

---

## FROM THE OTHER SHORE

---

### Sad Sack, Uncensored

IT SEEMS centuries since Russia was described as a "mystery wrapped in enigma" and even longer since travellers were publishing reports on "a new civilisation" and "a future that works."

Books and despatches have become soberer, more modestly informative, although reporters on the spot have still over the years been handicapped by the operation of Russian censorship.

Mr. Macmillan's visit to Russia provided the first opportunity to send uncensored dispatches "from the other shore" by Western journalists. For the huge press corps accompanying the Prime Minister to Moscow censorship procedures were suspended by the Soviet authorities. How was this historic opportunity used by those who went on the tour? *The Observer* (March 8) noted:

The visit was an unusual journalistic expedition—a caravan of over a hundred, all under the same roof, at the same reception, in the same train, or sitting round the same press conference. It was scarcely surprising that, however much they wished to study Russia, they spent most of the time studying each other.

An index to the huge sheaf of clippings from Russia during this period would run the gamut from A to B. There was the inevitable reference to the tutti-frutti varieties (variously listed as 57, 62, 67) of ice-cream sold in the sub-zero temperature of the Moscow winter, and the inescapable statistics of the Russian girls (52-45-50 was held to be not representative). The political analysis was less concerned with Marxism than with millinery (that Macmillan hat), and few correspondents bit off anything tougher than the real proportions of Mr. K.'s toothache. The *News Chronicle* sceptic reported a baritone singing a ballad called *If I Loved You*. *The Times* was apparently more enthusiastic, less conditional, and had Mr. Litsitserin intoning *I Love You*. The *Daily Express* hit rhapsodic notes: "Some say that it [the hat] has been such a success that Britain must have it enshrined as a national monument." The toothache caused general dismay, but the *Daily Worker* (February 27) put up with it very bravely: "No slight or discourtesy on Mr. Khrushchev's part can be read into the decision not to accompany Mr. Macmillan to Kiev." (The dental session with the Iraqi delegation which Mr. Khrushchev had instead was not reported in the *Worker*.)

As to the political significance of the visit, the correspondent of the *Daily Express* (February 23) found an authoritative source in Moscow, Burgess, who disclosed "I have no inside information, but I know the Russians are always very pleased at the

prospects of talks with the West." Malcolm Muggeridge was less pleased, and his *Daily Mirror* despatches must have given the temporarily unemployed censors itchy palms: "I myself find it difficult to see how a non-aggression pact, as such, could have any more validity than the piece of paper Chamberlain waved in the air when he came back from seeing Hitler."

Randolph Churchill refused to stay in the Hotel Ukraina ("which may be good enough for Ukrainians, poor things, but not for an English journalist") but was able to report in the *Evening Standard*: "Well, there we are in the National Hotel—and Burgess, wearing his old Etonian tie, says to me . . ."

And when it was all over, there were still the enthusiasts and the sceptics.

The *Daily Sketch* issued its verdict with the headline: WELL DONE, MAC! BRITAIN IS PROUD OF YOU! Malcolm Muggeridge, whose recondite daily references to Tolstoy and Dostoevsky had to be explained in footnotes by the *Mirror* sub-editors, switched allusions:

Mr. Macmillan has to deal with Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Mikoyan, two characteristic products of a revolutionary régime . . . two tough, calculating, astute men who are by no means old-Etonians. They buffet him around, as in Shakespeare's play *The Tempest*, Ariel did Trinculo and his ribald companion.

One minute they slap him on his back and drink his health, the next they pull his chair from under him when he sits down. They alternatively bully and cajole him until the poor man scarcely knows where he is. It is a tragi-comedy such as even our bizarre time has rarely produced. . . .

Then Mr. Macmillan went on television, "for 20 minutes," according to the *Daily Express*, for "a confident, 27-minute appearance," according to the *Manchester Guardian*, before an audience (reported the *Guardian*) "unofficially estimated at between four and five millions," "ten million Russians" (reported the *Mail*), and Muggeridge, properly suspicious of the whole infernal medium, wrote of the broadcast: "What impression has it made on the Soviet people? I should say, in our sense of the word, very little. . . . How many saw and heard him on TV last night it is impossible to say. The telecast was confined to Moscow. It was not announced in the press beforehand nor reported in it afterwards. A viewer would have had to pick it up by chance. Nor was it put out on sound radio which would have carried it all over the Soviet Union. . . ."

It was all apparently a very shaking experience, but what shook?

"*Ten Days that Didn't Shake the World*" was the summing-up in the *New Statesman*. But, according to *The Observer* they were "*Ten Days that Shook the Press*," and their correspondent went on to reveal what perhaps we should have known earlier:

Several of the more august correspondents were telephoned by Russian girls in the hotel, who appeared to be quite genuine prostitutes, attempt-

ing to make dubious assignments for the evening; so when the telephone bell rang, one was never sure whether it would be London or a prostitute. . . .

All in all, there were, however, some new facts, some new insights. Don Iddon even took the trouble to report in the *Daily Mail* that "in fashion, the Sack has come to Leningrad. . . ."

### Is Sex Necessary ?

"SOCIALIST emulation," a favourite campaign method to achieve specific goals in Communist countries, is now being applied in China to the sex life of the population. This is to be a reinforcement of the general propaganda for individual birth control. The Shanghai *Wen Hui Pao* (January 23rd, 1958) reports:

The cadres of the Health Bureau of Shanghai Municipality, setting an example themselves, have started to practise planned childbirth. All the comrades of the Bureau have decided to map out within this week their childbirth plan for the second Five-Year Plan period. The comrades working in the women's and children's clinic have already completed their planning ahead of time and put up a challenge to the other sections of the Bureau. . . . The medical and preventive department of the Bureau immediately accepted the challenge and no less than 64 per cent of the members who already had children have guaranteed that they will have no more babies during the second Five-Year Plan period. Other sections guarantee that they will cut the birth-rate 20.0 per thousand of the first Five-Year Plan period to 4.0 per thousand during the second Five-Year Plan period. . . .

### Long Live Personality !

ONLY three years ago, in 1956, Khrushchev said in his "secret" speech to the 20th Congress of the CPSU:

It is impermissible and foreign to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism to elevate one person, to transform him into a superman possessing supernatural characteristics akin to those of a god. Such a man supposedly knows everything, sees everything, thinks for everyone, can do anything, is infallible in his behaviour.

In 1959, during the 21st Congress, the modest beginnings of a new idolatry were clearly visible, although tributes paid to the old destroyer of "the cult of [another] personality" were not expressed in the superlatives customary under the old idol. But if no explicit reference was made to Khrushchev's infallibility, effusive praise was lavished on his universality.

**AGRICULTURE:** "I should like to suggest that much of what has been achieved along the path shown by the great Lenin is the result of the unflagging initiative and personal example of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, his profound practical knowledge, his ability to face creatively the practical demands of life and theory, and his close ties with the broad working masses." (E. Andreyeva, Chairman of the Comintern Collective Farm, Tambov Province, Pravda, February 5, 1959.)

**ALCOHOL:** "Dear Nikita Sergeyevich, we are very grateful to you for your indefatigable solicitude for the well-being of our Soviet people. Our people will also be grateful for your concern that the consumption of alcohol should be sharply reduced." (T. S. Maltsev, Field Foreman in the Lenin Bebest Collective Farm, Pravda, February 5.)

**ARMY:** "I consider it my duty to state that thanks to the daily solicitude of the Communist Party, its Central Committee and, personally, of Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, our armed forces are equipped fully in accordance with modern military requirements." (Marschal R. Malinowski, Minister of Defense, Pravda, February 4.)

**ATOMIC PHYSICS:** "Installations for the study of thermonuclear reactions are large and complex constructions costing tens of millions rubles. Their speedy setting up has been achieved thanks to the enormous attention and great help given by the Presidium of the CC of our Party and by Comrade Khrushchev personally." (Academician I. V. Kurchatov, Soviet atomic expert, Pravda, February 5.)

**CHEMISTRY:** "Now, as is known, we have already set about the fulfilment of the programme of the accelerated development of the chemical industry, elaborated on the initiative of N. S. Khrushchev." (L. Breznev, Member of the Presidium and secretary of the CC, CPSU, Pravda, January 31.)

**COTTON-GROWING:** "What has guaranteed a further increase of cotton production in our country is mainly the indefatigable activity of the Presidium of the CC and of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev personally." (T. Uldzhabov, First Secretary of the CC of the Tadzhik CP, Pravda, February 4.)

**EDUCATION:** "The question of the reorganization of education, taken up on the initiative of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, is a clear manifestation of the Leninist solicitude, sensitive and attentive care about the needs and peculiarities of each people." (I. R. Razzakov, First Secretary of the CC of the Kirghiz CP, Pravda, February 4.)

**ELECTRIC POWER:** "A classical model of the correct approach to the problems of construction is the one advanced by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev for the construction of thermal instead of hydro-electric stations." (A. F. Zaryadko, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Pravda, February 5.)

**GUIDED MISSILES:** "For the successes in the construction and launching of the artificial satellites and the cosmic rockets, we are obliged above all to the Presidium of the CC of our Party, and to Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev personally, who guided the works aiming in this direction." (D. F. Ustinov, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Pravda, February 5.)

**LITERATURE:** "In the appeal for a close link of literature and art with the life of the people, so beneficial to literature, lies the enormous importance of the well-known statement of Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev." (Alexander Teardovskii, Editor of Novy Mir and Member of the Presidium of the Writers' Union, Pravda, February 2.)

**NATIONALITIES:** "The workers of Turkmenistan profoundly, with all their heart, thank the Leninist Central Committee, the Soviet Government, and Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev personally, for the genuinely fatherly concern for the prosperity of the Turkmen people, for the realisation of its century-old dreams." (D. D. Karavaev, First Secretary of the CC of the Turkmen CP, Pravda, February 9.)

**PLANNING:** "It might have seemed at first that a dry, purely economic and, indeed, a very boring problem had been placed before us: the plan figures and those control figures. But Nikita Khrushchev's report has fallen on our ears more like a magnificent symphony of communist construction." (A. I. Mikoyan, Member of the Presidium and First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Pravda, January 31.)

**SCIENCE:** "In the name of the scientists of Siberia, many thanks to the Central Committee of the Party, to the Council of Ministers, and to Nikita Sergeyevich for their attention and daily help." (M. A. Lavrentyev, Academician, Pravda, February 1.)

**THEORY:** "Comrade Khrushchev has shown, as early as the 20th Congress, an example of the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory and of its skillful application to the specific features of the concrete situation." (O. V. Kuusinen, Member of the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU, Pravda, February 4.)

**UNIVERSAL GENIUS:** "We must say quite plainly, comrades, that in the great political, theoretical, and organisational work which has been carried out in all fields by our Leninist Central Committee, beginning with the solution of the most complex and urgent international questions, the consistent struggle for the cause of peace, for the prevention of war, the solution of the most important questions of the development of agriculture, the collective farm system, the reorganisation of the management of industry and construction, and ending with questions of science, literature and art, the questions of enhancing links between the school and life, the outstanding role belongs to the initiative, the rich political experience and tireless energy of Comrade Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev [STORMY APPLAUSE]" (P. Pospelov, Candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CC of the CPSU, Pravda, February 1.)

By Khrushchev's 65th birthday (next month), tributes to him may well be accompanied in *Pravda* by the supreme typographical insertion, "STORMY APPLAUSE—ALL RISE," as in the good old days The cult is dead, but long live personality!

---

## LETTERS

---

### Colonialism

THE CRUX of Mr. Worsthorne's argument [ENCOUNTER, December 1958] is "That the withdrawal of the Western Colonial powers from presently dependent areas would enhance the power of the Soviet bloc." But where in experience is it in fact borne out? India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana, Malaya, the West Indies, Burma, Sudan—these are the ex-"colonies" which have become independent since the war. Most have successfully resisted being drawn into either of the ideological camps. There are, of course, troubles, in some of these countries, serious troubles, but they are if anything due to inexperience and the release of energy which independence has brought. India, for one, has accomplished more in her eleven years of independence than British rule achieved in the ninety before it. No one says it's enough; but it is a start.

Isn't it possible after all this time for people to get it into their heads that what is in the interests of this country is not necessarily in the interests of the rest of the world, and that the centre of political wisdom is not centred on that neo-Gothic monstrosity just off Whitehall. What is it that Mr. Worsthorne fears? Armed intervention, subversion, or economic penetration? Of the three, he would do well to fear the latter most. Russia has a fund of agricultural, veterinary, forestry, and other experience at her disposal which though perhaps a little rough and ready is still effective and inexpensive. Though Russia is still in many of these methods a backward country, she produces impressive results, and current Russian experience in Central Asia is of more relevance to other and even more backward countries.

In the end, the future of Africa and Asia will be settled by things such as this; by the provision of all weather roads and communications, by the provision of water and irrigation facilities, and by improved agricultural methods. Not by the devising of complex constitutions and franchise laws! Certainly not by the peddling of Greek philosophy, and the creation of heavily overloaded administrative superstructures full of unproductive *babus*.

Worsthorne's crucial question is: "How can the emerging Continents of Asia and Africa be fitted into a world balance of power which does not leave the West hopelessly at a disadvantage?" The answer to that is simple. As things stand at present, they can't. The mathematics of the thing is that the so-called White, Democratic, Christian West is outnumbered by the non-white, still largely undemocratic non-Christian East and by Africa, and who, may I ask, started all this nonsense about the rule of mere numbers?

"To suppose that Britain, India, Ceylon, Ghana, Nigeria, and Australia can form a viable political community is absurd." Isn't it just as absurd to suppose that a "United Europe" could include nations which fought each other for centuries? What many people have had the foresight to see is

that if close connections can be built up between the various tribes of Europe, Asia, and Africa, that if in fact the "inter-relationship between dependent and developed peoples," which Mr. Worsthorne says "cannot be severed in fact," is handled on an "equality of status" basis among all the contending parties, an awful lot of friction is going to be avoided, and we are much more likely to get some semblance of peace on this planet than if we allow it to break up into racially exclusive compartments. I recently heard even Jacques Soustelle say that "you cannot build Europe without Africa. . . ."

REX MALIK

London

### "Impasse in the Holy Land"

IN HIS elaborate analysis of the tension between Arab States and Israel, Mr. Erskine Childers (ENCOUNTER, July 1958) reaches the conclusion that the basic cause of that tension is to be found in the unrestricted freedom of Jewish immigration to Israel which, in the view of the Arabs would lead to—was in fact designed to pave the way for—Israel's military expansion. This is the basic issue, as Mr. Childers reasserts in endless variations, "at the risk," as he himself writes, "of monotonous repetition"—though not unaware of the sinking-in effect of such repetition.

It is a wearisome and thankless task to argue against an alleged fear-complex, but one not possessed by that complex might at least realise the profound significance to Jews of the right to free immigration to Israel. It embodies for them not merely an assurance of physical security and survival, but the prospect of a meaningful national life such as that possessed by every other people on earth and such as they can have nowhere else. The detached observer might also ponder that the large immigration of recent years resulted to a considerable extent from the pressing need to rescue the victims of Arab intolerance and persecution in the Middle East. If Israel is left in possession of the area which it now holds (in particular, of the Negev), it can cope with the settlement problems that are likely to arise in the foreseeable future. One is faced here with a remarkable contradiction in Mr. Childers' argument: In one breath he demands a drastic limitation of Jewish immigration to Israel because the Arabs fear that it might lead to Israel's military expansion; in the next breath, however, he demands that Israel give up a major part even of that area (small, as even he admits) which it now possesses—the very zone in which future arrivals could be settled and absorbed.

Nor is this all. Mr. Childers is fully alive to the utterly unprecedented character of his proposal for the international control of the population growth of a sovereign state, but insists that in this case the unprecedented has to be done in order to allay the fear complex—however irrational it may be—of her Arab neighbours. But if that demand were conceded, might it not be applied with much greater force to other and infinitely more dangerous demographic problems in the Middle East—such as the