

color to the people who walk in it. He describes the Tibetan officials who passed through Hongkong on their return from Peking after surrendering their country to the overlords, he draws a quick sketch of Sir Robert Hotung, the old compradore who wears the red-buttoned skullcap of the mandarins, he talks to students and professors and wanders through the terrible shantytown of Rennie's Mill, where the refugees live out their lives on the east coast of the New Territories peninsula, and from there he will go on an excursion to the surrounding islands or describe the latest sensational disclosure of the Nationalist press, which announces the death of Mao Tse-tung every other Sunday. He is not out of sympathy with the Nationalists, but notes their addiction to fantasy. In one revealing discussion he describes the young Nationalists who visited him and told him they would follow Chiang Kai-shek until the moment when he assumed supreme power, then they would do away with him. Rand suspects that the pattern may have been supplied by the Generalissimo himself, a man "who was almost unanimously rated a gambler, and a cool and fearless one." Unhappily, the formula for conquest is suspect, and Rand observes that it "added to the confusion in the exiles' minds here, and worked against nobility in their scheming."

Rand describes Hongkong well, but he is best when he comes to Lantau, that pastoral island crowded with Buddhist monasteries in the straits looking up to Macao. There, the turmoil of Hongkong could be forgotten. There were strange twisted mountains and goatpaths and the sea was often a dull silver and the fog came in little clots over the deep blue sky. There is no wheeled traffic in Lantau. The peasants seemed to belong to a time of innocence, and the British officers in charge did not trouble to punish them even when they cut down the wood from the mountains, a crime in an island where there were so few trees. In December, when the weather was dry, he observed bush fires. He could not make out why there were so many. Were they trying to rid themselves of snakes? Were they simply making ash for the paddy-fields? Were they flushing out the young deer? Or was it that the peasants had burned the bushes in December from time immemorial, and had no idea why they were doing it? Rand comments: "I had the feeling that the thing might go deeper than folklore, or might be just arson for its own sake." It is as near as he ever comes, in his diffident and honest way, to finding a reason for the great blaze on the other side of the frontier.

## Sweet Milk Turned Sour

*THE AMERICAN RECORD IN THE FAR EAST, 1945-1951. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. New York: The Macmillan Co. 204 pp. \$3.*

By HALLETT ABEND

**A**LTHOUGH this slender volume is issued under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which is one of his favorite targets for attack, not even Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin could read any subversive intent into any single passage of this aloof and eminently fair summary of the events in the Far Pacific since the Japanese surrender.

The whole tenor of this book is defined by Kenneth Latourette when, in the introduction, he declares his intention to set forth at the very outset his bias so far as he is aware of it. First, he says, he is an American "who has confidence in the essential soundness of his native land." Second, the author is a Christian, and he acknowledges that his judgments of what is good and "what constitutes the welfare of individuals and mankind" are of Christian origin.

But in spite of these two basic facts of attitude, the author stresses that these convictions have not shaped either his narrative or his conclusions, and he has not made his book a defense of the United States or its Far East policies, nor is it either an apology for the Christian faith "nor a diatribe against Communism."

These self-imposed limitations, these sharp descriptions of what the book is not, have left to Mr. Latourette only a narrow field in which to work. "The American Record in the Far East," as a consequence, is just that—an adequate but in the main a colorless narrative of officially recorded facts during the years between the Japanese surrender in September 1945, and the close of the year 1951.

The author says that he expects that "many experts will dissent, some of them vigorously," from several of his interpretations. His general conclusion is that during the years in question the American record in East Asia was one of only partial frustration.

The colossal failure of American policy in China is frankly admitted, but elsewhere in the area under consideration there has undoubtedly been progress, in varying degrees, toward

an end of oppression, and toward eventual greater freedom, economic well-being, and the spread of education.

Only here and there, and then in unimportant degree, does Mr. Latourette seem to fail in stressing important factors in what has recently gone on in the Far East. He finds the Yalta agreement to have been a tragic blunder, but points out that China accepted the Yalta conditions for Russia's re-entry into Manchuria, and confirmed those agreements in the treaty made with Moscow in August 1945.

What he does not state is that China agreed to the Yalta terms only because the Nationalist government, then based at Chungking, received simultaneous and almost identical notes from London and Washington which were tantamount to orders to send T. V. Soong, then foreign minister, to Moscow to ratify the ill-advised promises made to Russia by America and Britain.

The book carefully avoids mentioning the name of Owen Lattimore, and the part he played when he was serving, under President Roosevelt's appointment, as an adviser to General Chiang Kai-shek, and his later

activities in the Far East.

Since the staff of the Institute of Pacific Relations helped to prepare the materials from which the author worked, this would have been a good place to clear up many controversial matters.

In general, Mao Tse-tung's government in Peking is let off lightly. Many deplorable tyrannies are ignored entirely, and the mass executions and purges which the Communists have been carrying on in China are mentioned only once.

Chiang Kai-shek is let off lightly, too, and it is even admitted that that "in 1951 there seemed to be growing numbers who . . . would have welcomed the return of that regime." Welcomed?

This book will have value to historians as a reference work. It is sound. But because it carefully avoids most controversial aspects of the subject around which it is written it is undeniably dull.

Hallett Abend, former New York Times China correspondent, wrote "Chaos in Asia," "Japan Unmasked," and other books on the Far East.





—United Press Photo.

A victim of the May Day riots in Tokyo—"latent Japanese anti-foreign sentiment."

## War & Pandora's Box

**THE LEFT WING IN JAPANESE POLITICS.** By Evelyn S. Colbert. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations. 353 pp. \$4.50.

**RED FLAG IN JAPAN.** By Rodger Swearingen and Paul Langer. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 276 pp. \$5.

By JEROME B. COHEN

**W**HATEVER the merits or demerits of the charge that the Institute of Pacific Relations misled the public on China, its sponsorship of these two scholarly, objective, and meticulously documented volumes dissecting the anatomy of left-wing activities in Japan, would seem to protect it from similar accusations in its coverage of Japan.

Mrs. Colbert and Messrs. Swearingen and Langer make abundantly clear that Japanese Communists are part of the international Soviet conspiracy; that they are directed from

Moscow and do the bidding of their Soviet masters regardless of consequences. While readers may find some few remaining questions about the Communist party of Japan that these excellent and thorough studies do not answer, it is quite clear that it is simply because the material was unavailable and not because of any lack of research upon the part of the authors. They have done amazingly comprehensive and very enlightening analyses.

"The Left Wing" is broader in scope than "The Red Flag," covering Socialist as well as Communist activities, party structure, labor organizations, and political moves. Messrs. Swearingen and Langer, on the other hand, delve more intensively into the Communist party alone and provide more complete coverage of the one movement. The first section of Mrs. Colbert's book presents a short analysis of the struggle during the 1920's for control of the left-wing movement by the various proletarian groups, the

rise of national socialism in the next decade, and the exile of the Japanese Communists in China. The major portion of the study covers the rapid postwar growth of left-wing organizations in the new atmosphere of political freedom created by the Occupation, 1945-48, and then the left-wing in office under Premier Katayama, 1947-48. There is a brief epilogue dealing with major left-wing developments in 1949 and 1950.

The first third of "Red Flag" is concerned with Communism in prewar and wartime Japan and reveals much hitherto unpublished material on Japanese Communist ties with, and activities in, the Soviet Union, Communist China, and the United States. The latter two-thirds deal with Communism in postwar Japan, including detailed coverage of the party structure and aspects of its "legal" and underground activities. There are dramatic personal stories of the Communist leaders in Japan and shocking revelations about the Japanese Communists and the North Korean Communist offensive. The book is an authentic and valuable case study of international Communism in action.

By 1940 the Japanese police had smashed a Communist movement which had never been more than feeble at best. Communist leaders had either been driven into exile or jailed, some for as long as nineteen years. At the end of World War II an American general unlocked the prison doors, let the Communist leaders walk out, reestablish their party, build it up to a greater membership than it had ever had before, organize and dominate labor unions, and roam the length of the country making subversive speeches. Indeed, there is an odd coincidence between the program advocated by the Communist leader, Nozaka, on his return to Japan in 1945 from exile in Moscow and Yanan, and the initial accomplishments of the Occupation. Compare, for example, the following two paragraphs from "The Left Wing":

"In the first stage, the war would be ended and the government democratized by the revision of the Constitution. This revision would provide for universal suffrage; a sovereign Diet, to which the Cabinet would be responsible; reduction of the powers of the Emperor, the Privy Council, the House of Peers and the Jushin; and guarantee of civil liberties. In the economic sphere, the armaments in-

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