

Douglas MacArthur was doing for the Japanese," he played perfectly into Perón's strategy to excite anti-American sentiment. Page also makes sense of the crucial power game played between the ex-president and his nominal allies, the labor union chiefs, from his aborted return to Argentina in December of 1964 until the end of his exile and his remarkable re-election to the presidency in 1973.

Page's primary object was to study the public period of Perón's life beginning with his leap to fame as director of Work and Welfare in 1943 and ending with his death 31 years later. But the brevity with which Page passes over Perón's youth (and particularly the conflicts between Perón and his parents) and early military career is probably the book's greatest weakness. The Perón who assumed a leadership role in the nationalist revolution of 1943 was already a soldier who had taken part in the army's bloody repression of two blue-collar strikes (in 1918 and 1919). He had also played a major role in the military coup that brought down the democratically elected president, Hipólito Yrigoyen, in 1930. Failing to go deeply into these matters, Page leaves his readers with little understanding of the military role that has darkened Argentine life since the middle of the 20th century.

Nevertheless, within the limits which Page himself has set, this biography of Perón is the best explanation of a man whose personality and record remain deformed by the passions that his name alone unleashes.

—Tomás Eloy Martínez

**UNCONDITIONAL  
DEMOCRACY:  
Education and Politics  
in Occupied Japan,  
1945–1952**

by Toshio Nishi  
Hoover, 1982  
367 pp. \$19.95

At a time when Washington is urging Tokyo to play a greater role in matters of defense and international security, we are fortunate to have a book that traces the roots of the current pacifist orientation in Japan. Nishi, a Hoover Institution Fellow, was born in Japan in 1941 and received all but his graduate education there. He thus seems to have been drawn to the subject of the U.S. occupation of his country by a natural curiosity about his past and about America's role in it.

Nishi is not alone. In 1982, a controversy swept Japan, pitting pro-American nationalists, who wish to remove occupation-instilled pacifism from school textbooks, against anti-American pacifists, allegedly intent on fighting "militarism." Last year, a documentary film about the Tokyo Tribunal of 1945 (which tried Japan's war criminals) became a stunning box-office success. What will come of this powerful new wave of historical curiosity and revisionism?

The future of U.S.-Japanese relations will depend in part on the extent to which the two peoples can come to terms over the settlement of the Second World War. The unusual arrangement gave the conquering power

complete freedom to reshape Japanese government and society. Nishi, happily, reaches beyond his stated subject, American-directed educational reforms, to analyze and evaluate the nature of that effort, particularly the imposition of a "no-war" constitution. "Unconditional democracy" summarizes the author's judgment that, while the goals of the U.S. occupation (1945–1952) were substantively correct, the means employed, outright dictation, posed many problems. One consequence, for example, of imposing a democratic constitution upon the defeated nation is that Americans continue to doubt the true strength of democracy in Japan.

Recounting his own experiences as a student in Japanese schools after the war, Nishi goes on to present an overview of the initial postsurrender reforms and of subsequent U.S. efforts to correct those reforms (e.g., the "Red Purge" of communists earlier "liberated" from jails; the reorganization of the armed forces despite constitutional prohibitions). Nishi concludes with the San Francisco Treaty of 1952, whereby the United States effectively enlisted Japan as an ally in the growing chill of the Cold War. In the course of his narrative, he touches on a number of topics that have previously been scanted. Notable among these were the efforts of Douglas MacArthur's aides to force the Japanese to rewrite their history texts (the aim: to "pacify" Japan's past) and to ban the Japanese language throughout the country and replace it with English. Ironically, occupation forces also played an important role in fostering the Japanese Teachers' Union, which has since become a radical anti-American political force.

The Japanese have adjusted well to the occupation reforms. They have become a great economic power, while remaining wholly dependent upon U.S. protection. America is obviously dissatisfied with this state of affairs. But before anything can change, the United States must recognize that it has placed the Japanese in a double-bind: Having imposed a "no-war" constitution upon Japan, it now insists that Japan play a greater defense role. Unless America comes to grips with this contradiction, the Japanese problem will continue to fester.

—Tetsuya Kataoka

**C. WRIGHT MILLS:**  
**An American Utopian**  
 by Irving Louis Horowitz  
 Free Press, 1983  
 341 pp. \$19

When C. Wright Mills's *The Power Elite* first appeared in 1956, it seemed to many readers to be a devastating critique of the political naiveté of most Americans—notably their faith in U.S. governmental institutions and processes as infallible guarantors of democracy. Analyzing the historical development of America's political establishment, Mills argued that the United States was run by a largely nonelected and unobserved network

of politicians, businessmen, and soldiers. This elite held power because the broad populace was disorganized and ineffective.

The book's analysis was less than novel. In fact, such interpretations of