

ligence, photographic aerial intelligence and satellite intelligence. They conclude, in part, that:

The UKUSA security and intelligence community, with more than a quarter of a million full-time personnel and a total budget of US\$16-18 billion, constitutes one of the largest bureaucracies in the world. As such, it not only wields enormous political power and influence, but also exhibits most of the typical attributes of large bureaucratic organizations, including a tendency to define and pursue bureaucratic political objectives which are not necessarily in complete concordance with the national interests of the five UKUSA countries themselves.

For example, Chapter 11, "Discord, non-cooperation and deceit within the UKUSA Community," is instructive, noting that intelligence services "like to work in a dense fog of security, in which the germs of inter-secret service jealously breed fast." As a single and typical example, Bill Sullivan, an intelligent and charming former Assistant Director of the FBI, wrote about his long-time boss, J. Edgar Hoover: "He seemed to have a particular dislike of the RCMP . . . Hoover didn't like the British, didn't care for the French, hated the Dutch, and couldn't stand the Australians. He wouldn't meet with the Director of British Intelligence, even as a courtesy."

There are also indications that the US National Security Agency has monitored the communications of other members of the "Community" — including Canada — and that the CIA has similarly acted against its closest allies — on their own territory.

Despite temptations to do so, the authors do not believe that the reasons for these obvious flaws in a so-called "Community" result from the "overzealousness and narrowmindedness of security officials against the wishes of their more 'liberal' political superiors," but rather they search for a broader explanation:

Such an explanation may be that the subversion being combatted is not subversion of the State but subversion of the prevailing political-economic-social order.

In other words, the status quo. If this is a correct analysis — and the case for it is persuasive — freedom of thought and action within a framework of orderly change in these five nations may be seriously jeopardized.

On reading the title of this work, *The Ties That Bind*, my mind slipped back to the innocent and comforting words of John Fawcett's old Anglican hymn, *Blest be the Tie that Binds*:

Blest be the tie that binds
Our hearts in Christian love;
The fellowship of kindred minds
Is like to that above.

Ironically, it was not this paean to shared burdens, pain and friendship that inspired the title. Indeed, it was twofold — a quotation from George Bush, a former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and a portion of a song by Bruce Springsteen, known to the young of this decade as "The Boss." Although there is probably no

connection, the acronym BOSS in this book stands for the Bureau of State Security in South Africa. The ties may bind, but they ain't necessarily blessed.

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China from within and without

by Ronald C. Keith

China's Economic Reforms edited by Lin Wei and Arnold Chao. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982, 337 pages.

Western sinology is currently locked in controversy as to whether Chinese economic reform constitutes an elaborate development of selected aspects of past policy or a fundamental break with the past. The Western media have freely speculated on the inherently capitalist nature of these reforms. As is stated in the foreword of this volume, international attention has focused on Chinese economic readjustment and reform for two reasons: the need to assess the relative merits of capitalism and socialism; and the desire to discover in such reform trading and investment opportunities. The present selection of readings is an excellent antidote to some of the more exaggerated views as to the course of Chinese reform in so far as it is cast as a vindication of modern capitalism and the acquisitive nature of man.

This volume includes several chapters by Chinese specialists who focus in theoretical and practical terms on the relation between the different sectors of the Chinese economy, the conditions under which market mechanisms are necessary, the extension of managerial responsibility in enterprise, the definition of commodity exchange within state planning, the nature of "socialist" as opposed to "capitalist" competition, and the relationship of the various forms of ownership in the Chinese economy.

The reforms are experimental in nature, but they have significant historical dimensions and should be viewed in the context of ongoing debate. The reader will find in the several chapters interesting areas of disagreement among the authors with respect to matters of emphasis, but by and large the various presentations are consistent with formal Party positions. This is explicit, for example, in the emphasis on the publicly-owned means of production and the repudiation of Cultural Revolution economic policy and "egalitarianism." Precedent for the expansion of commodity production into the area of producing the means of production can be found in Mao Zedong's critique of Stalin's policies. Contemporary theory merely reiterates that commodity production is apparent in previous stages of economic development, but moves on to suggest that "individual economy" is not to be considered exclusive to either