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20/20 Remarks, Aired 04/02/1981
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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: Kemp, Geoffrey: Files

OA # ~~90219~~ 90495

File Folder: Lebanon - RVA's 20/20 Remarks, Aired 4/2/81

Archivist: gcc/bcb

FOIA ID: F99-024/1

Date: 6/2/00

DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo	Kemp to Nicholas Veliotis, 1p. R 5/19/06 NLSF99-024/1 #10	6/4/81	P1, F1
2. memo	Kemp to Allen, 1p. R " " #11	5/18/81	P1, F1
3. memo	Kemp to Allen, 1p. R " " #12	5/12/81	P1, F1
4. memo	Kemp to Ron Neumann, 1p. R " " #13	5/7/81	P1, F1
5. cable	051213Z, 5p. R 11/16/01 F99-024/1 #14	5/5/81	P1, F1

RESTRICTIONS

P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].

P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

LEBANON

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

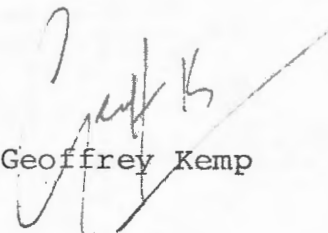
June 4, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR AMBASSADOR NICHOLAS VELIOTES
Assistant Secretary for Near East
and South Asian Affairs
Department of State

SUBJECT: Richard Allen's 20/20 Remarks

In view of the ongoing crisis in Lebanon and the great importance given to statements by American leaders, however cursory and however distorted by the press, I wonder if you could relay this message on behalf of Dick Allen to our Near East embassies concerning his now famous remarks on ABC's 20/20 program.

BEGIN TEXT: As you know, there have been numerous criticisms and observations made throughout the Arab world concerning the remarks made by National Security Adviser Richard Allen on the ABC television program 20/20. Most of these remarks refer to his supposed condonement of Israeli raids into Lebanon. Once and for all we should put to rest the facts behind these statements. Mr. Allen's response had not to do with Israeli strikes into Lebanon on a military operations scale. He was referring specifically to the pursuit of armed bands entering Israel to commit terrorist acts. He was not referring to larger integrated operations. Please make sure that these instructions are well circulated amongst your staff and the contents passed on as needed to your country contacts. If necessary, we can provide a full transcript of the ABC 20/20 show and guidance on how to respond to questions about it.
END TEXT.


Geoffrey Kemp

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Review June 4, 1987

DECLASSIFIED
NLS F99-024/1 #10
at CIS, NARA, DATE 5/19/06

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ACTION

May 18, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: GEOFFREY KEMP *GK*SUBJECT: Your 20/20 Remarks and
Reporting from the Field

I relayed your concerns about Zweifel's cable citing your 20/20 remarks to Ron Neumann (Bob Neumann's son), prior to his departure May 7 for Jordan with the Bing West team. Neumann was pleased that I had called him and was going to go out of his way to make sure that Zweifel gets the story straight. I paraphrased the language (Tab A) in your memo to me and I hope that we will have no more problems from Jordan. Both Nat Howell and Jim Collins at NEA have been told about this. I don't think that at this point there is any purpose in sending out the entire transcript since the message makes it clear that they can have it if they want to. If there is anything more you want me to do on this score, please let me know. ~~(C)~~

RECOMMENDATION:

That if you still think this is time sensitive, we send out instructions to all Middle East embassies.

APPROVE *[Signature]*

DISAPPROVE _____

Attachment:

Kemp to Neumann memo dated May 7, 1981

*you - you have done
it just right.**Thanks*~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review May 18, 1987

DECLASSIFIED

NLS 799-024/1 #1187 CN NARA, DATE 5/19/06*570c*

Lebanon

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

NOTICE TO THE PRESS

April 3, 1981

The White House and State Department have received some queries concerning remarks by Richard V. Allen during a television interview which was aired April, 2, 1981 on "20/20", the ABC News Magazine.

During the interview, Mr. Allen addressed the question of terrorism as it relates to the conflict in southern Lebanon. His comments dealt with the principle of national self-defense against terrorist activities. That principle is not in question. This Administration has made absolutely clear its opposition to terrorist activities and ^{its support of} the right of any nation to protect itself against terrorists.

However, Mr. Allen was very careful in his remarks to avoid applying this principle to any specific actions by any nation or faction involved in the complex and tragic situation in southern Lebanon. The United States Government is on record repeatedly as condemning the use of violence by any party in southern Lebanon. We wish to reaffirm that policy most vigorously.

We condemn the terrorist attacks into Israel from camps in southern Lebanon, and we have repeatedly urged the Government of Israel to exercise maximum restraint in their actions in southern Lebanon. We have never endorsed a policy of pre-emptive attack by Israel or anyone else. Mr. Allen's remarks made this clear.

We support the independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon under the leadership of its duly elected government. We welcome and support the efforts of the Lebanese Government to assert its authority in the south, and we support the efforts of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon to keep the peace in a difficult and dangerous situation.

This Administration will continue to urge, as it has in the past, that all parties to the conflict in Lebanon avoid resorting to violence.

###

Richard Allen, the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, has asked me to make the following statement in response to a number of queries he has received concerning his remarks during a television interview which will be aired this evening.

During that interview, Mr. Allen addressed the question of terrorism as it relates to the conflict in southern Lebanon. There has been an inclination in some quarters to read more into his remarks than was intended, and he wishes to insure that his remarks are clearly understood.

His comments dealt with the principle of national self-defense against terrorist activities. That principle is not in question. This Administration has made absolutely clear its opposition to terrorist activities and the right of any nation to protect itself against terrorists.

However, Mr. Allen was very careful in his remarks to avoid applying this principle to any specific actions by any nation or faction involved in the complex and tragic situation in southern Lebanon. The United States Government is on record repeatedly as condemning the use of violence by any party in southern Lebanon. I wish to reaffirm that policy most vigorously.

We condemn the terrorist attacks into Israel from camps in southern Lebanon, and we have repeatedly urged the Government of Israel to exercise maximum restraint in ~~responding to such~~ ^{these actions in} ~~southern Lebanon.~~ ^{attacks.} We have never endorsed a policy of pre-emptive attack by Israel or anyone else.

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W. S. Simon

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MARCH 20, 1981

ABC NEWS 20/20 MAGAZINE

"HOT SHOTS: WO 0127 NM 344

hisanon

Q

Is the spread of International terrorism a threat to the United States?

RICHARD ALLEN

Oh, certainly it is. It's an indirect threat at present because terrorism, as some people know it, is not good for our country. But, yes, it is. It's a threat to us and certainly to our foreign policy objectives, if you concede that our main and overriding foreign policy objectives is the preservation of peace. That which disturbs the peace, no matter what its source, is injurious, not only to our interest, but to the interest of the people on whom it's being visited.

Q

How important is the Soviet involvement in the spread of international terrorism in the disruption of peace in the Western world?

RICHARD ALLEN

I think substantially. (the) Secretary of State has made quite a good case, I think, demonstrating Soviet involvement. But we have to be careful to define that involvement. What does it mean? Does it mean direct participation? Does it mean the support, whether it be ideological, hortatory, tangible? And in the case of the supply of weapons, which are ultimately used to inflict terrorism, there has been, I think, ample evidence accumulated.

RICHARD ALLEN (CONTINUED)

I need only mention the work of Claire Sterling in this regard. I think it is a significant landmark work on the subject of terrorism, and something about which we have to be better informed.

We've had some studies in this country, such as that done by Robert Kupperman and Darrell Trent. We're way behind the power curve, and we've been very fortunate so far that all violent forms of terrorism have not been inflicted upon our people here.

Q

What about the Soviet role in the Middle East? How would you define their relationship with the PLO?

RICHARD ALLEN

It's difficult to assess the relationship with the PLO because there are various component parts of the PLO. But, overall, I think it's fair to say that the Soviet Union is supporting the main aims of the PLO.

Again, that fine line between the support of a tangible nature and support of an ideological nature is difficult to measure. But, it's there. Any student of the Soviet system, anyone who is even reasonably serious in an evaluation of the Soviet system, from its inception, who is even in the most cursory way familiar with the writing of Lenin or Stalin, and after that it's more or less disappeared. The use of terror has been an important weapon, an important instrument in achieving revolutionary goals.

After all, you have to understand that the Soviets do have a very tightly closed ideological system or framework in which terrorism is one important component part.

Q

But, specifically in terms of the PLO, what is the Soviets' role? Is it the providing of arms? Is that it basically? Is it the condoning of criminal acts? Is it all of those things?

RICHARD ALLEN

I think so, I think it is probably all of those things. I think it's financial, although others have perhaps taken up some of the slack that may have developed from the shortfall of Soviet funding. The PLO is said to get funds from other countries in the world. Libya. And I don't know what the budget process of the PLO is. And it may be that the case may be made for a minimal Soviet involvement in PLO organization itself.

But, nonetheless, that identify of purpose, that agreement as to the justness of revolution and terror as an instrument of revolution, is an inherent part of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Q

Is it fair to call the PLO a terrorist organization?

RICHARD ALLEN

Let me put it this way; we have said, the President of the United States has said repeatedly, that there are two main conditions that are obstacles to discussing anything with the PLO.

One is its practice of terrorism and its condoning of international terrorism. And second, of course, is the refusal to recognize the right of Israel to exist.

Absent those two conditions, we'd be dealing with a fundamentally different situation, so the President has said. I think, yes, on balance. There's no question that we must identify the PLO as a terrorist organization, until it provides convincing evidence to the contrary.

Q

Of course, they have moderated their statements within the last year or so.

RICHARD ALLEN

Again, you say they. They are factions of the PLO and one hears a spokesman on the one side. I've heard descriptions that identified Arafat as a moderate. But we're certainly wanting in hard proof that this is the case.

One man's moderate is another man's terrorist.

Q

If the PLO as presently constituted does become the government of an independent Palestinian state, what would the relevance be then of the Soviet connection?

RICHARD ALLEN

Well, there are two premises there which I, of course, am not going to share, but you then pose a totally hypothetical situation.

The relevance of the Soviet Union in such a hypothetical circumstance would be rather substantial. Of course, that would be a function of how close the Soviet Union were to such a hypothetical state with a hypothetical government.

If you are going to ask that question another way, would such a state be a puppet, an appendage of the Soviet Union, or a satellite state, I really don't know. But I think the influence would be heavy because the historical influence has been heavy, and the evidence is there to show it.

Q

What troubles some journalists now, particularly since Claire Sterling's book has been published, is the many people talking about the Soviet connection with the PLO and the Soviet connection

Q (continued)

with international terrorism in general. But, the (lack) of substantial evidence to corroborate the fact that the Soviet Union is in some way funding, manipulating, supplying these various groups.

RICHARD ALLEN

Mr. Rivera, I can -- unfortunately I'm not at liberty to go into great detail with you on this show, which I'm sure will be a fine one, about the level of involvement.

I can tell you only that I am perfectly satisfied and I am prepared to defend that level of satisfaction in public forum, that the Soviet involvement is organic. And I don't want to just isolate it with respect to the PLO. We need to talk . . . you need to amplify the context here to talk about training African terrorists, Latin American terrorists, and, of course, not even the Soviets are the only ones involved. We have evidence that North Korea trains terrorists.

So, in some other places -- in Libya -- where we understand that recently terrorism has been elevated to the Ministry -- the level of Ministry. This is very important. Many students are being taken out of Latin America and given scholarships in Eastern Europe -- Germany, Czechoslovakia. These countries are all hosts to facilities which turn out terrorists and there's no doubt in my mind, and, as I say, I'm perfectly prepared to argue that case in a public forum and I welcome this opportunity to at least present my point of view on it.

Q

No doubt whatsoever that the Soviet Union is organically involved?

RICHARD ALLEN

There's no doubt in my mind, no sir. But, on the other hand, as I say, it's very difficult for me at this stage to provide you with overwhelmingly convincing evidence.

Q

One of the problems with the current struggle with the Mid-East is that there seems to be some moral ambiguities now; it isn't just one side using weapons that hurt innocent people it seems. Do you agree with that, or do you think that terror or innocent people being hurt is strictly a one-way street in the Mid-East?

RICHARD ALLEN

Well, I think that the use of terror, under any circumstance, globally, whether it comes from the right or left, is something that the United States condemns vigorously. That could be true in Central America, as true as it is in a place in the Middle East. In the Middle East, one takes Lebanon as an example. There's so much going on in Lebanon that it's very, very difficult to sort it out from time to time.

The public impression is very confused and hazy I find, at least in my discussion with public people. We've become so confused and, I think in some ways, so demoralized by this avalanche of information about terrorism. I mean, atrocities become a way of life on a day-to-day basis that we sooner or later tune it out. It's not unlike trying to describe to people what the extermination of six million Jews means. Six million is a huge figure. We can't conceive of this; our children can't conceive of what the

elimination of six million people is. If thirty people are killed in a bus accident, that's staggering already. Thirty individual lives are lost.

As far as I'm concerned, whenever terrorism results in that loss of life is to be condemned. Now, I'm not here to confuse terrorism with the legitimate right of self-defense. We could go back and appeal to Thomas Of Aquinas if we wished, or earlier in the origins of law, for justification of self-defense. But, the inflicting of terrorism is something quite special. We haven't had it, so we can't know it.

The Italians have known it; it's been practiced on the streets of Italy. You have to combat this. We have to get the nations, the civilized nations of the world together, and combat it.

What the Iranians did in holding our hostages was terrorism. And the holding of the airliner, the hijacking of the Pakistani airliner and holding it in Kabul was an extension of terrorism. We found there that terrorists got off the plane with better weapons than they had gone on the plane with. We know from our own methods of interpreting intelligence what the Soviet role was in that.

This must stop. The people of the civilized world must be awakened to this. The terrorism that the Soviet troops are practicing on the people of Afghanistan today is something we believe must stop as well. And the Afghan people, the Freedom Fighters of Afghanistan, are resisting that kind of terrorism

It doesn't necessarily just mean putting a bomb in a bus or in a building. You can have organized terrorism. Hitler's hordes are a case of organized terrorism against the world.

RICHARD ALLEN (CONTINUED)

So, we do have to find ways, means to do something about it, to organize ourselves, to combat it, and it's very, very difficult.

Q

Hasn't terrorism worked for a group like the PLO though? Haven't they managed to pull themselves up by their bootstraps into some kind of very legitimate world place right now? Arafat got into the United Nations. Over one hundred nations recognizing them as the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people. Hasn't terrorism worked for the PLO?

RICHARD ALLEN

Accepting the premise then that the PLO is a terrorist organization, under these circumstances, I would say perhaps it has. And that's to my chagrin.

Q

You say accepting the premise?

RICHARD ALLEN

Well, I say, you said hasn't terrorism worked? Hasn't the PLO pulled itself up by its bootstraps? My response is obviously the premise behind that is the question that the PLO is a terrorist organization.

Q

You're not clear that the . . .

RICHARD ALLEN

I'm quite clear. I'm now reinforcing your own clarity, because you asked the question in a slightly different way just a few moments ago.

Q

I didn't mean to be semantical.

RICHARD ALLEN

Of course, the one advantage you have, you've got the scissors.

Q

I'll definitely cut that out.

RICHARD ALLEN

Of course. I'll have a press conference the next day.

Q

In your definition of terrorism, bearing in mind that terrorism can be an organized thing, and you also say that a state has a legitimate right of self-defense, and, of course, it does. But within the context of that statement of fact, are the Israeli air raids into South Lebanon acts of terrorism or are they acts of legitimate self-defense?

RICHARD ALLEN

I don't want to get into a specific policy discussion here, and what I'm saying does not represent the, I emphasize, the official policy of the United States Government, but to the extent that one reaches to the source of terrorism then, of course, there is ample justification for taking actions.

However, I'm not going to judge in a blanket way those particular actions to which you are saying now. I'm just saying that reaching to the source is generally recognized as hot pursuit of a sort and, therefore, justified. At least it's
At least there's a question there.

Q

There is no question in some of the acts; there is no question in many of the acts perpetrated by the other side against Israel.

RICHARD ALLEN

It is my understanding that Israel exists with defined boundaries. Some of those boundaries are obviously subject to dispute. But, in Israel proper, there have been repeated acts of, if you will, forcible entry into Israeli space, violating Israeli sovereignty. Hostages taken and murders committed. Now, I don't think reasonable people have much difficulty in understanding that someone who comes from outside, invades for the purpose of terrorizing and murdering, is anything less than a terrorist. I think there is a broad understanding in the world.

The Israeli people, you are focusing here on the Middle East, have been the victims, the people of Israel. Especially those who came from Central Europe. They have been the victims of organized terrorism. They are highly sensitized to this phenomenon, and until they have some means of assurance in knowing that they're not going to be subject to that form of terrorism for a long period of time, they're going to be very leery.

Again, I want to emphasize this is not a statement of public policy on the part of the United States. You are addressing me

in an individual capacity, and I'm giving you my personal reactions.

But, I don't apologize for the practice of terrorism anyplace, anytime. You've been to the Middle East. You've seen it practiced. You've seen the results of terrorism. I've seen it. I've seen it not only in the Middle East; I've seen it in Africa; I've seen the results inflicted on people in places like Vietnam. It's got to

RICHARD ALLEN (CONTINUED)

stop. Civilized peoples are particularly vulnerable. Those living in urban areas, to the demands of terrorists.

Disruption of our way of life is quite easily done or performed by terrorists, a small band of terrorists. A whole city can be held hostage. Not three blocks from where we sit, there was a terrorist incident several years ago and perpetrated by the so-called Hanafi Moslems right here in Washington, D.C., in City Hall. Life was lost.

I speak personally, and I speak with a substantial amount of emotion about this. I've never had the misfortune, and probably never will, to have terrorism directed against my people in this country or fellow citizens. But, I recognize that the opportunities for practicing terrorism by enhanced means of communication and the like, easy access to weapons, techniques that are widely known, increase that possibility. And I'm going to oppose it with all that I have at my disposal.

Q

Given the fact that the Soviet Union is organically involved in the international terror network, is the concept of detente a fraud?

RICHARD ALLEN

Well, I don't agree under any circumstance that the concept of detente is a fraud. If you meant as a specific policy, I don't consider detente to be a policy. I consider it to be a means to an end. It means relaxation of tensions in whatever language you're using. Detente, entspannung, in German, just means relaxation of tension.

RICHARD ALLEN (CONTINUED)

Some of the delusions of detente have been demonstrated to be, not a fraud, just wrong. Some of our own assumptions that building bridges to the Soviet Union, which in itself is not a bad idea, would bring about a better understanding and, therefore, perhaps a lessening of the Soviet momentum in the arms build-up, or for whatever the purpose of Soviet behavior we might want to alter. It's been demonstrated to be wrong.

We now are confronted with a tremendous arms build-up that continues. The most important arms build-up in the history of mankind is what we are now experiencing in the world. And we have to ask ourselves the question, is this the representation of terror in itself?

We speak of the balance of terror. We've sought to avoid that balance of terror by negotiating arms control agreements at the super-power level. And it seems to be no reduction. We've stood still; we haven't increased our arsenals; we haven't increased our defenses; we've allowed, in fact, our defenses to decay, to erode. And the other side continues to pump out that material. For what?

The Soviet Union has accumulated weapons far exceeding it's defensive requirements, and now confronted us with this massive military build-up. So, we have to be very careful; we have to be able to respond.

The purpose of our accumulation of armaments is to deter a war and to fight successfully any war that we're not able to deter.

Q

Is the PLO the major organization, the major vehicle, for spreading terrorism being used by the Soviet Union now?

RICHARD ALLEN

Probably not. My own estimate is that there are many, many instrumentalities, ^(that spread) the spread of Soviet techniques of terrorism.

I even think that sub-contracting stations have been set up elsewhere in the world, that the techniques have been successful, and that it being, that is terrorism, a component part of policy, that practices against the West. That other countries have been trained in the techniques, in fact, encouraged to set up sub-contracted schools.

Q

Is Israel fighting the fight of the Western democracies against terrorism?

RICHARD ALLEN

When Israel fights against terrorism, yes. Any nation that combats terrorism. The Germans, the Israelis at Entebbe, the New York police when they fight against terrorism in that city, and anywhere in the world. I think, yes.

Q

Good. Thanks.

20/20

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIALACTION

May 12, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: GEOFFREY KEMP *JK*
SUBJECT: Your 20/20 Remarks and
Reporting from the Field

I relayed your concerns about Zweifel's cable citing your 20/20 remarks to Ron Neumann (Bob Neumann's son), prior to his departure last Thursday for Jordan with the Bing West team. Neumann was pleased that I had called him and was going to go out of his way to make sure that Zweifel gets the story straight. I paraphrased the language in your memo to me and I hope that we will have no more problems from Jordan. Both Nat Howell and Jim Collins at NEA have been told about this and with your approval I will instruct them to send out statements similar to that attached. I don't think that at this point there is any purpose in sending out the entire transcript since the message makes it clear that they can have it if they want to. If there is anything more you want me to do on this score, please let me know. (C)

RECOMMENDATION:

That we send out instructions as per Tab A to all Middle East embassies.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

CONFIDENTIAL

Review May 12, 1987

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F99-0241, #12

C/S NARA, DATE 5/19/06

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

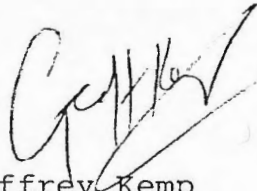
May 7, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. Ron Neumann
NEA/ARN
Room 6250
Department of State

SUBJECT: Your Trip to Jordan and Richard Allen's
Remarks on ABC 20/20 Show

When you are in Jordan I'd very much appreciate it if you had a word with Charge Zweifel and tell him that we were concerned about the language used in Amman 03473 about Richard Allen's statements on terrorist activities in the Middle East. Once and for all we should put to rest this business about these statements. Dick's response had to do not with Israeli strikes into Lebanon on a military operation scale. He was referring specifically to the pursuit of armed bands entering Israel to commit terrorist acts. He was not referring to larger integrated operations. We need to coordinate instructions on this point since it keeps cropping up in the heat of the current crisis. Dependent upon what has already been sent to each post, we can, if necessary, provide a full transcript and guidance. I would then appreciate your help on this matter. (C)


Geoffrey Kemp

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Review 5/7/87

DECLASSIFIED
NLS F99-024/1 #13
CN NARA, DATE 5/19/04

SIT543

~~SECRET~~

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NLS

F99-024/1 #14

BY

CS

NARA, DATE

11/16/01

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1310

INFO USINT BAGHDAD 1589
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT 1416
AMEMBASSY CAIRO 8324
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 6387
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM 1809
AMEMBASSY JIDDA 6441
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 3629
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 2717

SECRET SECTION 01 OF 02 AMMAN 03473

EXDIS

E.O. 12805: RDS-2 05/05/01 (ZWEIFEL, DAVID) OR-M

TAGS: PEPR, PINS, JO, LE

SUBJECT: LEBANESE SITUATION: POTENTIAL REPRECUSIONS IN
JORDAN

1. (SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: BOTH OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC JORDANIAN REACTION TO EVENTS IN LEBANON SO FAR HAS BEEN RESTRAINED. HOWEVER, IF VIOLENCE ESCALATES TO OPEN ISRAELI-SYRIAN CONFLICT, THE GOJ WILL BE CONSTRAINED TO MAKE SOME GESTURE OF SUPPORT FOR SYRIA. SHOULD THIS OCCUR, WE BELIEVE GOJ WOULD ATTEMPT A DELIBERATELY MEASURED COURSE OF ACTION. FIRST RESPONSE LIKELY WOULD BE RHETORICAL AND POLITICAL SUPPORT. IF SITUATION CONTINUED TO DETERIORATE, GOJ NEXT MIGHT SEND VERY LIMITED MILITARY UNITS TO SYRIA AS IT DID IN 1973. OUR ASSESSMENT IS THAT GOJ WOULD NOT RPT NOT OPEN UP THE JORDANIAN FRONT UNLESS FIRST ATTACKED BY THE ISRAELIS.

3. UNDER ANY OF THESE SCENARIOS, POPULAR RESENTMENT AGAINST THE USG WOULD RUN HIGH. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT--EXCEPT IN THE ULTIMATE CASE OF OPEN JORDANIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT--THE GOJ COULD AND WOULD PROTECT THIS

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EMBASSY AND AMERICAN CITIZENS IN JORDAN. WHATEVER HAPPENS, THE USG STANDS TO LOSE CREDIBILITY WITH THE GOJ IF WE ARE PERCEIVED TO BE UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO INFLUENCE THE ISRAELIS TO MODERATE THEIR BEHAVIOR IN LEBANON. END SUMMARY.

4. THE GOJ AND MOST JORDANIANS THUS FAR HAVE WATCHED THE ESCALATING VIOLENCE IN LEBANON WITH A SENSE OF HELPLESS FOREBODING. COMPLETELY AT ODDS WITH THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT, AND WITH FEW EFFECTIVE ASSETS WITHIN LEBANON ITSELF, THE GOJ CAN DO LITTLE TO INFLUENCE THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN THE CURRENT CRISIS. KING HUSSEIN HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE SAUDIS TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO ACT IN RESTRAINING SYRIA, AND HE LOOKS TO THE USG FOR EFFECTIVE ACTION IN HOLDING BACK THE ISRAELIS.

5. MEANWHILE, THE GENERAL PUBLIC HERE SEEMINGLY LACKS APPRECIATION OF THE FULL GRAVITY OF THE CRISIS. JORDANIANS, LIKE MANY OTHERS, HAVE BECOME INURED TO VIOLENCE IN LEBANON. THERE IS ALSO AN ELEMENT OF RESIGNATION IN THESE ATTITUDES. AN ACTIVE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFRONTATION SADLY HAS BECOME A SET-PIECE IN THE MIDDLE EAST LANDSCAPE, AND JORDANIANS (WITH MORE REGRET THAN CYNICISM) PREFER THAT THIS OCCUR ELSEWHERE RATHER THAN ON THEIR OWN SOIL. MORE PERTINENT, AT LEAST AT THE OFFICIAL LEVELS OF THE GOJ, IS THE CONVICTION THAT THE ASSAD REGIME IS PREDISPOSED TO MOVE MILITARILY AGAINST JORDAN. HENCE, INsofar AS SYRIAN FORCES ARE TIED DOWN IN LEBANON, THIS EASES THE RISK OF A RENEWED JORDANIAN-SYRIAN MILITARY CONFRONTATION.

6. DEPENDING ON HOW THE LEBANESE SITUATION DEVELOPS, THIS RELATIVELY RESTRAINED JORDANIAN REACTION PERFORCE COULD CHANGE. THE GOJ WILL GO TO GREAT LENGTHS TO AVOID PARTICIPATION IN A WAR. NONETHELESS, THE OUTBREAK OF FULL SCALE CONFLICT BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL WOULD FORCE THE KING'S HAND. AS WAS THE CASE IN 1967 AND 1973, THE ONLY REAL JORDANIAN OPTION WOULD BE TO MOVE IN A PAN-ARAB DIRECTION.

7. IN DOING SO, WE BELIEVE THE GOJ WOULD PURSUE A DELIBERATELY GRADUATED RESPONSE. ACTING ON WHAT WOULD BE A POPULAR PRO-ARAB AND EVEN PRO-SYRIAN SENTIMENT, THE GOJ FIRST WOULD COME OUT WITH STRONG RHETORICAL AND POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR THE ARAB CAUSE. THEREAFTER, SHOULD THE SITUATION CONTINUE TO DETERIORATE (AS PREDICTABLE, BASED ON THE ASSESSMENT OF RESPECTIVE GOI/SARG MILITARY CAPABILITIES), THE GOJ MIGHT GIVE IN TO PRESSURE AND SEND LIMITED, ALMOST SYMBOLIC, MILITARY UNITS TO SYRIAN

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FRONT. THIS WOULD BE ALONG THE LINES OF THE
JORDANIAN ACTION IN THE 1973 WAR. CRITICALLY, OUR
ASSESSMENT IS THAT THE GOJ WOULD NOT RPT NOT OPEN THE
JORDANIAN FRONT WITH ISRAEL UNLESS FIRST ATTACKED BY
THE ISRAELIS.

8. WE SHOULD BE UNDER NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT POPULAR
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EXDIS
 JORDANIAN REACTIONS SHOULD FULL SCALE SYRIAN-ISRAELI
 HOSTILITIES ERUPT. THESE WOULD BE VEHEMENTLY ANTI-
 AMERICAN, SINCE IT IS GENERALLY BELIEVED HERE THAT THE
 USG BEARS MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY FOR ISRAELI ACTIONS.
 THIS ANTI-AMERICAN DIMENSION WOULD BE PARTICULARLY
 SHARP SHOULD THE SITUATION EVOLVE TO THE POINT WHERE
 ACCELERATED RESUPPLY OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO THE
 ISRAELIS TOOK PLACE. NONETHELESS, EXCEPT IN THE MOST
 EXTREME INSTANCE OF FULL SCALE WAR, WITH JORDAN AND
 ISRAEL DIRECTLY BATTLING EACH OTHER, WE BELIEVE THE
 GOJ COULD AND WOULD PROTECT THIS EMBASSY AND AMERICAN
 CITIZENS IN JORDAN.

2. WHAT WE ARE DEALING WITH THEN IS A COMBINATION OF
 JORDANIAN PERCEIVED HELPLESSNESS IN SHAPING EVENTS AND
 A REAL (IF UNEXPRESSED) HOPE THAT ANY SYRIAN-ISRAELI
 MILITARY EXCHANGES COULD BE CONFINED TO LEBANON. IF
 AND AS THIS IS THE CASE, THE GOJ WOULD DO ALL POSSIBLE
 TO STAND CLEAR OF THE FIGHTING. THERE IS NO RPT NO
 ARDOR AMONG UPPER ESCHERLONS OF THE GOJ TO SAVE ASSAD'S
 SKIN, AND EVEN SOME WILLINGNESS TO SEE THE SYRIANS
 BLOODIED A BIT. NONETHELESS, AN ESCALATION TO FULL
 SCALE SYRIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT WOULD BE DAMAGING TO
 U.S.-JORDANIAN RELATIONS. LIKE OTHERS IN THE AREA,

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THE JORDANIANS ARE PUZZLED BY WHAT THEY SEE AS MIXED SIGNALS COMING FROM WASHINGTON. THE RICHARD ALLEN STATEMENTS AND THE ISRAELI EXPLOITATION THEREOF FOR BOTH MILITARY AND TRANSPARENTLY POLITICAL ENDS, HAVE GENERATED A CERTAIN UNEASE HERE. JORDANIANS, ESPECIALLY AT THE TOP, GENUINELY SEEK TO RE-ESTABLISH SOUNDER CLOSER BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION. THEIR MISGIVINGS ARE ABOUT WHERE WE STAND ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES, PARTLY ASSUAGED BY THE SECRETARY'S VISIT AND ATTENUATED BY OUR CONTINUING OPEN DIALOGUE-- E.G. ON LEBANON. NONETHELESS, THE PRESENT LEBANESE SITUATION CARRIES WITH IT THE RISK OF IRREVERSIBLE DAMAGE TO OUR ATTEMPTS AT ESTABLISHING AN OBJECTIVE MIDDLE EAST POLICY. THIS IS AS UNSETTLING TO THE GOJ AS IT IS TO US. ZWEIFEL

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Transcript of Complete Interview

Given by Richard V. Allen on March 20, 1981

to "20/20 The ABC News Magazine" for Broadcast April 2, 1981.

Q

Is the spread of International terrorism a threat to the United States?

RICHARD ALLEN

Oh, certainly it is. It's an indirect threat at present because terrorism, as some people know it, is not good for our country. But, yes, it is. It's a threat to us and certainly to our foreign policy objectives, if you concede that our main and overriding foreign policy objectives is the preservation of peace. That which disturbs the peace, no matter what its source, is injurious, not only to our interest, but to the interest of the people on whom it's being visited.

Q

How important is the Soviet involvement in the spread of international terrorism in the disruption of peace in the Western world?

RICHARD ALLEN

I think substantially. (the) Secretary of State has made quite a good case, I think, demonstrating Soviet involvement. But we have to be careful to define that involvement. What does it mean? Does it mean direct participation? Does it mean the support, whether it be ideological, hortatory, tangible? And in the case of the supply of weapons, which are ultimately used to inflict terrorism, there has been, I think, ample evidence accumulated.

RICHARD ALLEN (CONTINUED)

I need only mention the work of Claire Sterling in this regard. I think it is a significant landmark work on the subject of terrorism, and something about which we have to be better informed.

We've had some studies in this country, such as that done by Robert Kupperman and Darrell Trent. We're way behind the power curve, and we've been very fortunate so far that all violent forms of terrorism have not been inflicted upon our people here.

Q

What about the Soviet role in the Middle East? How would you define their relationship with the PLO?

RICHARD ALLEN

It's difficult to assess the relationship with the PLO because there are various component parts of the PLO. But, overall, I think it's fair to say that the Soviet Union is supporting the main aims of the PLO.

Again, that fine line between the support of a tangible nature and support of an ideological nature is difficult to measure. But, it's there. Any student of the Soviet system, anyone who is even reasonably serious in an evaluation of the Soviet system, from its inception, who is even in the most cursory way familiar with the writing of Lenin or Stalin, and after that it's more or less disappeared. The use of terror has been an important weapon, an important instrument in achieving revolutionary goals.

After all, you have to understand that the Soviets do have a very tightly closed ideological system or framework in which terrorism is one important component part.

Q

But, specifically in terms of the PLO, what is the Soviets' role? Is it the providing of arms? Is that it basically? Is it the condoning of criminal acts? Is it all of those things?

RICHARD ALLEN

I think so, I think it is probably all of those things. I think it's financial, although others have perhaps taken up some of the slack that may have developed from the shortfall of Soviet funding. The PLO is said to get funds from other countries in the world. Libya. And I don't know what the budget process of the PLO is. And it may be that the case may be made for a minimal Soviet involvement in PLO organization itself.

But, nonetheless, that identify of purpose, that agreement as to the justness of revolution and terror as an instrument of revolution, is an inherent part of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Q

Is it fair to call the PLO a terrorist organization?

RICHARD ALLEN

Let me put it this way; we have said, the President of the United States has said repeatedly, that there are two main conditions that are obstacles to discussing anything with the PLO.

One is its practice of terrorism and its condoning of international terrorism. And second, of course, is the refusal to recognize the right of Israel to exist.

Absent those two conditions, we'd be dealing with a fundamentally different situation, so the President has said. I think, yes, on balance. There's no question that we must identify the PLO as a terrorist organization, until it provides convincing evidence to the contrary.

Q

Of course, they have moderated their statements within the last year or so.

RICHARD ALLEN

Again, you say they. They are factions of the PLO and one hears a spokesman on the one side. I've heard descriptions that identified Arafat as a moderate. But we're certainly wanting in hard proof that this is the case.

One man's moderate is another man's terrorist.

Q

If the PLO as presently constituted does become the government of an independent Palestinian state, what would the relevance be then of the Soviet connection?

RICHARD ALLEN

Well, there are two premises there which I, of course, am not going to share, but you then pose a totally hypothetical situation.

The relevance of the Soviet Union in such a hypothetical circumstance would be rather substantial. Of course, that would be a function of how close the Soviet Union were to such a hypothetical state with a hypothetical government.

If you are going to ask that question another way, would such a state be a puppet, an appendage of the Soviet Union, or a satellite state, I really don't know. But I think the influence would be heavy because the historical influence has been heavy, and the evidence is there to show it.

Q

What troubles some journalists now, particularly since Claire Sterling's book has been published, is the many people talking about the Soviet connection with the PLO and the Soviet connection

Q (continued)

with international terrorism in general. But, the (lack) of substantial evidence to corroborate the fact that the Soviet Union is in some way funding, manipulating, supplying these various groups.

RICHARD ALLEN

Mr. Rivera, I can -- unfortunately I'm not at liberty to go into great detail with you on this show, which I'm sure will be a fine one, about the level of involvement.

I can tell you only that I am perfectly satisfied and I am prepared to defend that level of satisfaction in public forum, that the Soviet involvement is organic. And I don't want to just isolate it with respect to the PLO. We need to talk . . . you need to amplify the context here to talk about training African terrorists, Latin American terrorists, and, of course, not even the Soviets are the only ones involved. We have evidence that North Korea trains terrorists.

So, in some other places -- in Libya -- where we understand that recently terrorism has been elevated to the Ministry -- the level of Ministry. This is very important. Many students are being taken out of Latin America and given scholarships in Eastern Europe -- Germany, Czechoslovakia. These countries are all hosts to facilities which turn out terrorists and there's no doubt in my mind, and, as I say, I'm perfectly prepared to argue that case in a public forum and I welcome this opportunity to at least present my point of view on it.

Q

No doubt whatsoever that the Soviet Union is organically involved?

RICHARD ALLEN

There's no doubt in my mind, no sir. But, on the other hand, as I say, it's very difficult for me at this stage to provide you with overwhelmingly convincing evidence.

Q

One of the problems with the current struggle with the Mid-East is that there seems to be some moral ambiguities now; it isn't just one side using weapons that hurt innocent people it seems. Do you agree with that, or do you think that terror or innocent people being hurt is strictly a one-way street in the Mid-East?

RICHARD ALLEN

Well, I think that the use of terror, under any circumstance, globally, whether it comes from the right or left, is something that the United States condemns vigorously. That could be true in Central America, as true as it is in a place in the Middle East. In the Middle East, one takes Lebanon as an example. There's so much going on in Lebanon that it's very, very difficult to sort it out from time to time.

The public impression is very confused and hazy I find, at least in my discussion with public people. We've become so confused and, I think in some ways, so demoralized by this avalanche of information about terrorism. I mean, atrocities become a way of life on a day-to-day basis that we sooner or later tune it out. It's not unlike trying to describe to people what the extermination of six million Jews means. Six million is a huge figure. We can't conceive of this; our children can't conceive of what the

elimination of six million people is. If thirty people are killed in a bus accident, that's staggering already. Thirty individual lives are lost.

As far as I'm concerned, whenever terrorism results in that loss of life is to be condemned. Now, I'm not here to confuse terrorism with the legitimate right of self-defense. We could go back and appeal to Thomas Of Aquinas if we wished, or earlier in the origins of law, for justification of self-defense. But, the inflicting of terrorism is something quite special. We haven't had it, so we can't know it.

The Italians have known it; it's been practiced on the streets of Italy. You have to combat this. We have to get the nations, the civilized nations of the world together, and combat it.

What the Iranians did in holding our hostages was terrorism. And the holding of the airliner, the hijacking of the Pakistani airliner and holding it in Kabul was an extension of terrorism. We found there that terrorists got off the plane with better weapons than they had gone on the plane with. We know from our own methods of interpreting intelligence what the Soviet role was in that.

This must stop. The people of the civilized world must be awakened to this. The terrorism that the Soviet troops are practicing on the people of Afghanistan today is something we believe must stop as well. And the Afghan people, the Freedom Fighters of Afghanistan, are resisting that kind of terrorism

It doesn't necessarily just mean putting a bomb in a bus or in a building. You can have organized terrorism. Hitler's hordes are a case of organized terrorism against the world.

RICHARD ALLEN (CONTINUED)

So, we do have to find ways, means to do something about it, to organize ourselves, to combat it, and it's very, very difficult.

Q

Hasn't terrorism worked for a group like the PLO though? Haven't they managed to pull themselves up by their bootstraps into some kind of very legitimate world place right now? Arafat got into the United Nations. Over one hundred nations recognizing them as the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people. Hasn't terrorism worked for the PLO?

RICHARD ALLEN

Accepting the premise then that the PLO is a terrorist organization, under these circumstances, I would say perhaps it has. And that's to my chagrin.

Q

You say accepting the premise?

RICHARD ALLEN

Well, I say, you said hasn't terrorism worked? Hasn't the PLO pulled itself up by its bootstraps? My response is obviously the premise behind that is the question that the PLO is a terrorist organization.

Q

You're not clear that the . . .

RICHARD ALLEN

I'm quite clear. I'm now reinforcing your own clarity, because you asked the question in a slightly different way just a few moments ago.

Q

I didn't mean to be semantical.

RICHARD ALLEN

Of course, the one advantage you have, you've got the scissors.

Q

I'll definitely cut that out.

RICHARD ALLEN

Of course. I'll have a press conference the next day.

Q

In your definition of terrorism, bearing in mind that terrorism can be an organized thing, and you also say that a state has a legitimate right of self-defense, and, of course, it does. But within the context of that statement of fact, are the Israeli air raids into South Lebanon acts of terrorism or are they acts of legitimate self-defense?

RICHARD ALLEN

I don't want to get into a specific policy discussion here, and what I'm saying does not represent the, I emphasize, the official policy of the United States Government, but to the extent that one reaches to the source of terrorism then, of course, there is ample justification for taking actions.

However, I'm not going to judge in a blanket way those particular actions to which you are saying now. I'm just saying that reaching to the source is generally recognized as hot pursuit of a sort and, therefore, justified. At least it's
At least there's a question there.

Q

There is no question in some of the acts; there is no question in many of the acts perpetrated by the other side against Israel.

RICHARD ALLEN

It is my understanding that Israel exists with defined boundaries. Some of those boundaries are obviously subject to dispute. But, in Israel proper, there have been repeated acts of, if you will, forcible entry into Israeli space, violating Israeli sovereignty. Hostages taken and murders committed. Now, I don't think reasonable people have much difficulty in understanding that someone who comes from outside, invades for the purpose of terrorizing and murdering, is anything less than a terrorist. I think there is a broad understanding in the world.

The Israeli people, you are focusing here on the Middle East, have been the victims, the people of Israel. Especially those who came from Central Europe. They have been the victims of organized terrorism. They are highly sensitized to this phenomenon, and until they have some means of assurance in knowing that they're not going to be subject to that form of terrorism for a long period of time, they're going to be very leery.

Again, I want to emphasize this is not a statement of public policy on the part of the United States. You are addressing me

in an individual capacity, and I'm giving you my personal reactions.

But, I don't apologize for the practice of terrorism anyplace, anytime. You've been to the Middle East. You've seen it practiced. You've seen the results of terrorism. I've seen it. I've seen it not only in the Middle East; I've seen it in Africa; I've seen the results inflicted on people in places like Vietnam. It's got to

RICHARD ALLEN (CONTINUED)

stop. Civilized peoples are particularly vulnerable. Those living in urban areas, to the demands of terrorists.

Disruption of our way of life is quite easily done or performed by terrorists, a small band of terrorists. A whole city can be held hostage. Not three blocks from where we sit, there was a terrorist incident several years ago and perpetrated by the so-called Hanafi Moslems right here in Washington, D.C., in City Hall. Life was lost.

I speak personally, and I speak with a substantial amount of emotion about this. I've never had the misfortune, and probably never will, to have terrorism directed against my people in this country or fellow citizens. But, I recognize that the opportunities for practicing terrorism by enhanced means of communication and the like, easy access to weapons, techniques that are widely known, increase that possibility. And I'm going to oppose it with all that I have at my disposal.

Q

Given the fact that the Soviet Union is organically involved in the international terror network, is the concept of detente a fraud?

RICHARD ALLEN

Well, I don't agree under any circumstance that the concept of detente is a fraud. If you meant as a specific policy, I don't consider detente to be a policy. I consider it to be a means to an end. It means relaxation of tensions in whatever language you're using. Detente, entspannung, in German, just means relaxation of tension.

12
RICHARD ALLEN (CONTINUED)

Some of the delusions of detente have been demonstrated to be, not a fraud, just wrong. Some of our own assumptions that building bridges to the Soviet Union, which in itself is not a bad idea, would bring about a better understanding and, therefore, perhaps a lessening of the Soviet momentum in the arms build-up, or for whatever the purpose of Soviet behavior we might want to alter. It's been demonstrated to be wrong.

We now are confronted with a tremendous arms build-up that continues. The most important arms build-up in the history of mankind is what we are now experiencing in the world. And we have to ask ourselves the question, is this the representation of terror in itself?

We speak of the balance of terror. We've sought to avoid that balance of terror by negotiating arms control agreements at the super-power level. And it seems to be no reduction. We've stood still; we haven't increased our arsenals; we haven't increased our defenses; we've allowed, in fact, our defenses to decay, to erode. And the other side continues to pump out that material. For what?

The Soviet Union has accumulated weapons far exceeding it's defensive requirements, and now confronted us with this massive military build-up. So, we have to be very careful; we have to be able to respond.

The purpose of our accumulation of armaments is to deter a war and to fight successfully any war that we're not able to deter.

Q

Is the PLO the major organization, the major vehicle, for spreading terrorism being used by the Soviet Union now?

RICHARD ALLEN

Probably not. My own estimate is that there are many, many
(that spread)
instrumentalities, the spread of Soviet techniques of terrorism.

I even think that sub-contracting stations have been set up elsewhere in the world, that the techniques have been successful, and that it being, that is terrorism, a component part of policy, that practices against the West. That other countries have been trained in the techniques, in fact, encouraged to set up sub-contracted schools.

Q

Is Israel fighting the fight of the Western democracies against terrorism?

RICHARD ALLEN

When Israel fights against terrorism, yes. Any nation that combats terrorism. The Germans, the Israelis at Entebbe, the New York police when they fight against terrorism in that city, and anywhere in the world. I think, yes.

Q

Good. Thanks.