

The Easy Chair by John Fischer

Harper's
3/69

SOME GUESSES ABOUT THE NEXT KREMLIN CONSPIRACY

If you are a gambling man, you might want to bet a few dollars that Russia will have a major change in government before the year is out. At reasonable odds—say four-to-one, which is the least you ought to get on any guess about the Soviet Union—that could be an interesting speculation.

Such is the advice I've been getting lately from people who make their living by watching the Soviet leaders and trying to figure out what they might do next. Some of my best friends are Kremlinologists, professing their arcane science for the government or universities or, in a few cases, in private practice. Since I have been an amateur Kremlin-watcher myself from time to time, and have on occasion been able to pick up scraps of information for them, in return they sometimes tell me what they are thinking. They seldom agree; but recently most of them have been hinting—with the well-hedged caution which is also characteristic of race-track touts and stock-market analysts—that some time in the fairly near future they expect a shift in the top levels of the Russian oligarchy.

They also are uncommonly close to agreement about the reasons why such an upheaval seems likely. The current ruling clique has made too many blunders; and throughout Russian history whenever a regime piles up an intolerable number of mistakes, it eventually topples. The recent blunders are not the result of stupidity or incompetence. On the contrary, Leonid Brezhnev and Alexei Kosygin, the co-bosses of the Kremlin, are by all accounts intelligent and experienced politicians. Their mistakes probably were unavoidable, again for historic reasons. Russian governments, whether Czarist or Communist, always have had trouble in estimating what effect their actions might have on

the outside world. And they always have had even more difficulty in adjusting to the currents of change, both inside their own country and beyond their borders. As Milovan Djilas, the former Yugoslav Communist leader, recently pointed out, "a revolution cannot change a nation, its tendencies and qualities and traits." Consequently, Djilas suggested, the present regime can best be understood as a "continuation of the Czarist bureaucracy," with all its built-in rigidity and inertia.

Moreover, the Communist society has no provision for an orderly, periodical change in command; and under its one-party system there is no such thing as a legitimate alternative government. So any change has to be accomplished by conspiracy and intrigue, often accompanied by violence. Only a few hours before his overthrow in 1964, Nikita Khrushchev remarked to a French diplomat that "a political leader should never leave power of his own free will." At that very moment his friends and colleagues in the Presidium (earlier known as the Politburo) were conspiring to remove him against his will. He went, literally screaming and cursing, but with a whole skin.

Khrushchev's own climb to power a decade earlier was not so bloodless. He told the story, while he still was at the top of the heap, to a Western diplomat with whom he had become particularly well acquainted. One evening after both of them had put away a good deal of vodka, the diplomat said, "You know, one thing I never understood was how you managed to get rid of Lavrenti Beria. With his absolute control of the secret police, I should have thought he would be invulnerable."

"He should have been," Khrushchev replied, "but he made one silly mistake.

day without his bodyguard. I shot him."

Because he is a discreet and honorable man, the diplomat never repeated this story until long after Khrushchev's forced retirement, and so far as I know it has not been previously published. But the fact that he told it at all is an indication of Khrushchev's impulsiveness and overweening self-confidence.

These characteristics were evident enough when I first met Khrushchev just after the end of World War II. He was then boss of the Ukraine and a fairly junior member of the Politburo, the apex committee of the Communist hierarchy. I was a member of a mission overseeing the distribution of United Nations relief supplies in the Ukraine. In his dealings with the mission, Khrushchev showed some engaging traits: an apparent openness and candor, at least as such things are measured in Russia; a sense of humor; a willingness to experiment; an impatient eagerness to get things done. At the same time he was prone to bullying his subordinates, and anyone else when he thought he could get away with it. (The Napoleonic syndrome, common among short men, especially when they come from humble beginnings.) He loved to embark on bold new projects, and then lost interest in them before they got well under way. And he seemed to me appallingly reckless. For example, he arranged a formal banquet—grotesquely formal, with candlelight, three wines, innumerable carafes of vodka and brandy,

Mr. Fischer is the author of "Why They Behave Like Russians" and other books, and was editor in chief of this magazine for fourteen years. He is serving this quarter as Regents Professor at the Santa Cruz campus of the University of California.

LETTERS

theater and opera, incidentally giving salaries to many performers. It can put out standard cheap editions of classical American writing. It can revive the useful "applied" art of the WPA, with modest stipends and no questions asked. It can radically decentralize the unassigned TV channels and give millions a chance to speak and perform; and it can operate one public channel of high standard information and entertainment, like the BBC First Program. . . . And not least, in the sciences, instead of dispensing the present gigantic budget entirely through great institutes, universities, and corporations, government could give hundreds of thousands of small grants to inventors and scientists without institutional connection, to increase the scientific pool; we might occasionally turn up a Faraday. . . .

PAUL GOODMAN
Oceanic Institute
Waimanalo, Hawaii

Fourth-party Rumblings

In "The Man Who Ran Against Lyndon Johnson" [December], David Halberstam has recorded more background on what has inelegantly been dubbed the "Dump Johnson" movement that any other author to date. At one point, however, Mr. Halberstam's account is factually incorrect.

His decription of the meeting of the Coalition for an Open Convention on August 25, 1968, attributes "fourth-party rumblings" to Marcus Raskin and me. The statement is half-right. Mr. Raskin was already involved in organizing a fourth party. At the meeting in question, I stated that the difficulties already encountered by Mr. Raskin's signature-gatherers proved once more the futility of minority-party politics in the United States.

It would have been quite inconsistent of me to make "fourth-party rumblings." I worked informally with Al Lowenstein and Curtis Gans since the summer of 1967 in the "Dump Johnson" movement, and worked within SANE for its organizational support of such a movement, which was forthcoming in October 1967. In January, 1968, SANE became the first national organization to support Eugene McCarthy. By August 25, the movement had gone further than I had dreamed possible a year earlier and we were about to organize the New Democratic Coalition. If Mr. Halberstam's informants detected "a defeated quality" to the August 25 meetings, that feeling did not encompass all of the participants.

SANFORD GOTTLIEB
Executive Director, SANE

Washington, D.C.

Want to get the feel of Europe?



DS-21 Pallas

Take the wheel of a Citroën.

Order your Citroen now for delivery upon arrival. Place your order through your authorized Citroen Dealer or through Citroen Cars Corporation. Or see your travel agent. Your car will be delivered to you directly from the Factory. It's your assurance of getting the most reliable European Delivery plan, and the biggest Factory-direct, tax-free savings. Financed Purchase-Repurchase plans also available. For full information, write for our free European Delivery brochure.

Citroen Cars Corporation Dept. 9HA-3
East: 641 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022
West: 8423 Wilshire Boulevard
Beverly Hills, Calif. 90211

Please send me your free brochure, on Factory direct European Delivery of Citroen Cars.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

the coffee for higher-ups.

THE NAME IS Melitta®

THE METHOD, A BIT DIFFERENT...
THE TASTE, TRULY DELIGHTFUL

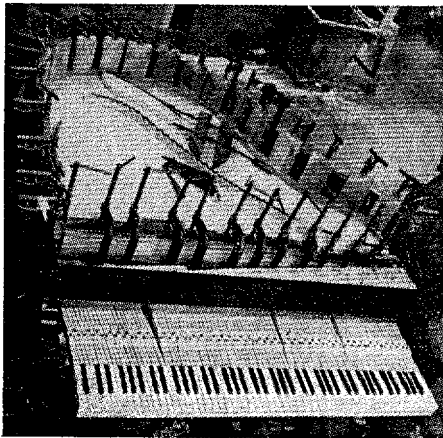
An adventure in perfection, Melitta is made by an all-new, three-minute filter method that's especially designed to deliver nothing but pure coffee taste and goodness. Gone are the fats and oils, the bitter after-taste. Melitta—made for the appreciative people with above average coffee tastes. Melitta—for those who will put that little extra (like our filter paper) into making coffee. Melitta—for the higher-ups who want a little more than the extra-ordinary. At gourmet shops, better markets and specialty food sections of department stores. Do write us, we'll send you our full color Melitta brochure, the name of your nearest shop and a special introductory offer.

Yes, I would like to receive your full color brochure. The name of your nearest shop and a special introductory offer!

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Melitta Inc., Dept. H-39 Box 846,
Cherry Hill, N.J. 08034

**This Steinway® was started June 15, 1968.
This Steinway will be finished June 20, 1969.**



A year may sound like a long time to work on one grand piano, but Steinway has proven that's how long it takes to make a fine musical instrument.

Of course, we could save a lot of time if we didn't make the Steinway Accelerated® Action. (But then Steinway wouldn't have its unique responsive touch.)

Or if we didn't kiln dry the wood before and after gluing. Or didn't hand condition the felt in every hammer for truest tone. Or go through the months of precision voicing and tuning.

The reason just about every great pianist you can think of chooses Steinway isn't because it takes a year to make it.

It's because of the way it sounds when it's finished.

Which is really the only reason anyone should ever buy a Steinway.

Steinway & Sons

For information, write: Theodore Steinway, Steinway Hall, 111 West 57th Street, New York, 10019

THE EASY CHAIR

and a footman in eighteenth-century costume behind each chair—for the U. N. mission and the senior members of his own staff. Before the end of the dinner he was so drunk that he launched impromptu into an offensively belligerent speech, became incoherent, and finally had to be helped out of the room, glassy-eyed, by two of his military aides.

At the time it seemed improbable to me that such an unstable character would ever become the supreme ruler of the Soviet empire. Obviously I was wrong—as I have been in a good many other calculations about the Russians. But his instability and impulsiveness did lead eventually to his overthrow.

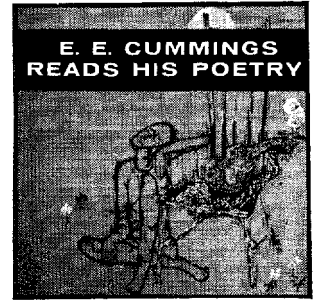
How his downfall was accomplished is a breath-catching story, as full of suspense and Byzantine intrigue as any espionage novel. All of its details probably will never be known, barring some cataclysm which opens up the secret archives of the Kremlin. But the fullest account yet available has recently been published under the title *The Fall of Khrushchev* (Funk & Wagnalls, \$4.95) by William Hyland and Richard W. Shryock. It deserves more attention than it has received so far, because of what it tells about the inner workings of Soviet politics—and because it suggests, obliquely, how the next change of regime may come about, and why.

The book probably is a thinly-disguised intelligence document. Its authors are identified only as "longtime students of Soviet affairs" who are "currently employed by the federal government." That smacks of the CIA or one of its companion agencies; if the authors were, say, State Department men, one would expect more explicit information about their rank and credentials. Internal evidence indicates that they are veteran Kremlinologists, thoroughly familiar with material such as obscure Russian publications and the tapes of Soviet broadcasts, which would not be easily available to anyone outside the intelligence establishment. And they write in the standard jargon of the intelligence appreciation, a style unmistakable to anyone who has read or worked on such reports. If this suspicion is correct, it does not reflect on the value of their work. A number of books—the Penkovskiy memoirs in this country, for example, and the Philby story in Russia—have been published with the known encouragement of the respective national intelligence agencies. They are none the less illuminating for all that.

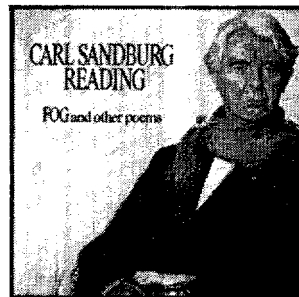
Stalin's death in 1953 was followed by two years of infighting and secret maneuver within the Soviet power structure. Only in 1955 when Khrushchev had

“..listen: there’s a hell of a good universe next door; let’s go.”

e. e. cummings said it. And he himself can take you there, by way of his own reading. Since a poet hears a poem in his mind’s ear as he writes it, he knows how he wants it to sound. And you too will hear how the poem ought to sound — with a new understanding not only of the poem, but of the poet himself — when you listen to the great poets of our age reading from their own works on Caedmon Records.



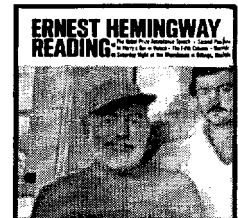
TC 1017



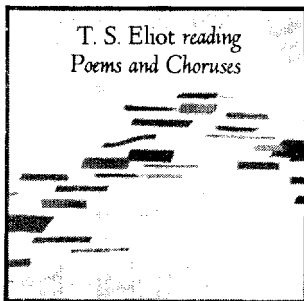
TC 1253



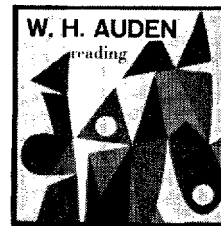
TC 1002



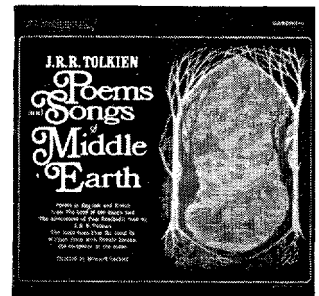
TC 1185



TC 1045



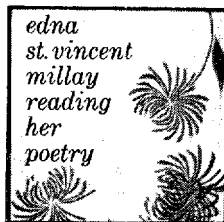
TC 1019



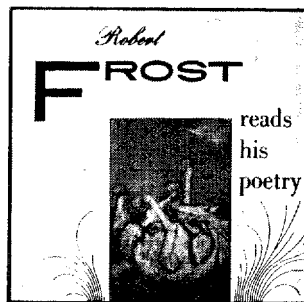
TC 1231



TC 1035



TC 1123



TC 1060

Long the acknowledged leader in spoken word recordings, Caedmon boasts an incomparable library of literary voices: Robert Frost, Carl Sandburg, Dylan Thomas, William Faulkner, J. R. R. Tolkien, Ernest Hemingway, Edna St. Vincent Millay, T. S. Eliot, W. H. Auden and many others.

Just look in your favorite record store for the complete Caedmon collection, or fill in and mail the coupon below.

Remember, nobody who knows, reads or studies poetry should be without . . . no record library is complete without CAEDMON RECORDS.

CAEDMON RECORDS, Dept. HM-99

505 Eighth Avenue
New York, New York 10018

Please send me the records whose numbers I have circled below. I enclose \$5.95 for each record, and understand that you will pay all postage and handling costs.

TC 1017 TC 1002 TC 1185 TC 1123 TC 1019

TC 1045 TC 1035 TC 1123 TC 1060 TC 1019 TC 1231 Zip

I would like to have a free copy of the 64-page CAEDMON Record Catalogue.

Name.....
(Please Print)

Address.....

Gorham Originals. Marvelous for gifts. For you. Cordial sets crafted in rich solid silver. Four sterling cups and 6½" tray rimmed in sterling, \$36.00 complete. Tulip shape or classic Napoleon design. At finest jewelry stores and silverware departments.

GORHAM DIVISION OF TEXTRON, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND



THE EASY CHAIR

finally eliminated his chief rivals—Beria, Malenkov, Molotov, Bulganin—did he feel secure enough to embark on a program of his own. It was an ambitious one. He knew that many changes were overdue after the long, frozen night of Stalinist terror, and some of the things he sought were genuinely in the interests of the Russian people. More food, more housing, more consumer goods. Less fear of police terrorism. More flexibility and efficiency in the clumsy, creaking administrative machinery. More freedom—just a little more—for Soviet artists and writers.

But every one of these changes was profoundly disturbing to some entrenched interest in the country's hierarchy. To produce more food and consumer goods, he had to take money away from the armed forces and heavy industry—the Soviet version of the military-industrial complex; the resulting struggle ended in apparent victory only after he fired Marshal Georgi Zhukov, the most famous hero of World War II. Khrushchev's repeated shake-ups of the Party organization and the secret police jarred whole armies of bureaucrats out of their soft jobs and comfortable ways of doing things. His denunciation of Stalinism offended his colleagues in the Presidium, because all of them (including of course Comrade K. himself) had been implicated in Stalin's crimes. They felt even more threatened by his tentative experiments in freeing some parts of the economy and the intellectual community from rigid centralized control. Such heresy was not only ideologically scandalous. It also imperiled the whole structure which gave the Communist elite their power and privileges. They felt much as the conservatives of the Vatican Curia did after Pope John opened the gates of change in the Catholic Church. For if Authority permits a little freedom of thought, of criticism, and of action, where and how can it be checked before it sweeps away Authority itself?

To offset the opposition to his domestic innovations, Khrushchev needed some spectacular triumphs abroad—and no doubt he also craved them for the sake of his own inflamed ego, after his decades of servility under Stalin. The prospects looked good. He assumed—and stated publicly—that Russia's launching of the first Sputnik and intercontinental missiles was shifting the balance of military power in his favor. The Western alliance was in considerable disarray. Colonial empires in Africa and Asia were breaking up, leaving weak successor governments that seemed to offer tempting opportunities for Communist intervention. So in 1958 he launched a

*You can learn to write in the
Italic hand, if you have an
Osmiroid pen, an Italic nib
and our free introductory
manual.*



Only \$2.50 at art material, stationery and pen shops as well as college book stores. Your check or money order can also be mailed to Pentalic Corp., 132 West 22nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10011. Add 50 cents to cover handling. State whether right or left handed. . . . Nothing is more satisfying than learning to produce the beautiful thick and thin that characterize the italic hand and it's easy to learn as the pen, held at the proper angle, does most of the work for you. So be a penman, own an Osmiroid.

USE YOUR ZIP CODE

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Send for a list of other articles from Harper's Magazine which are available in reprint form. Write to:

Lucy Mattimore, Reprint Editor
Harper's Magazine
2 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016

Quantities of 100 or more: prices on request. Small quantities, when available: 15 cents each.



Look at Boston's
finest
dining room . . .
in this light

THE RITZ  CARLTON
BOSTON

YOU CAN LIVE IN NEW YORK ALL YOUR LIFE AND NOT BE A NEW YORKER.

Through a streak of insanity which you share with eight million other people, you've chosen to live in the most unlivable city in the world.

Sure it's worth it. But only if you know how.

And that's what New York Magazine is in existence for. Not just to tell you what's going on all around you, including behind your back.

But more important, to help you cope.

We'll show you how to get a rent-controlled, semi-professional apartment; even though you're not a semi-professional person.

We'll tell you how to go about getting your kid into private school with confidence, even though you graduated P. S. 165.

Worried about how the city's being run? We are too. So we send writers like Gloria Steinem and Peter Maas to pry into private places and tell you what Lindsay and Hogan and Rocky, and, even ex-New Yorker, Richard Nixon are up to.

If there's a battle raging in town, we've got the war correspondents to cover it. Whether it's white vs. black in the ghettos, students vs. faculty at Columbia, or Craig Claiborne vs. Michael Field over a hot kitchen stove.

Just one more thing, because we know your time is short.

In fact, that's the point: because your time is short, you can't afford to waste it on bad

movies or dreary plays or dull, second-rate food.

So, we've got Judith Crist to help you pick the flicks.

John Simon to tell you what unforgettable-evening-in-the-theatre to forget.

Alan Rich to guide you safely through Philharmonic, Carnegie, Hunter and the Met.

And the Underground Gourmet to direct you to dozens of undiscovered restaurants stashed around town.

If you'd rather stay home, you can amuse yourself with that downtown theatre of the absurd, Wall Street, as chronicled by 'Adam Smith'. Or with one of Stephen Sondheim's sadistic crossword puzzles.

Sure New York is a lunatic city. But we've got the people who can make sense of it. Because they're New Yorkers.

People like Tom Wolfe and Judith Viorst and Dick Schaap and Ralph Schoenstein. And a few dozen others we're about to discover.

You can pick up New York Magazine at your newsstand for forty cents an issue. But why not

send for a year's subscription at eight dollars. And save twelve bucks a year.

With creamed spinach at the Automat up to 25¢ a portion, it may be the last remaining bargain in town.

H-1
NEW YORK

If you mail this coupon we'll enlist you in New York—the *real* New York—for only \$8 a year. (The newsstand price would add up to over \$20 a year.) Or subscribe for two or three years and save even more.
Mail to: New York Magazine, Subscription Dept., Box 322, Des Moines, Ia. 50302.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

1 yr. at \$8 2 yrs. at \$12 3 yrs. at \$15

check enclosed money order bill me

Outside Continental U.S.: Alaska, Canada, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands \$12 per year; elsewhere \$15 per year.

Coming in Harper's

John Corry's

CUBA NOW

▲

Harper's Contributing Editor has just returned from a month's visit to Castro's Cuba, ten years after the Revolution captured Havana. Here, in a brilliant, firsthand, reportorial account, is the story of what is happening in that country and an appraisal of what this small Caribbean nation's experiment in Marxist-authoritarian adventures means to itself and its people, to the U.S., and to the world . . .

▼

and stories, articles, essays,
and poems by

FRANK O'CONNOR

ROBERT LOWELL

DAVID HALBERSTAM

JAMES G. WILSON

JOHN W. ALDRIDGE

NAT HENTOFF

OSCAR LEWIS

JOHN CIARDI

ROGER WILKINS

KINGSLEY AMIS

THE EASY CHAIR

series of power plays against the West.

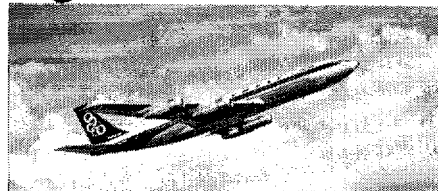
By threats, ultimatums, and harassment of the air corridors, he tried to force the NATO allies out of Berlin. He demanded a final peace settlement in Central Europe on his own terms. He grabbed for power bases in the Middle East and the Congo. But each of these offensives failed—all for the same fundamental reason: the West called his bluff. Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy both refused to yield to Khrushchev's threats, and he was not prepared to back them up with armed force.

By 1961 other things were going wrong for him too. Just as the orthodox old-timers had predicted, Khrushchev's moves toward liberalization had set loose forces that were hard to control; in Hungary they seemed to jeopardize the very structure of the Soviet empire, and had to be suppressed by Russian troops. His grandiose schemes for plowing up the Virgin Lands and for planting American corn in the Ukraine were embarrassing failures. For a brief period he tried an impulsive reversal of foreign policy, calling for "peaceful coexistence" with the West; the most notable result was the split with China, since Chairman Mao could not tolerate such craven trucking to the enemy.

Realizing that his critics both in the military and the Party bureaucracy were growing increasingly restive, Khrushchev decided on the biggest gamble yet in hopes of restoring his drooping prestige and authority. This time his miscalculation was double: he was unable to set up a missile base in Cuba before the United States could find out about it; and when it was discovered, the Americans did not acquiesce. Once again he was forced to back down, this time in the most humiliating public confrontation of all.

That did it. His colleagues in the top agencies of the regime were alarmed by the risks he had been taking, and disgusted by their failure. They also were acutely unhappy over a new set of proposals that Khrushchev was advancing—for drastic economic and administrative reforms, for a showdown with China, for opening negotiations with West Germany. It probably was the evening of October 11, 1964 (according to Hyland and Shryock), that two of his associates in the Presidium, Brezhnev and Suslov, decided that The Boss would have to go.

The way in which they recruited other Presidium members into the conspiracy, and went about the delicate business of enlisting military and secret police support is reconstructed by the authors in considerable detail. Fortunately for the



Jet Olympic to Athens. And cruise to the Golden Islands with Sun Line.

Olympic begins your vacation on a new Boeing 707.

Chanel-dressed hostesses wine and dine you to lively bouzouki music (in stereo of course).

All the way to Athens.

By land, see two weeks of Athens on an Olympic tour. Plane ticket, hotel room, and car with Unlimited Mileage from \$490.*

By sea, Sun Line takes you to Golden Islands like Delos, Mykonos, and Rhodes in the sunny Aegean, aboard small-scale luxury liners with cozy cocktail lounges, continental cuisine, a nightclub, sun decks, heated swimming pools and picture-windowed staterooms with air-conditioning and private facilities.

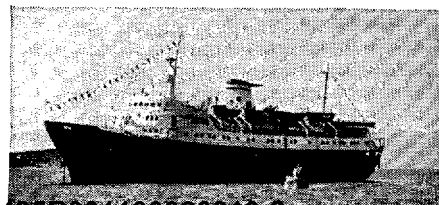
Sun Line leaves Piraeus any Monday or Friday for 3, 4 or 7 days from March 31 to October 24. From only \$75.

By land, sea, and air see Greece with Olympic and Sun Line.

For more information, call your travel agent.

Safety Information: The ms. Stella Solaris*, the ms. Stella Maris**, and the ms. Stella Oceanis**, ships of Greek Registry, meet international safety standards for new ships developed in 1948* and 1960** and meet 1966 fire requirements.

*Based on jet economy group fare from New York GIT and on two persons traveling together.





OUR EUROPEAN DELIVERY PLAN HAS AS MUCH RED TAPE AS ANYBODY ELSE'S. WE JUST CHARGE YOU LESS FOR IT.

When you buy a European car in Europe, a lot of red tape comes as standard equipment.

It takes about a pound of paperwork to get your car prepared for delivery, insured, registered, delivered, serviced, shipped to America, and cleared through customs.

The going rate for this paperwork is anywhere from \$644 to \$1230 a pound. Approved For Release 2006/01/17: CIA-RDP80E01495R001100030010-9

Volvo has reduced the quantity of paperwork you have to do yourself. You sign two forms. And, of course, a check.

We've also reduced the quantity of money you have to pay for the paperwork. We charge as little as \$271 a pound.

Because shipping a Volvo from the factory in Gothenburg, Sweden, to Newark, N.J., Tex., is free.* So are prepara-

tion, 1500-mile servicing, and European registration. Insuring a Volvo and delivering it to anywhere in Europe is cheaper than insuring and delivering most other cars.

But the best thing about saving on a Volvo in Europe is that your savings don't stop at the water's edge.

Volvos last long enough to pay. 9 out of every 10

registered here in the last eleven years are still on the road. Which is no guarantee, but indicates how long a Volvo should hold up here.

Can you think of another souvenir of your trip to Europe that will do as well?

Write us for a free Volvo European Delivery brochure. Or ask any Volvo dealer.



THE EASY CHAIR

rebels, Khrushchev was vacationing at the time at his villa in Sochi; if he had been in Moscow, he might well have found out what was happening in time to squelch it. Even in his absence, the conspirators felt they had to move fast, and by Monday, October 12, they had gathered enough strength to call an emergency meeting of the Presidium to vote their absent leader out of his job.

The next day Khrushchev cut short his vacation and flew back to Moscow, probably because one of his few remaining loyal henchmen on the Presidium (Mikoyan?) had tipped him off. He was met at the airport by the chief of the secret police and escorted at once to a Kremlin conference room where the Presidium was again in session. At the head of the table sat Brezhnev, in Khrushchev's accustomed place. He broke the news, brushed aside Khrushchev's belligerent protests, and told him to appear the following morning before the full Central Committee of the Communist party, which would formally ratify his dismissal.

At that final meeting Suslov presented a twenty-nine-point indictment of Khrushchev's blunders. The accused man was permitted a rebuttal, which has been described as rambling, aggressive, and profane—and the Committee then voted to remove him from all his Party positions. But the vote was not unanimous; and when the decision was announced to the public a couple of days later, it was framed in face-saving terms. Khrushchev had asked to be relieved of his duties, the communiqué said, because of "advanced age and poor health."

Something very similar may happen one of these days to one or both of his successors. Brezhnev and Kosygin are far more cautious, and their style of command apparently is less offensive to their somewhat less-than-equal colleagues in the Party hierarchy. But so far they have been no more successful than Khrushchev in solving the gritty, inescapable problems of the Soviet realm.

They have clamped down on the liberals and intellectuals both at home and in their satellite states. The result has been a wave of revulsion throughout the world, even among lifelong Communists in many countries. Moreover, repression has not stopped the muttering—in Czechoslovakia, where the Russian occupation promises to be a prolonged embarrassment, nor in Poland and Romania, nor even among their own disillusioned young people.

Their Arab clients lost the Six Day War with Israel, in spite of Russia's



The Smart Set.

That describes Kodak's top super 8 movie twosome—the new KODAK INSTAMATIC® M9 Movie Camera and the KODAK INSTAMATIC M95 Movie Projector.

The instant-load M9 movie camera gives you greater movie-making versatility. Battery drive—no winding ever. A wide zoom range—5 to 1. More shooting speeds—four, ranging from 12 to 32 frames per second. Precise through-the-lens viewing, zone focusing, and automatic exposure control. Sports finder, too. And handsome wood-grain vinyl styling.

The M95 movie projector gives you greater movie-showing versatility. It has seven projection speeds—three forward speeds...three reverse speeds...and a still "speed" when you want to freeze on a single frame. Shows both super 8 movies and 8mm. Has 400-foot reel capacity.

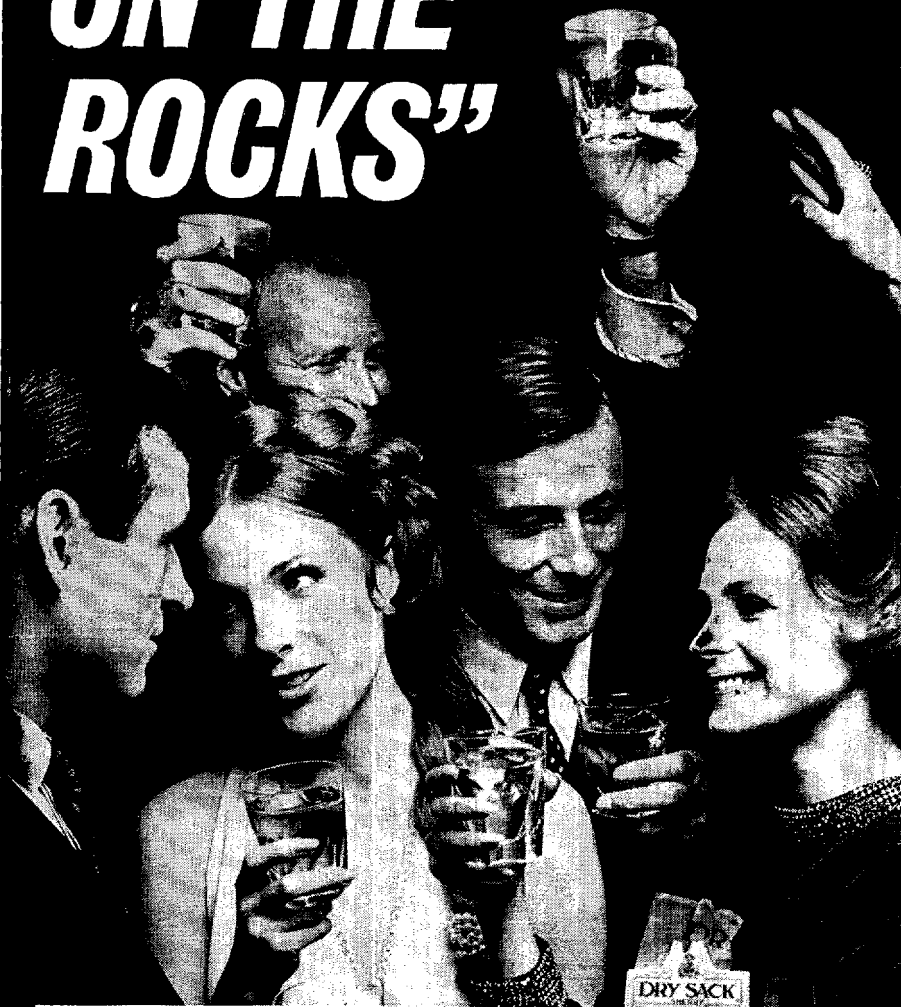
See this smart pair at your Kodak dealer's.

The camera, less than \$230. The self-cased projector, from less than \$200.

Prices subject to change without notice.

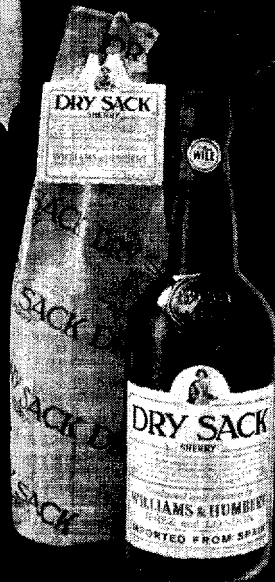
Kodak

"I'LL HAVE DRY SACK ON THE ROCKS"



Dry Sack on-the-rocks is a great drink before lunch or dinner. Dry Sack has the body and superb nutty flavor to stand up to ice cubes. No wonder Dry Sack on-the-rocks, the man's sherry, is so popular.

World-Famous Sherries From Spain
WILLIAMS & HUMBERT
DRY SACK



THE EASY CHAIR

lavish contributions of planes and tanks; and now they seem to be sliding toward another, and more dangerous, confrontation in defiance of Soviet cautions. The Chinese not only are as hostile as ever; they also are making alarming (to the Kremlin) noises about a rapprochement with the United States.

To get their faltering economy in order, Brezhnev and Kosygin urgently need to slow down the arms race and divert the money saved into domestic uses. But an understanding with America and Western Europe has proved impossible, so long as Soviet troops are poised in Czechoslovakia and the shooting continues in Vietnam and the Middle East.

Their most pressing question of all is: How do you run a modern, complex, high-technology society under a system of centralized, rigid controls? Brezhnev and Kosygin have found no answer—because, as even their own people are beginning to suspect, there is none. Their industrial managers, and scientists, and local administrators keep saying, with increasingly open insistence, that such a system just won't work. It could perform, after a fashion, during the war and the early period of industrialization, when the Soviet Union had only a few simple goals. Today, however, the demands of its society are more numerous and sophisticated—ranging from space exploration to contemporary women's fashions, salable exports, a new automobile industry, an efficient production of not-quite-so-shoddy consumer goods. Such goals evidently cannot be reached without some dispersal of decision-making and some degree of freedom—in consumer choice, in pricing, in managerial discretion, in scientific inquiry, and in the flow of scarce resources. In sum, an approach to something like a pluralistic society.

That, of course, is the one thing that Brezhnev and Kosygin and their fellow conservatives in the Communist apparatus cannot tolerate, since it would immediately jeopardize their own authority. They seemed doomed, therefore, to increasing conflict with Russia's New Class, as Djilas has called it: the managers and technologists whose role grows steadily more important in every modern industrial state. The consequent tensions and pressures are likely to accumulate quietly below the surface, until something has to give, like an earth slippage along a fault line. Then one or two of the younger members of the hierarchy may again begin to talk guardedly about the necessity of a change in command, and the conspiratorial tactics which might bring it about . . .

All of the people who have talked to



Let this seal be your guide to quality

THE EASY CHAIR

She Needs Your Love

Little Mie-Wen in Formosa already knows many things . . . the gnawing of hunger . . . the shivering of fear . . . the misery of being unwanted.

But she has never known love. Her mother died when she was born. Her father was poor—and didn't want a girl child. So Mie-Wen has spent her baby years without the affection and security every child craves.

Your love can give Mie-Wen, and children just as needy, the privileges you would wish for your own child.

Through Christian Children's Fund you can sponsor one of these youngsters. We use the word sponsor to symbolize the bond of love that exists between you and the child.

The cost? Only \$12 a month. Your love is demonstrated in a practical way because your money helps with nourishing meals . . . medical care . . . warm clothing . . . education . . . understanding housemothers . . .

And in return you will receive your child's personal history, photograph, plus a description of the orphanage where your child lives. You can write and send packages. Your child will know who you are and will answer your letters. Correspondence is translated at our overseas offices.

(If you want your child to have a special gift—a pair of shoes, a warm jacket, a fuzzy bear—you can send your check to our office, and the *entire amount* will be forwarded, along with your instructions.)

Will you help? Requests come from orphanages every day. And they are urgent. Children wrapping rags on their feet, school books years out of date, milk



supplies exhausted, babies abandoned by unwed mothers.

Since 1938, thousands of American sponsors have found this to be an intimate person-to-person way of sharing their blessings with youngsters around the world.

Little Mie-Wen and children like her need your love—won't you help? Today?

Sponsors urgently needed this month for children in Korea, Taiwan, India, Brazil. (Or let us select a child for you from our emergency list.)

me about the possibility of such a palace rebellion are pretty vague about the man, or men, who might next climb to power.

Of the eleven present members of the Presidium, Mikhail Suslov almost certainly can be ruled out. For decades he has been the court theologian, the guardian of the Party's ideological purity. As such, he has had considerable influence, but no real power base in the military, the police, the industrial structure, or the Party machine. (That is why he was not chosen, despite his early role in the anti-Khrushchev cabal, to share power with Brezhnev, who had a strong base in the Party apparatus; instead the second place went to Kosygin, an engineer with a large following among industrial management.) Besides, Suslov is too old, too ill, and too closely associated with the present regime to make a likely heir apparent.

Several Kremlinologists are speculating about the chances of two other Presidium members, Nikolai Podgorny and Peter Shelest. Both are Ukrainians and former protégés of Khrushchev; Podgorny, indeed, may have been the last to desert his old boss in the crucial October 14 meeting of the conspirators. Consequently if Party sentiment begins to turn again toward a more flexible and experimental policy, of the kind Khrushchev attempted so ineptly, one of them might profit from it.

Probably an even better bet is Alexander Shelepin, the bumptious young man of the Kremlin, at least in comparison with the rest of the Soviet gerontocracy. Only fifty years old, he is considered a spokesman for the New Class. And since he has been a trade-union leader, chief of the secret police, and organizer of the Young Communist League, he has excellent connections with several main elements in the power structure.

Other rising young men, such as Dmitri S. Polansky, sometimes are mentioned as possibilities. But at bottom, all this is sheer speculation. After all, even Khrushchev did not know, until the last moment, which of his friends had turned against him. How then could anybody outside the Kremlin hope to guess what shape the next conspiracy will take?

Only three things can be said with some assurance: (1) Such a conspiracy is bound to take form sooner or later, because Russia has no other way of changing administrations. (2) The record of the present regime hardly seems good enough to promise it a long life. (3) Whoever does succeed to the top command will face much the same array of problems and policy dilemmas which Khrushchev and Brezhnev-Kosygin have found so intractable. []

Write today: Verbon E. Kemp

CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND, INC.

Box 511, Richmond, Va. 23204

I wish to sponsor boy girl in (Country) _____ Name _____

Choose a child who needs me most. Address _____

I will pay \$12 a month. City _____

I enclose my first payment of \$_____. State _____ Zip _____

Send me child's name, story, address and picture. Registered (VFA-080) with the U. S. Government's Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. Gifts are tax deductible. Canadians: Write 1407 Yonge, Toronto 7, Ontario HP 39

Please send me more information.



the heart of the matter...

Master musicians freely comment that MASON & HAMLIN is today's finest piano.

They speak of tone that's richer and better balanced. A treble that's brilliant at the top, warmer throughout. An action of heartening response, yet a shade quieter and easier to adjust.

Such commentaries mean we are succeeding. They testify to the fact that MASON & HAMLIN occupies a unique position even among the world's great pianos.

MASON & HAMLIN builds more meaningfully different features into each piano than anyone else. This makes for more restricted and costlier production. But these differences are at the heart of the matter.

One is the Tension Resonator that maintains forever the critical crown of the soundboard.

Another is the special Duplex Scale. Hand-

placed, *individually* adjustable bridges called aliquots add treble depth by perfectly tuning the elusive non-singing string lengths.

More. The long side of a MASON & HAMLIN *angles* to the left, *not* straight back. The width that is gained allows a larger soundboard and longer string length. Bigger, better sound.

Other makers have none of these and other differences. Do they sound expensive? They are.

But worth it. After all, what goes into a piano makes the difference in what comes out.

For free color catalog, write Dept. SR



Mason & Hamlin

33 WEST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

SUBSIDIARY OF AEOLIAN CORPORATION

AMERICA'S LARGEST PRODUCER OF PIANOS

TRANSMITTAL SLIP		DATE	3/7/69
TO: Mr. Proctor			
ROOM NO.	BUILDING		
REMARKS: F.I. / professional in DDI			
FROM:			
ROOM NO.	BUILDING	EXTENSION	

FORM NO. 241
1 FEB 55

REPLACES FORM 36-8
WHICH MAY BE USED.

(47)

25X1