this genial and delightfully written treatise, to scholarly combing of the literature, with appropriate expert advice; he has even performed some laboratory experiments of his own to test the efficacy of some ancient treatments. His book therefore combines the study of many worlds of intellect and action."



Representing author Robert Gittings, publisher Peter Davison of Atlantic-Little, Brown discusses *Young Thomas Hardy* with Gauss Committee chairman, Helaine Newstead.



Dr. Guido Majno describes his Science Award prize book to ΦBK staff members Diane Renfro (left) and Kathy Navascués.



President John Hope Franklin greets Mrs. Hodgson and Cindy, widow and daughter of his late colleague at the University of Chicago, Emerson award winner Marshall G. S. Hodgson.



# WATERGATE: THREE YEARS PLUS OF DOCUMENTS AND WRITING, Part II

by Victoria Schuck

## DOCUMENTS

The massive documentary record — with still more to come — attests that it was an enormous task to uncover and define the behavior of all who were implicated in "Watergate," and the resulting collapse of a presidency. This record, left by Congress, the Justice Department, the Special Prosecution Force, grand juries, and the courts concerns not only what happened and who was responsible but also the laws breached and remedies proposed for the future. It is important to note how the record affected the outcomes and whether it does report all of Watergate.

*Congressional Documents.* Although the Senate Special Watergate and House judiciary committees had the major responsibilities, in fact not two, but 17 committees conducted investigations, or prepared procedures in the event of a Senate trial. Of these, 14 were standing committees (including the House Judiciary), 7 in the Senate (41 percent of its committees) and 7 in the House (33 percent of its committees). Two joint committees, Congressional Operations and Internal Revenue Taxation, contributed specific reports.<sup>1</sup>

Hundreds of individuals were engaged full or part time on various aspects. If one adds the members of the other or "extra" committees to the 7 members of the Ervin committee and the 38 on the Rodino committee, there were 75 members of the Senate (75 percent of the membership) and 218 members of the House (50 percent of the membership) engaged with Watergate issues. To this number must be added the professional and clerical staff. The Ervin committee had a staff of 186 (and used computers) and the Rodino 104 (and used 500,000 cards), making a total of 290 comprising lawyers, investigators, researchers, consultants, programmers, and typists. Including the 300 professionals and clericals of the extra committees, over 700 persons worked on Watergate problems.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The official title of the Senate committee chaired by Sam Ervin is Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities. The House Judiciary Committee is chaired by Peter Rodino. The Senate committees are: Appropriations, Armed Services, Commerce, Foreign Relations, Government Operations, Judiciary, Rules and Administration. The House committees are Appropriations, Armed Services, Government Operations, House Administration, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and Rules.

<sup>2</sup> The reader will note that the volume of documents has increased since the first listing. At this writing there are 193 volumes and 60,983 pages of congressional documents. Special thanks go to Nancy Devine and Phyllis Joyce of the Mount Holyoke College library and to members of the House Judiciary committee staff for assistance in tracking down the documents.

Why the multiplicity of committees with hearings stacked upon hearings? Doubtless partly a desire by some for a piece of the action. The documents provide at least three other reasons. First the turnover of cabinet and sub-cabinet appointees implicated in Watergate necessitated the Senate Judiciary committee's 6 confirmation hearings. A second reason derives from the number and complexity of subjects involved in Watergate — subjects as disparate as Cambodia, presidential properties, impoundment, and the political use of IRS. Each fell within the jurisdiction of a different committee. Third, Watergate catalyzed anew hearings on statutory and constitutional questions which had been dormant for some time, including secrecy classifications of documents, one six-year term for president, a ten-year term for the FBI director, executive privilege, and election financing.

The documents reveal that congressional oversight may be perfunctory, and hearings, though adversary in character, may fall short of revealing the full truth. But the published materials also show the intricate linkage between information and pledges elicited by congressional committees and the course of events which followed. For example, the Senate Judiciary committee used the Saxbe confirmation to require Saxbe, Jaworski, and Bork to appear and declare publicly their understanding and support of the special prosecutor's charter. This enabled Jaworski to defend himself in the battle for the tapes which developed in the spring of 1974. As everyone knows, the Supreme Court sustained his position.

These linkages were dependent upon the first mechanism specifically set up to study the 1972 presidential election, the Special Watergate committee, patterned after the Teapot Dome investigation of the '20s. Despite departures from its mandate and internal strife among its members, the committee furnished the construct of Watergate and provided the instrument that brought the climax to the investigation of the President — the tapes. Its unanimously adopted final report raises no accusatory finger. The bulky tome of 1,250 pages issued July 13, 1974 sets forth overall findings in systematic detail, together with 35 proposals for statutory changes.

As the Senate special committee's hearings were winding down, the House leadership gave the job of

investigating impeachment to the Judiciary committee. The strategy of the committee was not to undertake a new investigation but to gather sworn testimony from other committees, grand juries, the Special Prosecutor's office, and to concentrate on what Nixon did. Most of the case for impeachment then is in written form — "Statements of Information" — presented from undisputed facts (some 650) meticulously and painstakingly gathered by Doar's staff.

The 56 volumes of impeachment documents reveal that impeachment is a mixed process; it is a political process in a legal form. In carrying out its function, the House Judiciary committee revived the respectability of impeachment. It took a *proceeding* which was in historical disrepute and brought it back as a legitimate procedure.

*The Supreme Court.* The decision of the Supreme Court in *U.S. v. Nixon* (1974) handed down the first day of the Judiciary committee's final debate was critical. If the President defied the order, he would be impeached. If he obeyed the order, it was increasingly apparent, he would be impeached on the evidence. For the first time in history, the court riveted the President's claim of executive privilege against disclosure of confidential information into the constitution. But, said the Court, the President had to yield the claim when he possessed evidence necessary to secure justice in a criminal case.

*Watergate Special Prosecution Force.* The long awaited "final" report of the third investigatory agency, WSPF — after 2½ years, three prosecutors, and 174 staff members — is a history of the organization, policies, and procedures of the Prosecutor's office. It is lavish in chronology and tables much of which was well known, having been taken from interim reports. The report discusses the pros and cons of the plea bargaining strategy and defends its use (77 percent of all sentences came from guilty pleas) as a means of accelerating convictions. The shape of the report is determined by the Prosecutor's view of the prosecutory function. To avoid any hint of abuse of his power, it provides no evidence of wrong-doing by persons against whom criminal charges have not been brought.

The President has gone; fifty-six men were convicted. Three had multiple convictions. The convicted included 20



former members of the White House staff, CRP, and the Cabinet. Eighteen corporations, a trade association, and a political committee also received sentences. Five men and one corporation were acquitted. Two hundred and ten volumes and over 62,900 pages of documents have been produced, not including transcripts of cases.

## BOOKS

Many of the books draw heavily upon the hearings of the Senate Watergate committee and the documents of the House Judiciary committee, opinions of the courts, and revelations contained in the tapes. As with documents, books cover events, responsibility, the lessons and the future of the presidency. Neither polemics nor humor nor satire are missing. The why of the complex of events is sparsely treated as authors attempt to discover the truth of the episodes.

There is some careful scholarship; it tends to be concentrated on the 1972 campaign and on such legal questions as the definition of impeachment and the scope of executive privilege. A newly found interest appears in the meanings and purposes of the Founding Fathers and the explanation of *The Federalist*. Repetition abounds. Errors seep in.

Four books have been best sellers. The first, by Bernstein and Woodward, demonstrates that the press by daring persistence can uncover White House crimes. The second, by Rather and Gates, describes a White House where staff members were grabbing power not only from the Cabinet but from each other. The third, by White, narrates Nixon politics from beginning to end, and tells Americans that their disappointment with Nixon's failure to be ennobled by the presidency destroyed him. The fourth, Breslin's, explains that good triumphs over evil — in impeachment procedures — with the aid of a bit of "clubhouse" politics. The books somewhat in tandem lasted on the best seller lists for a period of 117 weeks.

However, the publication of non best seller Watergate books continues to grow. The books do not fall readily into sharp categories. This writer has arranged them in groups to emphasize their essential content or viewpoint.

Why *Watergate*? No systematic study of corruption has ever engaged the interest of historians of the presidency until John Doar asked a group to prepare an objective account. Woodward and the 14 professionals who researched illegal misconduct, under severe time limitations, have described

every administration from Washington through Lyndon Johnson (except William Henry Harrison's one-month stay). For the Dell edition Woodward contributes an introduction differentiating Nixon from all other presidents.

The few writers offering explanations of what led to Watergate do not agree. White delves into the social, political, and technological factors affecting Nixon politics and recognizes the California public relations model that nurtured Richard Nixon without being able to develop the man's character. White evaluates the Nixon foreign policy as a success. Others relate foreign policy failures to domestic failures. Commager, in a series of essays, fastens the anti Communist ideology, the cold war, intervention in Vietnam and presidential abuses of power in foreign affairs to the abuse of power on the domestic scene. Similarly Schell finds the roots of the crisis culminating under Nixon in the Vietnam war. His penetrating history of the last 25 years, originally appearing in the *New Yorker*, points out that the country did not feel the full impact of the war until the Nixon administration applied the image-making policy associated with nuclear, and then war policy, to domestic affairs. To these arguments the short posthumous volume of the legal scholar, Bickel, while not discarding Vietnam, adds the provocative idea that the Warren Court with its cavalier regard for procedures contributed to a populism that led to the Nixon imperial presidency. For serious research on the DNC burglary within the context of the 1972 election, there is the excellent two-year study by the Ripon Society. This sophisticated analysis argues the logic of Watergate in a politics directed by hyperstrategists whose group-think, game-plans, and scenarios, had a single object, to win.

*The White House*. In portraying the White House and the President, insiders and outsiders show an executive obsessed with appearances and secrecy, and a White House staff — 552 in 1973, a peak since the days when Franklin Roosevelt ran World War II with a maximum of 192 (1944) — controlled with the rigor of a command post concealing strife among assistants. Mollenhoff, the *Des Moines Register* and *Tribune* Washington reporter who had a turbulent year as "ombudsman," evokes the totalitarian atmosphere that militated against his effectiveness and made him a foe of executive privilege.

The only books now published that lean toward or defend Richard Nixon

are a memoir by the speech-writer Safire and a mini-hagiographic-pop biography by Rabbi Korff. From Safire's work emerges a picture of the struggling enclaves of staff members and a President ridden with hates, uncertainties, and vindictiveness. Rabbi Korff's little paperback contains the most condensed exposition of Nixon fantasies in print.

*The Beginning of the End*. Mary McCarthy's pieces, primarily written in the summer of 1973 for the *London Observer* and the *New York Review of Books*, and the Tretick, Shannon essay with Tuchman's foreword written in October-November 1973 bring the Ervin committee to life with portraits of the members and commentary on the witnesses and the testimony. McCarthy draws hers with a stiletto; Tretick, Shannon and Tuchman, with restrained prose and elegant photographs. Thompson, who kept a diary throughout his stay with the committee, candidly describes the diverging motives and tensions among the members and the in-fighting of the staff. He admits the early uncertainty over the importance of the discovery of the tapes and his slow realization of the President's guilt.

*Chronicles*. This varied collection includes a diary, books for reference and children, and monographs and portions of memoirs pertaining to specific parts of the story. An episode that parallels Watergate, the Agnew kickbacks and resignation, is ably detailed by Cohen and Witcover.

The best reference on Watergate is the *Congressional Quarterly's* volume compiled from the weekly reports, a warehouse of easy-to-use documentary information with accompanying explanation. The perceptive and witty diary of Drew affords a different type of reference. Anthony Lukas' *Nightmare* is a history that does approach the standards of "a first narrative." He makes liberal use of the tapes and at each appropriate point enhances the narrative by inserting a biographical sketch of the principal person involved. He traces the complete story interweaving the whys and hows of events in more detail than any other book.

*Executive Privilege and Impeachment*. No question arising in the impeachment process circa 1973-74 has been neglected. The simplest and most comprehensive review of all issues without reaching conclusions is contained in the memorandum of the Legal Counsel of the Justice Department finished in February 1974. The

most exhaustive scholarship on the subjects of impeachment and executive privilege occurs in the research of Berger. Three other categories of books are those written to urge the impeachment of Richard Nixon (Lurie, the Civil Liberties Union, and Dobrovir et al.); those written to explain the process in anticipation of impeachment (Black, Ehrlich, and documentary collections of the Public Affairs Press); and finally the book written to report how what happened happened (Breslin). No writer, lawyer or otherwise, accepts the definition of an impeachable offense advanced by St. Clair — "a major or serious crime committed by the President."

**Resignation.** The full story of Richard Nixon's resignation and the blanket pardon he received a month later has yet to be told. The first round of books on the resignation is largely a rehash of news articles, reprints of documents and chronologies of the Nixon period. Osborne's collection is one exception. He astutely conveys the complexities and strategies of the response to Watergate inside the White House.

**The Media.** The press proved essential to the unfolding of Watergate, but other than the *Washington Post*, later joined by the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Washington Star News*, publishers first saw the break-in as worthy of little attention. The account of the investigative reporting of Bernstein and Woodward has given the *Washington Post* an almost legendary role. Whether these reporters uncovered the details in fact or merely responded to what officials told them, the climax came in October 1972 when the *Post* traced Watergate activities to the White House and the door of Halde- man. It is still a good story. As to the impact of television, Barrett provides a good brief summary.

**The Democrats.** Democratic party officials who have written on Water- gate see it as an extension of the corruption and chicanery long associ- ated with Nixon in California politics. Exactly why the Nixon men sought to burglarize the Democratic National Committee remains obscure.

**The Left.** While writers of the Left do not present a unified view of Watergate, *per se*, they use the scandal as a point of departure to castigate a variety of policies and objects such as the Indo-China War, American imperialism, the Kent State shootings, and monopoly capitalism.

**Fiction and Humor.** Writers have satirized, parodied, burlesqued,

novelized, and versified Watergate. As the news broke, Buchwald's columns in the local papers carried the most sophisticated satire. Margolis has produced the book with the most humor. He has taken the linear transcripts of some of the tapes and broken them down into the appear- ance of free verse, the result of which is nonsense and non-meaning.

**The Future of the Presidency.** The first shocks of Watergate led early pro- ponents of reform to urge a reexami- nation of the American political system. Should there be a radical change — a collegial executive, a parliamentary system, a single six-year term for the president? They saw a too-powerful presidency and Water- gate as the result of long evolving institutional trends, not simply an aberration. In time, the calls for systemic changes disappeared. Books published since the resignation of Nixon do not perceive the presidency as endowed with an excess of power. Sorensen looks to the executive branch, the press, Congress, the judiciary, and the voters to hold the president accountable. Mondale stresses the media and political parties, and Califano, the need for countervailing power centers to include rejuvenated states and cities.

#### BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS

*Watergate — Why?*

**Jaws of Victory: The Game-Plan Politics of 1972, the Crisis of the Republican Party, and the Future of the Constitu- tion.** The Ripon Society and Clifford W. Brown, Jr. Little Brown, 1973/74. \$10.95.

**Responses of the Presidents to Charges of Misconduct: White House Under Fire.** C. Vann Woodward, ed. Dell 1974. p. \$1.75.

**The Defeat of America: Presidential Power and the National Character.** Henry Steele Commager. Simon and Schuster, 1974. \$7.95. p. \$2.95.

**Breach of Faith: Fall of Richard Nixon.** Theodore H. White. Atheneum, 1975. \$10.95.

**The Morality of Consent.** Alexander M. Bickel. Yale, 1975. \$10.

**The Time of Illusion.** Jonathan Schell. Knopf, 1976. \$10.

*Watergate What happened?*

*The Nixon White House*

**An American Life: One Man's Road to Watergate.** Jeb Stuart Magruder. Athe- neum, 1974. \$10.

**The Palace Guard.** Dan Rather & Gary Paul Gates. Harper & Row, 1974. \$8.95.

**The Personal Nixon: Staying on the Summit.** Baruch Korff. Fairness Publish- ers, 1974. \$1.25.

**Before the Fall: An Inside View of the Pre-Watergate White House.** William Safire. Doubleday, 1975. \$12.50.

**Game Plan for Disaster: An Ombuds- man's Report on the Nixon Years.** Clark R. Mollenhoff. Norton, 1976. \$9.95.

*The Beginning of the End: Summer 1973*  
**The Mask of State: Watergate Portraits.** Mary McCarthy. Harcourt Brace Jovano- vich, 1973. \$6.95.

**They Could Not Trust the King: Nixon, Watergate, and the American People.** William Shannon et al. Collier — Macmillan, 1974. \$12.95. p. \$4.95.  
**At That Point in Time: The Inside Story of the Watergate Committee.** Fred D. Thompson. Quadrangle, 1975. \$8.95.

*The Chronicles of Watergate*  
**Watergate: Chronology of a Crisis.** Con- gressional Quarterly, 1973/75. \$35.

**Watergate: The Full Inside Story.** The London Sunday Times Team. Ballantine, 1973. p. \$1.50.

**Watergate and the White House, June 1972-September 1974.** Edward W. Knapp- man, Evan Drossman, eds. Facts on File, 1973-1974. 3 v. p. v. 1, \$4.25; v. 2, \$4.75; v. 3, \$5.25.

**The Watergate File: A concise, illus- trated guide to the people and events.** Rod Nordland, ed. Flash Books, Moses Publishing Co., 1973. p. \$3.95.

**Inside Story.** Brit Hume. Doubleday, 1974. \$7.95.

**A Piece of Tape: The Watergate Story: Fact and Fiction.** James W. McCord, Jr. Washington Media Services, 1974. p. \$3.95.

**Test of Loyalty: Daniel Ellsberg and the Rituals of Secret Government.** Peter Schrag. Simon and Schuster, 1974. \$9.95, p. \$3.95.

**Undercover: Memoirs of an American Secret Agent.** E. Howard Hunt. Berkley Publishing Corp., 1974. \$8.95.

**The Friends of Richard Nixon.** George V. Higgins. Atlantic Monthly/Little Brown, 1975. \$10.95.

**Washington Journal: The Events of 1973- 1974.** Elizabeth Drew. Random House, 1975. \$12.95.

**Watergate: America in Crisis.** Jules Archer, Crowell, 1975. \$6.95.

**Nightmare: The Nixon Years 1969-1974.** J. Anthony Lukas. Viking, 1976. \$12.50.

Agnew

**A Heartbeat Away: The Investigation and Resignation of Vice President Spiro T. Agnew.** Richard M. Cohen, Jules Witcover. Viking, 1974. \$10.

*Executive Privilege and Impeachment*  
**Impeachment: The Constitutional Prob- lems.** Raoul Berger. Harvard University, 1973. \$14.95, p. \$3.95; Bantam, p. \$2.25.

**The Impeachment of Richard Nixon.** Leonard Lurie. Berkley Pub., 1973. p. \$95.

**The Offenses of Richard M. Nixon: A Guide for the People of the United States of America.** William A. Dobrovir, et al. Quadrangle, 1973. p. \$3.

**Why President Richard Nixon Should Be Impeached.** American Civil Liberties Union. Public Affairs Press. 1973. p. \$1.  
**Conscience of the Nation: The People Versus Richard M. Nixon.** M. B. Schnap- per, ed. Public Affairs, 1974. p. \$4.50.

**Executive Privilege: A Constitutional Myth.** Raoul Berger. Harvard, 1974. \$14.95.

**Impeachment: A Handbook.** Charles L. Black, Jr. Yale, 1974. p. \$1.95.

**Presidential Impeachment: An American Dilemma.** Walter Ehrlich. Intro. Richard Dudman. Forum Press, 1974. p. \$2.95.

(continued on back cover)



# reading recommended by the book committee

humanities  
social sciences

natural sciences

GUY A. CARDWELL, ROBERT B. HEILMAN,  
FREDERICK J. CROSSON  
EARL W. COUNT, RICHARD BEALE DAVIS,  
LEONARD W. DOOB, ANDREW GYORGY,  
MADELINE R. ROBINTON, VICTORIA SCHUCK,  
JAMES C. STONE, ELLIOT ZUPNICK  
RUSSELL B. STEVENS

## GUY A. CARDWELL

**Edith Wharton.** R. W. B. Lewis. Harper & Row. \$15.

This major biography, rich in social background, uses newly available materials to portray a more dramatic, passionate woman than critics have previously suspected. A revival of interest in Wharton's fiction is likely, but whether her reputation as a minor writer will be revised upward is another question.

**Henry James Letters, Vol. II,** Ed. Leon Edel. Belknap-Harvard. \$15.

A choice selection of characteristically mannered, shrewd letters from a most interesting period, beginning with James' expatriation in 1875 (first briefly in Paris and then in London) and ending with his visit "home" in 1881-83.

**Letters Home by Sylvia Plath.** Ed. Aurelia S. Plath. Harper & Row. \$12.50.

Letters for the most part to her mother by a poet of exceptional talent. Full of her struggle to become a writer, to find a market, and to establish a satisfactory emotional life. Plath committed suicide in 1963 at thirty.

**Essays on the American Revolution.** Eds. Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson. Institute of Early American History and Culture — North Carolina. \$12.95; Norton p. \$3.95.

Those who studied American history one or two academic generations ago may hardly recognize the origins, motives, conditions, and politics of the Revolution as described and speculated on by nine essayists in this excellent bicentennial collection.

**The Mythic Image.** Joseph Campbell assisted by M. J. Abadie. Princeton. Bollingen Series C. \$45.

A final, beautifully produced volume in the Bollingen Series. Pictures dominate the text, but there is a connecting Jungian argument. Various side themes; stupendous range of reference.

**Urbanization at Teotihuacán, Mexico. Vol. 1: The Teotihuacán Map.** Texas. \$30.

For two decades experts have worked toward mapping a pre-Hispanic city that covered more than eight square miles. The first of what will be several volumes (volume 1 comes in two large parts) includes a substantial text, photographs, diagrams, and remarkable maps.

**Copan: Home of the Mayan Gods.**

Francis Robicsek. Museum of the American Indian. \$30.

A surgeon who has spent years familiar-

izing himself with Copan presents a useful general introduction to the Mayans as well as the fullest available study of a chief center of the Classic Maya. Copiously illustrated.

**Atlas of Ancient Archaeology.** Ed. Jacquetta Hawkes. McGraw-Hill. \$19.50. Up-to-date, concise essays by specialists on major regions and sites, accompanied by maps, drawings, and brief bibliographies. Intended for travelers as well as for students.

**Rediscoveries in Art.** Francis Haskell. Cornell. \$19.50.

A prominent art historian examines changes in criteria and vagaries of taste that have elevated and depressed reputations in interesting and sometimes puzzling ways. Reference is to the overthrow of values during the nineteenth century.

**Beyond the Bedroom Wall.** Larry Woiwode. Farrar, Straus, Giroux. \$12.50. A big, episodic family novel that begins in North Dakota in the 1880's. Marked by memories, emotions, and good writing.

**The Sinking of the Odradek Stadium and Other Novels.** Harry Mathews. Harper & Row. \$12.50.

Three novels in one volume for readers who like fantasy, erudition, word-play, and puzzles.

**The Oaten Flute.** Renato Poggioli. Harvard. \$15.

This posthumous collection of essays by a distinguished comparatist is indispensable to anyone seriously interested in the idea of the pastoral.

**Mirror on Mirror.** Reuben Brower. Harvard. \$9.50.

Learned, graceful essays treating translation, imitation, and parody.

**The Living Principle.** F. R. Leavis. Oxford. \$12.95.

A reasoned appeal for civilization by a rigorous elitist who is eager to help develop a cultivated public. As teacher and critic, Leavis has been an astringent influence on our times.

## ALSO RECOMMENDED:

**Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South.** Ira Berlin. Pantheon. \$15.

**Shelley: The Pursuit.** Richard Holmes. Dutton. \$22.50.

**The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett.** Wolfgang Iser. Hopkins. \$12.50.

## MADELINE R. ROBINTON

**The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II.** Fernand Braudel. 2 vols. Harper & Row. \$35.

This is a translation from the French by Sian Reynolds of one of the seminal books of our time. Its impact, almost thirty years after its first publication in France (the translation is of the second edition in 1966), is still being felt more and more deeply in ever widening historical circles. A work of synthesis, it utilizes the work of the oceanographer, the geologist, the geographer, the botanist as well as that of the social scientist: the economist, the sociologist, the political scientist, the anthropologist, and, of course, the historian. In a sense it is a distillation of extensive research in many archives and of wide reading in the historical literature to tell the story of Philip II in Spain from 1550 to 1598 within the context of Mediterranean civilization. However, it is the analysis of this context on two levels, man in his relation to his environment, and "groups and groupings"; economic systems, states, societies, and "how these deep seated forces were at work in the complex area of warfare," that absorb the reader's attention for the first 900 pages. It is so rich and varied a tapestry that no one can hereafter work in this field without having used it. Beautifully written and excellently translated, it is a delight to the specialist and non-specialist alike.

**A History of Spain and Portugal.** Stanley G. Payne, 2 vols. Wisconsin. \$20.

This work by the Professor of Iberian History at Madison admirably fulfills its function of offering a "reasonably full and up-to-date comprehensive history" for the student and general reader and provides a background for the understanding of the contemporary scene.

**Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves.** Sarah B. Pomeroy. Schocken. \$8.95.

In these days of 'rhetoric,' it is good to have a scholarly, judicious, and thoughtful book on the position of women in classical antiquity. Not only is it based on portrayals of women (mostly by men) in art and literature, but also a serious attempt is made to "find out about the realities of women's existence in the ancient world" in the work of contemporary historians, philosophers, and biographers as well as in the law codes, legal documents, and papyri. Both footnotes and bibliography are very useful for further exploration.

**The Formation of National States in Western Europe.** Ed. Charles Tilly. Princeton. \$22.50, p. \$4.95.

At long last more of the social scientists are beginning again to see the value of history. This is a cooperative work sponsored by the Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Science Research Council, because as Charles Tilly, its editor, states in the initial chapter: "we consider the historical experience to be more important than contemporary observation in the formulation or verification of some kinds of generalizations



about large-scale political changes." Analytical studies on the role of the military, of financial policy and taxation, on policing and administrative and technical personnel, provide hypothesis, or "provisional conclusions" useful in understanding "state-making" or "theories of political development" in both historical Europe and the contemporary world.

**Edward VIII.** Frances Donaldson. Lippincott. \$15.

A most readable biography, carefully researched, illuminating the life of Edward VIII while Prince of Wales, his brief and troubled period as king, and his long exile as Duke of Windsor.

**The Prime Ministers from Sir Robert Walpole to Edward Heath.** Ed. Herbert Van Thal. Stein & Day. \$35.

This is a collection of biographical essays on each of the British Prime Ministers by distinguished historians, who are specialists in the specific period. Written to interest the general reader, it yet incorporates the latest research on the subject and offers excellent but brief bibliographic information. Two introductory essays, one, by G. W. Jones on the Office of the Prime Minister down to the middle of the nineteenth century and the second, by Lord Blake, on the changes in that office in the period 1835-1974 provide invaluable studies of constitutional changes. It is both a useful reference book and delightful to read.

**History Remembered, Recovered, Invented.** Bernard Lewis. Princeton. \$6.95. Three lectures by the Dodge Professor of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton on distortion in history, consciously and unconsciously done. It is learned, stimulating, and witty.

## JAMES C. STONE

**Growing Up in America.** Fred M. and Grace Hechinger. McGraw-Hill. \$15. The inseparable link between society and education in American and other cultures is a well known fact that has been described and dissected again and again. Some landmark books have been George Count's *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order* and Harold Benjamin's humorous vignette *The Saber Tooth Curriculum*. Now comes the Hechinger's *Growing Up in America*, claiming to be a "landmark book" in this area, which it is not.

What it is is a popularly written history of education with emphasis on the immediate past and our efforts as a people and as educators to deal with current issues — particularly the poor ethnic minorities, and women. Chapter nine, "Students = Uncertain Vanguard," which chronicles the student activist movement since the 60's, is excellent, alone worth the price of the book.

**The Night Is Dark and I Am Far from Home.** Jonathan Kozol. Boston. \$7.95. In the late sixties, Jonathan Kozol heightened people's awareness of the early educational death of ghetto children by pointing out the failures of American education. His new book, *The Night Is*

*Dark and I Am Far from Home*, proclaims, on the contrary, that our schools are *not* failures, but are successful in their real purpose, the maintenance of society's status quo, which has always been the mission of public schools since their inception. According to Kozol, the reform of the sixties does "not break the bars, but fashions them more strongly, while rendering them less visible. It does not undermine the basic function of the school, but helps to save it from important condemnation by the introduction of bright-colored paint, soft cushions, and gerbil cages." (p. 4). Kozol holds that "el-hi" schools" are a consumer fraud. Although openness in education is advertised, what is sold is political indoctrination.

This book concerns itself with the anesthetization of children of privilege. These children do not question the educational system or the society in which they live because they are manipulated by the illusion of discussion of issues and research projects which, in reality, never allow them to take radical and committed stands.

Kozol cannot understand, perhaps naively, how "liberals" can sit in their well-decorated, art enriched, segregated homes, and not constantly concern themselves about social injustice. The revolutionary instincts of young liberals are diverted by common usage of catch phrases. We sanction certain counter-cultures. Through minor acceptances we leave basic privilege and exploitation untouched. We create another generation like the one before, a generation without a developed ethical sensitivity for the wrongs of society.

"This book is not a call for ten more years of pedagogic games, of scandals, smiles and amusing teachers without passions, principles, or lesson plans. It is a call, instead, for tactics, plans, scenarios of clear and conscious and intentional subversion of public schools. The object of this book is not amelioration but sophisticated and prepared rebellion." (p. 188). Kozol naively and unrealistically suggests that children of the privileged voluntarily give up the advantages of their background; they might end injustice in admission procedures by refusing, enmasse, to attend Ivy League colleges, law schools, medical schools, etc. Kozol gives credit and encourages the formation of Free Schools as alternatives to public education. It is his hope that these Free Schools can develop morally sensitive children.

The book, although provocative at times, is not a great departure from the history of American education. Reformers of the sixties, such as Paul Goodman and Ivan Illich, were well aware that the schools had become apprentice training for corporation and government. Perhaps a unique aspect of the book is its observation of the privileged class of students, noting the same moral "death at an early age," found before in ghetto schools. One wonders why Kozol is so surprised by the indoctrination tactics of the school

since this reflects an historical perspective of American education and is the basic purpose for which schooling exists in all cultures. The emphasis on individualism rather than community has deep roots in American society and American education. A society that stresses individualism does not foster ethical and moral sensitivities toward others.

## ELLIOT ZUPNICK

**Money: Whence It Came, Where It Went.** John K. Galbraith. Houghton Mifflin. \$10. Professor Galbraith's romp through monetary history has one major objective: to demonstrate the ineffectualness of monetary policy. A retelling of the sordid history of monetary *mismanagement* does not, however, constitute a refutation of the monetarist hypothesis. Moreover, in the absence of a rigorous analysis of its impact on the American economy, Galbraith's recommendation that an incomes policy is necessary to achieve a measure of stability in an economy dominated by "price setting" corporations and labor unions, remains a mere assertion. Admirers of the author's justly celebrated wit will not, however, be disappointed with his latest production. It is, indeed, vintage Galbraith.

**Work Incentives and Income Guarantees: The New Jersey Negative Tax Experiment.** Ed. Joseph A. Pechman & P. Mitchell Timpane. Brookings. \$9.95. Between 1968 and 1972, the Office of Economic Opportunity sponsored an extraordinary experiment which was designed to assess the impact of a negative income tax on, *inter alia*, work incentives. This volume reviews the history and the design of the experiment and analyzes its major findings. The most important conclusion drawn from the experiment is that a negative income tax had little effect on the work incentives of male heads of family. Professors Rees and Watts, the project's directors, are certainly justified in concluding that the "burden of proof would now appear to be on those who assert that income maintenance programs for intact families will have a very large effect on labor supply."

**Race and Economics.** Thomas Sowell. McKay. \$9.95. Professor Sowell's brilliant book is unquestionably the most important contribution to date to an understanding of the relationship between race and economic development. Sowell's basic thesis is that an ethnic group's rate of economic progress is determined more by the degree to which members of that group possess those traits highly valued in an advanced industrial society than by discrimination. He concludes that political action programs and government policies aimed at improving an ethnic group's economic status are not likely to succeed if they do not contribute to the development of these traits. With this book, Sowell joins Edward Banfield as one of the most perceptive social analysts of our day.

**On Economics and Society.** Harry G. Johnson. Chicago. \$12.95.  
In this collection of previously published papers, one of the world's leading economists discusses, among other things, Keynesianism, monetarism, economic development, inflation and balance of payments problems. Johnson's essays on American and British universities and research institutes are likely to be of particular interest to the non-economist. While it would be difficult for anyone even faintly familiar with the subject to dismiss lightly Johnson's criticism, his indictment of Britain's higher education system is much too harsh, and his treatment of an inherently complicated problem is, to put it mildly, less than even-handed.

**EARL W. COUNT**

**Ancient Slavery and the Ideal of Man.** Joseph Vogt. Trans. Thomas Wiederman. Harvard. \$12.50.

Ten once-discrete essays done into a readable book by a powerful historian. He re-explores without concessions to current social theories the Levantine, Hellenic, and Roman sociocultural meanings of "slave;" also, the Judaeo-Christian "slave of God" ("Ecce ancilla Domini" — we have softened and distorted *ancilla* to "handmaiden"). The ancient and less-than-ancient humanistic thinkers about slavery seem (to this reviewer) to ride the realities as epiphenomena; still and eventually, they are felt, in the directions taken by rationalizations, transformations, condemnations.

**From Croesus to Constantine: The Cities of Asia Minor and Their Arts in Greek and Roman Times.** George M. A. Henfmann. Michigan. \$15.

The spaded recoveries from western Anatolia may prove the most fortunate thing to have happened to the basement of Occidental culture history in recent decades. A multiform Asianic warp, Ionian plaitings, Semitic ones of another kind, Persian then Roman overlay; eventually the syncretisms of several religions, only one of which was to prevail: the author's quasi-millennium has a tremendous sweep.

It is a pleasant text; and marginal throughout are pointed citations to the case-figures gathered after it. Whether the author's final comparisons of the two colossi themselves who stand at the close and the opening of succeeding millennia are appropriate — the reader be the judge. (This one believes that it takes indeed a particular kind of person to get a particular kind of thing done at a particular time). "Both had little time as art patrons. . . . They both strove to discover and serve the true god. Croesus trusted oracles and prophecies. Constantine trusted dreams and had a horoscope for Constantinople taken by an astrologer. Croesus sent out embassies to find out which god was truly inspired. He selected Apollo, who let him lose an empire. Constantine was told in a dream: "In this sign you will be victorious," and protected by Christ, he won an empire. Croesus invented the gold standard and completed the economic revolution which

gave the western coastlands of Asia Minor imperial leadership for two generations. Constantine founded Constantinople and through the new Christian synthesis of Anatolian, Greek and Roman traditions, western Anatolia became the pivot of the medieval world and the center of the Byzantine Empire which lasted a thousand years." (op. cit. p. 97).

**Community in a Black Pentecostal Church: An Anthropological Study.** Melvin D. Williams. Pittsburgh. \$9.95.  
"In this world but not of it." "Love." A Scriptural sub-subculture within a Black ghetto of Pittsburgh which certainly is not "scriptural." Another case of southern Negroes-come-north and their next generation: their search for an identity-in-common amid a sea of troubles. It all is too complex for present words; yet the author sets it down in a sure hand, with a constrained compassion, and a perspective wider than the little world of the author's co-ethnics. In his account there is a dignity with a touch of greatness.

**A World Elsewhere: One Man's Fascination with the American Southwest.** Jon Manchip White. Crowell. \$8.95.  
Britons who view things American *in situ* are (some of them) a peculiarly civilized, deft and refreshing breed: humanists who can balance forte and foible over a panorama at once of time and of space. The author is such a schooled amateur: the Southwest commences in geology, absorbs a lengthy prehistory of man, maintains his durable descendants, accommodates but does not surrender to the late Hispanos and the terminal Anglos. The latter exercise their garish vices and their rangy virtues, and these manifest that they are quite of a piece with what have shaped Americans their whole country over.

**Plains Indian Mythology.** Alice Marriott & Carol K. Rachlin. Crowell. \$7.95.  
Myths, yes; also, tales, legends, even some contemporary verse (in its original English, and more enlightening than aesthetic). The fidelity and readability, which this indomitable pair put into their earlier *American Indian Mythology* are doing well. An artlessly moving personal experience with informants is a signature to the collection; and finally a compact epilogue bespeaks the whitheraway of the young, present-day American Indian.

**Aboriginal Tribes of Australia: Their Terrain, Environmental Controls, Distribution, Limits, and Proper Names.** Norman B. Tindale. With an Appendix on Tasmanian Tribes, by Rhys Jones. California. \$50.  
A technical summing-up of this basic knowledge, including the author's modern research. Perhaps a definitive study of its kind; carefully labored facts. Not for casual reading.

**Change and Persistence in Thai Society: Essays in Honor of Lauriston Sharp.** Ed. G. William Skinner & A. Thomas Kirsch. Cornell. \$17.50.  
The second of two volumes. Expectably, the eleven contributions cannot be catholic; yet each is an expert specialty.

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### Resignation

**The End of a Presidency.** The Staff of the New York Times. Bantam, 1974. p. \$2.25.  
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**Gerald Ford and the Future of the Presidency.** Jerald F. terHorst. Third Press, Joseph Okpaku Pub., 1974. \$9.95.  
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### Watergate What Did Others See? The Role of the Media

**Year of Scandal: How the Washington Post Covered Watergate and the Agnew Crisis.** Wash. Post Writers Group. Wash. Post, 1973. p. \$3.95.  
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**The D. C. Dialect: How to Master the New Language of Washington in Ten Easy Lessons.** Paul Morgan and Sue Scott. N.Y.U. Press 1975. \$8.95, p. \$3.95.  
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