

nel and the quality of its products. But after such detailed revelations of those strains and stresses among fellow workers which keep every concern going, the name of the company became a laughingstock. Briefly, it wasn't long before bankruptcy set in.

PEOPLE who are familiar with big business will say that this "let's pretend" story is nonsense, for big business is something quite different from government, and big executives know how to deal with trouble-makers.

Do they? Some of our most successful business executives are now running the government, and yet they—and their boss—are letting themselves be pushed around and bullied. Why don't they run government as if it were big business?

The Mess in Moscow

Of course, we have read about the millions of men and women who mournfully marched past the bier of Joseph Stalin, but there must be quite a few people in Moscow in whose tearful eyes there may be a glimmer of joy: At long last he has gone, they think. Look at the mess he has left. He made himself simultaneously a god and the main theologian of his divinity. But by appointing bureaucrats as his successors, he managed to carry both the godliness and the theology to his grave.

After him, what? Perhaps he did not want any successor; perhaps the man who had dabbled in theology at Tiflis Seminary thought that his spirit could go on running things forever, in death as in life.

Now the god is dead, these Muscovites must think—quite dead. They may feel like crying, for he died too late for their country's good.

Career Investigator

Senator Allen Ellender (D., Louisiana) called attention not long ago to "professional investigators who live on Capitol Hill, and who keep . . . [investigating] committees alive. They will always find some way to continue their jobs," said Ellender. "I have no doubt that is the way a great many investigations are started. They are started by some professional investigator, or someone who

comes to us and sells us an idea. Immediately a subcommittee is created to look into it."

As if to confirm Ellender's suspicions, one such investigator, Robert B. Barker, known to intimates as "Bug-Eye" Barker, achieved brief notoriety a short time later when he was sacked by Chairman Harold Velde (R., Illinois), of the House Un-American Activities Committee for digging up false information about Mrs. Agnes Meyer.

It turns out that Barker was also purveying information back in 1947, when the Lilienthal hearings were being held. At that time he produced an alleged copy of a letter about Communist activities in TVA which he claimed to have seized at Communist Party headquarters in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1940, when he was an investigator for the Dies Committee. But he failed to produce the photostat of the letter that he said he had. Subsequently Senator Edwin C. Johnson (D., Colorado), of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy (which was holding the hearings on Lilienthal), wrote to Barker as follows:

"As I understand it, you testified under oath that you did not take the . . . letter to either of the Knoxville newspapers and both claim they received copies from you.

"Several members of the committee are reported to think that you wrote the . . . letter and planted it. I . . . like to believe that you and all men are truthful and honest and above trickery, but there is something very peculiar about that letter which needs clearing up."

The outline of Barker's early career as an investigator is imposing: 1939-1943, the Dies Committee; 1943-1945, the Cox Committee investigating the FCC; 1946, Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures.

Despite this 1947 performance, Barker was presently hired by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. We are confident that he will not remain unemployed for long. There should always be a job for so enterprising an investigator.

Oh Ho!

A supposedly Chinese proverb says: "One picture is worth a thousand words." The estimate may be over-

THE NEW BOSS

Georgi Porgi, pudgy and pale,
Agate eyes so full of bale,
Sullen mouth so full of hate—
How you make us speculate!

AMERICANA

New York Herald Tribune, March 6:
". . . slacks manufacturers have decided to rename their trade organization the Trouser Institute of America. It used to be the Associated Pants Manufacturers of America."

Take heart, sad world, in mankind's new Advance:
An Institute immortalizing
Pants—
That tailored separation, limb
from limb,
That marks the dwindling gap
twixt Her and Him.

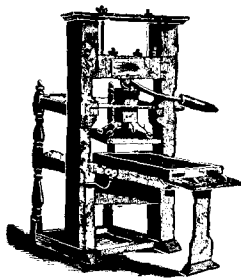
—SEC

generous, but a photograph printed in *Time* recently says a great deal that never appeared in the tens of thousands of words that accompanied the recent so-called "unleashing" of Chiang Kai-shek.

In the picture, Chiang is standing beside the driver of his open automobile as it moves past ranks of saluting Nationalist soldiers. Behind Chiang sits his onetime War Minister, Ho Ying-chin.

Throughout the Second World War General Ho's narrow anti-foreignism and his benighted military views made it hard for the United States to give effective military assistance to China. Even severe critics of the late General Joseph Stilwell endorsed "Vinegar Joe's" attempts to have Ho removed. General David Barr, head of the U.S. military mission during 1948, attributed to Ho "grandiose planning without thought or regard to the possibility of its implementation." Later the displacement of Ho Ying-chin was cited as evidence of better Nationalist military leadership.

Our curiosity piqued by the photograph, we made some inquiries about what General Ho is doing now. Of all things, he is Chairman of Chiang's Military Strategy Advisory Committee.



WHO— WHAT— WHY—

MANY PEOPLE these days think that psychological warfare can be what William James called "the moral equivalent to war"—and a very satisfactory one at that. Just what is this newly fashionable weapon? What are its limitations? Where does it reach the point of diminishing returns? We have asked three writers who have had direct and practical experience in the matter to explore these questions.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who wrote *The Age of Jackson*, participated in last year's election battles on the Democratic side but he speaks here as historian and analyst.

When a democratic nation has to counteract totalitarian propaganda it cannot adopt the methods employed by the enemy, since they are part and parcel of the totalitarianism the democracies combat. Professor Schlesinger discusses the limitations imposed on our counterattack.

And what are the strengths and weaknesses of the Communist propaganda which it is our task to refute? Some people have come to think of Russian propaganda as irresistibly effective—an opinion emphatically not shared by our second specialist. **Thomas W. Wilson, Jr.**, knows in a concrete and practical way that you can stand up successfully against the Russians. For several years before taking up his Mutual Security post in Washington he served in Europe with the Economic Cooperation Administration, where he had firsthand experience in countering Communist propaganda.

We would not think of wasting our readers' time with a solemn refutation of the "germ warfare" charges made against the U.N. forces in Korea by Communist propaganda, but the subject provides **Preston Schoyer** with the opportunity to make a highly entertaining excursion into the workings of the Oriental mind. Mr. Schoyer lived for seven years in China, including two and a half years as Field Headquarters commander of the Army's Air-Ground Aid Section, with responsibilities for behind-the-lines rescue activities and intelligence. He has written three novels in which the action takes place in China. The latest is *The Ringing of the Glass*.

We also wanted to have a look at a field where psychological warfare is an integral part of military warfare. **Roy A. Gallant's** picture of "psywar" in Korea, not a pleasant one, covers a two-year period he himself observed at first hand. It is not a judgment on how "psywar" is being conducted in the Far Eastern theater now. It is a case history, illustrating the problems that arise in fighting this new kind of warfare.

WILLIAM O'DWYER departed from his job as Mayor of New York under circumstances that could scarcely be called happy. His retirement from the job as United States Ambassador to Mexico coincides with the end of a particularly gaudy era in Mexican politics. Somehow reform movements have a way of catching up with O'Dwyer—even in his retreat below the border. **Allen Raymond**, a frequent contributor to *The Reporter*, tells this instructive and moral story. Mr. Raymond, veteran war and foreign correspondent, was for many years with the New York *Herald Tribune*. He has just returned from a trip to Mexico undertaken for *The Reporter*.

Soviet diplomats as we see them on TV at the United Nations seem faceless, impenetrable, inscrutable. It is as if they all wore masks. **Daniel Aaron**, an Associate Professor of English at Smith College and the author of *Men of Good Hope*, tells us how, when in Helsinki on a Fulbright scholarship, he got behind the mask of a Soviet diplomat and what he found there.

Helen Hill Miller writes from Washington on economics not only with proven competence but with a sense of humor. In her contribution to this issue she also shows courage, for at a time when everyone is talking about "trade, not aid," she reminds us about what old-fashioned American tariffs are doing to make that formula unworkable because of the conditions they impose on trade. Mrs. Miller has been a member of the staff working on the Bell Report—a thirteen-member Public Advisory Board for Mutual Security under the direction of Daniel W. Bell, former Under Secretary of the Treasury. Mrs. Miller, recently Washington representative of *The Economist*, is the wife of Francis Pickens Miller, who fought unsuccessfully but bravely against the Byrd machine in the Virginia Senatorial primaries.

ST. PATRICK'S DAY means to New Yorkers a wonderful parade up Fifth Avenue enjoyed by all of us whether or not we boast a connection with Erin. According to **Honor Tracy**, the great saint's day in Dublin is something else again. An earlier article on the Dublin she loves and knows so well (*The Reporter*, September 30, 1952) will be remembered by our readers. Author of *Kakemono*, a book about her experiences in Japan, Miss Tracy has also contributed to *Harper's Bazaar* and the *Atlantic Monthly*.

Bill Mauldin, who was AWOL from our last issue, returns to duty with a report on his sojourn in Florida.

The people who talk about a "positive"

foreign policy have found a spokesman in the versatile James Burnham, or, to be more accurate, James Burnham has selected himself as their spokesman. We asked **William H. Hessler** of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, a regular contributor, to size up Burnham's new book, *Containment or Liberation?* The death of Stalin will surely make the debate hotter than ever, and we intend to keep a watchful eye on Burnham and his arguments.

Anthony West, a literary critic and novelist, whose work appears frequently in the *New Yorker*, was the subject of some critical remarks by Mary McCarthy in one of our recent issues, and we are glad to give him space to reply.

WE HAVE been receiving letters asking us to tell something about the artists who do our covers, which have been attracting more and more favorable comment. We do not know why we have not done this before; and henceforth we shall do so, as we feel that our covers represent an integral part of the particular quality *The Reporter* seeks to offer its readers.

It was the church at Taxco in Mexico that furnished **Vladimir Bobri** with the inspiration for this issue's cover. Born in Kharkov in the Ukraine, Mr. Bobri went into exile at the end of the Russian Revolution, painted scenery for the ballet in Constantinople, painted ikons for a Greek monastery on the island of Halki, ended up in New York. His arrival was the beginning of a very successful career as a designer of textiles and advertisements and as a painter. He also belongs to that select company of musicians for whom the guitar represents the most sensitive of instruments, producing sounds as uncluttered and precise as those of the harpsichord. He was founder of the Society of the Classic Guitar and is a composer. At present he is busy preparing a series of illustrated children's books.

OUR NEXT issue will burrow underneath the mountain of speculation by press and radio that accompanied the death of Joseph Stalin and the rapid decisions about the succession of power in the Kremlin. We shall explore the struggle for authority within Russia, the dilemma created for the satellites by Stalin's hemorrhage, and the opportunities which the new situation creates for American foreign policy. We shall also have an exclusive story by a Soviet doctor, with illuminating sidelights on the recent medical purge and the doctors who treated Stalin.