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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

These examples illustrate ~~the~~ Khrushchev's reliance on the use of brute force to achieve its ends.

WE KNOW WHAT THE SOVIETS ARE CAPABLE OF. THEY HAVE PROVED TIME AND AGAIN OVER THE YEARS AND ALL OVER THE WORLD THAT THEY BELIEVE THEY ARE NOT LIKE OTHER COUNTRIES; THAT THEY BELIEVE THEY ARE EXEMPT FROM THE RULES THAT APPLY TO OTHERS; THAT THEY CLAIM THE RIGHT TO USE FORCE IN SITUATIONS WHERE THE REST OF THE WORLD WANTS PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS.

~~THEY DO NOT NEED TO BE THAT WAY. THERE WAS NO REASON IN TERMS OF LEGITIMATE SOVIET INTERESTS FOR THEM TO SHOOT DOWN THIS CIVILIAN AIRLINER.~~

LET ME GIVE YOU THE STARK WORDS OF THE SOVIET PILOT HIMSELF: "MISSILE WARHEADS LOCKED ON. I HAVE EXECUTED THE LAUNCH. THE TARGET IS DESTROYED. I AM BREAKING OFF THE ATTACK."

THE WORLD MUST HEAR THESE WORDS. TOMORROW IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL IT WILL HEAR THEM, AS THEY WERE SPOKEN.

Cool,
but can
we use?

(Km 106)

(-Rid 3130)

DRAFT SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT
ON THE KOREAN AIRLINER SHOOTDOWN

SEPTEMBER 5, 1983

MY FELLOW AMERICANS, I WANT TO SPEAK TO YOU AGAIN ABOUT THE BRUTAL SOVIET ATTACK ON AN UNARMED PLANE AND HUNDREDS OF INNOCENT PEOPLE. IT CONTINUES TO WEIGH ON MY HEART, AS I KNOW IT DOES ON YOURS. OUR THOUGHTS ARE CONSTANTLY WITH THE VICTIMS AND THEIR FAMILIES FROM MANY LANDS. THE WHOLE CIVILIZED WORLD IS GIVING VENT TO ITS OUTRAGE, ^{yet} AND THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUES TO REFUSE US EVEN A SERIOUS EXPLANATION OF WHAT HAPPENED.

2
good
level

OK

Even for those familiar with the USSR's sordid past, this inexcusable act of violence shocks our sensibilities. ~~to~~ History

aptly demonstrates

~~that~~ the Soviets are capable of:

- Tens of millions perished in the forced collectivization process;
- Stalin's GULAGs filled with prisoners of conscience and millions of innocent civilians
- The Katyn Forest massacre of several thousand Polish Officers
- The enslavement of East Europe following World War II, the brutal suppression of the Hungarian yearning for freedom, and the crushing of the Czechoslovak liberalization
- ~~Afghanistan, the ~~downing of two~~ ~~downing of two~~ ~~downing of two~~~~
- ~~downing of two~~
- And, of course, the blatant use of military force in Afghanistan to ~~insure~~ insure that pro-Soviet ~~the~~ regime can exist against the demonstrated will of the people

NSC

3
Rm 208
Jack

The Soviets face a clear choice in dealing with this tragedy. If they have any concern for innocent human life--as they repeatedly claim--they will ^{rather than} immediately and publicly investigate the incident, explain to the world how it came about, punish those guilty of this heinous crime, cooperate in efforts to find the wreckage and recover the bodies, offer compensation to the bereaved families, and change the orders given to their military units to prevent calculated attacks on civilian aircraft, ~~whatever the circumstances.~~ ^{the Soviets have done just the opposite. They have mobilized their entire government}

rather than

they have

done just the opposite:

they have mobilized

their entire

govt

to deal w

the .

If, on the other hand, they refuse to face the facts publicly and instead deny them and attempt to confuse the public with fabrications, distortions and innuendo--as their controlled media have done up to now--then they will stand exposed to the world as callous brutes who recognize no limits on the use of violence, so long as it can be used with impunity.

But the world must not stand still and allow violence to be used against humanity without exacting a penalty and taking steps to protect itself. That is why I returned to Washington this weekend to consult with my advisers, Congressional leaders, representatives of other countries and the public regarding the steps we should take. Some steps we can do ourselves, but the most effective ones must be in concert with other concerned nations. The issue is not one just between the Soviet Union and the United States, but between the Soviet regime and humanity.

UOA

4

For our part, we shall do the following:

First, we will continue to press the Soviet leaders to follow the honorable course of investigating and disclosing the facts, taking corrective action, making restitution, and providing concrete assurances that such wanton acts will not be repeated.

Second, to make clear to the Soviets our deep feelings on this tragedy, we will not renew our bilateral agreement for cooperation in the field of transportation, will reaffirm our exclusion of the Soviet airline from the United States, and will suspend negotiation of several bilateral arrangements.

Third, we will cooperate with other countries in seeking better means to insure the safety of civil aviation. One aspect of this effort should be a clear recognition that, if the Soviet leaders refuse to satisfy the cries of humanity for justice, their airline should not be accepted as a normal member of the international civil air community. And the issue is one which should draw the concerned attention of international organizations which deal with civil aviation.

Fourth, we will listen carefully to the views of private groups, both American and international, who have a special interest in civil air safety [airline pilots, passenger associations and others] so that we can work in concert with them to improve the security of air transport.

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We will pursue these courses of action vigorously and will not flag in the effort to impress upon the Soviet leaders the just demands of the world public. That is why I have instructed Secretary Shultz to proceed with his scheduled meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko in Madrid this week. We must not let slip any opportunity to communicate our views directly to decision-makers in Moscow.

We will also continue our efforts to achieve balanced, verifiable reductions of arms, since this is most important for maintaining peace and security in the world. That is why Ambassador Nitze has returned to Geneva for the next round of negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Our policy of seeking to reduce the arms burden has not changed and will not change.

But the barbarous Soviet act in deliberately shooting down a defenseless airliner brings home to us once again the need to rebuild and maintain our military and economic strength, and to help our Allies and friends maintain theirs. For we must have the means to defend ourselves and maintain the peace in a world where some respect only strength. We cannot rely on the good will and civilized restraint of a power which shoots down loaded civilian aircraft. And without strength, we will never be able to achieve the balanced, verifiable reductions in arms which we so much desire.

Let us rededicate ourselves to achieving the goals we have pursued from the beginning of this Administration. We

know our responsibilities. We know it will be hard to make a nation that rules its own people through force cease using force against the rest of the world. But that is the task before us.

Transition

This latest Soviet ^{resort to} ~~act of~~ violence as an instrument of global politics ^{well} ~~serves~~ ~~to reinforce~~ ^{illustrates} ~~our~~ the USSR's dependence on military power to achieve their foreign policy objectives. It also serves to impel the West to maintain a strong ~~of~~ defensive posture in the face of the Kremlin's massive ~~modern~~ program of military expansion and modernization. Given Moscow's propensity to rely on force in the international arena we must insure that we have an armed force sufficient to deter the Soviets from crossing the threshold to confront us.

This Administration has embarked on a determined effort to ~~close~~ ~~erase~~ ~~the~~ ~~in~~ the USSR's areas of military Advantage. We have focused specifically on

* We ^{quickly} call on the ~~Soviet~~ ^{Kremlin's} leadership to act as they did recently following a domestic tragedy when ~~a Soviet passenger boat~~ hundreds of Soviet citizens died in the wake of a passenger boat accident on the Volga River. After that incident the Soviet government tasked a senior official to launch ^{a thorough} an investigation.

~~the official~~

Very shortly thereafter Moscow made public the results of the inquiry, identified those responsible for the negligence and instituted procedures designed to prevent a repetition of the ~~tragedy~~ ~~as~~ incident.

Certainly the Soviet Government ~~over~~ ^{heavy} the world ~~and~~ bears ~~the~~ responsibility for immediately launching a similar investigation of the ~~downing~~ attack on the Korean airliner, unless they would assert that the downing of the 747 was a calculated ~~act~~ ^{policy} decision. We stress that the ~~same~~ ^{same} innocent victims of this despicable action deserve the same accountability as ~~that~~ ^{was} rendered ^{for} on the Volga River accident.

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Some steps we can take ourselves, but the most effective ones must be in concert with other concerned nations. The issue is not one just between the Soviet Union and the United States, but between the Soviet regime and humanity.

Working with other nations, we are doing the following:

First, along with Korea and Japan, we called an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council. Debate began Friday and many governments--Korea, Japan, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, France, China, the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Zaire--joined us in expressing horror at the Soviet action. The session will resume tomorrow and more countries will be heard.

Second, we will work with other nations to seek reparations for those who were killed. Americans made up a large contingent on the plane, but there were also citizens on there from over a dozen other nations.

Third, we are cooperating with other countries to find better means to insure the safety of civil aviation. One aspect of this effort should be a clear recognition that, if the Soviet leaders refuse to satisfy the cries of humanity for justice, Aeroflot should not be accepted as a normal member of the international civil air community. We will also be raising the matter with international organizations which deal with civil aviation such as ICAO.

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Fourth, we are listening carefully to private groups, both American and international, who have a special interest in civil air safety--airline pilots, passenger associations and others--so that we can take their views into account as we seek ways to improve the security of air transport.

Fifth, in the economic area in general, we will redouble our efforts to work with our Allies to end the flow of military and strategic items to the Soviet Union. We have already made progress in this area. We hope for more.

We will pursue these courses of action vigorously and will not flag in the effort to impress upon the Soviet leaders the just demands of the world public. That is why I have instructed Secretary Shultz to proceed with his scheduled meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko in Madrid this week since we must seize every opportunity to communicate our views directly to decision-makers in Moscow.

We will also continue our efforts to achieve balanced, verifiable reductions of arms, since this is most important for maintaining peace and security in the world. That is why Ambassador Nitze has returned to Geneva for the next round of negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Our policy of seeking to reduce the arms burden has not changed and will not change.

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11

theirs. For we must have the means to defend ourselves and maintain the peace in a world where some respect only strength. We cannot rely on the good will and civilized restraint of a power which shoots down loaded civilian aircraft. And without strength, we will never be able to achieve the balanced, verifiable reductions in arms which we so much desire.

1962

Let us rededicate ourselves to achieving the goals we have pursued from the beginning of this Administration. We know our responsibilities. We know it will be hard to make a nation that rules its own people through force cease using force against the rest of the world. But that is the task before us.

The Soviets face a clear choice in dealing with this tragedy. If they have any concern for innocent human life--as they repeatedly claim--they will immediately and publicly investigate the incident, explain to the world how it came about, punish those guilty of this ^{hideous} ~~heinous~~ crime, ^{to} ~~to~~ cooperate in efforts to find the wreckage and recover the bodies, ^{and} offer ^{to} compensation to the bereaved families, ^{and} ~~and~~ change the ^{standing operating} ~~orders~~ given to their military units ^{no} ~~to prevent~~ ^{so that} calculated attacks on civilian aircraft, whatever the circumstances, ~~will~~ ^{will} be prevented.

~~To~~
~~12/9/11~~

immediately

If, on the other hand, they refuse to ^{accept responsibility} [face the facts] publicly and ^{continue to} ~~[instead]~~ deny ^{the facts} them and attempt to confuse the public with fabrications, distortions and innuendo--as their controlled media have done up to now--then they will stand exposed to the world ^(See what they are?) as callous brutes who recognize no limits on the use of violence, so long as it can be used with impunity.

* insert here

^{global community} ~~but~~ ^{can} the world must not stand ^{aside} still and allow violence to be used against humanity without exacting a penalty and ^{without} taking steps to protect itself. That is why I returned to Washington this weekend to consult with my advisers, Congressional leaders, ^{and high-level} representatives of other countries and the public ^{undertake} regarding the steps we should take. Some ^{initiatives} ~~ones~~ ^{steps} we can do ourselves, but the most effective ^{ones} must be in concert with other concerned nations. The issue is not one ~~just~~ between the Soviet Union and the United States, ^{to have} but between the Soviet regime and ^{the civilized world} [humanity]

actions
steps we can do ourselves
implemented

For our part, we shall do the following:

First, we will continue to press the Soviet leaders to follow the honorable course of investigating ^{the incident} and disclosing the facts, taking corrective action, making restitution, and providing concrete assurances that such wanton acts will not be repeated.

Second, to make clear to the Soviets our deep feelings on this tragedy, ^{we} we will not renew our bilateral agreement for cooperation in the field of transportation, will reaffirm our exclusion of the Soviet airline from the United States, and will suspend negotiation of several bilateral arrangements.

Sounds weak. Do we have more specifics?

Third, we will cooperate with other countries in seeking better means to insure the safety of civil aviation. One aspect of this effort should be a clear recognition that, if the Soviet leaders refuse to satisfy the cries of humanity for justice, their airline should not be accepted as a normal member of the international civil air community.

^(we will press to insure that) And the issue is one which should draw the concerned attention of international organizations which deal with civil aviation.

Fourth, we will listen carefully to the views of private groups, both American and international, who have a special interest in civil air safety--airline pilots, passenger associations and others--so that we can work in concert with them to improve the security of air transport.

We will pursue these courses of action vigorously and will not flag in the effort to impress upon the Soviet leaders the just demands of the world public. That is why I have instructed Secretary Shultz to proceed with his scheduled meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko in Madrid this week. We must ^{seize every} ~~not let slip~~ any opportunity to communicate our views directly to ^{Moscow's} ~~in Moscow~~ decision-makers.

^{As Reagan has. ble as this incident is, we remain steadfast in our determination to}
 We will also continue our efforts to achieve balanced, verifiable ^{arms} reductions, ^{The search for ways to limit and reduce nuclear capacity} of arms, ~~since this is most important~~ ^{critical} for maintaining peace and security in the world. That is why Ambassador Nitze has returned to Geneva for the next round of negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Our policy of seeking to reduce ^{genuine means} the arms burden ^{RISK of war and to attack} has not changed and will not change.

^{urgent necessity} ~~But this~~ barbarous Soviet act ^{is} ~~in~~ deliberately shooting down a defenseless airliner brings home to us once again the ^{need} to rebuild and maintain our military and economic strength, and to ^{assist} help our Allies and friends maintain ^{their} ^{security} theirs. For we must have the means to defend ourselves and maintain the peace in a world where ^{some} ^{nations} respect only ^{supposed} strength. We cannot rely on the good will and ^{questionable} ~~civilized~~ restraint of a power which shoots down ^[loaded] civilian aircraft. ~~And~~ without strength, we will never be able to achieve the balanced, verifiable reductions in arms which we so much desire.

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16

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The Soviets face a clear choice in dealing with this tragedy. If they have any concern for innocent human life--as they repeatedly claim--they will immediately and publicly investigate the incident, explain to the world how it came about, punish those guilty of this heinous crime, cooperate in efforts to find the wreckage and recover the bodies, offer compensation to the bereaved families, and change the orders given to their military units to prevent calculated attacks on civilian aircraft, whatever the circumstances.

If, on the other hand, they refuse to face the facts publicly and instead deny them and attempt to confuse the public with fabrications, distortions and innuendo--as their controlled media have done up to now--then they will stand exposed to the world as callous brutes who recognize no limits on the use of violence, so long as it can be used with impunity.



But the world must not stand still and allow violence to be used against humanity without exacting a penalty and taking steps to protect itself. That is why I returned to Washington this weekend to consult with my advisers, Congressional leaders, representatives of other countries and the public regarding the steps we should take. (Some steps we can ~~do~~ ^{take} ourselves, but the most effective ones must be in concert with other ~~concerned~~ nations. The issue is not one just between the Soviet Union and the United States, but between the Soviet regime and humanity.]

Expand
here -

The Soviets face a clear choice in dealing with this tragedy. If they have any concern for innocent human life--as they repeatedly claim--they will immediately and publicly investigate the incident, explain to the world how it came about, punish those guilty of this ~~heinous~~ ^{hideous} crime, cooperate in efforts to find the wreckage and recover the bodies, ^{and} offer compensation to the bereaved families, ~~and~~ ^{They must,} ~~change the~~ ^{standby} orders given to their military units to ~~prevent~~ ^{so that} calculated attacks on civilian aircraft, whatever the circumstances, *will not be permitted.*

If, on the other hand, they ~~refuse to face the facts~~ ^{continue to} ~~publicly and instead deny them~~ ^{accept responsibility,} ~~and attempt to confuse the~~ ^{continue to the facts} public with fabrications, distortions and innuendo--as their controlled media and diplomatic representatives have done up to now--then they will stand exposed to the world as callous brutes who recognize no limits on the use of violence, so long as it can be used with impunity.

Not long ago, in a tragic accident, a Soviet passenger boat struck a bridge while travelling down the Volga River. Hundreds of Soviet citizens died. The Soviet Government immediately had one of its most senior officials lead an inquiry. Within a very short time the government announced its findings. Negligence was found and procedures were instituted to prevent further accidents. Certainly the Soviet Government bears a heavy responsibility for launching a similar investigation of the attack on the Korean

12
not known

airliner. Or do they believe that a ^{a foreign} ~~Korean, Japanese or American~~ life is worth less than a Russian life?

But the world must not stand ^{aside} ~~still~~ and allow violence to be used against humanity without exacting a penalty and ^{without} taking steps to protect itself. That is why I spent this weekend consulting with my advisers, Congressional leaders, representatives of other countries and the public regarding the steps we should take.

~~(Value of Congressional consultation)~~
My meeting with the Congressional leadership yesterday was particularly useful, and I was encouraged by the fine sense of GI partisanship that the many useful suggestions I was given.
~~For our part, this is what we are doing:~~
Now this is what we are doing: our own:

-- We immediately told the world of the shocking facts. We did so responsibly and carefully, as we determined the facts ourselves, and the Office of America sent ~~blatant reports to~~ all corners of the world.
-- We are conducting and assisting search efforts in international waters near the tragedy.

-- We are continuing to press the Soviet leaders to follow the honorable course of investigating and disclosing the facts, taking corrective action, making restitution, and providing concrete assurances that such wanton acts will not be repeated. And let me say ~~here~~ that I believe ~~that~~ compensation to the relatives of the victims is a moral duty which the Soviets must assume.

~~-- To make clear to the Soviets our deep feelings on this tragedy,~~ we will not renew our bilateral agreement for cooperation in the field of transportation, since it would be unthinkable to ~~offer~~ ^{offer} cooperation in this area so long as the Soviets threaten the security of civil aviation.

have
 --We also will reaffirm our ~~exclusion~~ ^{ed at} of the ~~the Soviet airline~~ ^{promises on an} from the United States, and will suspend ~~negotiation~~ ^{script of the flight rights} of several bilateral arrangements. *are examining whether there are other steps which can be taken against Aeroflot activities here.*

We have notified the Soviets that we are suspending negotiations on several bilateral arrangements which have been contemplated.
 --I am asking Congress to pass a joint resolution of condemnation of this Soviet crime.

place our
 --I have instructed Secretary Shultz to ~~make this~~ *concerns at* matter the center of his meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko next week.

These
~~Some~~ steps we can take ourselves, but the most effective ones must be in concert with other ~~concerned~~ nations. *For, as I have said,* The issue is not one just between the Soviet Union and the United States, but between the Soviet regime and humanity.

Working ~~in concert~~ with other nations, we are doing the following:

First, along with Korea and Japan, we called an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council. Debate began Friday and many governments--Korea, Japan, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, France, China, the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Zaire--joined us in expressing horror at the Soviet action. *The session will resume tomorrow ~~in~~ ^{Parliament} ~~and~~ ^{Committee} ~~will~~ ^{will be heard.}*

Second, we will work with other nations to seek reparations for those who were killed. Americans made up a

large contingent on the plane, but there were also citizens on there from over a dozen other ~~nations~~ *countries*,

Third, we are cooperating with other countries to find better means to insure the safety of civil aviation. One aspect of this effort should be a clear recognition that, if the Soviet leaders refuse to satisfy the cries of humanity for justice, ~~their airline~~ *Aeroflot* should not be accepted as a normal member of the international civil air community. ~~And~~ *I feel that all concerned with civil aviation should take steps to ban or restrict Aeroflot flights to their countries* ~~the issue is one which should draw the concerned attention of international organizations which deal with civil aviation.~~ *such as ICAO.*

Fourth, we are listening carefully to the views of private groups, both American and international, who have a special interest in civil air safety--airline pilots, passenger associations and others--so that we can ~~work in concert with them~~ *take their views into account as we seek ways* to improve the security of air transport.

Fifth, in the economic area in general, we will redouble our efforts to work with our Allies to end the flow of military and strategic items to the Soviet Union. We have already made progress in this area. We hope for more.

We will pursue these courses of action vigorously and will not flag in the effort to impress upon the Soviet leaders the just demands of the world public, *and the cost to them of crimes against humanity*. That is why I have instructed Secretary Shultz to proceed with his scheduled meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko in Madrid this week. *single* We must ~~not let slip~~ *seize every* opportunity to communicate our views directly to decision-makers in Moscow.

~~Algeria~~
~~Libya~~
~~Aeroflot~~

I feel that all concerned with civil aviation should take steps to ban or restrict Aeroflot flights to their countries

DRAFT INSERT ON RC-135:

p. 2, para 2, add after line one--

Even Soviet military reconnaissance aircraft which have intruded in U. S. airspace have not been fired upon. In this regard I might add that the feeble Soviet attempts to distort the evidence on this terrible misdeed by suggesting that they mistook the Korean airliner for a U. S. plane are as cruel as they are ridiculous. In fact, ~~the~~ ^{an} American reconnaissance aircraft--the kind that monitors Soviet compliance with the SALT treaties, operating fully in accordance with those treaties, and watched closely by the Soviets--~~that~~ had passed ^{within about} ~~approximately~~ 75 miles ^{of} ~~to~~ the Korean commercial airliner, ^{but that was} two and a half hours before the shutdown, in international airspace well outside the Soviet Union. ^{the Soviet regime} And when ~~they~~ shot the Korean plane down, our plane was on the ground at its base in Alaska, and had been for an hour. But of course, that is beside the point: There simply can be no excuse for firing on an unarmed civilian airliner, with or without warning, with or without premeditation. ~~with~~

Not long ago, in a tragic accident, a Soviet passenger boat struck a bridge while traveling down the Volga River. Hundreds of Soviet citizens died. The Soviet government immediately had one of its most senior officials lead an inquiry. Within a ^{very} few short time the government announced its findings, negligence was found and procedures were instituted to hopefully prevent any further such accident. Unless

5

~~Not~~ barbarous a ~~the~~ barbarous

Shooting of the KAL airliner
was a calculated act of
high policy, we would
certainly expect not the
Soviets would give a full
account. ~~Or are they so~~
surely the innocent victims of
other countries deserve the
same accounting as the victims
of the Volga accident.

~~True~~ True arms reduction remains
 We will also continue our efforts to achieve balanced,
 one of our most important goals,
 verifiable reductions of arms, since this is most important
 for maintaining peace and security in the world. ^{And} That is
 why ^{I have sent} Ambassador Nitze ^{back} has returned to Geneva for the next
 round of negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear weapons
 in Europe. Our policy of seeking to reduce the arms burden
 has not changed and will not change.

~~The~~ The barbarous Soviet act ~~is~~ deliberately shooting
 down a defenseless airliner ^{brings} home to us once again the
 urgent necessity ^{to} rebuild and maintain our military and economic
 strength, and to ^{assist} our Allies and friends maintain
 theirs. ^{For} we must have the means to defend ourselves and
 maintain the peace in a world where some ^{rulers} respect only
 strength. We cannot rely on the good will and civilized
 restraint of a power which shoots down ~~civilian~~ civilian
 aircraft. And without strength, we will never be able to
 achieve the balanced, verifiable reductions in arms which we
 so much desire.

Let us rededicate ourselves to achieving the goals we
 have pursued from the beginning of this Administration. ^{Our policy is based on realism, strength}
 We know our responsibilities. We know it will be hard to make
 a nation that rules its own people through force cease using
 force against the rest of the world. But that is the task
 before us.

and a willingness
 to talk

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 5, 1983 - 10:30 a.m.

Dove
my comments

BFG

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID R. GERGEN *DR*

SUBJECT: Television Address

This is the latest product of the White House/NSC efforts. CIA and Defense have incorporated their changes; we are still waiting to hear from State.

We have marked the key changes from the earlier Elliott draft in red.

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(Elliott)
September 5, 1983
9:00 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL TELEVISION ADDRESS: FLIGHT 007
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1983

My fellow Americans, I am coming before you tonight about a matter that continues to weigh heavily on our minds -- the attack last week by the Soviet Union against 269 innocent men, women and children aboard an unarmed Korean passenger plane. This is a crime against humanity we can never forget.

Our prayers tonight are with the victims and their families in this terrible time of grief. Our hearts go out to all of them -- to brave people like Kathryn McDonald, the wife of a Congressman, whose composure and eloquence on the day of her husband's death are a tribute to the ideals he so courageously represented.

The parents of one slain couple wired me: "Our daughter . . . and her husband . . . died on Korean Airline Flight 007. Their deaths were the result of the Soviet Union violating every concept of human rights." The emotions of these parents -- grief, shock, anger -- are shared by civilized people everywhere. We are witnessing an explosion of condemnation throughout the world.

Let me make one thing plain: There is absolutely no justification, either legal or moral, for what the Soviets did. As one newspaper in India said, "If every passenger plane . . . is fair game for home air forces . . . it will be the end to civil aviation as we know it."

Nor is this the first time the Soviet Union has shot at and hit a civilian airliner when it overflowed their territory. As a matter of fact, in 1978, the Soviets positively identified one aircraft as a civilian airliner. The pilot read the name on the side of the aircraft, and then was given a command to shoot it down. The plane escaped destruction by making a crash landing on a frozen lake, but innocent civilians lost their lives.

The United States Government does not fire on foreign aircraft over U.S. territory, even though commercial aircraft from the Soviet Union and Cuba have overflowed sensitive U.S. military facilities. We and other civilized countries believe in the tradition of offering help to mariners and pilots who are lost or in distress, on the sea or in the air. We believe in following procedures to prevent a tragedy, not to provoke one.

But despite the savagery of their crime, the universal reaction against it, and the evidence of their complicity, the Soviets still refuse to tell the truth. They have persistently refused to admit that their pilot fired on the Korean aircraft. Indeed, they have not even told the Russian people that a plane was shot down. The Soviet Government calls the whole thing an accident. I call it murder. Let me repeat the stark words of the Soviet pilot himself after signaling that his missile warheads were locked on the airliner: "I have executed the launch. The target is destroyed. I am breaking off attack."

The world must hear these words. Tomorrow the Security Council of the United Nations will hear them when a tape recording of the pilot's comments are played in public.

I have long believed that a system which, at its core, renounces God and humanitarian ideals, wantonly disregards individual rights and the value of human life, and seeks constantly to expand and dominate other nations, poses a serious danger to the civilized world. This latest outrage is just one more proof of the glaring gap between Soviet words and deeds.

In recent years, the Soviets have rigged up one of the most elaborate and expensive propaganda machines in the world -- all designed to portray themselves as peacemakers. But now that carefully cultivated image is being stripped bare. Rather than come clean to the world; rather than immediately and publicly investigate the incident, explain to the world how it came about, punish those guilty of this crime, cooperate in efforts to find the wreckage, recover the bodies, offer compensation to the families, and work to prevent a repetition, the Soviets are doing just the opposite. They are mobilizing their entire government behind a massive cover-up. Who do they think they're kidding? The world demands the truth -- now.

Not long ago, in a tragic accident, a Soviet passenger boat struck a bridge while traveling down the Volga River. Hundreds of Soviet citizens died. The Soviet Government immediately had one of its most senior officials lead an inquiry. Within a very short time, the government announced its findings. Negligence was found and procedures were instituted to prevent further accidents. Certainly the Soviet Government bears a heavy responsibility for launching a similar investigation of its attack on the civilian airliner.

The Soviet Union is paying a heavy price in the eyes of world opinion. They can change their attitude, and I pray they will. But, as long as they continue to mislead and distort, the civilized world will condemn them. If they meant to engage in an act of intimidation, they have provoked exactly the opposite reaction. For on the lips of people throughout the world tonight is one word, one word directed at the Soviet leadership. That word is defiance; defiance in the face of this unspeakable act and the political system that excuses it and tries to cover it up.

Now when I heard about this attack, my first reaction was probably like yours -- horror mixed with fury. Who can forget that, over the years, this same regime has imprisoned half of Europe; suppressed peaceful movement toward democracy in Czechoslovakia and Poland; invaded, gassed and killed citizens in Afghanistan; condoned the torture and suffering of millions in Southeast Asia; and used terrorism and Cuban surrogates to destabilize countries throughout Africa and Latin America?

In the old days, "an eye for an eye" would have been just and appropriate. Today such retribution would be just, but it is no longer appropriate.

The world has always been filled with danger, but now it is even more dangerous. In this nuclear world, certain rules from olden times can no longer apply. As citizens of the United States, we are responsible first and foremost for the safety and freedom, not just of ourselves but our children and grandchildren.

It is the duty of all of us, as leaders and citizens of the civilized world, to respond firmly but calmly to provocation. We want justice. We must act not just for today, but also for the long-term future.

We must steadfastly gird ourselves for what John F. Kennedy called "the long twilight struggle." We must see the Soviets as they are, rather than as some would like them to be. From the beginning of this Administration, our policy toward the Soviets has been based on this realism. It recognizes the one, hard reality that has never changed: The Soviets respect only those who live and negotiate from a position of strength.

Our most immediate challenge to this atrocity is to ensure that we make the skies safer and that we seek just compensation for the families of those who were killed. That's why I returned to Washington to consult with my advisers, with congressional leaders of both parties, and through Secretary Shultz, with representatives of other countries about the steps we should take.

My meeting with the congressional leadership yesterday was particularly useful, and I was encouraged by the fine sense of bipartisanship and the many constructive suggestions I received. I will be working in the closest cooperation with the Congress in carrying out the U.S. response to this incident.

For our part, this is what we have done and are trying to do:

-- We immediately told the world the shocking facts. We did so honestly, responsibly, and carefully, as we determined the facts ourselves.

-- We are conducting and assisting search efforts in international waters near the tragedy. The U.S. and Japan have also asked the Soviets to extend the search into their territorial waters, but so far, they have not agreed.

-- We have notified the Soviets that we will not renew our bilateral agreement for cooperation in the field of transportation, since it would be unthinkable to offer cooperation in this area so long as the Soviets threaten the security of civil aviation.

-- We have also reaffirmed our previous order denying the Soviet airline -- Aeroflot -- the right to fly to the United States, and are examining whether there are steps which can be taken to end other Aeroflot activities in this country.

-- We have notified the Soviets that we are suspending negotiations on several bilateral arrangements which we had under consideration.

-- I am asking the Congress to pass a joint resolution of condemnation of this Soviet crime.

-- Along with these steps, we are continuing to press the Soviet leaders to follow the honorable course of investigating and disclosing the facts, taking corrective action, making restitution, and providing concrete assurances that such wanton behavior will not be repeated. I have instructed Secretary

Shultz to make this matter the center of his meeting scheduled this week with Foreign Minister Gromyko.

-- Truth is a great weapon and one the Soviets fear. In times such as these, few assets are more important than the Voice of America and Radio Liberty -- our primary means of getting the truth to the Russian people. The sad fact is, our broadcast equipment is antiquated and the Soviets spend more to jam Western broadcasts than the entire worldwide VOA budget. Tonight, I urge the Congress to end the delay and to pass our VOA modernization program, so that the truth about situations like this can be heard throughout totalitarian lands.

Some steps we can take ourselves. But the most effective short-term steps must be in concert with other concerned nations. At least a dozen countries were represented in that downed aircraft. The Republic of Korea lost more lives than any other. This issue is not between the Soviet Union and the United States; it is between the Soviet regime and humanity.

I am directing Secretary of State Shultz, Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick at the U.N. and our ambassadors in many lands to sit down as soon as they can with their counterparts from other nations to see what the civilized world, united, can do to address this issue. It is essential that we act not alone, but together.

Already, we are taking some steps forward:

First, along with Korea and Japan, we called an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council. Debate began Friday. On that first day, Korea, Japan, Canada, Australia, the

Netherlands, Pakistan, France, China, the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Zaire all joined us in expressing horror at the Soviet action.

Second, we will work with other nations to seek reparations for all who were killed. There are forums, including the International Court of Justice, where these crimes should legitimately be settled. And let me say that I believe compensation to the families of the victims is an absolute moral duty which the Soviets must assume.

Third, and very important, we are cooperating with other countries to find better means to ensure the safety of civil aviation. Unless and until the Soviets satisfy the cries of humanity for justice, their airline Aeroflot should not be accepted as a normal member of the international civil air community. And we have joined with other countries to press the International Civil Aviation Organization to investigate this crime at an urgent special session of the Council.

Fourth, we are listening carefully to the views of private groups, both American and international, who have a special interest in civil air safety -- airline pilots, passenger associations and others -- so that we can work with them to improve the security of air transport. Their outrage is loud and clear.

Fifth, in the economic area in general, we will redouble our efforts with our Allies to end the flow of military and strategic items to the Soviet Union. We have already made progress in this area. We hope for more.

We will pursue every course of action to present the Soviets with the just demands of the world public. (That is why Secretary Shultz intends to proceed with his scheduled meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko in Madrid this week.)

too
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to say it
twice

As we work with other countries to see that justice is done, I hope that all of us, as citizens of this great and free land, will remember the larger lesson of this terrible tragedy. We live in a dangerous world. We must keep our eyes on the long-term challenges to freedom and peace. The real test of our resolve is whether we have the will to remain strong, steady, and united.

Senator Henry Jackson, a wise and revered statesman, and one who probably understood the Soviets as well as any American in history, warned us, "the greatest threat the United States now faces is posed by the Soviet Union." But, Senator Jackson said: "If America maintains a strong deterrent -- and only if it does -- this Nation will continue to be a leader in the crucial quest for enduring peace among nations."

The late Senator made that statement only 41 days ago, on the Senate floor, speaking in behalf of the MX missile program -- a program he considered vital to restore America's strategic parity with the Soviets.

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~~The Congress will be facing key votes on defense issues when it returns from recess,~~ I urge the Members of that distinguished body: Ponder long and hard the Soviets' aggression, ^{and let} ~~before you~~ ^{us work together to strangle} ~~cast any vote that would weaken~~ the security and safety of the American people.

I would also hope that the Europeans can now understand the need for the Pershing missiles -- missiles that would not be necessary if the Soviets were not already intimidating the continent with hundreds of SS-20 rockets, and if they did not insist on keeping them there. If the Soviets have no compunction about shooting down unarmed aircraft, will they have any compunction about shooting on an unprotected city?

37
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Russia

Until the Soviets join the rest of the world community, we simply must have the strength to deal with them. That is why rebuilding this Nation's military and economic strength, and helping our allies and friends build theirs, has been such an important goal of this Administration from January 20, 1981.

When John F. Kennedy was President, defense spending as a share of the Federal budget was half again as high as today. And since that period, the Soviet Union has undertaken, and carried out, the most massive military build-up the world has ever known.

Realism and strength are essential. But, if we are to succeed in our long-term effort to bring the Soviets into the world community of nations, we must also talk to them. We must tell them what the world expects from them: The world expects their cooperation in building a safer place to live.

Peace is our top priority -- peace through strength and peace through mutual and verifiable reductions in the weapons of war. And that is why I have sent Ambassador Nitze back to Geneva for the next round of negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Our policy of seeking to reduce the arms burden has not changed and will not change.

My fellow citizens, as we come together in the true spirit of America, to help the families harmed by the Soviets' aggression, let us also rededicate ourselves to the goals we have pursued from the beginning of the Administration. Let us go forward with policies based on realism, strength and a willingness to talk. We know it will be hard to make a nation that rules its own people through force to cease using force against the rest of the world. But that is the task before us.

This is not a role we sought -- we preach no manifest destiny. But like Americans who began this country and brought forth this last, best hope of mankind, history has asked much of the Americans of our own time. Much we have already given. Much more we must be prepared to give.

Let us have faith, in Abraham Lincoln's words, "that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it." If we do, if we stick together and move forward with courage, then history will record that some good did come from this monstrous wrong that we will carry with us and remember for the rest of our lives.

Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

06B

(Elliott)
September 5, 1983
2:00 a.m.

39

PRESIDENTIAL TELEVISION ADDRESS: FLIGHT 007.
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1983

My fellow Americans, I am ^{speaking with} [coming] [before] you tonight about a matter that continues to weigh heavily on our minds -- the attack last week by the Soviet Union against 269 innocent men, women and children aboard an unarmed Korean passenger plane. That was a crime against humanity we can never forget.

Our prayers tonight are with the victims and their families in this terrible time of grief. Our hearts go out to all of them -- to brave people like Katherine McDonald, the wife of a Congressman, whose composure and eloquence on the day of her husband's death are a tribute to the ideals he so courageously represented.

The parents of one slain couple wired me: "Our daughter . . . and her husband . . . died on Korean Airline Flight 007. Their deaths were the result of the Soviet Union violating every concept of human rights." The emotions of these parents -- grief, shock, anger -- are shared by civilized people everywhere. We are witnessing an explosion of condemnation throughout the world.

Let me make one thing ^{quite clear} [plain] There is absolutely no justification, either legal or moral, for what the Soviets did. As one newspaper in India said, "If every passenger plane . . . is fair game for home air forces . . . it will be the end to civil aviation as we know it."

making enough to present other documents,

Too Dull

Nor is this the first time the Soviet Union has shot at and hit a civilian airliner when it overflowed their territory. As a matter of fact, in 1978, the Soviets positively identified one aircraft as a civilian airliner, the pilot read the name on the side of the aircraft, and then was given a command to shoot it down. The plane ^{was damaged and forced to} [escaped] but when it made a crash landing on the ice, innocent civilians lost their lives.

The United States Government does not fire on foreign aircraft ^{that stray} over U.S. territory, even though commercial aircraft from the Soviet Union and Cuba have overflowed sensitive U.S. military facilities. We and other civilized countries believe in the tradition of offering help to mariners and pilots who are lost or in distress, on the sea or in the air. We believe in following procedures to prevent a tragedy, not to provoke one.

But despite the savagery of their crime, the universal reaction against it, and the evidence of their complicity, the Soviets still refuse to tell ^{the world} the truth. They have persistently refused to admit that their pilot fired on the aircraft. Indeed, they have not even told the Russian people that a plane went down. The Soviet Government calls the whole thing an accident. I call it ^{a calculated, deliberate act of violence.} [murder.] Let me repeat the stark words of the Soviet pilot himself: ^{after he indicated that his} "Missile warheads locked on." "I have executed the launch. The target is destroyed." ^{and judge this action themselves,}

The world must hear these words. Tomorrow the Security Council of the United Nations will hear them when a tape recording of the pilot's [comments] are played in public.

communications with his ground controllers

I have long believed that a system which, at its core, renounces God and humanitarian ideals, wantonly disregards individual rights and the value of human life, and seeks constantly to expand and dominate other nations, poses a serious danger to the civilized world. This latest outrage is just one more indication of the glaring gap between Soviet words and deeds.

In recent years, the Soviets have rigged up one of the most elaborate and expensive propoganda machines in the world -- all designed to portray themselves as peacemakers. But now that carefully cultivated image is being stripped bare. Rather than come clean to the world; rather than immediately and publicly investigate the incident, explain to the world how it came about, punish those guilty of this crime, cooperate in efforts to find the wreckage, recover the bodies, offer compensation to the families, and work to prevent a repetition, the Soviets are doing just the opposite. They are mobilizing their entire government behind a massive cover-up.

Not long ago, in a tragic accident, a Soviet passenger boat struck a bridge while traveling down the Volga River. Hundreds of Soviet citizens died. The Soviet Government immediately had one of its most senior officials lead an inquiry. Within a very short time, the government announced its findings. Negligence was found and procedures were instituted to prevent further accidents. Certainly the Soviet Government bears a heavy responsibility for launching a similar investigation of the attack on the civilian airliner.

The Soviet Union is paying a heavy price in the eyes of world opinion. They can change their attitude, and I pray they will. But, as long as they continue to mislead and distort, the civilized world will condemn them. If they meant to engage in an act of intimidation, they have provoked exactly the opposite reaction. For on the lips of people throughout the world tonight is one word, one word directed at the Soviet leadership. That word is defiance; defiance in the face of this unspeakable act and the political system that excuses it and tries to cover it up.

Now when I heard about this attack, my first reaction was probably like yours -- horror mixed with fury. Who can forget that, over the years, this same regime has imprisoned ^{much} half of Europe; put down peaceful movements toward democracy in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland; invaded, gassed and killed citizens in Afghanistan; condoned the torture and suffering of millions in Southeast Asia; and used terrorism and Cuban surrogates to destabilize countries throughout Africa and Latin America?

~~In the old days, "an eye for an eye" would have been just and appropriate. Today such retribution would be just, but it is no longer appropriate.~~

~~The world has always been filled with danger, but now it is even more dangerous. In this nuclear world, certain rules from olden times can no longer apply. As citizens of the United States, we are responsible first and foremost for the safety and freedom, not just of ourselves but our children and grandchildren.~~

It is the duty of all of us, as leaders and citizens of the civilized world, to respond calmly, but firmly, to provocation. We want justice. But we must act not just for today, but for the long-term future.

We must steadfastly gird ourselves for what John F. Kennedy called "the long twilight struggle." From the beginning of this Administration, our policy toward the Soviets has been based on realism. It recognizes the one, hard reality that has never changed: The Soviets respect only those who live and negotiate from a position of strength.

Our most immediate challenge to this atrocity is to ensure that we make the skies safer and that we seek just compensation for the families of those who were killed. That's why I returned to Washington to consult with my advisers, with congressional leaders of both parties, and with representatives of other countries about the steps we should take.

For our part, this is what we have done and are trying to do:

-- We immediately told the world the shocking facts. We did so honestly, responsibly, and carefully, as we determined the facts ourselves. *See #1 Adcl*

-- Despite Soviet resistance, we are conducting and assisting search efforts in international waters near the tragedy.

-- We are continuing to press the Soviet leaders to behave honorably by disclosing the facts, taking corrective action, making restitution, and providing concrete assurances that such

What Are We Doing?

1. Continuing to press the Jew govt for a full accounting
2. Sending
 - a. Schultz to Moscow
 - b. Nitze to Genet
 - c. Renny to Genet
3. Immediately released the fact of the incident
4. Together with the Republic of Korea, Japan & other nations we summoned an emergency session of the United Nations security council. It met Friday and nations from across the globe vividly expressed their outrage. #1

wanton acts will never be repeated. And let me say here that I believe compensation to the families of those victims is an absolute moral duty the Soviets must assume.

-- We are taking a number of steps to make clear to the Soviets our deep feelings of revulsion. In my consultation with the congressional leaders, I asked them to pass a joint congressional resolution condemning this crime as soon as they return to Washington.

-- We will not renew our bilateral agreement for cooperation in the field of transportation. And we will suspend negotiation of several other bilateral arrangements.

-- We also reaffirm our exclusion of the Soviet airline Aeroflot from the United States.

-- I am sending Secretary Shultz to Madrid tomorrow. I have instructed him to make the Soviet crime the principal subject of his meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko.

Some steps we can take ourselves. But the most effective ^{measures} (short-term steps) must be in concert with other concerned nations. At least a dozen countries were represented in that downed aircraft. The Republic of Korea lost more lives than any other. This issue is not between the Soviet Union and the United States; it is between the Soviet regime and humanity.

I am directing Secretary of State Shultz, Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick at the U.N. and our ambassadors in many lands to sit down as soon as they can with their counterparts from other nations to see what the civilized world, united as almost never

before, can do to address this issue. It is essential that we act not alone, but in concert.

Already, we are taking some steps forward:

First, along with Korea and Japan, we called an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council. Debate began Friday. On that first day, Korea, Japan, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, France, China, the United Kingdom, ^{the Federal} New Zealand and Zaire all joined us in expressing horror at the Soviet action. ^{Other nations will be heard from as the debate continues tomorrow.}

Republic of Germany,

Second, we will work with other nations to seek reparations for all who were killed. There are ^{international} forums, ~~such as the International Court of Justice~~, where these crimes should legitimately be settled. ^{Of course, the USSR would have to give its consent}

DD

Third, and very important, we are cooperating with other countries to find better means to ensure the safety of civil aviation. Unless and until the Soviets satisfy the cries of humanity for justice, their airline Aeroflot should ~~not be~~ ^{be subject} ~~accepted as a normal member of the international civil air community.~~ ^{to restrictive measures.} And we have joined with other countries to press the International Civil Aviation Organization to investigate this crime at an urgent special session of the Council.

Fourth, we are listening carefully to the views of private groups, both American and international, who have a special interest in civil air safety -- airline pilots, passenger associations and others -- so that we can work with them to improve the security of air transport. Their outrage is loud and clear.

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Fifth, in the economic area in general, we will redouble our efforts with our Allies to end the flow of military and strategic items to the Soviet Union. We have already made progress in this area. We hope for more.

we

We will pursue every course of action to confront the Soviets with the just demands of the world public. That is why Secretary Shultz must and will proceed with his scheduled meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko in Madrid this week.

As we work with other countries to see that justice is done, I hope that all of us, as citizens of this great and free land, will remember the larger lesson of this terrible tragedy. We live in a dangerous world. Let us keep our eyes on the long-term challenges to freedom and peace. The real test of our resolve is to remain steady, united and strong.

Senator Henry Jackson, a wise and revered statesman, and one who probably understood the Soviets as well as any American in history, warned us, "the greatest threat the United States now faces is posed by the Soviet Union." But, Senator Jackson said: "If America maintains a strong deterrent -- and only if it does -- this Nation will continue to be a leader in the crucial quest for enduring peace among nations."

The late Senator made that statement only 41 days ago, on the Senate floor, speaking in behalf of the MX missile program -- a program he considered vital to restore America's strategic parity with the Soviets. In his speech, Senator Jackson quoted the imprisoned Soviet dissident, Andrei Sakharov. He, too, has urged the West to build the MX.

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MX

"This Admin... in full ^{bi-partisan} coop w/ Congress, has pursued the right course on defense of programs"

The Congress will be facing key votes on the MX and defense appropriations as soon as it returns from recess. I urge the Members of that distinguished body: Ponder long and hard the Soviets' aggression before you cast any vote that would weaken the security and safety of the American people.

I would also hope that ^{everyone} the Europeans ^{can} now understand the need for the Pershing ^(and Cruise) missiles -- missiles that would not be necessary if the Soviets were not already intimidating the continent with hundreds of SS-20 rockets, ^{that provides them} ~~and if they did not insist on keeping them there.~~ ^{with a monopoly on theater weapons.} If the Soviets have no compunction about shooting down unarmed aircraft, will they have any compunction about shooting on an unprotected city?

Until the Soviets join the rest of the world community, we simply must have the strength to deal with them. That is why rebuilding this Nation's military and economic strength, and helping our allies and friends build theirs, has been such an important goal of this Administration ^[from January 20, 1981.]

When John F. Kennedy was President, defense spending as a percentage of the Federal budget was nearly twice as high as today. And since that period, the Soviet Union has undertaken, and carried out, the most massive military build-up the world has ever known.

Realism and strength are essential. But, if we are to succeed in our long-term effort to bring the Soviets into the world community of nations, we must also talk to them. We must tell them what the world expects from them: The world expects their cooperation in building a safer place to live.

DDJ:
H&D
"current monopoly"
"Soviets not to be trusted"

Peace is our top priority -- peace through strength and peace through mutual and verifiable reductions in the weapons of war. And that is why I have sent Ambassador Nitze back to Geneva for the next round of negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Our policy of seeking to reduce the arms burden has not changed and will not change.

My fellow citizens, as we come together in the true spirit of America, to help the families harmed by the Soviet's aggression, let us also rededicate ourselves to the goals we have pursued from the beginning of the Administration. Let us go forward with policies based on realism, strength and a willingness to talk. We know it will be hard to make a nation that rules its own people through force to cease using force against the rest of the world. But that is the task before us.

This is not a role we sought -- we preach no manifest destiny. But like Americans who began this country and brought forth this last, best hope of mankind, history has asked much of the Americans of our own time. Much we have already given. Much more we must be prepared to give.

Let us have faith, in Abraham Lincoln's words, "that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it." If we do, if we stick together and move forward with courage, then some good will have come from this monstrous wrong that we will carry with us and remember for the rest of our lives.

Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

50
(State/Elliott)
September 4, 1983
10:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL TELEVISION ADDRESS: FLIGHT 007
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1983

My fellow Americans, I have asked for time to speak to you tonight about an outrageous crime that continues to weigh on our minds. I'm referring to the attack last week by the Soviet Union against 269 innocent men, women and children aboard an unarmed Korean passenger plane.

Our prayers are with the victims and their families in this terrible time of grief. Our hearts go out to all of them -- to brave people like the wife of Congressman McDonald, Katherine McDonald, whose composure and eloquence on the day of the news of her husband's death are a tribute to the ideals he so courageously represented.

The parents of one slain couple wired me: "Our daughter . . . and her husband . . . died on Korean Airline Flight 007. Their deaths were the result of the Soviet Union violating every concept of human rights." The emotions of these parents -- grief, shock, anger -- are shared by civilized people everywhere. We are witnessing an outpouring of condemnation throughout the world.

Let me make one thing plain: There is absolutely no justification, either legal or moral, for what the Soviets did. As one Indian paper said, "If every passenger . . . is fair game for home Air Forces . . . it will be the end to civil aviation as we know it." Nor is this the first time the Soviet Union has

shot at and hit a civilian airliner when it overflowed their territory.

As a matter of fact, in 1978, the Soviets positively identified one aircraft as a civilian airliner, the pilot read the name on the side of the aircraft, and then was given ^(a command) ~~direction~~ to shoot it down.

The United States Government does not ^{fire on} ~~shoot down~~ foreign aircraft over U.S. territory, even though commercial aircraft from the Soviet Union and Cuba have overflowed sensitive U.S. military facilities. We and other civilized countries believe in the tradition of offering help to mariners and pilots who are lost, or in distress on the sea or in the air. We believe in following procedures to prevent a tragedy, not to provoke one.

But despite the savagery of their crime, the universal reaction against it, and the evidence of their complicity, the Soviets still refuse to tell the truth. The Russian people have yet to be told that their military shot down and attacked a civilian aircraft. The Soviet Government calls it an accident. ~~circulated, press article?~~ I call it murder. Let me repeat the stark words of the Soviet pilot himself: "Missile warheads locked on. I have executed the launch. The target is destroyed."

The world must hear these words. Tomorrow the Security Council of the United Nations will hear them, just as they were spoken.

I have long believed that a system which ~~at its core,~~ ~~renounces God and our judeo-christian ideals,~~ ~~wantonly disregards~~ individual rights and the value of human life, and seeks

constantly to expand and dominate other nations, is a grave threat to the civilized world. This latest outrage is just one more indication of the glaring gap between Soviet words and deeds.

In recent years, the Soviets have ^{gashioneed} rigged up one of the most elaborate and expensive propaganda machines in the world -- all designed to portray themselves as peacemakers. But now that carefully cultivated image is being stripped bare. Rather than come clean to the world, rather than immediately and publicly investigate the incident, explain to the world how it came about, punish those guilty of this heinous crime, cooperate in efforts to find the wreckage, recover the bodies, offer compensation to the families, and work to prevent a repetition, the Soviets are doing just the opposite. They are mobilizing their entire government to [defend a lie.] ^{circumvent the truth.}

Not long ago, in a tragic accident, a Soviet passenger boat struck a bridge while traveling down the Volga River. Hundreds of Soviet citizens died. The Soviet Government immediately had one of its most senior officials lead an inquiry. Within a very short time, the government announced its findings. Negligence was found and procedures were instituted to prevent further accidents. Certainly the Soviet Government bears a heavy responsibility for launching a similar investigation of the attack on the ^{civilian} Korean airliner. ~~Or do they believe that a life lost in that disaster is worth less than a Russian life?~~

The Soviet Union is paying a heavy price in the eyes of world opinion. They can change their attitude, and I pray they

will. But, as long as they continue to stonewall, the civilized world will condemn them. If they meant to engage in an act of intimidation, they have provoked exactly the opposite reaction. For on the lips of people throughout the world tonight is one word, one word directed at the Soviet leadership. That word is defiance; defiance in the face of this unspeakable act and the political system that excuses it and tries to cover it up.

Now when I heard about this attack, my first instinct was to order strong retaliatory action. The Soviets deserve severe punishment. Their regime has imprisoned ^{much} half of Europe, ^{suppressed} put down peaceful movement toward democracy in Czechoslovakia and Poland, invaded, gassed and killed citizens in Afghanistan, condoned the torture and suffering of millions in Southeast Asia and used terrorism and Cuban surrogates to destabilize countries throughout Africa and Latin America.

In the old days, "an eye for an eye" would have been just and appropriate. Today such retribution would be just, but it is no longer appropriate.

The world has always been filled with danger, but now it is even more dangerous. In this nuclear world, certain rules from olden times no longer apply. As the President of the United States, I am responsible first and foremost for the safety of you, your children and your grandchildren. So I cannot respond as Franklin Roosevelt did to this new day of infamy.

It is the duty of all of us, as leaders and citizens of the civilized world, to respond in a calm, controlled, but absolutely

firm manner. We want justice. But we must not permit one tragedy to become an even greater tragedy.

We must steadfastly grid ourselves for what John F. Kennedy called "the long twilight struggle." From the beginning of this Administration, our policy toward the Soviets has been based on ~~strength, and willingness to take~~ realism. It recognizes the one, hard reality that has never changed: The Soviets respect only those who operate and negotiate from a position of strength.

So, the world must not tolerate this latest Soviet crime, without exacting a penalty and taking steps to protect itself. That's why I returned to Washington to consult with my advisers, congressional leaders, representatives of other countries and the public regarding the steps we should take.

For our part, this is what we have done and are trying to do:

-- We immediately told the world the shocking facts. We did so honestly, responsibly, and carefully, as we determined the facts ourselves.

-- We are conducting and assisting search efforts in international waters near the tragedy.

-- We are continuing to press the Soviet leaders to behave honorably by disclosing the facts, taking corrective action, making restitution, and providing concrete assurances that such wanton acts will never be repeated. And let me say here that I believe compensation to the families of those victims is an absolute moral duty the Soviets must assume.

-- We are taking a number of steps to make clear to the Soviets our deep feelings of revulsion: In my consultation with the congressional leaders, I asked them to pass a joint congressional resolution condemning this crime.

-- We will not renew our bilateral agreement for cooperation in the field of transportation. And we will suspend negotiation of several other bilateral arrangements.

-- We also will reaffirm our exclusion of the Soviet airline Aeroflot from the United States.

-- I am sending Secretary Shultz to Madrid tomorrow. I have instructed him to make the Soviet crime the principal subject of his meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko.

Some steps we can take ourselves. But the most effective steps must be in concert with other concerned nations. Twelve countries were represented in that downed aircraft. The Republic of Korea lost more lives than any other. This issue is not just between the Soviet Union and the United States; it is between the Soviet regime and humanity.

Working in concert with other nations, we are doing the following:

First, along with Korea and Japan, we called an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council. Debate began Friday. Already, Korea, Japan, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, France, China, the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Zaire have joined us in expressing horror at the Soviet action.

Second, we will work with other nations to seek reparations for all who were killed.

Third, we are cooperating with other countries to find better means to insure the safety of civil aviation. Unless and until the Soviets satisfy the cries of humanity for justice, their airline Aeroflot should not be accepted as a normal member of the international civil air community. And we ^{have joined with other countries} ~~are pressing~~ to the International Civil Aviation Organization to investigate this crime ^{at an urgent special session of the Council.}

Fourth, we are listening carefully to the views of private groups, both American and international, who have a special interest in civil air safety -- airline pilots, passenger associations and others -- so that we can work with them to improve the security of air transport.

Fifth, in the economic area in general, we will redouble our efforts with our Allies to end the flow of military and strategic items to the Soviet Union. We have already made progress in this area. We ^{are striving} ~~hope~~ for more.

We will pursue every course of action to confront the Soviets with the just demands of the world public. That is why Secretary Shultz must and will proceed with his scheduled meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko in Madrid this week.

(Elliott)
September 5, 1983
2:00 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL TELEVISION ADDRESS: FLIGHT 007.
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1983

My fellow Americans, I am coming before you tonight about a matter that continues to weigh heavily on our minds -- the attack last week by the Soviet Union against 269 innocent men, women and children aboard an unarmed Korean passenger plane. *This is* That was a crime against humanity we can never forget.

Our prayers tonight are with the victims and their families in this terrible time of grief. Our hearts go out to all of them -- to brave people like Katherine McDonald, the wife of a Congressman, whose composure and eloquence on the day of her husband's death are a tribute to the ideals he so courageously represented.

The parents of one slain couple wired me: "Our daughter . . . and her husband . . . died on Korean Airline Flight 007. Their deaths were the result of the Soviet Union violating every concept of human rights." The emotions of these parents -- grief, shock, anger -- are shared by civilized people everywhere. We are witnessing an explosion of condemnation throughout the world.

Let me make one thing plain: There is absolutely no justification, either legal or moral, for what the Soviets did. As one newspaper in India said, "If every passenger plane . . . is fair game for home air forces . . . it will be the end to civil aviation as we know it."

Nor is this the first time the Soviet Union has shot at and hit a civilian airliner when it overflowed their territory. As a matter of fact, in 1978, the Soviets positively identified one aircraft as a civilian airliner, the pilot read the name on the side of the aircraft, and then was given a command to shoot it down. The plane escaped, but when it made a crash landing on the ice, innocent civilians lost their lives.

The United States Government does not fire on foreign aircraft over U.S. territory, even though commercial aircraft from the Soviet Union and Cuba have overflowed sensitive U.S. military facilities. We and other civilized countries believe in the tradition of offering help to mariners and pilots who are lost or in distress, on the sea or in the air. We believe in following procedures to prevent a tragedy, not to provoke one.

But despite the savagery of their crime, the universal reaction against it, and the evidence of their complicity, the Soviets still refuse to tell the truth. They have persistently refused to admit that their pilot fired on the aircraft. Indeed, they have not even told the Russian people that a plane went down. The Soviet Government calls the whole thing an accident.

Check
tape

I call it murder. Let me repeat the stark words of the Soviet pilot himself: ^{after} "Missile warheads locked on. I have executed the launch. The target is destroyed."

The world must hear these words. Tomorrow the Security Council of the United Nations will hear them when a tape recording of the pilot's comments are played in public.

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I have long believed that a system which, at its core, renounces God and humanitarian ideals, wantonly disregards individual rights and the value of human life, and seeks constantly to expand and dominate other nations, poses a serious danger to the civilized world. This latest outrage is just one more indication of the glaring gap between Soviet words and deeds.

In recent years, the Soviets have rigged up one of the most elaborate and expensive propaganda machines in the world -- all designed to portray themselves as peacemakers. But now that carefully cultivated image is being stripped bare. Rather than come clean to the world; rather than immediately and publicly investigate the incident, explain to the world how it came about, punish those guilty of this crime, cooperate in efforts to find the wreckage, recover the bodies, offer compensation to the families, and work to prevent a repetition, the Soviets are doing just the opposite. They are mobilizing their entire government behind a massive cover-up.

Not long ago, in a tragic accident, a Soviet passenger boat struck a bridge while traveling down the Volga River. Hundreds of Soviet citizens died. The Soviet Government immediately had one of its most senior officials lead an inquiry. Within a very short time, the government announced its findings. Negligence was found and procedures were instituted to prevent further accidents. Certainly the Soviet Government bears a heavy responsibility for launching a similar investigation of ~~the~~ *its* attack on the civilian airliner.

The Soviet Union is paying a heavy price in the eyes of world opinion. They can change their attitude, and I pray they will. But, as long as they continue to mislead and distort, the civilized world will condemn them. If they meant to engage in an act of intimidation, they have provoked exactly the opposite reaction. For on the lips of people throughout the world tonight is one word, one word directed at the Soviet leadership. That word is defiance; defiance in the face of this unspeakable act and the political system that excuses it and tries to cover it up.

Now when I heard about this attack, my first reaction was probably like yours -- horror mixed with fury. Who can forget that, over the years, this same regime has imprisoned half of Europe; put down peaceful movement toward democracy in Czechoslovakia and Poland; invaded, gassed and killed citizens in Afghanistan; condoned the torture and suffering of millions in Southeast Asia; and used terrorism and Cuban surrogates to destabilize countries throughout Africa and Latin America?

In the old days, "an eye for an eye" would have been just and appropriate. Today such retribution would be just, but it is no longer appropriate.

The world has always been filled with danger, but now it is even more dangerous. In this nuclear world, certain rules from olden times can no longer apply. As citizens of the United States, we are responsible first and foremost for the safety and freedom, not just of ourselves but our children and grandchildren.

It is the duty of all of us, as leaders and citizens of the civilized world, to respond calmly, but firmly, to provocation. We want justice. But we must act not just for today, but for the long-term future.

We must steadfastly gird ourselves for what John F. Kennedy called "the long twilight struggle." From the beginning of this Administration, our policy toward the Soviets has been based on realism. It recognizes the one, hard reality that has never changed: The Soviets respect only those who live and negotiate from a position of strength.

Our most immediate challenge to this atrocity is to ensure that we make the skies safer and that we seek just compensation for the families of those who were killed. That's why I returned to Washington to consult with my advisers, with congressional leaders of both parties, and with representatives of other countries about the steps we should take.

For our part, this is what we have done and are trying to do:

-- We immediately told the world the shocking facts. We did so honestly, responsibly, and carefully, as we determined the facts ourselves.

// -- Despite Soviet resistance, we are conducting and assisting search efforts in international waters near the tragedy.

-- We are continuing to press the Soviet leaders to behave honorably by disclosing the facts, taking corrective action, making restitution, and providing concrete assurances that such

wanton acts will never be repeated. And let me say here that I believe compensation to the families of those victims is an absolute moral duty the Soviets must assume.

-- We are taking a number of steps to make clear to the Soviets our deep feelings of revulsion. In my consultation with the congressional leaders, I asked them to pass a joint congressional resolution condemning this crime as soon as they return to Washington.

-- We will not renew our bilateral agreement for cooperation in the field of transportation. And we will suspend negotiation of several other bilateral arrangements.

-- We also reaffirm our exclusion of the Soviet airline Aeroflot from the United States.

-- I am sending Secretary Shultz to Madrid tomorrow. I have instructed him to make the Soviet crime the principal subject of his meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko.

Some steps we can take ourselves. But the most effective short-term steps must be in concert with other concerned nations. At least a dozen countries were represented in that downed aircraft. The Republic of Korea lost more lives than any other. This issue is not between the Soviet Union and the United States; it is between the Soviet regime and humanity.

I am directing Secretary of State Shultz, Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick at the U.N. and our ambassadors in many lands to sit down as soon as they can with their counterparts from other nations to see what the civilized world, united as almost never

before, can do to address this issue. It is essential that we act not alone, but in concert.

Already, we are taking some steps forward:

First, along with Korea and Japan, we called an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council. Debate began Friday. On that first day, Korea, Japan, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, France, China, the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Zaire all joined us in expressing horror at the Soviet action.

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Second, we will work with other nations to seek reparations for all who were killed. There are forums, such as the International Court of Justice, where these crimes should legitimately be settled.

Third, and very important, we are cooperating with other countries to find better means to ensure the safety of civil aviation. Unless and until the Soviets satisfy the cries of humanity for justice, their airline Aeroflot should not be accepted as a normal member of the international civil air community. And we have joined with other countries to press the International Civil Aviation Organization to investigate this crime at an urgent special session of the Council.

Fourth, we are listening carefully to the views of private groups, both American and international, who have a special interest in civil air safety -- airline pilots, passenger associations and others -- so that we can work with them to improve the security of air transport. Their outrage is loud and clear.

Fifth, in the economic area in general, we will redouble our efforts with our Allies to end the flow of military and strategic items to the Soviet Union. We have already made progress in this area. We hope for more.

We will pursue every course of action to confront the Soviets with the just demands of the world public. That is why Secretary Shultz must and will proceed with his scheduled meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko in Madrid this week.

As we work with other countries to see that justice is done, I hope that all of us, as citizens of this great and free land, will remember the larger lesson of this terrible tragedy. We live in a dangerous world. Let us keep our eyes on the long-term challenges to freedom and peace. The real test of our resolve is to remain steady, united and strong.

Senator Henry Jackson, a wise and revered statesman, and one who probably understood the Soviets as well as any American in history, warned us, "the greatest threat the United States now faces is posed by the Soviet Union." But, Senator Jackson said: "If America maintains a strong deterrent -- and only if it does -- this Nation will continue to be a leader in the crucial quest for enduring peace among nations."

The late Senator made that statement only 41 days ago, on the Senate floor, speaking in behalf of the MX missile program -- a program he considered vital to restore America's strategic parity with the Soviets. In his speech, Senator Jackson quoted the imprisoned Soviet dissident, Andrei Sakharov. He, too, has urged the West to build the MX.

The Congress will be facing key votes on the MX and defense appropriations as soon as it returns from recess. I urge the Members of that distinguished body: Ponder long and hard the Soviets' aggression before you cast any vote that would weaken the security and safety of the American people.

I would also hope that the Europeans can now understand the need for the Pershing missiles -- missiles that would not be necessary if the Soviets were not already intimidating the continent with hundreds of SS-20 rockets, and if they did not insist on keeping them there. If the Soviets have no compunction about shooting down unarmed aircraft, will they have any compunction about shooting on an unprotected city?

Until the Soviets join the rest of the world community, we simply must have the strength to deal with them. That is why rebuilding this Nation's military and economic strength, and helping our allies and friends build theirs, has been such an important goal of this Administration from January 20, 1981.

When John F. Kennedy was President, defense spending as a percentage of the Federal budget was nearly twice as high as today. And since that period, the Soviet Union has undertaken, and carried out, the most massive military build-up the world has ever known.

Realism and strength are essential. But, if we are to succeed in our long-term effort to bring the Soviets into the world community of nations, we must also talk to them. We must tell them what the world expects from them: The world expects their cooperation in building a safer place to live.

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Peace is our top priority -- peace through strength and peace through mutual and verifiable reductions in the weapons of war. And that is why I have sent Ambassador Nitze back to Geneva for the next round of negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Our policy of seeking to reduce the arms burden has not changed and will not change.

My fellow citizens, as we come together in the true spirit of America, to help the families harmed by the Soviet's aggression, let us also rededicate ourselves to the goals we have pursued from the beginning of the Administration. Let us go forward with policies based on realism, strength and a willingness to talk. We know it will be hard to make a nation that rules its own people through force to cease using force against the rest of the world. But that is the task before us.

This is not a role we sought -- we preach no manifest destiny. But like Americans who began this country and brought forth this last, best hope of mankind, history has asked much of the Americans of our own time. Much we have already given. Much more we must be prepared to give.

Let us have faith, in Abraham Lincoln's words, "that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it." If we do, if we stick together and move forward with courage, then some good will have come from this monstrous wrong that we will carry with us and remember for the rest of our lives.

Thank you, God bless you, and good night.