

tened in his EOB office to the last plea of Edward Cox and David Eisenhower, at three o'clock. "They were eloquent," said Buchanan; they were as familiar with every detail of the transcript as Buzhardt himself, and they knew the dangers to both the party and the country. But they were appealing to Buchanan as a man of the conservative cause. For the sake of history, the record ought to show how much good had been done for the country by Richard Nixon; the record should demonstrate by trial in the Senate the precise reason why he had been removed. The two young men made no attempt to justify the "trivial" crime of which Nixon was guilty. But, they argued, the fight must be made all the way to the Senate floor, because Constitutionally it was important that a President not be removed, by a wave of public opinion; he must be removed only by clear Constitutional judgment of his responsibility and its abuse. The offense, the impeachable offense, must be focused sharp.

"To which Buchanan could only reply: the course they sought could not balance the danger to the President himself, vulnerable to every penalty of law if he were found guilty by the Senate. Nor could it balance the danger to the country—months more of controversy in a lost cause until the vote came on the floor of the Senate, with the country unable to strain the clear and narrow perspectives of crime from the turmoil. There was no purpose to such a fight at such a cost. At about four, the two young men left and, said Buchanan, 'I felt no minds had been changed.'

"What message the sons-in-law carried back to the President from Buchanan must have been a melancholy one. But the messages coming in to him from his party via the Haig track were worse.

"The previous day, Senator Stennis of Mississippi had relayed his message that the President must resign. The previous evening George Bush, National Chairman of the Republican Party, a close personal friend, almost a protege of the President's, had pondered his loyalties, personal and partisan, and on Wednesday morning had delivered to the White House his final judgment as party leader. 'Dear Mr. President,' read the Bush letter, 'It is my considered judgment that you should now resign.'

White is still too kind to his sources. Leonard Garment is called "the conscience of the White House" without the slightest hint of what modest praise that is. Other sources like Buzhardt, Burch, Haig, and Timmons are treated with consistent reverence for their part in the administration's final days. The author seems aware of the motivation for their sudden concern for justice in only one sentence: "The matter was intolerable. Unless he, Haig, acted

immediately, then he, St. Clair, Garment, Burch, Timmons and other honorable men who had served the President unflinchingly would themselves become party to crime."

A Child is Being Beaten. Naomi Feigelson Chase. Holt, \$7.95.

Congress. Randall B. Ripley. Norton, \$7.95.

The Conscience of the Courts: Law and Morals in American Life. Graham Hughes. Anchor/Doubleday, \$8.95.

Conversations with Kennedy. Benjamin C. Bradlee. Norton, \$7.95. The author with his subject's permission kept a record of his social life with the Kennedys. The result is a fascinating picture of John Kennedy's informal off-the-record self at small dinner parties and weekends in the country or on the Cape. Bradlee is sufficiently honest to include enough unfavorable material to have already supplied Bill Safire with a whole column of anti-Kennedy anecdotes.

But Bradlee shares so many of Kennedy's own unfortunate values—e.g. snobbery and machoism—that he seems unaware of much that was wrong with Kennedy.

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Democracy and Poetry. Robert Penn Warren. Harvard, \$5.95.

The Descriptive Analysis of Power. Jack Nagel. Yale Univ., \$11.50.

Detroit: I Do Mind Dying: A Study in Urban Revolution. Dan Georgakas, Marvin Surkin. St. Martin's, \$10.

The Divided Academy: Professors and Politics. Everett C. Ladd, S.M. Lipset. McGraw-Hill, \$12.95.

Fragile Structures: A Story of Oil Refineries, the National Security, and the Coast of Maine. Peter Bradford. Harper's Magazine Press, \$12.95.

Government—Industry and Defense: Economics and Administration. A.M. Agapos. Univ. of Alabama, \$10.95.

The Gun: A "Biography" of the Gun That Killed John F. Kennedy. Henry S. Bloomgarden. Grossman, \$6.95.

A Hero's Welcome: The Conscience of Sergeant James Daly vs. The United States Army. James Daly, Lee Bergman. Bobbs-Merrill, \$8.50.

How the Good Guys Finally Won: Notes From an Impeachment Summer. Jimmy Breslin. Viking, \$6.95. One of America's liveliest reporters returns to journalism with an impeachment book focused around Tip O'Neill and the Judiciary Committee staff. In his vignettes, Breslin provides the kind of shrewdly observed human detail that is so rare in political reporting. Because of the author's access to O'Neill, he was able to come up with a series of stories about the back-stage machinations behind impeachment. For example, on the night that Ford was sworn in as Vice-President, we see James Lynn, the HUD secretary, talking to Tip O'Neill: " 'Tip, did you ever think we'd be standing here in the White House with history being made, The Twenty-Fifth Amendment working for the first time. There's probably never going to be another night like it in the country's history.' 'Not for about eight months,' Tip O'Neill said, Lynn's mouth opened. Tip O'Neill gave this great street laugh of his and jammed a Daniel Webster cigar in his mouth. James Lynn went away from the night with cement in his stomach."

There are a couple of stories the author may regret. One goes this way:

"During the 1960 presidential campaign, O'Neill was an advance man in Missouri for

John F. Kennedy and in the course of his duties he came upon August Busch, who offered to round up 30 people for a \$1,000-a-head breakfast meeting if Kennedy would show up. O'Neill called Kennedy, who quickly asked the crucial question about the proposed meeting. 'What time should I be there?' The breakfast was arranged at an airport motel and Kennedy arrived, stepped into the room, received the money nod from O'Neill, and then said to the guests, 'If you'll excuse Congressman O'Neill and me for a moment.'

"The two of them went out and jammed into what O'Neill remembers as the world's smallest men's room.

" 'Now I have twelve thousand in cash and seventeen thousand in checks, what do you want me to do with it?'

" 'Give the checks to Kenny O'Donnell. I'll take the cash.'

" O'Neill handed Kennedy the cash and watched it disappear into the inside jacket pocket."

The only possible meaning of the story is that Kennedy was going to use the cash personally. The only other reason for cash is to protect the identity of the giver and O'Donnell, Kennedy's most trusted assistant, would certainly have done that. Breslin seems completely unaware that, since even the most radical revisionist has not charged Kennedy with corruption, this story is either untrue or front-page news.

Another anecdote for which the source seems to be that devoted public servant, former Congressman Cornelius E. Gallagher, who while serving a two-year sentence for tax evasion at Allenwood, says he was invited to play tennis by Jeb Stuart Magruder.

"The first time Gallagher went on the tennis court with Magruder, it was plain Magruder was not interested in tennis. He stopped the game and went off to the side of the court and spoke to Gallagher.

" 'If you could do anything to help, the President really would be able to do something for you,' Magruder said.

" 'Like what?' Gallagher said.

"He remembers Magruder saying to him, 'Peter Rodino is going to be wiped out. We've got plenty on him. If you could help, that's all we need. When we come up with something on Rodino, the public will be so revolted that the President could make it through. And then you, you'd be out of here clean. With a pardon. You could practice law.'"

This is supposed to have happened well after Magruder had seen the profit of the Boy Scout route and had no reason to play along with the White House which would scarcely have trusted him anyway since his testimony was helping to send a good part of its staff to jail.

A few of Breslin's other anecdotes have about the same ring of truth as a Reader's Digest "My Most Unforgettable Character" story, although it must be acknowledged that the prose is more like Mary McGrory than the Digest.

And the recitation of meaningless detail—O'Neill's "Daniel Webster" cigars and his "worn Impala" car—sometimes becomes tedious.

On the other hand, there are two marvelous pages of lawyers in politics, some really fine lines, e.g. "The thought immediately occurs to you as you walk into the cloak-room that Congress is afternoon baseball," and St. Clair "appeared to like the television lights too much to have any confrontation with the client that might lead to a new lawyer," and one heretofore unpublished allegation by Dean Burch that Nixon was the only one who could have erased the tapes.

Idols of the Tribe: Group Identity and Political Change. Harold R. Isaacs. Harper & Row, &7.95. This book is a substantial expansion and elaboration of an essay by Mr. Isaacs called "The House of Muumbi" that appeared in the October, 1971 issue of *The Washington Monthly*.

The Invisible Crash. James Dines. Random House, \$10.95. As traditional economic "authorities" run out of answers fringe theories, including those of gold-bugs like Dines have attracted wider audiences. This book is at times alarming in its oversimplification, but useful for laying out what is becoming an influential theory.

Jesse Jackson: The Man, the Movement, the Myth. Barbara A. Reynolds. Nelson-Hall, \$9.95.

Lobbying for Freedom: A Citizen's Guide to Fighting Censorship at the State Level. Kenneth P. Norwick. St. Martin's, \$8.95.

Looking Away: Hollywood and Vietnam. Julian Smith. Scribner's, \$8.95.

Multinational Firms and Asian Exports. Benjamin I. Cohen. Yale Univ., \$12.50.

Nader: Making of a Revolutionary. Hays Gorey. Grosset & Dunlap, \$8.95. Gorey is a respected reporter whose reputation will unfortunately not be enhanced by this tiresome recitation of the highlights of the Public Citizen's career, padded with pointless anecdotes and lengthy quotes from the Great Man. We learn once again that Nader sleeps four hours a night and lives in a cheap rooming house. What we don't get is an intelligent analysis of Nader's impact on public life. The author concludes with an irritating fantasy chapter on a Nader presidential race, filled with enough homilies on civic participation to arouse a new sympathy for corporate executives.

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Nothing But the Best: The Luck of the Jewish Princess. Leslie Tonner. Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, \$6.95.

Of Thee, Nevertheless, I Sing. William Lee Miller. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, \$10. A series of graceful, carefully-crafted, generally intelligent, but not terribly original essays on American political life by a former Adlai Stevenson speech-writer. Miller is most at home with the 1950s and early 1960s—his essay on Eisenhower is the strongest piece in the book. But even here his underlying themes are not very striking—Eisenhower represented America's deprecation of politics, Kennedy's values were those of the technocrat. Even more predictable is his liberal academic's outrage over Watergate. He entitles one essay, "Kicking Richard Nixon Around Just One Last Time" and sprinkles the rest of the text with observations like: "The Watergaters demonstrated again and again that they did not understand. . . their moral obligation to their adversary in a democratic system."

The Oil Security System: An Import Strategy for Achieving Oil Security and Reducing Oil Prices. Daniel H. Newlon, Norman V. Breckner. Heath, \$9.50.

On Economics and Society: Selected Essays. Harry G. Johnson. Univ. of Chicago, \$15.

On the Creation of a Just World. Saul H. Mendlovitz, ed. Free Press/Macmillan, \$9.95.

The Other Government: The Unseen Power of Washington Lawyers. Mark J. Green. Grossman, \$10.

Police Report: A View of Law Enforcement. Jerry Wilson. Little, Brown, \$9.95. The innovative former police chief of Washington, D.C. provides a dull survey of the major problem areas of police administration. His own success at reducing crime between 1969 and 1972 offers a few lessons to other cities, including the importance of requiring district commanders to be personally responsible for crime control in their areas. The book is surprisingly short on crime-stopping suggestions, but he does note the unimportance of requiring a college education for patrolmen and administrators.

Portrait of a President. Hugh Sidey. Harper & Row, \$12.95.

A Psychohistory of Zionism. Jay Y. Gonen. Mason/Charter, \$15.

Public Work, Public Workers. Ralph J. Flynn. New Republic, \$5.95. Written by the former executive director of the Coalition of American Public Employees, this is a book about a newly discovered group of downtrodden and exploited Americans—the government employees. Flynn claims the book is a brief for extending the benefits of the Wagner Act to the public sector, but he never really develops his argument. Instead he relies on flat assertions such as, there is "if not an active desire, at least a broad tolerance, for treating public workers, economically, and in other ways, as second-class citizens." At a time when New York City teeters on the edge of bankruptcy because of a generation of extravagant pay-offs to its municipal employees, a lament like this borders on the ludicrous. This is the kind of book which could have been infuriating if only Flynn had done a coherent and thorough job of putting it together. Rather than a statement of the new militance of the Albert Shanker, Jerry Wurf (who wrote the introduction) variety, this book is little more than an inept cut-and-paste job.

The Second Great Crash. Frances Cairncross, Hamish McRae. Prentice-Hall, \$5.95.

Social Policy: An Introduction. Richard Titmuss. Pantheon, \$7.95.

The Speed Culture. Lester Grinspoon, M.D. Harvard, \$15.

Stop the Presses, I Want to Get Off! Richard Pollak, ed. Random House, \$8.95.

The Thin Yellow Line. William Moore. St. Martin's, \$8.95.

This Soldier Still at War. John Bryan. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, \$9.95. A competent, sympathetic look at the life and times of Joe Remiro, one of the founders of the SLA. Bryan traces Remiro's evolution from an apolitical working-class Catholic to bitter Vietnam veteran to violent revolutionary. Remiro is now in prison, charged with the murder of a black school superintendent. Bryan uses Remiro as a symbol of the upheavals of the late 1960s, but he is really representative of no one but himself, worth a magazine article, but not a book.

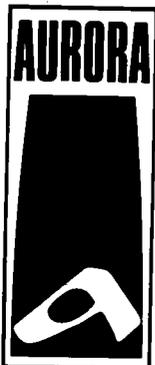
The Victims. Frank Carrington. Arlington House, \$9.95.

War in the Shadows. Robert Asprey. Doubleday, \$35.

War Without Weapons: Non-Violence in National Defence. Anders Boserup, Andrew Mack. Schocken, \$6.50/2.95.

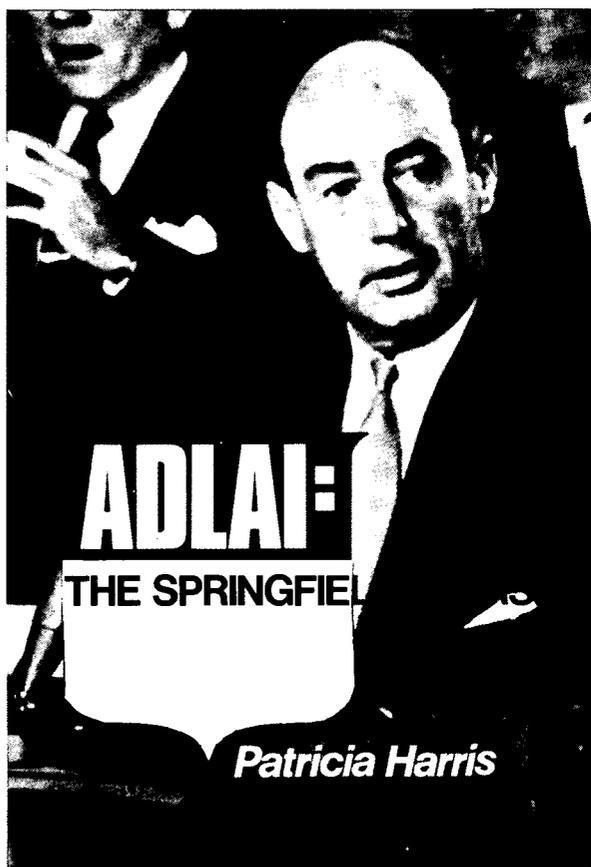
Who's Afraid of 1984? The Case for Optimism in Looking Ahead in the 1980s. Jerome Tuccille. Arlington House, \$7.95.

Why Survive? Being Old in America. Robert N. Butler, M.D. Harper & Row, \$15.



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