

Joseph Tumulty—who had always smoothed his relations with reporters, Wilson saw his press coverage deteriorate badly. He and Tumulty planned to recoup their publicity losses by a whirlwind national speaking tour, but the damage had been done; the aborted trip could not rescue his League.

Robert Hilderbrand has produced an informative and cogent study of the rise of presidential dominance over public opinion in foreign affairs. At times he adheres too closely to his archival material and fails to venture onto promising analytical terrain. Still, his scholarship is solid and his conclusion is important, especially in light of current debates.

"[I]t makes little sense to accuse public ignorance of causing deficiencies in foreign affairs....It should be clear that whatever has gone wrong with America's position in the world remains the sole responsibility of executive officials. They, not public opinion, have had the authority to make decisions; no real power has ever been given to the people." [WV]

THE USSR IN IRAN

by **Faramarz Fatemi**

(A.S. Barnes and Co.; 219 pp.; \$6.95)

Janet Kestenberg Amighi

A reader wishing to fortify his view that history repeats itself need look no further than Iran. In the last century alone, the British, the Russians, the Germans, and the Americans have repeatedly entrenched themselves in Iran, competing with one another for dominance. Iran, in fact, was the first place where the lines of political and economic conflict between Anglo-American and Soviet interests were drawn. Dr. Fatemi's study, though focusing on the brief period between 1941 and 1947, nevertheless encapsulates processes of superpower manipulation and Third World defensive strategy that recur in Iran—as elsewhere.

The first chapter describes the rise in 1922 of Riza Shah after a century in which weak monarchs had allowed Britain and Russia to acquire undue influence. By 1936, Riza Shah began to establish more advantageous technical and trade relations with Germany. Accusing the shah of siding with the Axis powers, Britain and Russia invaded Iran in 1941 and re-entrenched them-

selves—Russia near the oil fields of the north and Britain near the oil fields of the south. They forced Riza Shah to abdicate in favor of his young son, Mohammed, who remained in the background until 1953.

After the fall of the repressive Riza Shah government, a political free-for-all ensued, with pro-Russian, pro-British, royalist, clerical, military, and nationalist factions attempting to determine policy. Chapter 2 considers the disorder produced by internal political change and compounded by the interference of several foreign interests competing for oil concessions.

Chapters 3 to 6 give a detailed and fascinating account of Russian support of an independence movement in the province of Azerbaijan and of the Iranian Government's attempt to dislodge Russia and reassert national control. Britain, fearing that the eviction of Russia from the north might jeopardize its own position in the south, urged the Iranian Government, which changed six times within this period, to cede the province to Russia. Prime Minister Qavam Saltane turned to a third power—this time the U.S.—to neutralize the others. His brilliant use of Russian weakness and American strength led to Russia's withdrawal and the collapse of the Azerbaijani insurgency.

The epilogue covers, in a mere thirteen pages, the aftermath of Qavam's success. In 1951 the nationalist prime minister, Dr. Mossadegh, turned his attention to nationalizing the British oil companies in the south. In response, America joined Britain in a boycott of Iranian oil and the freezing of Iranian assets abroad. By the end of 1953 the CIA had engineered the fall of Mossadegh's government and the reinstatement with full powers of Mohammed Shah Pahlavi. The last five pages deal with the rule of Mohammed Shah from 1953 to 1979, painting a vivid picture of mounting political repression.

A fuller understanding of the relationship of Russian and Anglo-American conflict to the fall of the shah and the 1978-79 revolution would have been gained had the epilogue continued the story of foreign investment in Iran past 1953. Also missed is a discussion, however brief, of the political role of the Moslem clergy and of the malfunctioning of the economy prior to the fall of the shah. If it fails to provide a "historical background of the Iranian revolution," this is nonetheless a clearly

written and absorbing work on a less frequently covered issue—the divisive effect of foreign interference on Iranian nationalism.

Dr. Fatemi utilizes Persian reference materials and his own interviews with political personalities to produce a highly detailed and often suspenseful narrative interspersed with insightful analysis. The knowledgeable reader may find an analogy between the events of 1941-53 and the present unstable political situation in postrevolutionary Iran. [WV]

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Janet Kestenberg Amighi, now completing a doctorate in anthropology, lived in Iran for seven years.

Briefly Noted

SOLZHENITSYN: THE MORAL VISION

by **Edward E. Ericson, Jr.**
(Eerdmans, 237 pp.; \$12.95)

Ericson of Calvin College, Michigan, delineates the religious thematic of Solzhenitsyn's vocation, thus accenting a dimension of his work that either embarrasses or outrages more secular critics. He convincingly demonstrates that Solzhenitsyn's "heresy" with respect to contemporary culture is to insist on the primacy of the spiritual over the political. He takes each of Solzhenitsyn's translated works in turn, and the result is therefore somewhat repetitious. Nonetheless, the crucial point is well made. Foreword by Malcolm Muggeridge.

—Richard John Neuhaus

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BENJY LOPEZ

by Barry B. Levine

(Basic Books; 280 pp.; \$12.95)

Benjy Lopez is a fifty-eight-year-old Puerto Rican who at various times in his colorful life has been a soldier, unsuccessful pimp, cab driver, merchant seaman, university student, and salesman. In 1966, after twenty years in New York City, he returned to Puerto Rico, remarried at age forty-five, and became a solid citizen. This is his swift and enjoyable autobiography, as told to friend and sociologist Barry Levine, a long-time student of Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans.

Benjy is not typical, but he is a type. He has never worked as a dishwasher or factory hand or run a neighborhood grocery store. He has had many scrapes with the military, with the New York City and San Juan police; but he has never served a jail sentence.

Benjy has the personality and wits of the classic survivor who professes to despise "the system," whether the U.S. Army or NYC cops, but who relies on cunning rather than confrontation. A raconteur, womanizer, hustler, and operator, he bristles at being called a criminal and in fact has been mostly on a gray rather than the dark side of the law. His is a universal type. He is found in the sly spider stories of the Caribbean and West Africa. He appears in the pages of the picaresque novels of Cer-

vantes. He is Saul Bellow's memorable Augie March. Exactly because he is a type and not typical, Benjy's story is much more interesting and refreshing than the countless one-dimensional sociological studies of Caribbean and Latin American emigrants to the U.S., or Mediterranean emigrants to Western Europe.

— Aaron Segal

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES: INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL

AND INDIVIDUAL DIMENSIONS
edited by Nelson Horn

(University of Southern California Press; 293 pp.; \$18.00)

The title indicates what a wide net was thrown when the conference, from which these essays are drawn, was in the planning stage. The topics range from a brief essay on "The Individual in Society East and West" to one on "Rights and Responsibilities of Newsmen"; from U.S. policy on human rights to public school education. A number of good people contribute—Adda B. Bozeman, E. Raymond Platig, Barbara C. Jordan, Anthony Lewis, Kenneth Thompson, Mark Schneider, Irving Louis Horowitz, and others. It is, however, difficult to find the real center around which these essays should cohere.

One must then be grateful for the

particular contributions. It is possibly not an accident that the two longest essays offer most—those by Kenneth Thompson and Adda Bozeman. They have room to explore some of the complexities of what are truly complex issues. Dr. Bozeman's essay on "The Roots of the American Commitment to the Rights of Man" is particularly recommended. It receives, incidentally, a comment by Ernest W. Lefever, whose appointment as secretary of state for human rights in the present administration has stirred up a dust storm. The lucid essay by Mark L. Schneider, who served as deputy assistant secretary for human rights in the Carter administration, serves to remind us how the policies of that administration have been overtaken by recent history, of how differently Reagan appointees assess, for example, Southern Africa and the Southern Cone of Latin America. Some comments by Sir Henry Koeppler, formerly under secretary of state for the United Kingdom, also remind us, however, that there are deep principles to which both administrations would claim allegiance. "Let us remember that foreign policy, however brilliant, however much supported by the latest armaments or by the best political warfare...cannot in a free society do its job if it is bereft of a firm belief in human rights." With such principles, the application is all.

— James Finn