

WHO—WHAT—WHY—

IN THE FLOOD of articles after Stalin's death, it was easy to spot those which were inspired by Isaac Deutscher's definitive *Stalin: A Political Biography* and those whose inspiration was drawn out of thin air. No absence of quotation marks could conceal the evidence that Deutscher's classic study is deservedly the most widely read book on the subject. We are proud to be the only magazine in the United States to offer Deutscher's analysis of the passing of the Stalin era. According to Deutscher, Stalin's overriding aim was to establish "socialism in one country." Was it Stalin who guided Communist expansion far beyond the boundaries of the former Tsarist empire, or was he carried along on a wave he could not resist? Will Malenkov show the same reluctance to plunge into adventures? These are the problems Deutscher attacks in this issue. He is, of course, too good a scholar to claim infallibility, but no one is better entitled to his own opinions and assumptions.

ONLY A FEW years have gone by since Hitler, and yet the European group he hated more than any other is once again set apart and persecuted. Anti-Semitism constitutes one of the uglier aspects of Communist life in Russia and in the satellite countries. Much has been written on the subject, but the unfortunate human beings directly concerned are rarely given the opportunity to speak for themselves. **Claire Sterling**, our staff writer regularly stationed in Rome, traveled recently to Munich and Berlin, where she neither theorized nor collected press releases but talked directly with refugees. We publish her report.

EVEN BEFORE the Presidential elections, American farmers were troubled by a decline in the prices they received for their products. How is the Administration, particularly the Secretary of Agriculture, meeting the situation? Since Ezra Taft Benson took office, he has expressed ideas that seemed heretical to farm interests accustomed to a policy of subsidies. How are those ideas standing up against economic and political pressure? It would be difficult to find a writer better qualified to explain the situation than **J. K. Galbraith**, outstanding economist and specialist in agricultural questions, who fortunately is also a brilliant and original writer. Professor Galbraith's latest book is *American Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power*.

OUR ROVING national correspondent, **William S. Fairfield**, offers in this issue an amusing report on the difficulties that beset

a city in New Mexico when it changed its name to suit the whim of a radio giveaway program.

Peter Linden met Chocoleto, the twelve-year-old Korean boy who became an honorary sergeant in the United States Marines, while he himself was serving in Korea as a rifle platoon leader with the First Marine Division.

Meyer Levin is the author of several novels, including the semi-autobiographical *In Search*.

IN THIS ISSUE **Marya Mannes** starts a series of imaginary portraits. They will alternate with "Channels," her regular television commentaries. Needless to say, "Any Resemblance" of the varied characters in her column to living people is purely coincidental. From the French classical age to the Menckner era, the portrait gallery has furnished amusement, instruction, and a window open to the fresh air of satire. It is time, we feel, that this pleasant device was used again.

SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR's heavy tome on the plight of Woman has been appraised in a great number of solemn reviews. It has been treated with the deference one accords a monument. Somehow our feeling about the book was a different one; and so we entrusted the job of describing it to a writer who has never been known as over-submissive to pretentious fads. **Dwight Macdonald** is already familiar to our readers and is a regular contributor to the *New Yorker*.

When Macdonald was editor of the *Yale Record*, **Robert Osborn** was the paper's art editor. After some years—not so many—Osborn now rejoins his colleague by providing Macdonald's remarks with highly appropriate illustrations. Osborn's latest book of cartoons, *Low & Inside* (Farrar, Straus and Young, \$3.75), was published on March 27.

OUR COVER of Moscow's Red Square was painted by **Paul Arit**, now a supplemental editorial cartoonist for the *New York Herald Tribune*. "It occurs to me," Arit told us, "that no one else in the free world but cartoonists will regret the departure of Stalin. They had plenty of time to find out how to do him; Malenkov may not be around long enough." Arit was a combat artist in the U.S. Marine Corps, covering action in the Pacific. He has done editorial drawings for *Harper's* and *Fortune*, meanwhile continuing an intermittent painting career.

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Can We 'Co-exist' with Malenkov?

THE Communist sphinx now has puffy cheeks and a cherubic mien. It will take time before we know what is behind the Kremlin's talk of peace, but already our own reaction to Stalin's death and Malenkov's succession points out a fact that must be registered without delay. The free world and Soviet Russia are locked in such a tight hold that what happened in Moscow stirred up fear and hope in the free countries, as if the will of new and sinister men, and not our own will, held the key to our destiny. Can we benefit from this shock and plan a long-range course of action that will ultimately loose us from this hideous embrace with Soviet Russia?

"Co-existence" is the word used by the men in the Kremlin whenever they want to indicate that the struggle between the democracies and Communism need not become a deadly, all-out conflict—at least as long as the Communist empire seeks consolidation and until the volume of industrial production in Communist countries has caught up with our own. While the Communist leaders move toward these two goals, they rely on the conflict of interests among the democratic nations and on what they consider the predestined doom of the capitalistic system. The turkey breeder is happy to co-exist with the fat birds—up until Thanksgiving.

The Communists do not doubt that the causes of our ultimate ruin co-exist with our present-day power and wealth. As they make no mystery about this, we should be unalterably opposed to co-existence were we convinced that time is on their side and that the assumptions on which the Kremlin's plans rest are, if not correct, at least plausible. Fortunately, these assumptions are demonstrably wrong. Far from progressing through cycles of boom and bust to its ultimate destruction, our economy keeps growing with a steadiness equaled only by its resilience. Our industrial production continues to climb from one record-breaking level to even higher ones, and its benefits are spread out more and more widely.

Only in the Communist countries does that most inhuman of all capitalists, the state, fail to share with the toiling masses the wealth they produce.

Meanwhile, the unity of Europe, in spite of all nationalisms, is coming into being, and the assistance the free world receives from America, rather than leading to an American empire, makes the nations on our side increasingly outspoken in asserting their own wills.

Which Can Outlast the Other?

Which, then, Communism or democratic capitalism, harbors within itself the seeds of doom? Which of the two systems will beat the other at the co-existence game? Obviously, the playing of this game against a ruthless opponent whose power is constantly growing requires something more than idle waiting for numbers to come up that will pay off the bets. It demands a constant effort to understand the trends of history and to know when to speed up or check the pace of these trends. Sometimes counter-trends have to be set in motion to disconcert and baffle the enemy—as was the case with the Marshall Plan. The game is a particularly hazardous one, since the Communists stop at nothing in their effort to force on human beings their dreary concept of human nature.

If the democracies' strength is not sapped by self-righteousness or laziness, they can bring about that kind of co-existence which will strengthen the free peoples' coalition and undermine the enemy's tyranny. For co-existence, no matter whether as the enemy sees it or as we do, is always a means to an end. It implies constant friction and constant tests on both sides, short of the ultimate test that is total war—although, of course, the threat of total war always remains. It cannot go on forever, one side containing another, for ultimately only the fitter will survive.

Our country, which leads the democracies, can well afford to be patient and restrained if we are