

JOHN STEWART BRYAN, 1871-1934
 DAVID TENNANT BRYAN, President and Publisher
 VIRGINIUS DARNLEY, Editor

ESTABLISHED 1850: Published every day in the year at 100 North Fourth St., Richmond, Va. Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 3, 1878, at Richmond, Va., as Special Class Mail Matter. MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS. This paper is published for the publisher by the Richmond Times-Dispatch Co., 100 North Fourth St., Richmond, Va. Telephone 7-1231. Ad. Representative, Sawyer Ferguson-Walker Co.

Subscription Rates:
 By carrier, Daily and Sunday, 35c wk. Daily only 25c wk. Sunday only, 10c wk.
 Rates by Mail—PAYABLE IN ADVANCE:
 Daily and Sunday...\$7.00 \$2.00 3 Mo. \$1.50
 Daily only...\$4.00 3 Mo. \$1.25
 Sunday only...\$1.00 3 Mo. \$1.00
 Rates for Foreign Countries will be furnished upon request. Subscriptions by mail not accepted in countries to which carrier service is available.

Tuesday, May 3, 1948

Prillaman Bows to Miller: Politics Will Soon Sizzle

The withdrawal of NICK PRILLAMAN, of Martinsville, from the race for Governor, and his decision to run for Lieutenant-Governor clears the atmosphere somewhat in the gubernatorial race. However, MR. PRILLAMAN was never believed to have any chance of winning, so the four remaining candidates are about where they were.

MR. PRILLAMAN has associated himself with FRANCIS P. MILLER's candidacy, to the surprise of Mr. MILLER. The Martinsville man had been taking some mid-digs at the Albemarle County aspirant in their joint appearances, and had charged him with appropriating "plank after plank of my 14-point platform."

In announcing his desire to run on the same ticket with MILLER, PRILLAMAN expressed the view that the latter is leading in the gubernatorial race at the present time. Mr. MILLER welcomed the support of this "forward-looking and progressive Democrat," whose platform is similar to his own.

As a popular Mayor of Martinsville, Mr. PRILLAMAN may be in a position to throw appreciable strength to the MILLER candidacy in that immediate area. It appears doubtful if he will have any great influence upon the outcome of the race for Governor anywhere else in the State, unless he does a lot of getting around in the three months that remain before the August primary. At the time of his withdrawal, PRILLAMAN was generally regarded as almost sure to run last among the five candidates for Governor, and his total vote was generally put at a maximum of 10,000. It is not at all clear that his influence behind any other candidate could make much difference, except in an extremely close contest.

His race for Lieutenant-Governor against Lieutenant-Governor L. PHESTER COLLINS, of Marion, will give him an opportunity to become better acquainted over the State. At present Mr. PRILLAMAN is not widely known.

With the field reduced to four, it seems unlikely that there will be any further withdrawals. The Bristol News-Bulletin recently urged a coalition of the Edwards-Miller forces, with one of these two becoming a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor on an anti-machine platform. Such a thing seems hardly within the realm of possibility now.

In the first place, both HORACE EDWARDS and FRANCIS MILLER have stated emphatically that they are in the race to stay, and while many things can happen in three months, it is doubtful that either will retire. Another thing militating against a coalition is the fact that Mr. MILLER has criticized Mr. EDWARDS sharply of late. He accused the Richmonder of "doing the most poisonous thing done in recent years in Virginia politics," when he advocated a sales tax. He also charged EDWARDS with "working a very clever political maneuver," since "he [EDWARDS] thought the sales tax would get the school vote."

There is still another reason why an Edwards-Miller coalition against State Senator JOHN S. BATTLE seems improbable. The Bristol paper argued that this maneuver was desirable, since these two men are now splitting the anti-machine vote. Yet Mr. EDWARDS bases his hope of winning on the theory that he will get the backing of a large share of the "organization" group.

An All-Virginia Festival

The third annual Virginia Music Festival, at Charlottesville May 13-15, inclusive, takes on added significance by virtue of the fact that it will present Virginia talent exclusively. This is a meaningful innovation, and one which has significance for the cultural advancement of the State.

From the opening on the night of Friday, May 13, when 400 singers representing choral societies from Richmond and seven other Virginia cities will render choruses from Brahms' "Requiem," through the concert on Saturday and Sunday by the Norfolk Symphony, and the contests on Saturday among high school bands and orchestras for the STETTINUS awards, the festival will have more of a Virginia quality than ever before.

GORDON PAGE, of Charlottesville, will direct the festival chorus on the opening night, and EDGAR SCIENKMAN, its regular conductor, will conduct the Norfolk Symphony on Saturday and Sunday evenings, with MARGORIE MITCHELL, Charlottesville pianist, playing Liszt's Piano Concerto in E Flat Major on the former of these two synphonic programs.

The manner in which the festival has been linked in local communities throughout the Commonwealth is impressive. The 400-voice chorus is composed of singers from Charlottesville, Covington, Danville, Harrisonburg, Lexington, Lynchburg, Staunton and Richmond. The high school bands and orchestras which will compete for prizes given by EDWARD R. STETTINUS, former rector of the University of Virginia, represent every section of the State.

Not only so, but the Virginia Music Festival Association has arranged with the University of Virginia and the Community Concert Group, of Charlottesville, to offer a series of Fall and Winter concerts in the University's Memorial Gymnasium. Internationally known artists will present top-flight musical programs.

All this helps to build interest in good music throughout the Commonwealth, and enhances its cultural awareness. The Virginia Music Festival deserves wide support.

The Disease Worsens

SENATOR BYRD, in the course of a newspaper interview on the \$300 million Federal aid to education bill, declared that such an appropriation would not only lead to greater expenditures in the future but also to "bureaucratic" control of schools as well. A \$300 million grant would only be the beginning, he says. "Each year there would be a demand for more money. It would only open a Pandora box of expenses."

The Senator is correct as to the course this program of Federal aid would take, once inaugurated. Actually, of course, the Pandora box was opened long years ago, and one of the most crucial struggles in our history revolves around closing the lid again. The issue is basically the little understood one of States' rights—the proper division of responsibilities and powers between the States and the Federal government.

Woodrow Wilson, as a youthful "Fellow in History" as John Hopkins University, had some pertinent observations to make concerning the system of Federal aid.

The chief result of the government's policy of internal improvements he wrote, have been "expansion of national functions which was necessarily involved in the application of national funds by national employees. . . and the establishment of the very questionable precedent of expending in favored localities moneys raised by taxation which bears with equal incidence upon the people of all sections of the country."

"Hardly less significant and real," he continued, ". . . are its moral effects in rendering State administrations less self-reliant and efficient, less prudent and thrifty, by accustoming them to accept subsidies for internal improvements from the Federal coffers; to depending upon the national revenues, rather than upon their own energy and enterprise, for means of developing those resources which it should be the special province of State administration to make available and profitable."

Young Mr. Wilson had a special word to say about education:

"There can, I suppose, be little doubt that it is due to the moral influences of this policy that the States are now turning to the common government for aid in such things as education. Expecting to be helped, they will not help themselves. Certain it is that there is more than one

State which, though abundantly able to pay for an educational system of the greatest efficiency, fails to do so, and contents itself with imperfect temporary makeshifts because there are immense surpluses every year in the national treasury which, rumor and unauthorized promises say, may be distributed amongst the States in aid of education.

If the Federal government were more careful to keep apart from every strictly local scheme of improvement, this culpable and demoralizing State policy could scarcely live. States would cease to wish, because they would cease to hope, to be stipendiaries of the government of the Union, and would address themselves with diligence to their proper duties, with much benefit both to themselves and to the Federal system."

Wilson, the historian, did not contend that the policy of internal improvements was unconstitutional or necessarily unwise, but he felt that it had been carried too far even at that early date. He thought that Federal spending for such purposes was a big weight on the Federal side of the scale as regards the balance of power between the States and the national government. (As President, of course, he initiated a series of Federal ventures in the field of economic regulation, which added to the national government's power.)

Mr. Wilson's early analysis of the meaning of Federal aid appears as valid today as when it was written. There are no longer even rumors of "immense surpluses" in the national treasury. There is instead an overwhelming national debt. But so deeply ingrained has the habit of Federal aid now become that this serves as no deterrent to pressure groups within the various States, nor to Congressmen who are subservient to them.

In Senator Byrd, Virginia has a representative who clearly recognizes the need for maintaining the balance between the responsibilities and concomitant powers of the States and those of the Federal government.

Divine Guidance Ignored By World's Governments

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

The undersigned ministers of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, pastors of the congregations as noted, regard with amazement the spread you gave to a tentative report issued by the Rev. John H. Marlon, Jr., in the Friday morning paper. This report does not represent the official position of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, we beg to protest.

This is merely the report of a committee that will in a few weeks be presented to the general assembly of our church, and should never have been published as representing the position of our church on civil rights. Yet your headline reads, "Presbyterians Support Civil Rights." Implying thereby that this is the position of the Presbyterian denomination. In fact, it runs directly contrary to what we regard as right and advisable, and finds no support in the opinion of many like the undersigned.

The implication of the report that the Presbyterian Church has renounced "State rights" in the interest of alleged "human rights" is both unjust and false, and does not, in our opinion, represent the history, nor the present position of our church. Neither does the report, we believe, represent the historical and present position of the Presbyterian Church on matters that are purely political propaganda, or only the rallying cry of political demagogues.

The report drafted by Dr. Marlon and his committee will be either rejected or materially revised by the general assembly, as his reports have always been. The drastic and evasive nature of this report, as published in your column, assures a similar treatment, before any statement on this delicate subject is issued by the Presbyterian Church in the United States, we confidently predict.

WILLIS THOMPSON,
 Pastor, Hilton Presbyterian Church.

W. E. DAVIS,
 Pastor, Wythe Presbyterian Church.

Newport News.

The Law On Fox Hunting Is Termed 'Arbitrary'

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

It is perfectly obvious that Section 49 of the State laws on hunting, fishing and dogs should be changed.

According to I. T. Quinn, in a news article appearing in the Times-Dispatch of April 28, fox hunters can "legally" follow their dogs across posted lands—if they start the fox on lands on which permission has been given to hunt.

Consider the fact that my adjoining neighbor owns all of two acres of land, on which nothing is grown, neither flower, vegetable nor even one chicken. On several recent days this neighbor has freely granted permission to hunters to loose their dogs and hunt. My land—112 acres—is posted, but with the sanction of the State, my "posted" signs are but waster effort and money. The hunters enter, let their dogs run my pasture and fields, and in addition to "legally" thumping their noses at the "No Trespassing" signs, also—"legally"—thump their noses at me.

It is not a fair nor equitable law that permits one or two unknown men to range and run of private property.

Any owner of sheep, or goats, knew the terror that strikes when the baying of dogs resounds through the pasture. Stray dogs—or thoughtless hunters?

And as to fox hunters—who are they? Any vagabond, bottled-bum can gather a couple of mangy hounds and reconnoiter a farm, for easy picking and thievery, under the guise of "fox hunting."

One of your correspondents recently accused me of having the wrong kind of fox hunter. I admit that he is absolutely correct, but with such an arbitrary law on the Virginia State books, how can one keep these fellows away?

Fox hunting is the most parasitical sport. For an insignificant

Maytime Magic

THERE is a magic wand wherewith to waltz away our tribulations in a troubled world. It may be bought for a song, or a king's ransom, at a sporting goods store, or cut from a sapling with a country boy's jackknife.

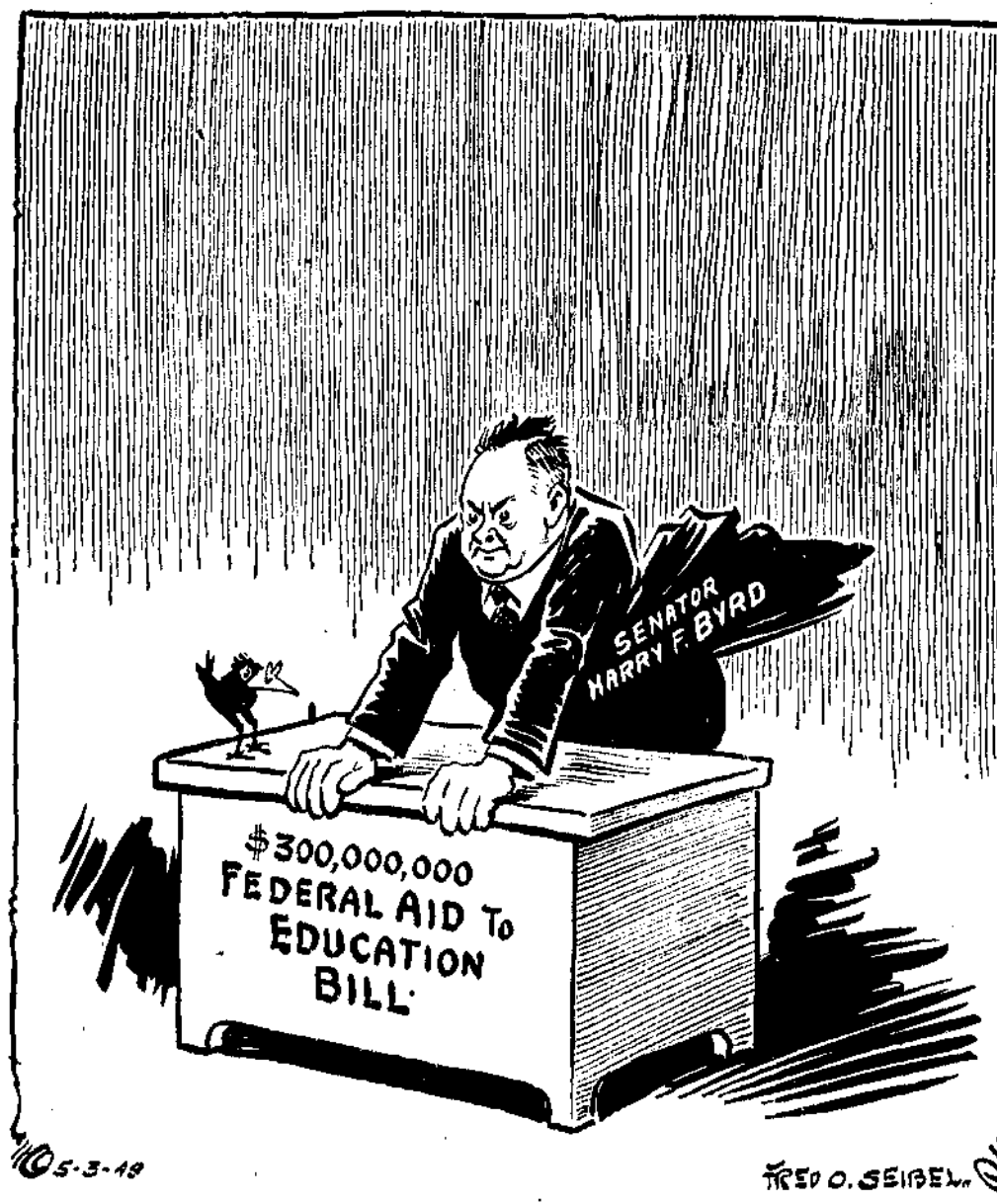
With line and hook and bait to fit the fancy of the fisherman, this length of split bamboo, tapered tubular steel or raw-green willow is called a fishing rod or pole. It may weigh as much as a ton or four ounces. Its value to mankind, however, does not rest in its prosaic usefulness.

One swish of it over the side of a boat, or outward from the bank of brook or river, and the curves of the world depart, to remain banished so long as the angler, young or old, pays strict attention to the business of inducing a fish to bite.

Now that Spring weather is here, warm and mild, our waters have lost their earlier chill. Many a city man finds his thoughts straying from workbench or desk to the lakes and ponds of Tidewater Virginia, where the wild roses bloom along the banks, and "the birds make music all the day."

This is the weather Virginia's dream fishermen have been waiting for, when that doughty little buccaneer of the finny tribe takes the "poppin' bug" with a rush, to put up a valiant and often victorious battle against light tackle in order to escape the destiny for which the good Lord made the beam—to wit, the frying pan of the lucky angler's wife.

His chief contribution to masculine happiness, however, is that his pursuit with rod and line dispels all thoughts of atomic wars and ruinous taxation, and makes us boys again.



Voice of the People
Ministers Dissent from Civil Rights Report

Presbyterian Clergymen Score Committee's Stand
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Newport News.

sum, the fox hunter has the range of many acres, for which he pays not one penny, and has no interest in the crops, flocks, nor the owner's wishes.

There isn't an ounce of justification in continuing such a law for the benefit of such a small minority. It should be changed.

W. GLOVER WALES,
 Glen Allen.

'A Crisis in Government'

NEW YORK—The public clamor for a reorganization of the Federal government aimed at eliminating unnecessary agencies and bureaus and wasteful expenditures has another strong supporter in United States Comptroller-General Lindsay C. Warren.

In telling about the growth of bureaucracy, duplication of effort, waste of taxpayers' money, and need for a general overhauling that should involve abolition as well as consolidation of many agencies, Mr. Warren warns in an article in the May American Magazine that "we have reached a crisis in government."

As head of Uncle Sam's general accounting office, Mr. Warren directs the biggest auditing job in the world and it is his duty to see that money is spent solely for the purposes for which Congress appropriates it.

"I plead for a change in the administrators' point of view toward the money Congress gives them to spend," he writes in a signed article. "Too many bureau heads actually believe that appropriations belong to them and they must spend every cent even though it may take superhuman planning to be extravagant enough to get rid of it all."

"IF CONGRESS and the President are now unable to put through an honest, widespread and effective reorganization, they and the taxpayers might as well surrender unconditionally. If the bureaucrats win again, as they have before, we might as well concede that we are through.

"We shall be forced to confess that government affairs cannot be conducted on a businesslike basis, that we cannot set up a clear-cut operational system, eliminate red tape, or promptly discharge department heads who put their own interests above those of the taxpayers. It will be proved that shocking government extravagance is as much a part of democracy, and as indestructible, as the Supreme Court."

While some agencies are well organized and function efficiently, Mr. Warren points out that "audits

every gift given him. This period in which judgment fails to fall tends to lull man into a sense of security and complacency. But God's Word shows that judgment shall fall upon sinful, unbeliefing man. God will not assist in banishing sin a little at a time. He shall permit sin to reach its full fruition, and then He shall crush it completely with one smashing blow—the return of the Lord Jesus Christ in glory.

WILLIAM R. BABER, JR.,
 Richmond.

The Detention Home And The Facts

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

As a citizen of Richmond, I feel very much disturbed at the statements made by Lieutenant Hopkins about filthy conditions at the Detention Home, described in his letter to the Editor in your issue of April 28.

If his statements are untrue I think that a definite clear, statement of their falsity should be published for the information of our citizens. If they are true, and such conditions of filth and uncleanness exist, I should like to call upon the Social Relations Commissions of the Ministerial Union and of every Protestant denomination in the city to make full investigation and undertake a public movement for correction, and prevention in the future, of such abuses.

G. MACLAREN BRYDON,
 Richmond.

20 Years Ago Today

J. H. BIRDSONG, game warden of Prince George County, escaped death by inches when a giant oak tree was hurled to the ground during the storm which struck Virginia.

W. S. WOODSON, General Registrar, announced that approximately 100 new voters had registered and that none of them had previously voted but had paid their poll tax.

GOVERNOR HARRY BYRD in an address before the Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs called "law enforcement the supreme obligation of a civilized state" and lamented the fact that education of the young "doesn't necessarily inspire a lively interest in political questions."

WILLIAM BUTTERWORTH, of Maline, Ill., was re-elected president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

GERALD W. JOHNSON, writing in last Sunday's book review section of the New York Times suggests an intriguing thought: would the Kaiser, and later Hitler and Hirohito, have ventured to defy the civilized world if American literature had represented Americans as they are, instead of caricaturing them as weak, self-indulgent and insensible to the spirit of unity and self-sacrifice that makes a nation worthy of respect?

The pen may not be mightier than the sword, but it has played an increasingly strategic part in steering nations for the monstrous ordeals of modern war.

Mr. Johnson admits that Axis leaders may have underestimated our technological versatility, but he says they had accurate statistics of our economic and military potential. A World Almanac would have sufficed to give them the most important data.

He believes that the Germans 10 years ago, and the Russians in 1945, fell into the same fallacy of underestimating the willingness of the average American to resist aggression as a matter of principle.

"We had been caricatured as the self-indulgent victims of a Ciceronian civilization, whose morals and morale were unequal to the physical and mental strain of prolonged effort against superior odds.

Worst of all, the writing in which we were thus pilloried was not the work of mediocre authors, but of men like John Steinbeck and Erskine Caldwell. No doubt the plight of the average American farmer is being popularly conceived in Russia as worse than that of Jester Lester in Tobacco Road. I say "worse," because the citizen of a totalitarian land would find it impossible to conceive of any writer being allowed to present the very worst aspects of his country's social economy.

THUS Russian readers formed their opinion of America and Americans from "case histories" of the maladjusted, and were encouraged to do so by a Kremlin anxious to distract the *Tovrich* from his own plight.

The real or normal American, whom

Mr. Johnson calls "Homer Perkins" is unknown abroad. He is the man who never gets into the news, or into the dossier of police or social welfare office; he never does anything spectacular, and is therefore ignored. He is the forgotten American and, as Mr. Johnson points out, he's "a bad man to monkey with." He is neither a Paul Bunyan or a Kit Carson, but under stress he reveals himself capable of amazing stamina and terrific effort.

This American has been carefully ignored by our literati. Mr. Johnson confines himself to a statement of the literary facts. He tells us that this is so, and deplorable, but steers clear of the obvious political question—why?

WHY this piling misrepresentation? Why this literature of woe—in a land more blessed than any other with the personal freedom that gives all men the right to an equal share of hope and faith?

The answer, it seems to me, is clear. All these writers, including the undeniably loyal who resent being called fellow travelers, have become enmeshed in the toils of Marxian revolutionary dogma based on social and economic conditions which existed in Europe a century ago.

Similar conditions may still exist in isolated regions of this country. At least they did in our largest cities prior to the first World War. But the influence of Marx seems to have spawned a generation of "crusaders," sentimentalists who were determined to perpetuate a momentum of righteous indignation despite continuous progress and improvements, carefully deleted from their caricatures of "life in America."

I have seen Russian school textbooks in which the squalor of the "Toover villages" and bread lines of the early thirties were held up as an example of "how the American workingman lives." Russian translations of our "socially minded" novels naturally serve to confirm that misrepresentation. So far as the ardent Communist is concerned, we stand indicted by our own testimony.

Marquis Childs
'Don't Quote Me,' Says Mr. Johnson

WASHINGTON—In the course of knocking heads together on the theory that this is the way to bring about unification of the armed services, Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson has in the space of one crowded month offended many important people. One of them is the President of the United States.

Shortly before Johnson's appointment was decided upon, Stuart Symington, Secretary of the Air Force and only service head to survive Johnson's sweep, had agreed to meet with a group of newspapermen for an off-record discussion of air policy. Merely as a formality, he felt he should check this with his new boss.

Symington reported to the newspapermen that the meeting would have to be called off. Johnson did not approve of off-the-record talks.

This sounds slightly laughable in retrospect. One of the reasons Johnson finds himself in hot water is his tendency to tell on an off-record basis, or "use it but don't quote me," so many important decisions.

DURING the past week it added up, if not to a comedy of errors, then to a farce of misunderstanding. In this specific instance Johnson used the "don't quote me" technique. Because I think this causes harmful confusion in government and in the newspaper business, I think it's important to list those examples:

(1) Late Tuesday night, when he stepped off a plane from New York, where he had been talking off the record to newspaper publishers, Johnson was asked about a report that Jonathan Daniels, former White House aide and son of the late Josephus Daniels, would become Secretary of Navy. On a "don't quote me" basis, Johnson said, in effect, no, that wouldn't happen; it wouldn't promote harmony, since Daniels and Under-Secretary of Defense Stephen Early were not on friendly terms.

(2) On Wednesday, coming out of the President's office in the White House, Johnson had a long off-record conference with reporters. Using the "don't quote me" technique, he told them Curtis Calder, head of Electric Bond and Share, would become Secretary of Army in 50 days after he had wound up his personal affairs.

(3) At the same off-the-record conference and on the same "don't quote me" basis, Johnson indicated that the Marine Corps' separate air unit would eventually become part of the Air Force or the Navy's air arm.

All these statements got into the newspapers within a few hours, under the formula "it was learned from an authoritative source," a high-ranking spokesman. Then, scarcely 24 hours later, President Truman made at least one directly contrary statement. He said Daniels was one of those under consideration for Secretary of Navy.

Stewart Alsop
MacArthur's Peculiar Personality

TOKYO—The only really cogent objection to a fundamental change in the way we govern Japan is that General of the Army Douglas MacArthur would leave. It is a perfectly valid objection.

An off-the-record talk with this curious and complex man is one of the "musts" for the visiting fireman in Tokyo, like seeing Mount Fuji. Those here who have had the experience—and they are many—are forever comparing notes on "my interview with MacArthur," rather than the making of middle-aged clubwomen discussing "my experience." As with an operation the experience is memorable, but one is apt to feel temporarily anesthetized.

The most surprising thing about MacArthur is that he does not look like MacArthur. It is amazing that a gold-brained but could so transform a man's appearance. When the cap is not there, the stern-jawed, eagle-eyed MacArthur of the Sunday supplements is not there either. Instead, there is an elderly man with a very long head, an interesting, intensely middle-aged clubwoman's rather old-fashioned courtesy of manner. It would be easy to make fun of MacArthur. It would be easy to make fun of the way he parts his hair, for example. He parts it exactly on a level with his right eyebrow. In order to accomplish this remarkable feat, he has to wear his hair at a most unmillitary length.

It would be easy to make fun of the way he talks. He is perfectly capable of making a full-fledged, full-throated oration, eyes full, left arm waving, air voice quivering with emotion, to a single listener. It is this which induces the sense of numbness, of being under anaesthetics. In those who interview him, One has the uncomfortable feeling of being a totally inadequate substitute for cheering thousands.

AND it would be easy to make fun of what he says. MacArthur's prose style, both written and spoken, is made for parody, with his penchant for invective, puns and sometimes meaningless passages.

Yet merely to make fun of MacArthur would be to miss the whole point of the man. Certainly there is something of the ham actor in him. There is something, too, of the old-fashioned politician, the kind who loved bombast for its own sake. But beneath the bad theater and the bombast there is shrewdness, a great if very special ability, and an intense patriotism. This patriotism, like General Charles De Gaulle's, has a curiously personal, rather archaic flavor. But it is perfectly genuine. MacArthur is certainly a man who has loved his country. And after his fashion he has served it well.

He has served it well in this closing chapter of his career, the American occupation of Japan. Even those who are most deeply convinced that the occupation is now beginning to go dangerously sour, agree that MacArthur's peculiar

MacArthur's Peculiar Personality

personality has been the occupation's greatest intangible asset. For it has undoubtedly held a special magic for the Japanese. The country people call him "Tenno Mak," in respectful reference to one of their best loved pre-meiji rulers, and no Japanese, however privately critical of the occupation, will criticize MacArthur.

As for MacArthur's past policy, its best defense is simply that it has been bitterly attacked from both right and left. It has been attacked for failing to "encourage free enterprise"—which often means only that MacArthur has prevented those with dollars to spare from making a fast buck by buying up Japan on the cheap. It has been attacked for failing to encourage such "Democratic forces" as the Communist party.

MacArthur's Peculiar Personality

IN VIEW of his political reputation at home, MacArthur's policies here provide, in fact, one of the major mysteries of the occupation. It is true that occupation policy has been moving steadily to the right. But this has been largely the consequence of pressure from the United States. And it is difficult to understand how those policies which have stemmed directly from MacArthur himself—land reform, civil liberties, Zaibatsu dissolution, the creation of a large labor movement—can have endeared MacArthur to such men as Colonel Robert R. McCormick.

The fact is that a lot of hard work, enthusiasm, intelligence and even idealism have gone into the occupation. The further fact is that the occupation has been a success, as military occupations go. But it is time it went.

The enthusiasm and idealism have already gone. Almost all that is left is a vast, cumbersome military bureaucracy, feeding like all bureaucracies on itself, strangling in its own red tape, continuing to function only through inertia, awakening more and more both the ridicule and the resentment of the Japanese. In view of what is happening elsewhere in Asia, the United States cannot afford this kind of thing in Japan.

One wonders whether MacArthur himself has not sensed that the time has come for a change. For it is clear that what has been the climax of a remarkable career is now moving over into anticlimax, as the Army's government of Japan bows down. It is so perfectly clear, whether one likes the man or not, that when change comes, MacArthur will be hard to replace.

"The Boy Scout movement," says Soviet Sports, "is an imperialist device for turning out military automatons, bourgeois spies and strikebreakers." Oh, nothing about the apprentice bugler?

It is ruled Persian lambs need not be of Persian origin. Nor is it required that Portland cement be purchased through Mrs. Fred Allen.



Comptroller Warren