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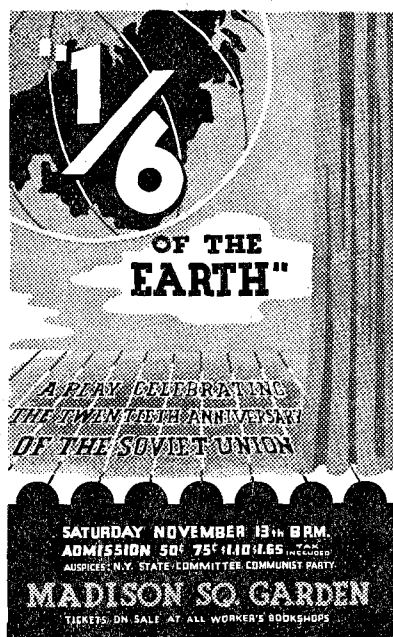
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teur," the watcher. In *Rehearsal in Oviedo* Peyré is no longer a spectator but a participant; the nostalgic, indirect quality of *Glittering Death* is gone, and there is only clear statement. That this clear statement is achieved with difficulty—as witness Morenù's confusion—there is no doubt, but there is also no doubt that in it, in all such tendency, there is health.

Mr. Torres's translation of *Rehearsal in Oviedo* is excellent; the feeling of rain, of autumn odors, is conveyed with purity; when the emotion must mount as it does in the finest scene in the novel—the dying Morenù throwing his useless dynamite against the cathedral, the translation moves with a sharp and penetrating fervor. **MILLEN BRAND.**

Should America Quit China?

FORTY YEARS OF AMERICAN-JAPANESE RELATIONS, by Foster Rhea Dulles. D. Appleton-Century Co. \$3.

IMPERIALIST antagonisms in the Far East are fascinating to study, because they are so full of apparent paradoxes. Especially is this true of American antagonisms, past and present. Even the casual student is soon confronted with a number of obscure and complicated problems, the more difficult because at first glance they do not seem to square with expectations. For example, it is well known that the actual economic stake of the United States in China is comparatively small, only some 1.3 percent of our total foreign investment. Our trade with China is less than 3 percent of our total foreign trade. In both trade and investment, our stake in Japan is considerably larger. Yet, the prestige and power of the United States have for the most part been thrown, even if ineffectually, on the side of China against Japan.

One school of thought has arrived at a very simple solution. American policy in the Far East is explained as an inexplicable aberration. That Secretary Stimson should have made a determined effort to keep Japan out of Manchuria is considered the private whim of an ambitious but fumbling novice in world politics. This theory seems very satisfying because it does away with the problem which it started to answer. Like all purely idealistic constructions, the problem vanishes only to reappear under a somewhat different, but nonetheless bothersome, guise.

For it may be asked: how does it happen that an aberration can be so persistent? How does it happen that Mr. Stimson should have been possessed of the same aberration as Mr. Hughes, Mr. Hughes as Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Wilson as Mr. Hay? A span of about thirty-five years separated Secretary Stimson from Secretary Hay, yet both were moved by identical whims. They all adopted a "positive" policy in the Far East for the defense of China's territorial integrity as the necessary concomitant to the Open Door. Mr. Stimson was secretary of state in a Republican administration. The Republicans were

largely responsible for having defeated Mr. Wilson's attempt to bring the United States into the League of Nations. Since the early post-war years they had never weakened in their opposition to the League. Yet this Republican secretary in a Republican administration went farther in his collaboration with the League of Nations in 1931-33 than the most optimistic supporter of the League would have dared to predict in 1920.

Forty Years of American-Japanese Relations is the latest addition to the literature of the "aberration" interpretation of American Far Eastern policy. Mr. Dulles finds American statesmen lavish in making, but extremely feeble in backing up, their promises or threats. When it came to put up or shut up, the United States has in the past shut up. That happened from 1901, when Secretary Hay ruefully confessed that he could not make czarist Russia conform to the Open Door policy, until 1933 when Secretary Stimson finally admitted that he could not make Japan release its grip on Manchuria. Mr. Dulles's book really consists of a running summary of American Far Eastern diplomacy with special emphasis on those occasions when promise outdistanced achievement. In conclusion, he bids us leave Asia to Japan, surrender China immediately, reconcile ourselves to the loss of this largest of potential markets, make no threats, and thereby save ourselves the mortification of backing down.

I have placed Mr. Dulles in the "aberration" school not because everything he says is false, but because his general viewpoint is unrealistic, because he hangs his whole analysis on a "single set of circumstances" (as he himself puts it). His "single set of circumstances" is the failure of the United States to apply force to carry out threats. Why there was such a failure and why the attempt persisted in spite of the failure never comes within the scope of his study. He is content to record the fact and to put forward a deceptively simple prescription for avoiding future embarrassment: let the United States henceforth make no threats against Japan nor promises to China. This advice has been offered for forty years and it has never been followed. That alone should have given Mr. Dulles some pause.

For the contradictory position of the United States in the Far East is itself the result of objective circumstances over which diplomats have limited control. Mr. Dulles would have it seem as though our secretaries of state have been very dull fellows who did not know that bluffs are sometimes called. The truth is that our secretaries of state had to participate in the scramble for concessions in China after Great Britain and Japan had already preempted the most strategic positions of privilege and power. They have tried to safeguard the present and potential interests of American capitalism in the Far East by such means as they found at hand. It is true that they had to back down from time to time, sometimes at the cost of considerable loss of

prestige in the process. But, what is more important, they never backed down to such a point that they could not try again as occasion arose.

American capitalism has not surrendered Asia to Japan because it cannot afford to take such a step. It cannot mortgage the future to the present at a price that makes redemption impossible. The struggle for markets grows more, rather than less, intense and no imperialist power can afford to sacrifice the greatest potential market in the world without a struggle.

It is not only a matter of economic interest. The relationship of forces between the fascist and the democratic powers is also involved. Any strengthening of Japan strengthens the whole fascist front. Japan's conquest of Manchuria inspired Italy's conquest of Ethiopia and the Italo-German invasion of Spain. The fascist powers aim to grow more powerful, primarily at the expense of the Soviet Union, but they are also potential threats and present rivals to such capitalist powers as France, Great Britain, and the United States. In the struggle for colonies, fascist Germany looks longingly at the British empire. In the struggle for trade, Japan has begun to give the United States keen competition in the markets of South America. Germany has already ousted the United States as chief trader with Brazil. It is not a settled question whether the fascists will be able to swing the democratic powers over to a united front against the Soviet Union. The last word in this respect will be said by the masses, for the people are strong enough, provided they are united, to decide the issue against the fascist front. Meanwhile, the democratic powers can little afford to permit the fascists to grow powerful at their expense.

Mr. Dulles's advice of withdrawal and surrender is unrealistic because it disregards the objective forces which are bound to keep the United States in the Far Eastern arena. His advice has not been followed because it does not come to grips with the real economic and political forces which have driven American imperialism into the Far East. The problem before the American people is the nature of American involvement, not whether there should be any involvement at all. Those who counsel withdrawal are butting their heads against historical forces which are rooted in economics rather than whims.

It is not enough to say that our government has failed to exert enough force to carry out its threats. When Great Britain was a close ally of Japan, it was not possible to muster enough force against both. American imperialism was forced to mark time, meanwhile keeping the record clear for future occasions when the alignment of forces might be more favorable. Indeed, Mr. Dulles recognizes no difference between the pre-war and post-war periods and treats every situation in the same way. Today, however, the Soviet Union can be counted on to protect China's independence, Britain's traditional ties with Japan appear badly shaken, and the Chinese

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people are no longer disunited. The problem of force takes on a distinctly different aspect when it is applied collectively against an aggressor to safeguard the victim of aggression from its application by one imperialist against another for possession of the victim. American imperialism cannot maintain its trade with China unless China is free and independent. In this sense, Chinese independence can profit from an imperialist antagonism of long standing.

Mr. Dulles's book is important at this time, for it evokes a consideration of the questions which are central to America's role in the present war in China. That his own achievement is less than his promise may be less important than that he made the attempt in a systematic and serious way.

THEODORE DRAPER.

Brief Review

THE RAINS CAME, by Louis Bromfield. Harper & Bros. \$2.75.

Louis Bromfield is one of the most polished of our popular novelists. His characters are filled with the stuff of fairy tales, but they look like life, and within these bounds he writes with taste, imagination, and genuine literary style. And so his India, which is the background of this novel, is not the India of British imperialism, but it is an India of struggle, the heroes in this case being the cultured and educated Indians and the villains the fanatic priests, while the British government merely looks on with calm disapproval.

The story itself is one of tangled loves. There is a touching picture of two middle-aged spinsters; another of a sensitive daughter of bigoted missionaries; a third of an English titled lady with designs upon a handsome Indian surgeon. Toward the middle of the book there comes an earthquake, followed by floods and plague. Half the characters are killed, and the rest of the story might be termed "soul regeneration." By far the best part of the long book is the first half, which might just as well have taken place in Sauk Center, Ill., and which has some sections of first class novel writing. The whole thing is very readable, however, offering not a great deal to the mind but avoiding on the whole any insult to the intelligence.

W. S.



Recently Recommended Books

To Have and Have Not, by Ernest Hemingway. Scribner's. \$2.50.

The Labor Spy Racket, by Leo Huberman. Modern Age. 35c.

New Writing, edited by John Lehmann. Knopf. \$2.75.

Night at Hogswallow, by Theodore Strauss. Little, Brown. \$1.25.

Famine, by Liam O'Flaherty. Random House. \$2.50.

Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy, by James S. Allen. International. \$1.25.

If War Comes, by R. Ernest Dupuy and George Fielding Eliot. Macmillan. \$3.

When China Unites, by Harry Gannes. Knopf. \$2.50.

... And Spain Sings. Fifty Loyalist Ballads. Edited by M. J. Bernadete and Rolfe Humphries. Vanguard. \$1.

Men Who Lead Labor, by Bruce Minton and John Stuart. Modern Age Books. 35c. Book Union selection.

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