

Crick notes, Orwell renounced his anti-militarism or crypto-pacifism for much the same reasons as many intellectuals renounced the Communist Party." Henceforth, he would be a patriot even though that might mean being called upon to support a war fought on imperialistic as much as anti-Fascist lines.

A final curious and revealing note. In one of his "As I Please" columns written for *Tribune* in 1943, Orwell is defending the Socialists against the "pessimistic" charge that they are Utopians, who believe in human perfectibility. Not so, Orwell argues; the Socialists claim only that the world might be made better than it is. So far I have no objection; after all, every man has the right to choose his own poison. But then I read this eye-popping, brain-boggling passage: The only claims the Socialist makes is that the "problem of man's place in the universe . . . cannot be dealt with while the average human being's preoccupations are necessarily economic. It is all summed up in Marx's saying that after Socialism has arrived, human history can begin." Economically, historically, and, above all else, biologically, that last sentence is insane. I don't know whether to blame Marx or Orwell. But let it go. Or rather let it serve as a warning to the moralists. It may, just barely may, prevent one or two of them from falling into a similar ditch. □

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Arnold Beichman

Is or isn't the Soviet Union a supporter of international terrorism? The question is a lively one and the subject of an intense Washington debate.\* Claire Sterling, in her important book, says the Russians are behind terrorist activities, that Western intelligence agencies know it but, for various reasons, are withholding the truth from their publics. In the meantime, the debate goes on.

Most recently, Judith Miller, a *New York Times* correspondent with high-level sources in the Reagan administration, reported (March 28, 1981) that a CIA draft report "had concluded that there is insufficient evidence to substantiate administration charges that the Soviet Union is directly helping foment international terrorism." Rep. Don Edwards (D., Calif.), chairman of a House sub-

\*On April 24, the newly organized Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism held a rather inconclusive one-day hearing chaired by Senator Jeremiah Denton. Claire Sterling, Arnaud de Borchgrave, Michael Ledeen, and William Colby testified.

Arnold Beichman's essay on terrorism, "A War Without End," appeared in the April 1978 issue of *The American Spectator*.

committee studying terrorism, has warned that we must resist demands to "surrender our liberties or our commitment to justice because of the alleged plottings of the Russians." Even so well-informed an analyst as Samuel T. Francis, now a member of Senator John East's staff, has written that there is not "sufficient evidence to prove that the Soviets directly or formally control, let alone coordinate or direct, many terrorist groups or activities."

But as noted above, the contention that the Soviets are not involved in international terrorism is the subject of a lively debate, so lively in fact that Francis himself is his own best disputant: "there is [however] massive evidence to show that Soviet support for terrorism is virtually essential for the scale and intensity of terrorist operations, for instigating a gradual public acceptance of terrorism as a 'legitimate' means of struggle and of public disavowal of those policies and institutions that alone can provide an effective counter-terrorist program."

The Reagan administration would appear to concur. Secretary of State Haig, himself a target of terrorist attack when he was NATO supreme commander, announced at his first press conference on January 28 that

the Soviet Union's "conscious policy" is directed to "the training, funding and equipping of international terrorism." And Richard V. Allen, National Security Adviser, claimed in late March that there is "ample evidence" that the USSR actively supports terrorism.

Sterling agrees with the Haig-Allen position and so do I. A veteran foreign correspondent based in Italy, and steeped in prolonged investigations of her own and those of other specialists, Sterling has gathered evidence sufficient to show that without the Soviet Union and satellites like Cuba, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany, international terrorism would be containable. Whether this evidence would stand up in a courtroom with Brezhnev in the dock protected by an "innocent-until-proven-guilty" shield is another matter. I really don't understand what the CIA is up to with its draft report.

I side with the Haig-Allen-Sterling thesis and against the CIA for one simple reason: The ideological foundations of Soviet foreign policy demand the use of terror as an accessory before and after the "inevitable" triumph of Soviet imperialism, a.k.a. world revolution. And within these ideological foundations, there is an important distinction to be made; a distinction which helps explain why it is so difficult to pin responsibility for world terrorism conclusively on the Soviets: Politburo realpolitik sees not terrorism but terrorists as the vehicle by which to achieve the overthrow of the Western democracies. On the one hand, Lenin was fearful of the "spontaneity of terrorism," that is, terrorism unavoidably free from Bolshevik control (although one must admit that the necessary corollary is that premeditated Soviet action will be undeterred and even aided by the vagaries of international terrorism, as in Lenin's favorite Napoleonic maxim, "on s'engage . . . puis on voit"). But writing of terrorists, Lenin said that revolutionary strategy demands "temporary alliances even with unreliable people; not a single party could exist without such alliances." Terrorists certainly fill the bill of "unreliable people."

Thus, while the final word on the strict letter of the Haig-Allen-Sterling thesis would resemble the old Italian adage "Si non e vero, e ben trovato"—even if it isn't true, it could be—when the thesis is shifted from Soviet direction of terrorism to active Soviet aid for terrorists, Claire Sterling's book is its proof:

• General Jan Sejna, military coun-

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seller to the Czech Communist Party central committee for over twenty years, defected to the United States with a batch of documents which revealed that early in 1964, the Soviet Politburo decided to increase spending on terrorism abroad by 1,000 percent. Special guerrilla training schools were founded in satellite countries for "selected terrorists from all over the world."

- Every component of the Palestinian resistance has been trained and armed by the Soviets. As a result, according to Sterling, the Palestinians today are "the most formidable professional guerrilla army on earth." During the winter of 1978, each day saw at least seven Soviet-bloc ships unloading in Syrian and Lebanese ports, and five or six Antonov transports landing in Damascus.

- General Shlomo Gazit, in 1979 Israel's chief of intelligence, stated that a thousand Arab terrorists had been trained in fifty different Soviet-bloc military schools; some forty of these schools are in the Soviet Union itself.

- The Palestinians have become the Soviet Union's "chosen instrument" in passing on training, armaments, and strategy to apprentices from other countries.

- After his arrest in Spring 1980, Patricio Peci, an Italian Red Brigades commander, spoke of the training Red Brigades received in Czechoslovakia through the 1970s, and of the weapons received from Czechoslovakia by way of Hungary and Austria.

- John Barron's book *KGB* describes how a Russian agent, Viktor Sakharov, after defecting to the West, told of KGB terrorist activity in the Arab oil sheikdoms and in Turkey.

- The most suggestive evidence of Soviet complicity in international terrorism is the fact that no terrorist group of any persuasion has ever attacked Soviet diplomats, embassies, airline offices, or other property in the West, hijacked Soviet airplanes, or assassinated leaders or members of Communist parties in the West.

The evidence adduced by Sterling urges on us that view most clearly expressed by Dr. Ray S. Cline, formerly CIA Deputy Director:

It's important to realize that when you say the Soviet Union supports terrorism, you do not mean that they direct and command each terrorist activity. . . . What they do is supply the infrastructure of terror: the money, the guns, the training, the background information, the communications, the propaganda that will inspire individual terrorist groups.

To conceptualize the role of the Soviet Union in global terrorism is to come face to face with a model symbiotic relationship, in which the two

parties use each other for their own ends but also share an underlying common goal. Terrorism provides for the Soviet Union a means of undermining the power of the Western democracies. And the Soviet Union provides for terrorists the means whereby their dreams may be realized. But the most powerful danger posed to the West, whose liberalism is founded on the depoliticization of vio-

lence and the preclusion of ideologies of final design, comes from the common goal possessed by the Soviets and their terrorist confrères, a goal which will persist no matter how useful they are to each other. Ideology is predicated on an insistence on final answers and a preclusion of discussion; as such, it is almost the logical contradictory of politics itself, which is animated by discussion and ques-

tioning and which can only thrive in nonideological systems—those committed to freedom and democracy. Soviets and terrorists also share a common means: The willingness to politicize violence. This is the very story told by Bismarck a century ago: "We live in a wondrous time in which the strong is weak because of his moral scruples and the weak grows strong because of his audacity." □

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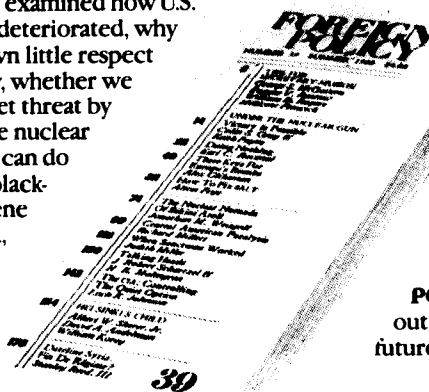
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OFF THE RECORD:  
THE PRIVATE PAPERS OF HARRY S. TRUMAN

Edited by Robert H. Ferrell  
Harper and Row / \$15.00

John Muggeridge

**O**ff the Record, Robert H. Ferrell's edition of the private papers of Harry S. Truman, is nothing of the sort. The memos, diary entries, appointment sheets, and letters here assembled are all from the Harry S. Truman Library, a documentary Mount Rushmore which the late president busied himself for nearly twenty years carving his face in. What Professor Ferrell has xeroxed is the official

John Muggeridge is an instructor at Niagara College of Applied Arts and Technology in Welland, Ontario.

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Truman legend. We meet in his pages those old campaign-trail favorites, the farmboy President, the Midwest wiseacre, the comradely comrade-in-arms, the fond family man. This is the Harry S. Truman everyone knows; in happier show-business times *Off the Record* would surely have been turned into *Hello, Harry*, a Broadway musical along the lines of *Fiorello* with a big Oval Office scene at the end of act one where the newly sworn-in president, accompanied by Bess, Margie, and a chorus of fedora-hatted party aides, celebrates his rise from Eastern District Judge to Chief Executive in a song called: "Ain't that Sum-pin'!"

In *Off the Record* we meet not only the familiar faces of Harry Truman, but also his familiar evasions. One of these concerns the famous Senate primary of 1934 which Truman won with the help of 50,000 fraudulent votes supplied by the Pendergasts of Kansas City, and which, incidentally, set him on the road to the White House. In a memorandum dated January 1952, to dispell what Professor Ferrell calls "the usual loose talk about Truman's association years before with the Pendergast machine," the president gives the following explanation of that enigmatic contest: "I was elected to the Senate in 1934 over severe opposition in the Primary. . . . By going into sixty of Missouri's 114 counties I won the nomination by a plurality of over 40,000 votes. . . ." And that's it; not even a footnote.

Another such document gap covers Truman's connection with the Alger Hiss affair. Hiss is not mentioned in *Off the Record*. On the record, of course, Truman called the case against the ex-State Department official a "red herring." The only document touching on it in his published papers is a memorandum written in November 1953 concerning Harry Dexter White, a Hiss contemporary who continued to serve in the Truman administration despite the fact that both Whittaker Chambers and Mrs. Bentley had named him to the FBI as a Communist

agent. Why this should have been so neither the president nor his editor seems to have thought it worthwhile going into. Truman, as he often does, falls back on name-calling, labelling Chambers a louse and Mrs. Bentley a crook, and reminding his readers that White himself had testified before a congressional committee both as to his own loyalty and as to the untruthfulness of Chambers and Bentley. There, as far as Truman was concerned, the matter ended. When, for example, the House Un-American Activities Committee, as part of an inquiry into White's activities, "audaciously" (to use Professor Ferrell's revealing adverb) subpoenaed the ex-president, he refused to appear. The truth stops here.

**T**he uncritical nature of Professor Ferrell's editing is not, however, surprising. The Truman everyone knows happens also to be the Truman everyone believes in. He is the one president in recent times to have escaped the myth-wreckers. Camelot has its Mattress Jack; the Silent Majority, its Dirty Dick; and the Great post-Watergate Awakening, its Plains-speaking Jimmy. But for some reason the Truman Years still do not have their Wheeler-Fair-Dealer Harry. The closets containing his particular skeletons just don't seem to get broken into.

Perhaps it is simply a case of folksiness conquering all. The unstuffed-shirt-in-high-places image induces us to make the willing suspension of disbelief in its owner's duplicity. We cannot persuade ourselves that a president who calls his wife "the boss," never quite gets used to being served by butlers, and worries about making a public show of going to church could have led a double life. The very sprightliness of his style seems to rule out subterfuge. No man with a burdened conscience, we feel, would go around calling Senator Kefauver "cowfever" or describing how he ended a solitary dinner at the White House by "taking a hand bath in the finger bowl."

But the most disarming thing about Truman is the panache with which he parades his prejudices. He has no hesitation, for example, in calling Jesus Christ a Protestant, or in giving a list of human benefactors consisting of: Buddha, Jesus, Cincinnatus, George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Woodrow Wilson. "I've no ax to grind," he wrote in 1959, "only the welfare of the United States and the Democratic Party. They are synonymous." The antonym of both (as well, no doubt, as of

Buddha, Jesus, and Woodrow Wilson) was the Republican party, to whose newspapers Truman gave what he seems to have considered a scientific appellation, the "sabotage press."

The appeal of an enlightened Archie Bunker, however, still does not fully account for the kid-glove treatment that Truman continues to receive from the image-makers. Nixon, after all, tried on the same persona and was laughed out of the television studios. The Truman legend survives because Truman himself played an essential role in maintaining a bigger and more important legend: that of the Democratic party. Truman's achievement was to make the leftism embraced by postwar Democrats look American. He brought the New Deal down to earth. He gave a small-town luster to big government; he even, through the rhetorical wizardry of the Truman Doctrine, managed to make resigning Eastern Europe to the Soviets seem anti-Communist. He boasted that he had stopped Tito from taking Trieste, at the same time that he was tacitly allowing the Russians everything east of the Elbe. He laid the ghost of Henry Wallace without blunting Democratic progress leftwards. He was Khrushchev to FDR's Stalin.

**A**nd, as his private papers make clear, he knew it. The whole election campaign of 1948 was an American version of the Twentieth Party Congress. "I don't believe the USA wants any more fakirs," he wrote in his diary on July 16, 1948, "Teddy and Franklin are enough. So I'm going to make a common sense, intellectually honest campaign. It will be a novelty—and it will win." It did win. What gave him the election was his average-American progressivism. He believed in unions, but stood up to John L. Lewis; "Big money," he wrote, "has too much power and so have big unions—both are riding to a fall because I like neither." He campaigned for civil rights, but dismissed ERA as "a lot of hooey about equal rights." He worshipped at the shrine of science and education but remained firmly attached to traditional values. He had a talent, above all, for making the shifting currents of American foreign policy sound like horse sense. In 1945, still warmed by the afterglow of victory, he called Stalin "honest, but smart as hell" and referred to the deepening confrontation with the Soviet Union as a "mote and beam affair." Seven years later, when Joseph McCarthy's crusade had not yet become a witch-hunt and Bertrand Russell