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ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Doc Date Restrictions
		Pages
137084 NOTES	HANDWRITTEN NOTES RE VP/MEDIA	4 11/23/1985 B1
	MEETINGS	
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File: Press Guidance (Nov 85 ?)

#### TERRORISM

#### Terrorism Overview

- Terrorism a growing and international problem, respects no borders, no citizenship - some twenty countries' citizens were aboard the Achille Lauro. Soviet, British, French citizens have been kidnapped in Lebanon. Over 600 incidents last year, up 20% from previous five year average. About 570 incidents in first 9 months of this year--150 more than in same period last year. Citizens of more than 75 nations have been victims of terrorism so far this year.
- o 40% of terrorist incidents occur in Western Europe (about one quarter of these are Mideast related); 35% in the Mideast; 15% in Latin America and 10% elsewhere.
- Terrorists increasingly use tactics designed to kill and wound the victims. In 1984, eleven Americans died and 31 were wounded in terrorist attacks. To date in 1985, sixteen U.S. citizens killed and 111 injured.
- More than 90 potential terrorist incidents have been thwarted by good security, good intelligence and international cooperation in past 11 months.

#### II. U.S. POLICY

- The US will continue to counter terrorism with all the means at its disposal, and will maintain its policy of not making concessions to terrorists and discouraging others from doing so.
- Terrorists are criminals and they should not be released because countries find it politically difficult to prosecute or retaliate against them.
- Recent developments show there is a great need for even better international cooperation and understandings.
- We seek the cooperation of all concerned states and are prepared to work with them to counter the barbaric and criminal actions of terrorists.
- Secretary Shultz has discussed terrorism with the Soviets.
  We welcome the release of the Soviet hostages and want our hostages released without delay.

File: Press Guidance

October 1, 1985

#### Israeli airstrike on PLO camps in Tunisia

- -- We are distressed by and deplore the cycle of violence in the Middle East of which this latest incident is a part. It underscores the urgent need to work for peace in the Middle East.
- -- As a matter of U.S. policy, retaliation against terrorist attacks is a legitimate response and an expression of self-defense. From the preliminary reports available to us, this appears to be what was involved in this case.
- -- As the President said, linking those who commit crime to those who are punished is also clear. essential.
- -- But in this case, we do not yet know the full story. We have no independent source of information on the location and nature of targets and casualties.

IF ASKED:

- -- We will take further steps to determine the facts of the situation.
- -- Concerning the use of U.S. military equipment, we will have to determine what the actual facts are before drawing any conclusions as to the applicability of the Export Control Act.
- -- Let me add, that as a matter of principle it is our view it is legitimate self-defense to respond appropiately to acts of terrorism.
- -- We were not involved in any way or notified in advance.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

INFORMATION

November 25, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM:

RODNEY B. MCDANIEL Mer

SUBJECT: American Public Opinion and Terrorism

My memo at the end of October (8792) analyzed public opinion on various national security issues. One topic was terrorism, which is difficult to measure and, hence, analyze, due to the emotional swings that occur as terrorist incidents unfold literally from moment-to-moment before the public's eyes. I asked Ron Hinckley to examine this area in more depth and his findings, which use data going back to the Iranian hostage crisis, and their implications appear below.

#### Findings

express a number of conflicting views about 1. Americans terrorism which seem to mirror the inherent contradiction within terrorism, where indiscriminant and irrational violence is a means to achieve coldly calculated ends. Americans:

- believe media coverage overemphasizes and encourages terrorism, yet they also believe that such attention is necessary to keep the the people informed;
- value hostage lives more than American honor and oppose any action that might endanger the hostages in a terrorist incident. However, Americans are not willing to do or pay whatever is demanded by terrorists to effectuate the release of hostages and believe in risking a few hostage lives to spare more lives later;
- feel terrorists are rational enough to discontinue their acts when costs outweigh benefits, yet they also say that terrorists are fanatics for whom death is a reward and gains are not weighed against losses;
- "soft" responses to terrorism such as trade favor embargoes, asset seizures, diplomatic restrictions, and economic sanctions. At the same time they acknowledge that these are unlikely to resolve an actual incident or prevent ones in the future, and;

9440

believe the U.S. should take military action against known terrorist facilities to discourage future incidents, but that violence only begets violence and terrorism will not stop even should the U.S. use military force.

2. Americans will invariably approve of presidential action at the on-set of a terrorist incident. The strength of the rating will diminish with time until between 90 and 120 days have elapsed without resolution. Then the ratings will turn from positive to negative. The rise in disapproval will occur even if the people believe the President is doing all that he can possibly do.

5. Americans believe terrorism requires executive action without necessary advance consultation with Congress or allies.

6. They prefer deliberations and patience to military action, especially early in a terrorist incident. They oppose actions that might endanger hostages.

7. Americans focus on terrorist incidents, particularly if American hostages are involved, and develop a high level of awareness of the proceedings. They tend to become personally involved, but not preoccuppied, keeping sight of other issues such as taxes, inflation, and unemployment.

8. Americans divide into four groups over retaliation and the use of military force to counter terrorism:

- . About one-fourth (23%) oppose any military action against terrorists. They are disproportionally women (particularly women under 45), those over 55 years of age, well educated professionals, residents of New England and the Great Lakes (i.e., northern industrial urban states), political independents, and non-religious;
- . About one-third (34%) favor military action to discourage terrorism. They are disproportionally men (particularly men under 45, the very young (18-24 year olds), white, blue collar workers, and those with a high school education. There is no major geographic distribution for this group, but they are slightly more likely to be Republicans.
- . Another third (32%) swings between general support for military action to discourage terrorism to opposition when the specific issues of innocent lives and violence begetting violence are raised. Younger women are disportionally part of this group, too, but there is a large minority element as well.

The remaining twelfth (9%) opposes military action generally, but can be pursuaded to accept it if they are assured we are punishing those that have attacked the U.S.

#### Implications

1. Americans will formulate opinions about terrorist incidents more quickly than they do on other emerging issues. These opinions will be mercurial, moving with the ebb and flow of the incidents themselves. While the public might be critical of the media at times, they will not want the media's coverage limited except where it is clear that the coverage is potentially harmful to any hostages.

2. Americans will give the President a limited, but not insignificant time frame to resolve a terrorist incident. The President will have policy latitude, with the public only likely to disapprove of "extreme" actions such as military operations that jeapordize or harm hostages or innocent people, or on the other hand, capitulating to terrorist demands. As time passes without a resolution, however, the President will receive greater criticism no matter what he does.

3. Public consensus on specific terrorist incident policy will have to be forged by the administration, especially if it involves the use of military force. Public diplomacy should be a key ingredient in how the U.S. responds to any incident.

4. Groups likely to oppose any use of force are well educated and professional, hence, they will be able to organize and vocalize opposition to administration policy quicker and better than the supporters of that policy will be able to organize support activities.

5. The best opportunity for public support of the use of force against terrorists would appear to be after an incident like the embassy or military bombings, where there are no hostages to complicate the issue.

6. The President may excute anti-terrorist policy as the Chief Executive without prior consultations with Congress or American allies. The people understand the need for decisive action at these times and will support him in this.

7. Since the public does not become preoccupied with terrorist incidents but do give them considerable attention, neither the President nor the administration should be perceived as preoccuppied with them. They do need to be involved and concerned, however.

8. The administration can initiate "soft" policy actions such as embargoes, travel restrictions, and diplomatic sanctions even though these are not expected to produce significant results. The public views these actions as standard operating procedures, for which the failure to implement could be perceived as a signal of inaction and disinterest. This can be disasterous for public support of the President so necessary during times of crisis.

9. Currently, the public would most likely support military action against known terrorist bases in either Iran or Lebanon over similar bases in Syria, Nicaragua, or Cuba.

10. The data reveal a terrorism policy "gender gap." Women prefer "soft" or "accommodationist" policies while men prefer hardline positions. This gender gap occurs in other national security areas and needs to be considered when determining how to articulate policy. Even when hard policy choices must be made, an element of the public diplomacy campaign associated with explaining them needs to point to their long-range goals that will protect U.S. lives and help maintain the peace throughout the world.

cc: Donald Fortier Oliver North Walt Raymond Ed Djerejian

11/23/85 VP / MEDIA MEETING rp helcome Backsround Consultations VISits meetings Arrine Cooperations - International Today's discussion - artreach effort on lots record? don't want to restrict discussion Jet - @ Good capability CIA - 80 preventetions FBI - 23 preventetions anything needs to be improved (E) Consultations by point is public awareness / attitudes heare to listen, better understand Bradlee - Why truch press? hostages saved as soon as they want on TV Meeting that on record discussion - buckground DECLASSIFIED NLRR M442/1 # 137084 BY FW NARA DATE 9 72 17

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J.H Hypothetit plane take down Coffy - can't use hyper - must be firth coming as possible What about actual movements of force Konfurche - contentine pot to publick in the that my horn troops JH. - Best result at meeting is willigness / understad at problem J.H. Lach at understadig that reveals savrees intense press coverage put pressure on pout to resolve Cotty - photlen at revealing sources - bits at intermation Kondroth - interse pressme - were hostges saved? a study Bradlee - Public TV continuously for terrorists J.H - Understand there will be complete coverage Lewis What do you want? VP- Liken - policy statements no one thay - accoss the band Lewis - what is problem? Pressure on W.H. may be good Konch - What was analysis at TV courage on TWA is ship

Watson - Beruit converse faits - were teste, accessive, hostage families but - no affect on hostages Ann Bachan - warting ground rules - Ponteson pods ider - regular group meetings Kouth - Delte movements - shared not reported Wetern - tried to get Pertagon to do that Ann- Like to know what doing in Beruit Braklee - Need study at JWA and TV Mort - undue pressure - was outcome negetime for net'l interests - were terrorists looking for coverage Gregs - terrorist like publicity - Pressure on gout! - help VP - Gove policy-meters do not feel pressure from TV - mostly a serve at frustrations S.H. O Will be coverages (3 no restrictions Othere are guidelines ... Media develop code of ethics

Gress - need hot ham - reference point Mont - Lesson for leadership This admin his learned from Carter

MEMORANDUM



#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 12, 1985

## MEMORANDUM FOR ADMIRAL POINDEXTER

FROM: KARNA SMALL

SUBJECT: Jack Anderson column

Moving against our pleas, the column by Jack Anderson/Dale Van Atta ran today in the <u>New York Post</u>. According to Van Atta, the Post broke their embargo, which means other papers will run it tomorrow.

I called Van Atta as soon as I got your guidance - asked them not to go with anything (of course I had called them Monday asking them not to go with anything - to hold off and that I would get back to them). I told them it was our view that going with stories of this nature would endanger lives.

At that point, Van Atta started to dance around - and say that well, he was sorry about that but he had "other sources at State and CIA who were telling him to go with it" and so, he went with his "other sources." He said that different people have different views about what would or would not endanger lives, and many people he has talked to believe that the Buckley story should come out and that it would help, not hinder the case of the other hostages.

I was furious and again went over every word he had said to me (that they weren't doing anything until Friday, would hold off until we got back to them etc.) and he tried to counter that perhaps he misunderstood - but later admitted that it was his responsibility and he really went with his other sources because it was his belief that this was the right way to go.

Their column Monday will say that Kilborn is also dead, but that he died of a heart attack, not because of torture. I asked if he could stop either column and he said no.

I have discussed this with Ed Djerejian - turns out that this afternoon he received a call from Engleburg of the New York Times who has sources giving him the same story - evidently there are various people in town who now feel free to talk about the Buckley case who are urging journalists to go with it.

We need to urgently develop press guidance first thing Friday morning - we will discuss it at ODSM - but wanted you to know right away.

#### NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1985 13 MISSING LEB HOSTAGE DIED AFTER TORTURE CIA AGENT WILLIAM BUCKLEY CASPIAN **KIDNAPED IN BEIRUT** TURKEY **AIRLIFTED TO TEHRAN** WHERE HE DIED TAKEN 20 $\mathbf{H}\mathbf{P}$ MEDITERBANEAN SYRIA 1///Bokes Valley TAKEN TO BEKAA VALLE WASHINGTON - William - AL By JACK ANDERSON IRAN JORDAN AND TORTURED Buckley, one of the six and DALE VAN ATTA Americans kidnaped in Beirut by Shiite Moslem extremists, is dead. SAUDI ARABIA

New York Post: Victoria Fischer

American hostage William Buckley was taken on this path from West Beirut to his death in Iran.

station chief.

A brave and effective intelligence professional who had served earlier in Vietnam, Buckley was painfully aware of the risks that were an inescapable part of his job.

Friends say that's why he never married - he didn't want to cause suffering to a wife and children in the event of his death.

Ironically, Buckley devoted much of his time and energy to developing information that

might prevent terrorist attacks on Americans in the Mideast. He did not hire local contract agents for missions of violence.

Buckley was kidnaped by Shiltes on March 16, 1984, and taken initially to the eastern Bekaa Valley, a Syrian-controlled hotbed of Iranian terrorists and revolutionary guards. One source says the CIA believes it was the Syrians who disclosed Buckley's true identity to his captors, the Hezbollah (Party of God).

Hostage William Buckley (left) looked fit in a photo

released last year by the State Dept. But he looked gaunt in a photo released two months ago by his captors (right).

The State Dept.'s official position is that "we assume that he is alive and have been operating on that principle."

But the CIA, for which Buckley worked, has highly sensitive intelligence information that leaves no doubt of Buckley's death.

From our intelligence sources, we have pleced together the gruesome details of Buckley's captivity and death, and can disclose the nation responsible: Iran.

In fact, he died in a Tehran hospital from a heart attack brought on by months of torture.

The 57-year-old Buckley was officially listed as a political officer with the American Embassy in Beirut. Actually, he was the CIA

There is no doubt Buckley was tortured brutally over a long peri-od. His appearance had changed shockingly in a videotape released by his captors last January.

Buckley was taken to the Ira-nian revolutionary guard (Pas-daran) headquarters at Baalbek, Lebanon, for repeated interroga-tions. Then, in early March 1985, the Hezbollah, apparently fearing the Syrians would turn Buckley loose, arranged to transport him secretly to Iran.

He was disguised as an injured Pasdaran soldier and flown with several wounded revolutionary guards to Damascus in a Syrian army helicopter.

The same day, Buckley and at least one authentic Iranian soldier were put aboard an Iran Air 727, which had just brought a high Ira-nian official to the Syrian capital, and were flown to Tehran. The American agent's first

The American agent's first place of captivity was a house on Fereshteh Street in a northern suburb of Tehran.

Buckley was interrogated and tortured further — in - in the basement of the Iranian foreign ministry. He required frequent medical treatment.

In late March, an Iraqi bomb landed in Fereshteh Street, narrowly missing the house where Buckley was being held.

He was hastily moved to a revo-lutionary guard camp (called Salehbad), near the Shiite holy city of Qom.

It was there, probably between April 10 and 15, that Buckley suffered a heart attack induced by torture and captivity. He was taken to a hospital in Tehran and

died soon after. Even in death, Buckley's mur-derers tried to use him. The Is-lamic Jihad, a group closely linked to Hezbollah, announced

linked to Hezbollah, announced last October that they had "exe-cuted" Buckley. They released a grisly Polaroid picture of him in a coffin, and tried to trade his body for 100 Palestin-ian prisoners held by Israel. Footnote: The U.S. government is still denying the only thing Wil-liam Buckley can now claim as his own: his death. We hope the American people won't allow the country's forgotten hostage to re-main forgotten. He deserves the main forgotten. He deserves the Medal of Honor, not obscurity.

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E.O. 12356: N/A TAGS: OPRC SUBJECT: JACK ANDERSON ARTICLE IN NEW YORK POST, 12/12/85

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A JACK ANDERSON ARTICLE THAT APPEARED IN THE NEW YORK POST, 12/12/85. IT WILL RUN NATION-WIDE ON DECEMBER 13.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

WASHINGTON - WILLIAM BUCKLEY, ONE OF THE SIX AMERICANS KIDNAPED IN BEIRUT BY SHIITE MOSLEM EXTREMISTS, IS DEAD.

THE STATE DEPT.'S OFFICIAL POSITION IS THAT "WE ASSUME THAT HE IS ALIVE AND HAVE BEEN OPERATING ON THAT PRINCIPLE."

BUT THE CIA, FOR WHICH BUCKLEY WORKED, HAS HIGHLY SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION THAT LEAVES NO DOUBT OF BUCKLEY'S DEATH.

FROM OUR INTELLIGENCE SOURCES, WE HAVE PIECED TOGETHER THE GRUESOME DETAILS OF BUCKLEY'S CAPTIVITY AND DEATH, AND CAN DISCLOSE THE NATION RESPONSIBLE: IRAN.

IN FACT, HE DIED IN A TEHRAN HOSPITAL FROM A HEART ATTACK BROUGHT ON BY MONTHS OF TORTURE.

THE 57-YEAR OLD BUCKLEY WAS OFFICIALLY LISTED AS A POLITICAL OFFICER WITH THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN BEIRUT. ACTUALLY, HE WAS THE CIA STATION CHIEF.

A BRAVE AND EFFECTIVE INTELLIGENCE PROFESSIONAL WHO HAD SERVED EARLIER IN VIETNAM, BUCKLEY WAS PAINFULLY AWARE OF THE RISKS THAT WERE AN INESCAPABLE PART OF HIS JOB.

FRIENDS SAY THAT'S WHY HE NEVER MARRIED - HE DIDN'T WANT TO CAUSE SUFFERING TO A WIFE AND CHILDREN IN THE EVENT OF HIS DEATH.

IRONICALLY, BUCKLEY DEVOTED MUCH OF HIS TIME AND ENERGY TO DEVELOPING INFORMATION THAT MIGHT PREVENT TERRORIST ATTACKS ON AMERICANS IN THE MIDEAST. HE DID NOT HIRE LOCAL CONTRACT AGENTS FOR MISSIONS OF VIOLENCE.

BUCKLEY WAS KIDNAPED BY SHIITES ON MARCH 16, 1984, AND TAKEN INITIALLY TO THE EASTERN BEKAA VALLEY, A SYRIAN-CONTROLLED HOTBED OF IRANIAN TERRORISTS AND REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS. ONE SOURCE SAYS THE CIA BELIEVES

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#### PAGE Ø2 OF Ø2 SECSTATE WASHDC 8965 DTG: 122342Z DEC 85 PSN: Ø64992

IT WAS THE SYRIANS WHO DISCLOSED BUCKLEY'S TRUE IDENTITY TO HIS CAPTORS, THE HEZBOLLAH (PARTY OF GOD).

THERE IS NO DOUBT BUCKLEY WAS TORTURED BRUTALLY OVER A LONG PERIOD. HIS APPEARANCE HAD CHANGED SHOCKINGLY IN A VIDEOTAPE RELEASED BY HIS CAPTORS LAST JANUARY.

BUCKLEY WAS TAKEN TO THE IRANIAN REVOLUTIONARY GUARD (PASDARAN) HEADQUARTERS AT BAALBEK, LEBANON, FOR REPEATED INTERROGATIONS. THEN, IN EARLY MARCH 1985, THE HEZBOLLAH, APPARENTLY FEARING THE SYRIANS WOULD TURN BUCKLEY LOOSE, ARRANGED TO TRANSPORT HIM SECRETLY TO IRAN.

HE WAS DISGUISED AS AN INJURED PASDARAN SOLDIER AND FLOWN WITH SEVERAL WOUNDED REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS TO DAMASCUS IN A SYRIAN ARMY HELICOPTER.

THE SAME DAY, BUCKLEY AND AT LEAST ONE AUTHENIC IRANIAN SOLDIER WERE PUT ABOARD AN IRAN AIR 727, WHICH HAD JUST BROUGHT A HIGH IRANIAN OFFICIAL TO THE SYRIAN CAPITAL, AND WERE FLOWN TO TEHRAN.

THE AMERICAN AGENT'S FIRST PLACE OF CAPTIVITY WAS A HOUSE ON FERESHTEH STREET IN A NORTHERN SUBURB OF TEHRAN.

BUCKLEY WAS INTERROGATED - AND TORTURED FURTHER - IN THE BASEMENT OF THE IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY. HE REQUIRED FREQUENT MEDICAL TREATMENT.

IN LATE MARCH, AN IRAQI BOMB LANDED IN FERESHTEH STREET, NARROWLY MISSING THE HOUSE WHERE BUCKLEY WAS BEING HELD.

HE WAS HASTILY MOVED TO A REVOLUTIONARY GUARD CAMP (CALLED SALEHBAD), NEAR THE SHIITE HOLY CITY OF QOM.

IT WAS THERE, PROBABLY BETWEEN APRIL 10 AND 15, THAT BUCKLEY SUFFERED A HEART ATTACK INDUCED BY TORTURE AND CAPTIVITY. HE WAS TAKEN TO A HOSPITAL IN TEHRAN AND DIED SOON AFTER.

EVEN IN DEATH, BUCKLEY'S MURDERERS TRIED TO USE HIM. THE ISLAMIC JIHAD, A GROUP CLOSELY LINKED TO HEZBOLLAH, ANNOUNCED LATE OCTOBER THAT THEY HAD "EXECUTED" BUCKLEY.

THEY RELEASED A GRISLY POLAROID PICTURE OF HIM IN A COFFIN, AND TRIED TO TRADE HIS BODY FOR 100 PALESTINIAN PRISONERS HELD BY ISRAEL.

FOOTNOTE: THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IS STILL DENYING THE ONLY THING WILLIAM BUCKLEY CAN NOW CLAIM AS HIS OWN: HIS DEATH. WE HOPE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WON'T ALLOW THE COUNTRY'S FORGOTTEN HOSTAGE TO REMAIN FORGOTTEN. HE DESERVES THE MEDAL OF HONOR, NOT OBSCURITY.

-- END TEXT.

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3. FOR POSTS' INFORMATION THE DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE REMAINS: "WE HAVE OPERATED -- AND CONTINUE TO OPERATE --ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT ALL THE HOSTAGES ARE ALIVE." WHITEHEAD BT

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