

what Mason and Brown are complaining about is the U.N. food program for the Khmer Rouge, which they feel should have stopped after the Khmer Rouge were no longer literally starving. And indeed, feeding those disciplined mass murderers was deeply and properly disturbing to most of those who had to do it. Yet it is doubtful that UNICEF and other U.N. agencies could have furnished food and excluded them. The hard reality is that when famine strikes in the midst of armed political conflict, those with guns eat first. The Khmer Rouge, left unfed, would have attacked the civilian refugee populations along the border that were receiving food. Relief organizations should, of course, strive to adhere to their humanitarian mandates. But as famine relief workers inside Cambodia could no doubt testify, helping people in need may require compromise and cooperation with prevailing military-political powers.

Its limitations notwithstanding, *Rice, Rivalry, and Politics* is well worth reading both as a case study in relief management and as an account of an important aspect of the ongoing Cambodian tragedy. **WV**

ENVOY TO THE MIDDLE WORLD by George McGhee

(Harper & Row; xxii + 460 pp.; \$25.00)

James W. Spain

While Dean Acheson was "Present at the Creation," concentrating on reconstruction in Europe and the Far East, George McGhee was devoting himself to the "Middle World"—that vast area reaching from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Bay of Bengal and from the Caspian Sea to the Cape of Good Hope. This first volume of McGhee's memoirs deals with his government service during the early postwar years, when eleven independent countries of the Near East, South Asia, and Africa were just on their way to becoming the sixty-six they are today, when Britain had begun to withdraw from responsibility east of Suez and the United States to assume it, and when the Soviet Union had initiated its prowl for advantage in the Third World. We see McGhee first as special assistant for economic affairs and coordinator for the Greek-Turkish Aid Program (1946-49), then as assistant secretary of state for the Near East, South Asia, and Africa (1949-51), and as ambassador to Turkey (1951-53). Later, under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, he was to become counselor of the Department of State and chairman of the Policy Planning Coun-

cil, under secretary for political affairs, and ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany.

The author's accounts of the events in which he participated are vivid, personal, and crammed with local color. But McGhee has added to each chapter two additional elements that make his memoirs even more valuable and readable: a summary of basic facts and events before and after the period he is describing, in effect providing a current handbook on the Middle World, and the liberal use of both American and British official sources of the period. (Though a Rhodes Scholar and self-confessed Anglophile himself, McGhee sometimes appears in the British records as an impetuous Texas cowboy trying to hasten the staid and dignified British lion's departure from its overseas lair.)

McGhee's thirty-two chapter headings are themselves exciting—for example, "Early Days of the Arab Refugee Program," "Introduction to Apartheid," "Negotiations With the King of Oil," "End of an Era in Tunisia and Libya," "Greek-Turkish Entry Into NATO," "Britain and Egypt at the Brink," and "Talks With Mossadeq." For students of postwar history concerned with

the makings of our present world, McGhee's chapters on meeting with Nehru in Washington and in New Delhi provide a graphic description of the brooding, evasive Indian leader and of the vast conceptual gulf that separated the governments in these two capitals. A similar pair of chapters on the shah of Iran's first official visit to Washington in November, 1949, and on McGhee's visit to Teheran in March, 1951, depicts an attractive but overly ambitious young ruler with no political base and a compulsion for things military. Drawing on eighty hours of conversation with Iranian Premier Mossadeq in October, 1951, McGhee sympathetically details the virtues and deficiencies of that remarkable Iranian populist. The author's description of the discussions and negotiations surrounding nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and of the narrow outlook and peculiar stubbornness of its chairman, Sir William Fraser, will be basic material for any further writing on the subject. In fact, much of what was to come in U.S. relations with both Iran and India are foreshadowed in McGhee's contemporary accounts.

The brief chapter on "Developing an African Policy" constitutes a micro-encyclo-

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pedia of U.S. attitudes and actions vis-à-vis that continent. Washington consultants based the development of an African policy on the "malleability of the African people" and "our influence with the colonial powers." The diplomats gave "no hint of boldness with respect to the promotion of decolonialization..., [but] when it came to protecting our vital interests in countering Communism, there emerged in the conference a spirit of activism." This eighteen-page chapter ends with a few thoughtful pages on what has happened in Africa since, including McGhee's reactions to some of its leaders. Generally sympathetic to the first-generation statesmen of the continent and their problems, McGhee is also candid and objective.

Most readers will find here both generous helpings of fact and precise and vivid eyewitness accounts of some of the great events of our time. Those responsible for foreign affairs will find McGhee himself a good subject for study. In part it is McGhee's particular background that makes this so: B.Sc. University of Oklahoma, Ph.D. Oxford; naval officer and State Department bureaucrat; oil millionaire and liberal po-

litical thinker; activist-organizer and skilled conceptualizer. Certainly, McGhee has brought to foreign affairs the widest possible experience available to any American.

More important than his varied background, however, is the point of view, the mindset, McGhee brought to his tasks. This viewpoint obviously emerged early in his career, and it is in sharp focus in his book. Profit and power, success and security are important, but they are not the sole objective of national policy. Compassion, opportunity, equity, and a respect for human dignity have a place in the American tradition as well. And, McGhee believes, when this mixed American ethos is launched into the international field, knowledge and understanding of the other party's point of view becomes as essential to agreement and cooperation as the assertion of power. *What* George McGhee did in 1946-51 is impressive. Even more impressive is *how* he did it. **WV**

**PARADOXES OF POWER:
THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT
IN THE EIGHTIES**

by Adam Yarmolinsky
and Gregory D. Foster
(Indiana University Press; 160 pp.; \$15.00)

John B. Keeley

This small book is good and useful; in a couple of ways it is unique among the many that are published on national security matters. *Paradoxes of Power* neither screams at us that the massive Soviet military establishment will soon crush the free world, nor does it cry that America is being converted into a garrison state by the insatiable demands of the "military-industrial complex."

No mind or group of minds can fully comprehend or describe the complexity of our national defense organizations, much less appraise the pervasiveness of the "defense culture" within our society. However, no book I have read in the past ten years comes closer than Yarmolinsky and Foster's to providing us with an image of the dimensions, nature, and impact, however murky, of the military establishment upon our society. There are chapters addressing "The Elements of the Problem," "Gauging the Establishment's Reach," "The Impact on the Economy," "The Impacts on Society," "Civilian Control," and "Alternate Futures."

This sweep of the defense horizon does not pause over mind-boggling cost overruns

or the horrors of nuclear war. Rather, in the measured, polished prose that one might expect from a lawyer-scholar such as Yarmolinsky, we are offered a perspective that looks beyond the current turbid debates over national security and foreign policy. The book's syntax for understanding the role of the military in our society is comprised of four paradoxes of power facing us as we develop our national security policies in the years ahead:

- Deterrence: "The only way to avoid the ultimate conflict... is to be prepared to respond with overwhelming force to an attack against which there is no adequate defense."

- Limited response: "The stronger a great power the more careful it must be to limit its military objectives so as not to escalate to general nuclear war. A small country, an Israel or a Syria, even a Britain or a France, can afford to take risks or embark on a military adventure with reasonable confidence that it will not be precipitating a nuclear Armageddon."

- Military bureaucracy: "The size and complexity of the military establishment that a superpower must maintain in order to preserve an international power equilibrium may be beyond the capacity of a national government to manage or contain within the reasonable limits of domestic political power struggles."

- Peace: "How can a nation purportedly dedicated to peaceful purposes live with a large military establishment that plays a predominant role in national affairs? But on the other hand, how can it live in the world today without such an establishment?"

The work of the book is to illuminate these paradoxes. It is not a book of answers; there will be no dancing in the streets. But it is a book that helps us understand and learn more about the organizations in which we have placed our primary trust. **WV**

CONTRIBUTORS

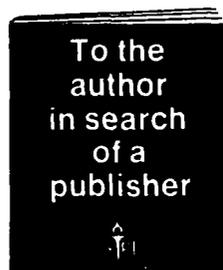
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