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Last Updated: 12/18/2023



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 8, 1985

5230 337986 1120 TL003-03 TL003-02 PR001 FG011 CO086 FG006-12

Dear George:

I would like to express my thanks and appreciation to the State Department, and in particular the TWA Hijacking Working Group, for their splendid performance during this crisis.

I know that Assistant Secretary Dick Murphy, Ambassador Bob Oakley, and the men and women from the Department and other government agencies worked many long hours to manage the crisis and keep the hostage families informed. Their performance was of great value to both Bud McFarlane and me and made a significant contribution to the overall outcome.

Would you please express my personal appreciation to every member of the working group.

The Honorable George P. Shultz Secretary of State Washington, D.C. 20520

3379865S NSC#8505230

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 8, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR THE WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM STAFF

SUBJECT: Performance During the Hijacking Crisis

Many people were involved in bringing this crisis to a successful conclusion, but none were more in the middle of things than you who manned the White House Situation Room.

During these seventeen days, we received thousands of cables and hundreds of phone messages. You were able to sift through this mass of information and identify the key items I needed and get them to me no matter where I was. Your summaries of the overall situation were right on the mark, allowing me to keep up without being swamped with details.

In spite of the pressure, you remained calm and professional. This contributed in an important way to our ability to manage the crisis and avoid being overwhelmed by the momentum of specific events. Your contributions to keeping me informed during the final weekend were particularly noteworthy.

Your performance was in the highest tradition of the Situation Room and of great importance to the President of the United States. I extend my personal "well done" to each of you.

Robert C. McFarlane

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

5230

WASHINGTON

ACTION

July 5, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ROBERT C. MCFARLANERM

SUBJECT:

Thank You Letter to Secretary Shultz

Issue

SIGNED

A thank you letter to Secretary Shultz and the members of the TWA Hijacking Working Group for their tremendous efforts during the crisis period.

#### Recommendation

OK

No

110

That you sign the letter at Tab A to

Secretary Shultz.

Attachment:

Tab A Letter to Secretary Shultz

Prepared by: Rodney B. McDaniel

cc: Vice President

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

A	C	Τ	Ι	0	N

July 1, 1985



MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM:

RODNEY B. MCDANIEL

SUBJECT:

Thank You Notes to Secretary Shultz

and the WHSR Staff

At Tab I is a memo from you to the President forwarding a letter for his signature to Secretary Shultz thanking the Secretary and the TWA Hijacking Working Group for their tremendous efforts during this crisis.

At Tab II is a memo to the staff of the Situation Room from you thanking them for their diligent efforts during this same crisis period.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

That you forward the memo and letter at Tab I to the President for his signature.

Approve	M	Disapprove	
Approve		візарріото	

That you sign the memo at Tab II to the Situation Room staff thanking them for a job well done.

Approve $\underline{\mathcal{M}}$ Disapprove	Disapprove	
--	------------	--

#### Attachments

- I Memo to the President
  - A Letter of Thanks to Secretary Shultz
- II Memo of Thanks to the WHSR Staff

Nationa	<b>Security</b>	Council
The	White Ho	use

(Date/Time)

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEE	N DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson		P	Review
William Martin			
John Poindexter			
Paul-Thompson			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
Nilliam Martin			
<b>VSC Secretariat</b>			<u> </u>
lituation Room			
I = Information A = Acti	on R = Retain 1	D = Dispatch	N = No further Action
:c: VP Regan	Buchanan Othe	r	
COMMENTS	Should be see		

Date letter 4/8.

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RECEIVED 01 JUL 85 20

OT

MCFARLANE

FROM MCDANIEL

DOCDATE 01 JUL 85

KEYWORDS CRISIS MANAGEMENT ADMINISTRATIVE

LEBA NON

HIJACKING

SUBJECT. PROPOSED THANK YOU FROM MCFARLANE TO STATE TASK FORCE AND SITUATION ROOM ON HANDLING LEBANESE HOSTAGE CRISIS

ACTION: FOR SIGNATURE

DUE: 04 JUL 85 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MCFARLANE

COMMENTS

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ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO ACTION OFFICER (S)

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INFO LOG-03 COPY-01 ADS-00 SS-00 NEA-06 NSCE-00 MOT- &3 SP-02 /014 W , CPR-02 ----522472 Ø3Ø346Z /1Ø

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ANTANANARIVO Ø2172

E. O. 12356:

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TAGS SUBJECT

OPDC, CN PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE

THE EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED TELEX FROM COMORAN PRESIDENT WITH A MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN ON THE TWA HOSTAGE AFFAIR. TEXT BEING POUCHED AF/E. INFORMAL TRANSLATE AS FOLLOWS.

BEGIN TEXT

HIS EXCELLENCY MR. RONALD REAGAN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICAN

COMPLIMENTS. WE HAVE JUST LEARNED WITH SATISFACTION AND RELIEF OF THE HAPPY RESOLUTION OF THE TWA BOEING MATTER WHICH HAS PROVOKED THE INDIGNATION AND DISAPPROVAL OF ALL PEOPLE WHO LOVE PEACE AND JUSTICE.

WE TAKE THIS AGREEABLE OCCASION TO PRESENT TO YOUR EXCELLENCY, TO YOUR GOVERNMENT AND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OUR SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE EFFORTS UNDERTAKEN IN THIS MATTER, TO THE RESCUED, ALL OUR BEST WISHES OF GOOD HEALTH AND PROSPERITY. AND AND TO THE VICTIM'S FAMILY OUR PROFOUND SYMPATHY. HIGH CONSIDERATION.

AHMED ABDALLAH ABDEREMANE PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF THE COMORES. END TEXT. KEATING ,

F-6006-14

NSC#8505946

s/s 8522153 5946

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520
July 26, 1985

## LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ATTACHMENT

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. William F. Martin

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Subject:

Alerting NSC on Presidential

Correspondence

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to President Reagan from President Ahmed Abdallah Abderemane of the Comores which is transmitted for your information.

This document was received in the Executive Secretariat Information Management Section on July 26, 1985.

Director, S/S-I

Information Management Section Executive Secretariat

ext. 23836

Thankata + Send 8522153

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MORONI, LE 1ER/07/85

**TELEX** : 22202

MAMBASSADE DES ETATS UNIS
DESAMERIQUE A ANTANANARIVO

NR 000305/MAE-C/A/MS(L) COMPLIMENTS STOP HONNEUR VOUS DEMANDER DE BIEN VOULOIR TRANSMETTRE LE MESSAGE CI-APRES ADRESSE PAR S.E MR AHMED ABDALLAH ABDEREMANE, PRESIDENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE FEDERALE ISLAMIQUE DES COMORES A SON HAUT DESTINATAIRE SON EXCELLENCE MR RONALD REAGAN, PRESIDENT DES ETATS UNIS D'AMERIQUE.

CITATION :

''SON EXCELLENCE MR RONALD REAGAN
PRESIDENT DES ETATS UNIS D'AMERIQUE

COMPLIMENTS STOP NOUS VENONS D'APPRENDRE AVEC SATISFACTION ET SOULAGEMENT L'HEUREUX DENOUEMENT DE L'AFFAIRE DU BOEING DE LA TWA QUI AVAIT PROVOQUE L'INDIGNATION ET LA REPROBATION DE TOUS LES PEUPLES EPRIS DE PAIX ET DE JUSTICE.

NOUS SAISISSONS CETTE AGREABLE OCCASION POUR PRESENTER A VOTRE EXCELLENCE, AU GOUVERNEMENT ET AU PEUPLE AMERICAINS NOS SINCERES FELICITATIONS POUR LE SUCCES DES EFFORTS DEPLOYES DANS CETTE AFFAIRE, AUX RESCAPES TOUS NOS MEILLEURS VOEUX D'EXCELLENTE SANTE ET DE PROSPERITE, ET A LA FAMILLE DE LA VICTIME NOTRE PROFONDE SYMPATHIE STOP TRES HAUTE CONSIDERATION.

AHMED ABDALLAH ABDEREMANE
PRESIDENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE FEDERALE ISLAMIQUE
DES COMORES

FIN DE CITATION.

HAUTE CONSIDERATION
MINISTERE AFFAIRES ETRANGERES
ET COOPERATION -MORONI- R.F.I
DES COMORES

TRANSMIS A 17HOO LOC.

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(settacled)

NSC/S PROFILE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ID 8505946

RECEIVED 26 JUL 85 17

TO

PRESIDENT

FROM ABDEREMANE, AHMED A DOCDATE 03 JUL 85

JACKSON, C

26 JUL 85

KEYWORDS: COMORO ISLANDS

HS

ABDEREMANE, AHMED A

HIJACKING

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM PRES ABDEREMANE RE TWA HOSTAGE SITUATION

ACTION: PENDING STATE DRAFT

DUE: 02 AUG 85 STATUS D FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

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SOOS

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ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO No Ochin Lea

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE

GREET RETURNING BEIRUT HOSTAGES
ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE

MY REMARKS WILL BE BRIEF

THIS ISN'T THE TIME FOR SPEECHES THIS IS A

TIME FOR REUNIONS AND FAMILIES COMING

TOGETHER. THERE'S ONLY ONE THING TO SAY

AND I SAY IT FROM THE BOTTOM OF MY HEART AND

IN THE NAME OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF OUR

COUNTRY WELCOME HOME. WE'RE SO HAPPY

YOU'RE BACK, SAFE AND SOUND.

THIS HAS BEEN A TRYING AND VERY

DEMANDING TIME FOR SO MANY PEOPLE BUT FOR

NONE MORE THAN YOU. I TALKED TO MANY OF

YOUR RELATIVES MET WITH THEM AT VARIOUS

LOCATIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY WHILE YOU

WERE BEING HELD. AND I KNOW YOU WON'T BE

SURPRISED WHEN I TELL YOU HOW COMMITTED THEY

WERE TO WINNING YOUR FREEDOM HOW FULL OF

CARING AND CONCERN THEY WERE.

31736555 <u>51981</u> TROOI JL003.03 JL003.02 L0086 PROOF 02

G O P Y from ORM I KNOW THAT THEY'RE PROUD OF YOU /AND I KNOW FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE THAT YOU SHOULD BE VERY PROUD OF THEM.

ALL OF AMERICA WAS CONCERNED ABOUT YOU

MANY PRAYERS WERE SAID FOR YOUR SAFE

RELEASE. IN THE DAYS THAT YOU WERE AWAY.

OUR ATTENTION WAS NEVER ONCE DISTRACTED FROM
YOUR PLIGHT AND WE WOULD NOT REST UNTIL YOU
RETURNED TO US, SAFE AND WHOLE.

NONE OF YOU WERE HELD PRISONER BECAUSE
OF ANY PERSONAL WRONG ANY OF YOU HAD DONE TO
ANYONE. YOU WERE HELD SIMPLY BECAUSE YOU
WERE AMERICANS. IN THE MINDS OF YOUR
CAPTORS YOU REPRESENTED US.

WHATEVER THE PRESUMED GRIEVANCE OR
POLITICAL MOTIVE THAT CAUSED THESE ACTIONS/
LET THERE BE NO CONFUSION: A CRIME WAS
COMMITTED AGAINST YOU. HIJACKING IS A
CRIME, KIDNAPPING IS A CRIME;
MURDER IS A CRIME HOLDING OUR PEOPLE
PRISONER IS A CRIME.

WHEN CRUELTY IS INFLICTED ON INNOCENT
PEOPLE, IT DISCREDITS WHATEVER CAUSE IN
WHOSE NAME IT IS DONE. AND THOSE WHO COMMIT
SUCH DEEDS ARE ENEMIES OF PEACE /LITERALLY ENEMIES OF THE PEACE.

NOW YOU ARE RETURNED TO US,/ AND WE HEAVE A DEEP-FELT SIGH OF RELIEF.

BUT THERE ARE PROMISES TO BE KEPT.

THE DAY YOUR PLANE WAS HIJACKED,

THE TERRORISTS FOCUSED THEIR BRUTALITY ON A
BRAVE YOUNG MAN WHO WAS A MEMBER OF THE
ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES.

THEY BEAT ROBBIE STETHEM WITHOUT MERCY AND SHOT HIM TO DEATH.

OUR JOY AT YOUR RETURN IS SUBSTANTIAL

BUT SO IS OUR PAIN AT WHAT WAS DONE TO THAT

SON OF AMERICA. I KNOW YOU CARE DEEPLY

ABOUT ROBBIE STETHEM AND WHAT WAS DONE TO

HIM. WE WILL NOT FORGET WHAT WAS DONE

TO HIM THERE WILL BE NO FORGETTING.

HIS MURDERERS MUST BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

NOR WILL WE FORGET THE SEVEN AMERICANS
WHO WERE TAKEN CAPTIVE BEFORE YOU
AND WHO ARE CAPTIVE STILL. THEY MUST BE
RELEASED. THE HOMECOMING WON'T BE COMPLETE
UNTIL ALL HAVE COME HOME.

FOR NOW, WE REJOICE AT YOUR RETURN.

NANCY AND I PRAYED FOR YOUR SAFETY.

WE PRAYED FOR YOUR SPEEDY RETURN.

WE WERE NOT ALONE / OUR PRAYERS WERE ONLY TWO AMONG MILLIONS.

WE FELT A GREAT NATIONAL CONCERN WHEN YOU WERE TAKEN, AND IT IS A TRULY NATIONAL JOY THAT GREETS YOUR RETURN.

YOU ARE BACK IN THE FREE LAND OF
AMERICA, SAFE AND SOUND. YOU WITHSTOOD YOUR
ORDEAL WITH EXTRAORDINARY COMPOSURE AND
COOLNESS. YOUR FAMILIES ARE WAITING FOR YOU
NOW, (AND YOUR FRIENDS,) ALL YOUR LOVED ONES.

SO LET THE REJOICING BEGIN. IT'S GREAT TO HAVE YOU BACK WHERE YOU BELONG. THANK YOU, ALL OF YOU. GOD BLESS YOU ALL. promote of the.



(Noonan/BE)
July 2, 1985
10:00 a.m.
Received SS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GREET RETURNING BEIRUT HOSTAGES 1 27 ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1985

My remarks will be brief -- this isn't the time for speeches, this is a time for reunions, and families coming together. There's only one thing to say, and I say it from the bottom of my heart and in the name of all of the people of our country: welcome home. We're so happy you're back, safe and sound.

This has been a trying and very demanding time for so many people, but for none more than you. I talked to many of your relatives, met with them at various locations throughout the country while you were being held. And I know you won't be surprised when I tell you how committed they were to winning your freedom, how full of caring and concern they were. I know that they're proud of you -- and I know from personal experience that you should be very proud of them.

All of America was concerned about you; many prayers were said for your safe release. In the days that you were away, our attention was never once distracted from your plight, and we would not rest until you returned to us, safe and whole.

None of you were held prisoner because of any personal wrong any of you had done to anyone. You were held simply because you were Americans. In the minds of your captors you represented <u>us</u>.

Whatever the presumed grievance or political motive that caused these actions, let there be no confusion: a crime was committed against you. Hijacking is a crime; kidnapping is a

crime; murder is a crime; holding our people prisoner is a crime. When cruelty is inflicted on innocent people, it discredits whatever cause in whose name it is done. And those who commit such deeds are enemies of peace -- literally enemies of the peace.

Now you are returned to us, and we heave a deep-felt sigh of relief. But there are promises to be kept.

The day your plane was hijacked, the terrorists focused their brutality on a brave young man who was a member of the Armed Forces of the United States. They beat Robbie Stethem without mercy and shot him to death.

Our joy at your return is substantial; but so is our pain at what was done to that son of America. I know you care deeply about Robbie Stethem and what was done to him. We will not forget what was done to him -- there will be no forgetting. His murderers must be brought to justice.

Nor will we forget the seven Americans who were taken captive before you, and who are captive still. They must be released. The homecoming won't be complete until all have come home.

For now, we rejoice at your return. Nancy and I prayed for your safety. We prayed for your speedy return. We were not alone -- our prayers were only two among millions.

We felt a great national concern when you were taken, and it is a truly national joy that greets your return.

You are back in the free land of America, safe and sound.
You withstood your ordeal with extraordinary composure and

coolness. Your families are waiting for you now, and your friends, all your loved ones.

So let the rejoicing begin. It's great to have you back where you belong.

Thank you, all of you. God bless you all.

Document No.	

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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EMARKS:		ıs been		led to	the President.		

(Noonan/BE)
July 2, 1985
10:00 a.m.

ReceivedSS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GREET RETURNING BEIRUT HOSTAGES AND REWS AIR FORCE BASE TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1985

My remarks will be brief -- this isn't the time for speeches, this is a time for reunions, and families coming together. There's only one thing to say, and I say it from the bottom of my heart and in the name of all of the people of our country: welcome home. We're so happy you're back, safe and sound.

This has been a trying and very demanding time for so many people, but for none more than you. I talked to many of your relatives, met with them at various locations throughout the country while you were being held. And I know you won't be surprised when I tell you how committed they were to winning your freedom, how full of caring and concern they were. I know that they're proud of you -- and I know from personal experience that you should be very proud of them.

All of America was concerned about you; many prayers were said for your safe release. In the days that you were away, our attention was never once distracted from your plight, and we would not rest until you returned to us, safe and whole.

None of you were held prisoner because of any personal wrong any of you had done to anyone. You were held simply because you were Americans. In the minds of your captors you represented us.

Whatever the presumed grievance or political motive that caused these actions, let there be no confusion: a crime was committed against you. Hijacking is a crime; kidnapping is a

crime; murder is a crime; holding our people prisoner is a crime. When cruelty is inflicted on innocent people, it discredits whatever cause in whose name it is done. And those who commit such deeds are enemies of peace -- literally enemies of the peace.

Now you are returned to us, and we heave a deep-felt sigh of relief. But there are promises to be kept.

The day your plane was hijacked, the terrorists focused their brutality on a brave young man who was a member of the Armed Forces of the United States. They beat Robbie Stethem without mercy and shot him to death.

Our joy at your return is substantial; but so is our pain at what was done to that son of America. I know you care deeply about Robbie Stethem and what was done to him. We will not forget what was done to him -- there will be no forgetting. His murderers must be brought to justice.

Nor will we forget the seven Americans who were taken captive before you, and who are captive still. They must be released. The homecoming won't be complete until all have come home.

For now, we rejoice at your return. Nancy and I prayed for your safety. We prayed for your speedy return. We were not alone -- our prayers were only two among millions.

We felt a great national concern when you were taken, and it is a truly national joy that greets your return.

You are back in the free land of America, safe and sound.
You withstood your ordeal with extraordinary composure and

coolness. Your families are waiting for you now, and your friends, all your loved ones.

So let the rejoicing begin. It's great to have you back where you belong.

Thank you, all of you. God bless you all.

RESPONSE:

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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VICE PRESIDENT	ACTION		LACY	ACTION	
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DANIELS			SPRINKEL		
FIELDING			SVAHN		
FRIEDERSDORF			TUTTLE		
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HICKEY					
HICKS					
KINGON & Comments					
MARKS:					

David L. Chew Staff Secretary Ext. 2702 PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GREET HOSTAGES AT ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1985

Thank you. Thank you very much.

My remarks will be brief -- this isn't the time for speeches, this is a time for reunions, and families coming together. There's only one thing to say, and I say it from the bottom of my heart and in the name of all of the people of our country: welcome home. We're so happy you're back, safe and sound.

This has been a trying and very demanding time for so many people, but for none more than you. I talked to many of your relatives while you were being held, talked to them on the phone, and met with them at various locations throughout the country.

And I know you won't be surprised when I tell you how committed they were to winning your freedom, how full of caring and concern they were. I know that they're proud of you -- and I know from personal experience that you should be very proud of them.

All of America was concerned about you; many prayers were said for your safe release. In the days that you were away, our attention was never once distracted from your plight, and we would not rest until you returned to us, safe and whole.

None of you were held prisoner because of any personal wrong any of you had done to anyone. You were held simply because you were Americans. In the minds of your captors you represented <u>us</u>. And so you suffered for us, and in our name.

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Now you are returned to us, and we heave a deep-felt sigh of relief. But there are promises to be kept.

The day your plane was hijacked, the terrorists focused their brutality on a young man who was a member of the Armed Forces of the United States. The terrorists beat him without mercy. I know a number of you heard his cries, and we can only try to imagine the anguish you felt because you could not help him. I know a number of you heard the shot that rang out as Bobby Stethem, that brave young man, was put to death. We all imagined the horror you felt as you heard what was happening.

Our joy at your return is substantial; but so is our pain at what was done to that son of America. I know you care deeply about Bobby Stethem and what was done to him: and I promise you, his death will not be forgotten -- there will be no forgetting -- and we will not rest until his murderers are brought to justice.

Nor will we forget the seven Americans who were taken captive before you, and who are captive still. They must be released. There will be no complete homecoming until we have all come home.

You - at the - siffered his pain and to have see moure his double.

For now, we rejoice at your return. You are here in the free land of America -- you are safe and sound -- you withstood your ordeal with extraordinary composure and coolness. Your friends are waiting for you now, and your families, all your loved ones. So let the rejoicing begin. It's great to have you back where you belong.

Thank you, all of you. God bless you all.

(Noonan/BE)
July 1. 1985

Received 5.5

My Rough 1900 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS:

GREET HOSTAGES AT AND NEWS AIR FORCE BASE TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1985

Thank you. Thank you very much.

My remarks will be brief -- this isn't the time for speeches, this is a time for reunions, and families coming together. There's only one thing to say, and I say it from the bottom of my heart and in the name of all of the people of our country: welcome home. We're so happy you're back, safe and sound.

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Thank you, all of you. God bless you all.

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

			pm draft)		
	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	I FYI
VICE PRESIDENT			LACY		
REGAN			McFARLANE	12	
STOCKMAN			OGLESBY		
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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GREET HOSTAGES AT ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1985

Thank you. Thank you very much.

My remarks will be brief -- this isn't the time for speeches, this is a time for reunions, and families coming together. There's only one thing to say, and I say it from the bottom of my heart and in the name of all of the people of our country: welcome home. We're so happy you're back, safe and sound.

This has been a trying and very demanding time for so many people, but for none more than you. I talked to many of your relatives while you were being held, talked to them on the phone, and met with them at various locations throughout the country.

And I know you won't be surprised when I tell you how committed they were to winning your freedom, how full of caring and concern they were. I know that they're proud of you -- and I know from personal experience that you should be very proud of them.

All of America was concerned about you; many prayers were said for your safe release. In the days that you were away, our attention was never once distracted from your plight, and we would not rest until you returned to us, safe and whole.

None of you were held prisoner because of any personal wrong any of you had done to anyone. You were held simply because you were Americans. In the minds of your captors you represented <u>us</u>. And so you suffered for us, and in our name.

Whatever the presumed grievance or political motive that caused these actions, let there be no confusion: a crime was committed against you. Hijacking is a crime; kidnapping is a crime; murder is a crime; holding our people prisoner is a crime. The cruelty inflicted on innocent people discredits whatever cause in whose name it is done. And those who commit such deeds are enemies of peace — literally enemies of the peace.

Now you are returned to us, and we heave a deep-felt sigh of relief. But there are promises to be kept.

The day your plane was hijacked, the terrorists focused their brutality on a young man who was a member of the Armed Forces of the United States. The terrorists beat him without mercy. I know a number of you heard his cries, and we can only try to imagine the anguish you felt because you could not help him. I know a number of you heard the shot that rang out as Bobby Stethem, that brave young man, was put to death. We all imagined the horror you felt as you heard what was happening.

Our joy at your return is substantial; but so is our pain at what was done to that son of America. I know you care deeply about Bobby Stethem and what was done to him: and I promise you, his death will not be forgotten -- there will be no forgetting -- and we will not rest until his murderers are brought to justice.

Nor will we forget the seven Americans who were taken captive before you, and who are captive still. They must be released. There will be no complete homecoming until we have all come home.

For now, we rejoice at your return. You are here in the free land of America -- you are safe and sound -- you withstood your ordeal with extraordinary composure and coolness. Your friends are waiting for you now, and your families, all your loved ones. So let the rejoicing begin. It's great to have you back where you belong.

Thank you, all of you. God bless you all.

Document No.	

### WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE:7/1/85	_ ACTION/CONCURRENCE/CO	DWWEN! DOERA: _	6:00 p.m. TODAY
SUBJECT: REMARKS:	Greet Hostages at 3	J.F.K. Airport,	New York, New York
(7/1/85 3:30 p.m. draft)			
	ACTION FYI		ACTION FYI
VICE PRESIDENT		LACY	
REGAN	□ <b>□</b>	McFARLANE	☑ □
STOCKMAN		OGLESBY	
BUCHANAN <sup>*</sup>		ROLLINS	
CHAVEZ		RYAN	
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FIELDING		SVAHN	
FRIEDERSDORF		TUTTLE	
HENKEL		ELLIOTT	
HICKEY			
HICKS			
KINGON			

REMARKS:

Please give your recommendations/changes directly to Ben Elliott, with an info copy to my office by 6:00 p.m. today. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

Receivedes Received 3. 50

sound.

Thank you. Tha My remarks wil speeches, this is ' together. There's

(Noonan/BE)

David Here is a new version
the still-missing-Seven.
Thanks

Thanks

- Peggy Lyonan bottom of my heart and in country: welcome home. We're so happy you're -

This has been a trying and very demanding time for so many people, but for none more than you. I talked to many of your relatives while you were being held, talked to them on the phone, and met with them at various locations throughout the country. And I know you won't be surprised when I tell you how committed they were to winning your freedom, how full of caring and concern they were. I know that they're proud of you -- and I know from personal experience that you should be very proud of them.

All of America was concerned about you; many prayers were said for your safe release. In the days that you were away, our attention was never once distracted from your plight, and we would not rest until you returned to us, safe and whole.

You were kidnapped, terrorized, and held prisoner not because of any personal wrong any of you had done to anyone, but because you were Americans. In the minds of your captors you represented us. This was an assault on America, and on everything America stands for and believes in.

Let us be clear: fanatics hate us not because we are insufficiently dedicated to peace in the Middle East. That is a myth. On the contrary, they hate America precisely because America has been dedicated to reconciliation, moderation, and peace through negotiations. These are the only methods that will bring progress in the Middle East; these are the very things the fanatics are against.

So, whatever the presumed grievance or political motive that caused these actions, let there be no confusion: a crime has been committed. Hijacking is a crime; kidnapping is a crime; murder is a crime; holding our people prisoner is a crime. The cruelty inflicted on innocent people discredits whatever cause in whose name it is done. Those who commit such deeds are enemies of peace and enemies of the United States.

Now you are returned to us, and we heave a sigh of relief. But there are promises to be kept.

The day your plane was hijacked, the terrorists focused their brutality on a young man who was a member of the Armed Forces of the United States. The terrorists beat him ferociously, abused him without mercy. I know you are aware of what happened to him. I know many of you heard his cries; I can imagine the anguish you felt because you could not help him. I know a number of you heard the shot that rang out as Bobby Stethem, that brave young man, was put to death like an animal. We all imagined the horror you felt as you heard what was happening.

Our joy at your return is substantial; but so is our pain at what was done to that son of America. I am sure you care deeply about Bobby Stethem and what was done to him: and I promise you, his death will not be forgotten -- there will be no forgetting -- and we will not rest until his murderers are brought to justice.

Nor will we forget the seven Americans who were taken captive before you were. They are captive still, but I pledge to you today, they are not and will not be forgotten and they will be released.

For now, we rejoice at your return. You are here, you are safe and sound, you withstood the ordeal with extraordinary composure and coolness. Your friends are waiting for you now, and your families, all your loved ones. And let the rejoicing begin.

Thank you, all of you. It's great to have you back where you belong.

God bless you and thank you.

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 1, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM:

OLIVER L. NORTH

HOWARD R. TEICHER

JAMES P. COVEY

SIGNED

SUBJECT:

Presidential Remarks upon Greeting Hostages at

Andrew AFB on July 2, 1985

Attached at Tab I is a memo from Bill Martin to David Chew forwarding NSC changes/recommendations to Presidential remarks prepared for greeting the hostages upon their return at Andrews AFB on July 2, 1985.

Attached at Tab II is a brief statement for the President to use aboard the aircraft during his private "welcome back" before they disembark and meet their families and the media.

At Tab III is a proposed Presidential message for use by Amb Bob Oakley in Germany.

Karna Small concurs.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

1.	That	you	authorize	Bill	Martin	to	sign	and	forward	the	memo
at	Tab I.	,	$\sim$ /								

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_

2. That you apprové the brief Presidential remarks for use aboard the aircraft (Tab II).

> Approve 🔍 Disapprove

3. That you approve the Presidential message at Tab III and authorize State to pass same to Amb Bob Oakley for his use in Germany. Approve — Disapprove \_\_\_\_

Attachments

I - Martin Memo to Chew w/attachment

Tab II - Brief Presidential Remarks for Use Aboard Aircraft

Tab III - Presidential Message for use by Amb Bob Oakley

Document No.	5250
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# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM GENT

DATE: 7/1/85 ACTION	I/CONCURR	ENCE/CO	DMMENT DUE BY: Monday,	7/1, 7:00 p.m.	<u> </u>
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS:	(7/1/89	5.00	S AT ANDREWS AIR FORCE E <del>phi draft</del> ) 8:00 Am drys)	BASE	
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CHAVEZ			RYAN		
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HENKEL	Ø		NOONAN		9
HICKEY			-		
HICKS					
KINGON					
REMARKS: May we have your comments pleas	se ASAP to	) Peaav	Noonan with an informat	ion copy to m	7

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID L. CHEW RESPONSE:

office. Thank you.

July 2, 1985

NSC has reviewed the subject remarks and recomends the changes as indicated. Comments were provided directly.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GREET RETURNING BEIRUT HOSTAGES ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1985

My remarks will be brief -- this isn't the time for speeches, this is a time for reunions, and families coming together. There's only one thing to say, and I say it from the bottom of my heart and in the name of all of the people of our country: welcome home. We're so happy you're back, safe and sound.

This has been a trying and very demanding time for so many people, but for none more than you. I talked to many of your relatives, met with them at various locations throughout the country while you were being held. And I know you won't be surprised when I tell you how committed they were to winning your freedom, how full of caring and concern they were. I know that they're proud of you -- and I know from personal experience that you should be very proud of them.

All of America was concerned about you; many prayers were said for your safe release. In the days that you were away, our attention was never once distracted from your plight, and we would not rest until you returned to us, safe and whole.

None of you were held prisoner because of any personal wrong any of you had done to anyone. You were held simply because you were Americans. In the minds of your captors you represented us.

Whatever the presumed grievance or political motive that caused these actions, let there be no confusion: a crime was

committed against you. Hijacking is a crime; kidnapping is a crime; murder is a crime; holding our people prisoner is a crime. When cruelty is inflicted on innocent people, it discredits whatever cause in whose name it is done. And those who commit such deeds are enemies of peace -- literally enemies of the peace.

Now you are returned to us, and we heave a deep-felt sigh of THREE THINGS WE MOST NOT FORCET. relief. But there are promises to be kept.]

The day your plane was hijacked, the terrorists focused their brutality on a brave young man who was a member of the Armed Forces of the United States. They beat Robbie Stethem without mercy and shot him to death.

Our joy at your return is substantial; but so is our pain at what was done to that son of America. I know you care deeply about Bobby Stethem and what was done to him. We will not forget what was done to him -- there will be no forgetting. His murderers must be brought to justice.

Nor will we forget the seven Americans who were taken captive before you, and who are captive still. They must be released. The homecoming won't be complete until we have all come home.

ux cannot forget that Benut Aurport, where you suffered so much, is a pirates howen. The civilized world must act to the this aurport "off limits" as long as it is a terrorist sometwary.

The day your plane was hijacked, when we heard it was headed for Beirut, our hearts sank. That airport has become a vipers' pit, a sanctuary for terrorists, a base from which the most unspeakable operations are launched with impunity. In fact, some 15% of all the world's hijackings have involved flights that either began of ended up at Beirut International Airport. Your experience underscores the manace it represents for innocent air travel.

or now, we rejoice at your return. Nancy and I prayed for safety. We prayed for your speedy return. We were not -- our prayers were only two among millions.

We felt a great national anguish when you were taken, and it a truly national joy that greets your return.

You are back in the free land of America, safe and sound.
You withstood your ordeal with extraordinary composure and
coolness. Your friends are waiting for you now, and your
families, all your loved ones.

So let the rejoicing begin. It's great to have you back where you belong.

Thank you, all of you. God bless you all.

### BRIEF PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS ABOARD AIRCRAFT

- -- Before we go outside and meet with all your friends and loved ones, I wanted to privately, on behalf of the American people, welcome you back to the United States of America.
- -- In a few moments, we'll be going out of this aircraft to set foot on our sacred soil after a harrowing ordeal. I want you to know how glad we all are that you are home and safe.
- I will be making a few brief remarks in welcoming you back.

  In those remarks, I will ask our people to remember Navy man

  Stethem and our other seven Americans who are still being

  held hostage.
- -- I want you to know that this in no way detracts from the joy
  we feel for your return. But I also believe it to be
  important that we not forget those who perpetrated these
  acts and those who still suffer.
- -- It's good to have you home again. God Bless you all!



Weshington, D.C. 20520

July 2, 1985

#### LINITED OFFICIAL USE

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Likely Views of Former Hostages

As you requested, we attach a paper prepared by the Department of State element with the former hostages in Germany. It sums up their attitudes on the day of their return to the United States.

NT

Nicholas Platt Executive Secretary

Attachment as stated

#### LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

SUBJECT: What the President is likely to hear from the former hostages

At White House request, we asked the party with the ex-hostages to give us a sense of the main themes the President is likely to hear in his July 2 meeting with them at Andrews.

The following report represents the views of the officials with the party, as called in by NEA Public Affairs Adviser Hike . Austrian.

While each of the 39 returning Americans has a different story, there are a number of attitudes that the majority share:

- -- Gratitude and pride towards the United States and the President for the responsibility and patience shown throughout the crisis.
- -- Gratitude towards Syria and Amal. A number of the ex-hostages developed a bond with their captors, and there is some sympathy for the Shi'ite cause. Some may press for the return of the Atlit prisoners.

Growing hostility among many towards the media, and a sense that they are being exploited. They want to meet the President and thank him, but they want the meeting to be private.

- -- Concern that the U.S. may be planning indiscriminate retaliation. Some may want to know what the President will do now; others are likely to stress the need to protect the lives of those involved in hijacking incidents.
- -- Above all, a universal relief that the ordeal is over and a desire to get home. In this connection, some may be concerned about missing their connection in Washington.

LINITED OFFICIAL DSE allaga

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GREET HOSTAGES AT ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1985

Thank you. Thank you very much.

My remarks will be brief -- this isn't the time for speeches, this is a time for reunions, and families coming together. There's only one thing to say, and I say it from the bottom of my heart and in the name of all of the people of our country: welcome home. We're so happy you're back, safe and sound.

This has been a trying and very demanding time for so many people, but for none more than you. I talked to many of your relatives while you were being held, talked to them on the phone, and met with them at various locations throughout the country.

And I know you won't be surprised when I tell you how committed they were to winning your freedom, how full of caring and concern they were. I know that they're proud of you -- and I know from personal experience that you should be very proud of them.

All of America was concerned about you; many prayers were said for your safe release. In the days that you were away, our attention was never once distracted from your plight, and we would not rest until you returned to us, safe and whole.

None of you were held prisoner because of any personal wrong any of you had done to anyone. You were held simply because you were Americans. In the minds of your captors you represented <u>us</u>. And so you suffered for us, and in our name.

Whatever the presumed grievance or political motive that caused these actions, let there be no confusion: a crime was committed against you. Hijacking is a crime; kidnapping is a crime; murder is a crime; holding our people prisoner is a crime. The cruelty inflicted on innocent people discredits whatever cause in whose name it is done. And those who commit such deeds are enemies of peace -- literally enemies of the peace.

Now you are returned to us, and we heave a deep-felt sigh of relief. But there are promises to be kept.

The day your plane was hijacked, the terrorists focused their brutality on a young man who was a member of the Armed Forces of the United States. The terrorists beat him without mercy. I know a number of you heard his cries, and we can only try to imagine the anguish you felt because you could not help him. I know a number of you heard the shot that rang out as Bobby Stethem, that brave young man, was put to death. We all could have the horror you felt as you heard what was happening.

Our joy at your return is substantial; but so is our pain at Boby Stellan, a son of America.

what was done to that son of America. I know you care deeply about Bobby Stethem and what was done to him: and I promise you, his death will not be forgotten -- there will be no forgetting -- and We will not rest until his murderers are brought to justice.

Nor will we forget the seven Americans who were taken captive before you, and who are captive still. They must be released. There will be no complete homecoming until we have all come home.

DAvib, actorial pls-find consolidated NSC views on the president of remarks chapt of 7/2 8:00 A.M., plus some antocal the plane. We have not done a meeting memorandum, although five attached STATES such most age attached STATES such most age attached. The Mat 7/2/85 'aul Thompson Vilma Hall ud McFarlane **Villiam Martin ISC** Secretariat ituation Room ■ Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action Regan Buchanan Other Should be seen by: AS COMMENTS (Date/Time pls. provide advance copies to thew and alliot of the remarks ( hand deliver )

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MCFARLANE

FROM CHEW, D

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### **URGENT**

KEYWORDS: TERRORISM

HIJACKING

PRESIDENT

SPEECHES

CHEW REFERRAL

SUBJECT:	DRAFT	PRES	REMARKS	GREETING	HOSTAGES	AT	ANDREWS	AIR	FORCE	BASE	2	JUI
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MEMO MARTIN TO CHEW

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

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June 28, 1985 -

TL003-02 FG006-12

#### MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE THE WHITE HOUSE

GTOPY

SUBJECT: Draft Message in Responding to Messages Regarding the Recent Hijacking and the Holding of Americans

Attached for clearance by the NSC is a proposed message to be sent in responding to messages the President receives regarding the hijacking of the TWA plane.

Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

Attachment: Draft response

NSC# 8505228

### State Department Suggested Draft

-	
Dear	
Dear	•

I would like to express my personal thanks for your message condemning the recent hijacking of an American airliner to Beirut, and for your support of our efforts to obtain the safe release of the American hostages in a manner which does not compromise our fundamental conviction that terrorism cannot be allowed to succeed. The painful consequences of such acts are recognized by us all as we witness the suffering of the victims and their families, and realize that the spread of terrorism is a threat to the lives of innocent civilians throughout the world.

The frequency of terrorist acts has grown by an alarming rate over the past decade, and it is time to bring this rampage to an end. The international community now faces an enemy who is often unafraid to die--men and women who have become so blinded and deceived by hatred so as to believe that violence is a justifiable means to accomplish their ends. It is my firm belief that there is no cause which justifies murder and the terrorizing of innocent victims. As members of the international community, we share a responsibility to resolutely oppose all such terrorist actions.

Sincerely,

NEA/P:KFiedler Wang 1115A 6/21/85 x1714

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NEA: RPelletreau
M/CTP: PBorg

PA:EDjerejian

MCFARLANE

FROM PLATT, N

DOCDATE 28 JUN 85

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KEYWORDS: H	IJACKING
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TERRORISM

SUBJECT:	DRAFT MSG IN	RESPONDI	NG TO	MSGS RE	RECENT	HIJ	CKING	& HOLL	ING (	OF
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#### OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

June 27, 1985

1110 F6038 IT034

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM:

W &

THOMAS J. COLLAMORE

SUBJECT: Possible meeting with the Vice President and representatives of the International Red Cross.

Craig Fuller asked that I pass the following information to you for comment and decision. The Vice President has received a request to meet with representatives of the International Red Cross while he is in Geneva. The proposed meeting would take place either tomorrow afternoon or Saturday morning. Participants would include President Alexander Hay and Director of Operations Jean Pierre Hocke.

The meeting would take place in the Vice President's hotel and Craig envisions a photo opportunity with no comments from the Vice President or his party. Red Cross attendees would include those who recently visited the hostages.

Craig believes the meeting would show concern for the well being of the hostages but defers to your judgement on how to proceed. If you have any reservations about such a meeting we will turn it off immediately. On the other hand, if you think it has merit please let me know and I will inform Craig to proceed with a photo opportunity only meeting working under the press guidance he already has from your office.

If it is possible to decide before noon today it would be most helpful. Thank you.

Proceed with meeting	(Photo	only)	RC	m_
Do not have meeting		-	/	/
Other				
7150 850	55/6	6		

To see

provide hyech

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

June 27, 1985

FOR:

BILL MARTIN

FROM:

Wilma Hall

Mr. McFarlane asked me to return the original to Collamore (which I have had hand-carried to him) and a copy to you for stagging action.

Wilma

## National Security Council The White House

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MCFARLANE

FROM COLLAMORE, T

DOCDATE 27 JUN 85

URGEN FULLER, C TERRORISM

KEYWORDS: GLOBAL

HIJACKING

AVP

HAY, ALEXANDER

HOCKE, JEAN PIERRE

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE VP MTG & PHOTO OP W/ REP OF INTL RED CROSS ON 28 JUN

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 27 JUN 85 STATUS S FILES WH

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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ACTION

27 June 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM:

RODNEY B. MCDANIEL

SUBJECT:

Public Opinion Polls on Hijacking/Terrorism

#### Background

On 19 June, Ron Hinckley first reported on public opinion polls on the hijacking (Copy at Tab I). Five new polls (Newsweek, by Gallup, CBS, and three by ABC/WPOST -- see Tabs II through IV) are summarized below:

- . The public is keenly watching how the Administration handles the hijacking incident. Ninty percent (90%) are reported following the affair closely.
- . A strong majority (59% to 69% in the more recent polls) approve of how the President is handling the hostage crisis.
- A slight majority favor ensuring the safe release of the hostages, even if it means negotiating and compromise with the hijackers (47% to 59%, depending on the poll) to the policy of discouraging future hostage taking by refusing to deal with terrorist demands even if it risks lives (32% to 42%).
- . People believe Israel is not doing enough to help resolve the crisis and should speed up the release of its Shiite detainees. However, Americans do not feel that it should ask Israel to do this. One series of polls shows a slight trend toward reducing U.S. ties with Israel to minimize terrorist danger.
- . Opinion appears divided on use of military action to retaliate against groups with connections to the hijackers. The Newsweek and CBS polls had 50% opposing the use of military force, but two ABC/WPOST polls showed 52% 53% favoring military retaliation.
- Newsweek reported that 54% believe that Reagan's actions have not been tough enough, though the same number say they expected him to act about how he has acted. Another 55% feel it is not likely that the President will use force against those responsible for the hostage taking.

NOC 8505119

The strong (at the moment) approval rating gives the President some flexibility in decision making. However, with the high public scrutiny of the crisis, every action he takes and many he does not take will be critically reviewed by the media. The same media will then measure and disseminate public opinion on these items according to their own "news" time frame. In this way, the media will begin to set the President's agenda, affecting his decision making flexibility. We may be able to offset this factor by publicly ignoring poll data as the President asserts leadership. We must avoid the image of reaction.

The various survey methods and different question phrasing of the media polls make public opinion on the President's policies and actions hard to determine. Also, the questions that are asked by the media relate to their interests, not to what the President may or may not be doing. Hence, the ability to know where the public stands on real policy decisions is inhibited rather than enhanced by these polls. Furthermore, because these misleading polls are often the only information available, pressures by uninformed parties will mount to make certain decisions or act in certain ways that may be contrary to the nation's and/or the hostages best interests.

Therefore, there is a need for our own polling data on this hijacking and terrorism, in general, to: (1) have information provided on a regular basis according to our own time frame; (2) measure public opinion on issues that pertain to our policies and plans, and; (3) prepare better public diplomacy strategy and statements.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

That you approve Ron Hinckley working with Dick Wirthlin to design, conduct and report to you and the NSC Task Force appropriate public opinion polls on the hijack crisis.

Approve	Disapprove	
---------	------------	--

That you inform Don Regan and Ed Rollins that this is being done and ask Ed to clear the appropriate funding methods (RNC) and confidentiality process (i.e., the RNC will not receive these confidentiality process (i.e., the RNC will not receive these (jḍata).

Disapprove Fortier, Small, Covey, Raymond, North, and Teicher, concur.

Attachments

Tab I - June 19 Memo on Polls

Tab II - State Report on CBS Poll

Tab III - Newsweek Poll

Tab IV - Three (3) ABC/WPOST Polls

and Teicher, concur.

He wied to work out

a standard precidence
with Rolling and Writtle
on crisis like this so

that we don't have to
wait for special permission



United States Department of State

Washington, D. C. 20526.

June 20, 1985

### INFORMATION MEMORANDUM

S/S

TO:

The Secretary

FROM:

PA - Robert M. Smalley, Acting

rt M. Smalley, Acting Pr

SUBJECT:

Poll Finds Initial Approval of U.S. Response

to Hostage Situation

A poll, taken early this week, of how Americans assess the manner in which the U.S. has responded to the TWA hijacking found that the larger part of the public: (1) is more concerned with the safe return of the hostages than with maintaining the "policy of never negotiating with terrorists"; (2) approves of negotiating to secure the return of the hostages; (3) expects they will be returned unharmed; (4) does not expect the situation to be resolved quickly.

These findings come from a CBS/NYTimes poll in which 508 interviews were conducted last Tuesday, June 18.

Principal blame "for the current hostage situation" is placed on security conditions at Athens airport and Nabih Berri, "the leader of the Shiite Moslems." The country considered most culpable is Iran, rather than Syria or the Soviet Union. In comparison, a relatively low percentage of the public accorded "a lot" of blame to Israel or "United States policy in the Middle East".

About half the public believes "the United States is doing all it can to get the hostages released" (51%). The reluctance to take military action at present is shown by the fact that, among the 38 percent who responded that the U.S. "should be doing more," only 6 percent called for military action while 8 percent called for direct negotiations. Another 16 percent could not suggest what, specifically, they wanted done.

The poll provides little information on what action the public would like to see Israel take. There was more support for not asking Israel to release "over 700 Lebanese prisoners" (51% favored not asking) than for asking Israel to do so (35% favored asking). However, no question asked for views on what Israel should do on its own.

These conclusions are based on the following questions and responses:

#### Expectations Regarding Outcome

"What do you think is most likely -- that the hostages will all be returned unharmed or that they will be seriously hurt or killed?"

Returned unharmed	50%
Hurt or killed	30
No opinion	20

"If you had to guess, do you think the hostage crisis will be over soon, or do you think it will go on for weeks, or do you think it will last as long as the Iranian hostage crisis did?"

Ove	er soon			399
Ģ٥	on for weeks			44
As	long as Iranian	hostage	crisis	8
No	opinion			9

#### Negotiating with Terrorists

"In making its decisions about what to do now, should the United States Government be more concerned about the lives of the hostages or more concerned about keeping its policy of never negotiating with terrorists?"

Lives of hostages	50%
Keeping its policy	34
Both (Vol.)	7
No opinion	9

"In the long run, are we better off always refusing to negotiate with terrorists or does the US sometimes have to negotiate with them as a practical matter?"

Better off refusing to negotiate	25%
Sometimes must negotiate	65
No opinion	10

#### Preferred U.S. Actions

"Right now, do think the United States is doing all it can to get the hostages released, or do you think it should be doing more?"

Doing all it can	51%
Should do more	38
No opinion	11

"(IF "MORE"): What should it do?"
Negotiate directly 8
More pressure (not military) 4
Military action 6
Ask Israel to release the prisoners 3
Economic sanctions 1
No opinion 16

"Israel is holding over 700 Lebanese prisoners. Should the United States Government ask Israel to release those prisoners as part of the deal with the Lebanese or should we not ask Israel to do that?"

Ask Israel 359
Not ask Israel 51
No opinion 14

#### Responsibility for Situation

"For each of the following, tell me if you think they are to blame for the current hostage situation. Would you place a lot of the blame, some blame, or not much blame?"

-	United States policy in the	A lot	Some	Not Much	No Opin
a.	Middle East	11%	40%	31%	18%
b.	Nabih Berri, the leader of the Shiite Moslems	46	23	10	21
c.	On Greek security at the Athens Airport	48	25	13	14
d.	On Israel	20	34	28	18
е.	On Iran and the Ayatollah Khomeini	42	29	12	17
	KHOMEINI	42	23	12	1 /
f.	On Syria	19	31	21	29
g.	On the Soviet Union	24	29	29	18

Drafted:PA/OAP:BROShco/ARichman:rg 6/20/85 632-0474 W0417E

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

#### INFORMATION

19 June 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM:

RODNEY B. MCDANIEL Park

SUBJECT:

Public Opinion on Hijacking

RCM HAS SEEN MG-2 (

Ron Hinckley has examined the ABC/WPOST poll and talked to CBS pollster Warren Mitofsky about the CBS poll on the current hijacking incident (See Tab I). He has also examined previous public opinion polls on terrorism dating back to 1977 (See Tab II). His conclusions are presented below.

#### Summary of Findings

The public opinion surveys reported today are only the first of what will become an avalanche of media polls on the hijacking incident in particular, and terrorism in general.

Initially, Americans will approve of the President's response to the hijacking, but they will become more and more critical the longer the incident goes unresolved. Carter dropped from 77% approval to only 43% approval in the first 4 months of the Iranian hostage crisis.

Americans are tougher on terrorism in the abstract than in the concrete circumstances of an actual incident. Hence, they oppose dealing with terrorists in general, but are more than willing to negotiate with and accede to terrorists during a specific incident to protect the hostages.

Serious support for military retaliation occurs only when hostages are harmed or killed or when time passes with no resolution of the situation and the pressures build to "do something." In the latter case, approval of military action occurs despite the knowledge that it will likely be unsuccessful and would put the hostages in greater danger.

The public opinion pattern developing now is similar to that found during the Iranian hostage incident.

#### ABC/WPOST AND CBS POLLS

The data reported by ABC/WPOST today:

- . Were from the first night (Monday, 17 June) of interviewing and a small sample (508).
  - . These two factors (one night of interviewing and a small sample), plus the fact that the incident is ongoing and daily events will affect public opinion throughout the survey period, make the results reported statistically unstable.
  - . More information on the questions reported and data on other questions that were probably asked, such as a rating of how the President is handling the situation, will be reported on in the future.
- . Reported the American public's willingness (58%) to negotiate with and accede to the terrorist demands to avoid injury or murder of the hostages.
- Found a plurality (48%) opposed to asking Israel to release its captives, compared to 41% who favored doing this, but a majority (60%) who believe Israel should release the Shiites without any American request if it would ensure release of the TWA hostages.
- . Identified other Israel-related attitudes such as 50% sentiment that Israel has not done what it should to help resolve the hostage situation, and 54% who do not feel the U.S. should reduce its ties to Israel to lessen terrorist acts in the Middle East.
- . Showed 61% disagreeing that there is nothing the U.S. can do to prevent such acts of terrorism, but 51% disagreeing that the U.S. is largely to blame for this incident because it has not dealt firmly enough with terrorists in the past.

According to Warren Mitofsky, CBS's pollster, their poll (for which we do not have the data) -- apparently taken after the President's press conference -- reveals the following:

- . The President's comments about traveling in Greece got through to the American public;
- . Americans expect the USG to negotiate with the hijackers;
- Israel is not blamed for the incident, and there is no real desire to pressure Israel;
- . The public does not respond favorably to aggressive/macho talk about how to handle the incident;

- . Even after the hostages are freed, only one in three (35%) favor any type of military retaliation.
- . Overall, the public opinion is similar to the Iranian situation: get the people out and negotiate if you have to to do it.

#### Importance of Terrorism

Lou Harris has reported:

- . 90% say terrorism is a serious problem (1977);
- . 65% say there will be no reduction in terrorist incidents in their lifetime (1981), and;
- . 50% believed human rights should have a higher priority than opposing international terrorism (1981).

#### Media Involvement

Gallup reported the following in 1977:

- . Two in three Americans (64%) believe news media coverage of terrorism encourages others to commit these acts.
- . The people are divided as to whether the news media overemphasizes reporting terrorism (47%) or such reporting is necessary to keep people fully informed (50%).

The Washigton Post reported these attitudes in 1983:

- . People oppose news reporters' communicating with terrorists and favor that contact be through government officials who are designated to negotiate with the terrorists.
- . A majority (54%) feels that allowing terrorists to air their demands on television does not help end the terrorist situation.
- . People are generally critical of news coverage, which is seen as promoting the reporters more than helping the situation.
- People favor some controls on media coverage.
- People do not believe that the absence of media coverage will reduce terrorist incidents.
- . News stories often show more sympathy for terrorists than for victims.
- . Reporters should check with authorities before broadcasting stories that might interfere with negotiations.

- . The media should cover terrorists incidents even if that would cause other, similar events.
- . TV news coverage of terrorist incidents causes other, similar events.

#### Rating of President's Actions

In December, 1979, Newsweek reported Carter's approval rating for at 77%.

In February, 1980, Lou Harris reported Carter's handling of the hostage situation a success to 44% of the public, a failure to 36%.

A month later Harris/ABC reported a 43% positive rating for Carter and a 55% negative one. The same survey found only 31% who felt Carter's efforts were a success, compared to 47% who felt they were a failure.

#### Military Force

In December, 1979 Newsweek reported:

- . If hostages were to be released unharmed, only 5% advocated using military force as retaliation; 63% favored diplomatic and economic punishment.
- . If hostages were to be harmed, 41% favor use of military force, but 49% still favor diplomatic and economic punishment.
- Two in three (67%) did not feel it possible to rescue hostages through military action.

In January, 1980, Time Magazine reported:

- . 75% were opposed to the use of military force to retaliate if hostages are finally released.
- . 67% favored the use of military force if the hostages were hurt or killed.

Surveying attitudes in the wake of the failed hostage rescue mission in April 1980, CBS/NYTIMES report the following:

- . 66% felt the mission was a good idea 66%;
- . 65% felt it should have happened earlier;
- . 54% said it should have been kept secret from Congress and 68% favored secrecy from our allies;

- . 54% acknowledged it put hostages in greater danger, and:
  - . 54% was done by Carter because it was the best thing to do.

In January, 1981, Newsweek reported that

- . 63% believed it likely Reagan will use military force against Iran.
- . 43% favored diplomatic and economic punishment, and 36% favored military action if the hostages were put on trial.
- . 47% did not believe a military rescue possible, 35% did.

#### Negotiations

A Decision/Making/Information poll found 73% agreed that if one gave the Iranians what they wanted, any country will grab U.S. citizens and trade them for money.

In January, 1980, Newsweek reported that 60% favor continued negotiations with Iran, 14% wanted to stop negotiations until after the hostages were released, and 18% favored military intervention.

In 1977 Lou Harris reported that 51% favored refusing to make concessions to terrorists even if this meant the hostages ended up being killed.



United States Department of State

Washington, D. C. 2052a

June 20, 1985

## INFÒRMATION MEMORANDUM S/S

TO:

The Secretary

FROM:

PA - Robert M. Smalley, Acting KIN

SUBJECT:

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Returned unharmed	50 %
Hurt or killed	30
No opinion	20

"If you had to guess, do you think the hostage crisis will be over soon, or do you think it will go on for weeks, or do you think it will last as long as the Iranian hostage crisis did?"

Over soon	39%
Go on for weeks	44
As long as Iranian hostage crisi	s 8
No opinion	9

## Negotiating with Terrorists

"In making its decisions about what to do now, should the United States Government be more concerned about the lives of the hostages or more concerned about keeping its policy of never negotiating with terrorists?"

Lives of hostages	50%
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"In the long run, are we better off always refusing to negotiate with terrorists or does the US sometimes have to negotiate with them as a practical matter?"

Better off refusing to	negotiate 25%
Sometimes must negotia	ite 65
No opinion	10

#### Preferred U.S. Actions

No opinion

"Right now, do think the United States is doing all it can to get the hostages released, or do you think it should be doing more?"

16

Doing all it can	51%
Should do more	38
No opinion	11
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Military action	6
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"Israel is holding over 700 Lebanese prisoners. Should the United States Government ask Israel to release those prisoners as part of the deal with the Lebanese or should we not ask Israel to do that?"

Ask Israel 35% Not ask Israel 51 No opinion 14

### Responsibility for Situation

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е.	On Iran and the Ayatollah Khomeini	42	29	12	17
f.	On Syria .	19	31	21	29
g.	On the Soviet Union	24	29	29	18

Drafted:PA/OAP:BRoshco/ARichman:rg 6/20/85 632-0474 W0417E Meantime, Reagan's national-security adviser, Robert McFarlane, talked to Berri on the phone. As one source described it, McFarlane was trying to arrange a "no-deal deal," in which Berri would release the hostages unconditionally—in the unspoken expectation that Israel would then release the Shiite prisoners. But administration strategists were wary of the Amal leader's motives. "Was he being a white knight," one top aide mused later on, "or was he going to associate himself with the hijackers? The answer is still confused."

McFarlane and Secretary of State George Shultz believed that no one had more leverage over the Lebanese Shiites than their old foe, Syrian President Hafez Assad. They decided to appeal to Damascus, despite a suspicion that Syria might have somehow inspired its Lebanese protégés to carry out the hijacking. But Assad kept his thoughts to himself about the hostage crisis and flew off on a routine visit to Moscow. Assad, an ally of Iran, allows Hizbullah to operate in Syrian-controlled parts of Lebanon, but his relations with the militants are cool and cautious; by fundamentalist standards, his own regime is far too secular. Syria may have more to gain from prolonging the crisis than from helping to end it quickly. Assad could step in later on if Washington offers him a high enough price. "This is another chance for Assad to send a signal that every road in the Middle East passes through Damascus," said Dennis Ross, a Mideast expert at Berkeley.

Seeing Red: The administration's dealings with its closest ally in the Middle East were even more disappointing. The trouble started a day after the TWA plane was seized, when Robert Flaten, the U.S. chargé d'affaires in Tel Aviv, phoned the home of Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Told that Rabin was out, Flaten left a message reporting that it might be possible to deal with the hijackers through intermediaries. "If they approach Israel, please negotiate with them," Flaten said, according to notes taken by an Israeli official. When he got the word, Rabin saw red. The Israeli government was still smarting from State Department criticism of last month's prisoner exchange, in which 1,150 terrorists, mostly Palestinians, were traded for three Israeli prisoners of war. Rabin suspected that the Americans wanted Israel to take the rap for releasing-or refusing to release—its prisoners. "We'll be responsible for what happens to the hostages, and they'll be the feiner Menschen," he complained, using the Yiddish term for "a better class of people."

Later the Israelis were further outraged by a stream of press stories from Washington suggesting that U.S. officials who publicly opposed any concessions to the hijackers were agitating in private for Israel to

## Is Reagan Tough Enough?

Public opinion is split on how tough to be in dealing with the hostage issue.

Do you approve or disapprove of Ronald Reagan's handling of the current hostage attuation?

Approve 59% Disapprove 24%



Which is more important: ensuring the safe release of the American hostages even if it means working out some compromise on terrorist demands or discouraging future hostage taking by refusing to deal with terrorist demands even if it risks the lives of the American hostages?

Ensuring hostages release 47%

Refusing to deal 42%

Israel has already promised to free over a period of time all the Shiites that President Reagan says were detained and taken to Israel illegally. Should that process be speeded up to free the current American hostages or should it not be speeded up so as to deny terrorist demands for the Shiites' immediate release?

Speed up Shiite release 56%

Not speed up 29%

Even if we cannot identify all those responsible for the current skyjacking once it is over, some people think the United States should retaliate militarily against any group with a clear connection to the hijackers to discourage future terrorism. Others oppose this kind of response because it might kill innocent people and trigger more violence against the United States. Which comes closer to your view?

Retaliate militarily 40%

Oppose retaliation 50%

How effective do you think the following actions would be in preventing terrorist hostage taking in the Middle East:

		VERY EFFECTIVE	SOMEWHAT EFFECTIVE	NOT EFFECTIVE
Refusing to negotiate for U.S. hostages	1,517	24%	26%	39%
Taking military action against terrorists, or a or nations that have supported them, such as Libya and Syria			28%	31%
Putting more economic and diplomatic press nations like Iran, Libya and Syria	ure on	42%	33%	20%
A boycott by U.S. airlines of countries who ports don't meet security standards	se air-	60%	25%	11%
Requiring U.S. airlines to provide more se and inspection measures for their own plane passengers at foreign airports				6%
More armed sky marshals on U.S. aircraft ov	erseas	42%	37%	45%
Putting more pressure on Israel and its Arab bors to negotiate over their basic differences region	_	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	32%	25%

How likely is it that Ronald Reagan will use military force against those responsible for the hostage taking?

Very likely 17%

Fairly likely 21%

Not likely 55%

Judging from what Ronald Reagan has said about the way to deal with terrorism, do you find his actions in the Middle East in this and other incidents tougher than you expected, not as tough as you expected or about what you expected?

Tougher 37%

Not as tough 34%

As expected 54%

Apart from your expectations, do you think Reagan's actions in the Middle East have been too tough, not tough enough or just about right?

Too tough 3%

Not tough enough 54%

About right 38%

For this Newwers Poll. The Galiup Organization interviewed a national sample of 1,016 adults by telephone on June 20 and 21. The margin of error is plus or minus 4 percentage points. "Don't know" and "No opinion" responses omitted. The Newsweek Poll ©, 1985 by Newsweek; inc.

DOCUMENT ADENA

## Poll Finds Rising Sentiment for Distancing U.S. From Israel

Majority of Respondents in Post-ABC Survey Say Nation Should Negotiate With Terrorists to Forestall Further Harm to Hostages

By Barry Susaman Redisples Post Red Teber

According to a new Washington Post-ABC News poil, the Beirst hostage crisis may have produced a marleod increase in the number of Americans who are willing to say the United States should distance itself from larael to minimise the danger of ternorist acts against this country and its citisens.

The nationwide polling, conducted in three stages and ending last Saturday night, found steady increases in the number saying they agree with the statement that "the United States should reduce its ties to Israel in order to lessen the acts of terrorism against us in the Middle East."

In interviews with 598 people on Monday, June 17, 31 percent agreed and 53 percept disagreed with that statement. A poll of another 508 people two days later, on June 19, showed 33 percent agreeing and 53 percent diagreeing. Then in additional interviews with 555 people last Thursday through Saturday, 42 percent said they agreed and 41 percent disagreed.

Because the polling stopped Saturday night, it does not show the effect of larael's decision to release a first group of 31 Lebanese Moslem prisoners, announced Sunday, or effects of other events of the last three days.

The polling Saturday that showed 42 percent agreeing that the United States should reduce its ties to Israel produced nearly the same result as a poll taken after the massacre of Palestinians at the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps in Lebanon in 1982. At that time, 42 percent in a national poll said that because of the massacres, for which many held Israel partly responsible, U.S.

ties with Israel should be reduced; 47 percent disagreed.

The new poll showed a gradual rise in the feeling that Israel should release more than 700 Lebanese, mostly Shiites, without any request by the United States to do so, if that is what it takes to free the hostages. On June 17, 61 percent took that position; on June 19, 65 percent, and in interviewing Thursday through Saturday, 68 percent.

The public was almost evenly divided on whether the United States should ask larael to release those Shiites, who were taken captive as Israel moved its troops out of southern Lebanon in recent months. In the last stage of the survey, 42 percent said such a request should be made, and 48 percent said it should not.

Israel's decision to begin releasing its Lebanese prisoners and repeated U.S. and Israeli government statements proclaiming general agreement about how to respond to the hostage-taking may have blanted or reversed the growing public questioning of American-Israeli relations since this poli was completed.

In another crisis, the 1979 U.S. gasoline shortages when motorists had to wait in long lines to fill their tanks, 28 percent in a Washington Post poll said the United States should reduce ties with Israel to ensure an adequate supply of oil from the Arab nationa but 48 percent rejected any such action.

The polling Thursday through Saturday also showed a majority of 57 percent holding the view that the United States should negotiate and even give in to terrorist semands if the alternative is further death or injury to hostages. Thirty-six percent said the United States should not negotiate. Those figures show little change from earlier in the week.

In addition, a 53 percent majority at week's end agreed with the statement that "the United States should take military action against any Middle East nation that is found to be aiding terrorist actions against Americana." Thirty-six percent said they disagreed.

President Reagan has maintained a solid approval rating, 62 percent in the Post-ABC News poll, in the days before and after the hostage-taking on June 14. And in polling since June 18, when Reagan held a televised news conference, he has drawn a 69 percent approval rating for his handling of the hostage situation.

Public attention seems riveted on the hostage crisis, and growing. Ninety percent of the people interviewed Thursday through Saturday said they were following events either very closely or fairly closely, up from 80 percent at the outset.

## Possible Sanctions Against Hijackers May Be Futile

Eventual Benefits for Syria Foreseen

By David B. Ottaway

The possible sanctions against Lebanon discussed yesterday by the Resgan administration are likely to have little impact on the hijackers holding the 40 American hostages and could make it more difficult for the Lebanese to maintain their independence from Syria, according to non-government experts, Lebanese diplomats and some administration officials.

White House officials said yesterday Reagan may try to close the Beirst sirpert sail blockade Lebapoin if diplomatic efforts fail to free the American hostages;

The realistic question is who is hurt by this," said a U.S. official.

"It's not a step in the right direction. It's not going to be helpful," remarked Lebanese Ambassador Ahdallah Bouhabib.

Beirut airport is virtually closed

"It benefits Syria," remarked Fadi Hayek, head of the Lebanese Information Center, the public-information office here of Christian militia Lebanese forces based in East Beirut.

"It will ensure Syrian control," he added.

White House spokesman Larry Speakes indicated yesterday that the administration hopes the prospect of the airport's closure and an economic boycott would atir a "certain number of leadership elementa" in Lebanon to apply pressure on the Shiites to free the American hostages.

But the reaction from the Lebanese Embassy, joined by the Lebanese Information Center here, served to underscore the difficult task facing the administration in seeking to find effective noamilitary ways to increase pressure on the Shittes without undermining its own policy toward that war-fragmented metrics and sliensting the entire



A masked gusman guarding the TWA jetliner at the airport in Beirut

## Reagan's Shift Risks Forcing His Hand If Deadline Passes

After 12 Days, a Last Crack at Diplomacy

By Don Oberdorfer

Twelve days after the seizure of Trans World Airlines Flight 847, President Reagan is placing his administration's prestige and possibly the lives of 40 U.S. hostages on the line by threatening unspecified steps if diplomacy does not begin to work within a few days.

Reagan's decisions, as described by White House spokesman Larry Speakes following a National Security Council meeting yesterday, represent the first major shift in administration policy since the hostage episode began. The change is apparently intended to bring diplomatic ef-

forts to a bead, producing either clear-cut signs of success or U.S. admission that diplomacy has failed and it is time to snove to overt pressure tactics.

The president's logic seems to be that this is a chance, perhaps a last chance to cut short the drawn-out

alive and we have a possibility of bringing them home—I'm going to say a probability of bringing them

home."
Since last week, it has become increasingly evident at the White House and elsewhere in the administration that time is working against Reagan, both in the United States and on the ground in Lebanon.

Reagan's approval ratings among the U.S. public are still high, but with news media and public attention riveted on the hostages to the exclusion of almost everything else, impatience is growing, and it seems only a matter of time before the slide in public support sets in.

In the face of growing frustration, both the U.S. public's and his own, Reagan is confronted with a growing demand to "do something." In a similar situation flowing from the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran in November 1979, President Jimmy Carter suspended U.S. m A2

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## Reagan Gains Support On Hijacking

Poll Finds Shift After News Conference

> By Barry Sunsman Washington Post Staff Writer

Public support for President Reagan's handling of the hijacking of Trans World Airlines Flight 847 increased sharply after his televised news conference Tuesday, according to a Washington Post-ABC News nationwide public opinion poll.

On Monday, 48 percent of those interviewed said they approved of Reagan's handling of events after the hijacking by Lebanese Shiite terrorists last Friday. On Wednesday, the day after the news conference, 68 percent said they approved.

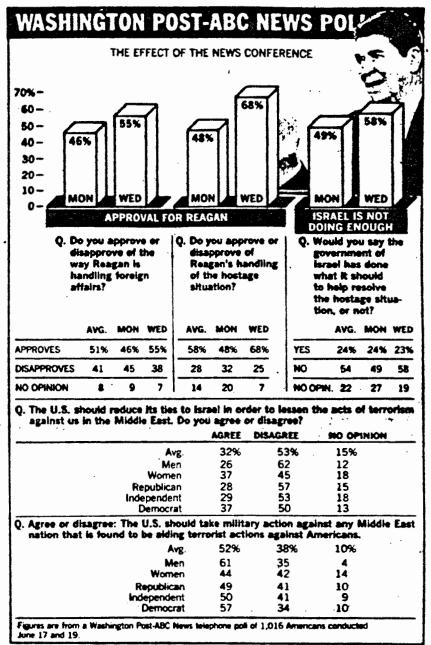
There also was a substantial increase in support for Reagan's refusal to negotiate with the terrorists, according to the poll.

A majority in the survey said they would rather see the United States negotiate and even give in to the terrorists' demands, if the alternative is injury or further loss of life to the 40 American men still being held. But that majority was considerably smaller after Reagan's nationally televised news conference than before it.

The percentage of respondents who said the government of Israel is not doing as much as it should to help resolve the crisis also increased after the news conference. On Monday, 49 percent of the people interviewed said Israel is not doing enough. On Wednesday, that figure was 58 percent.

Despite growing overall support for Reagan's handling of the situation, there are sharp divisions in attitudes between men and women, blacks and whites and Republicans and Democrats.

One of the key questions asked people which of two courses they prefer:



BY TOBEY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Washington Post 21 June 85

The United States should be negotiating for the release of the hostages, even if that means giving in to the terrorists' demands; or

"The United States should not be negotiating, even if some of the Americans taken hostage are injured or killed."

In interviewing Monday, 59 percent favored negotiating and 32 percent were opposed—a gap of 27 percentage points. On Wednesday, 53 percent were for negotiating and 40 percent were opposed—a gap of 13 points.

Some of the sharpest divisions came in response to that question. Among men, half favored negotiating, even if that means giving in to the terrorists, and half were opposed. But among women, 65 percent favored negotiating and 26 percent were opposed.

Republicans were evenly divided, but Democrats favored negotiating

by more than 2 to 1.

Another survey question found 61 percent of men supporting military action against any Middle East nation that is found to be aiding terrorists who prey on Americans, and 35 percent of them opposing such action. But women were almost evenly divided, 44 percent in favor, 42 percent opposed.

The terrorists' chief demand is that Israel release more than 700 Lebanese Shiite prisoners taken as Israeli troops withdrew from southern Lebanon in recent months.

In the poll, 41 percent said the United States should ask Israel to free those prisoners, and 49 percent said no such request should be made. There was little change in sentiment from Monday to Wednesday.

Asked whether they agreed with the statement that "the U.S. should reduce its ties to Israel in order to lessen the acts of terrorism against us in the Middle East," 32 percent agreed, 53 percent disagreed, and 15 percent offered no opinion.

Among blacks there was an almost even split on that question: 44 percent said ties should be reduced, 46 percent said they should not be. About 100 blacks were interviewed in the random survey, making the figures for blacks as a group substantially less reliable than those for whites.

#### How Poll Was Conducted

The Washington Post-ABC News public opinion poll on the hijacking of TWA Flight 847 was conducted by telephone in the continental United States on two days, June 17 and June 19. In all, 1,016 persons, selected at random, were interviewed.

The sample was adjusted slightly to conform to Census Bureau figures for the overall population in regard to age, education, race and sex

Theoretically, in 19 of 20 cases, a poll of 1,016 persons is subject to a margin of sampling error of about 3 percentage points. Practical difficulties in polling may introduce other errors, so it cannot be stated with certainty that the poll's findings are within that range.

# U.S. Public Would Yield To Demands, Poll Finds

58% Say Saving Victims Is Top Priority

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The dia n's By Barry Susaman
Washington Post Staff Writer

A majority of Americans would rather have the United States give in to terrorist demands than see further harm come to the victims of the hijacking of TWA Flight 847, according to the first returns of a Washington Post-ABC News public opinion poll.

Fifty-eight percent, almost 6 in 10 of the people interviewed, said the United States should negotiate and accede to Lebanese Shiite terrorist demands if the alternative is further injury to or murder of the more than 40 American men still being held. Thirty-four percent said the United States should not negotiate, even under such circumstances.

At the same time, a majority of the public rejects the idea that the United States is helpless against terrorism and endorses the use of force against Mideast nations that are found to be aiding terrorists who prev on Americans.

These findings were gathered in interviews with 508 people Monday evening, in the first night of a pollon sentiment about the hijacking, which began Friday. Although relatively small, the sample is large enough to offer a rough gauge of opinion as events unfold.

The poll also found a degree of public impatience or dissatisfaction with the response of the Israeli government to the hijacking. The chief terrorist demand has been that Israel release between 700 and 800 Lebanese Shiites it is holding captive. The U.S. government has said it will not ask Israel to release them, on grounds that to do so would be to give in to the terrorists.

In the poll, 41 percent said the United States should ask Israel to release its captives; 48 percent said

cent, the people interviewed said Israel should release the Shiites without any American request, if that would ensure release of the TWA hostages.

Asked whether Israel has "done what it should to help resolve the hostage situation," 50 percent said it has not, 25 percent said it has, and 25 percent expressed no opinion.

The survey also asked people whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement that "the United States should reduce its ties to Israel in order to lessen the acts of terrorism against us in the Middle East." Thirty-two percent said they agreed, 54 percent disagreed, and 14 percent offered no opinion.

The poll shows displeasure with U.S. policy toward terrorists preceding this hijacking. By almost 2 to 1, 61 percent to 32 percent, the people interviewed disagreed with the proposition that "there is nothing the U.S. can do to prevent such acts of terrorism." And a sizable minority, 40 percent, agreed with a statement that "the United States is largely to blame for this hijacking because it has not dealt firmly enough with terrorists in the past." Fifty-one percent disagreed, and 9 percent expressed no opinion.

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Washington, D. C. 20520

June 21, 1985

#### INFORMATION MEMORANDUM S/S

TO:

The Secretary

FROM:

PA - Robert M. Smalley, Acting f.w.

SUBJECT: Editorial Comment on TWA Hidacking

This is a preliminary review of 34 editorial comments in major dailies on the hijacking of TWA 847.

#### The U.S. Response So Far

Thirteen papers commented on President Reagan's reactions, particularly his Tuesday news/conference:

Nine Supportive: "So fat, Reagan and the U.S. Government have stood firm on principle" (New York NEWS); "Reagan...is also correct in refusing to make any concessions" (Hartford COURANT); "Reagan's response...was appropriately measured" (CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR); "Better to pound walls...than bomb villages (New York TIMES); "The U.S. has no choice but to take a hard line" (Dallas TIMES HERALD). The Long Island NEWSDAY, Los Angeles TIMES, New York POST, Philadelphia INQUIRER, and Washington POST made similar comments.

Four Critical: "In/ Mr. Reagan's opening statement, at least, we knew why we elected him in 1980" (Washington TIMES); "Reagan wasn't elected to temporize endlessly" (Detroit NEWS); "The problem seems to be a State Department that doesn't know its friends and a president who doesn't know his enemies" (WALL STREET JOURNAL); "He should know by now...that tough talk doesn't scare" (Chicago TRÍBUNE).

## Recommended Actions

Comment from the range of papers included the following .suggestions:

-- Make no concessions: (Cleveland PLAIN DEALER, Dallas TIMES-HERALD, Hartford COURANT, Miami HERALD, New York POST, Philadelphia INQUIRER, Washington TIMES).

- -- Improve security measures: (Atlanta CONSTITUTION, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Cleveland PLAIN DEALER, Detroit NEWS, Hartford COURANT, Long Island NEWSDAY, Los Angeles TIMES, Miami HERALD, New York POST, Washington POST, Washington TIMES). Lax airport security in Athens was considered largely responsible for the hijacking by the Boston GLOBE, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Cleveland PLAIN DEALER, Detroit NEWS, Hartford COURANT, Long Island NEWSDAY, New York POST, News York TIMES, Washington POST, and Washington TIMES.
- -- Consider military action: "People get hurt in wars and perhaps the time has arrived for the Shiite leaders responsible for this war to be made to realize that" (Chicago TRIBUNE); "Swift and severe retribution might give pause to some terrorists" (Dallas TIMES HERALD); "President Reagan should say....Give our people back, or we're coming after you by whatever means necessary" (Detroit NEWS); "The administration should now consider strikes against Syrian military targets inside Lebanon" (WALL STREET JOURNAL); "Retaliation that is swift, firm and decisive" (New York NEWS); "Reagan should issue an ultimatum....Then take appropriate military action" (New York POST); "There will come a time—and it could be soon—when he will have to go the extra mile" (Washington TIMES). The Miami HERALD, Philadelphia INQUIRER, and Washington POST also expressed general support for appropriate military options.

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FROM MCDANIEL

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HIJACKING

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