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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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**Collection Name** DEAVER, MICHAEL: FILES

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| ID    | Doc Type | Document Description  | No of Pages | Doc Date | Restrictions |
|-------|----------|---|-------------|----------|--------------|
| 61744 | MEMO     | EAGLEBURGER TO THE PRESIDENT RE DEVELOPMENTS ON KORAN AIRLINES INCIDENT | 1           | 9/6/1983 | B1           |
| 61745 | PAPER    | RE KAL SHOOTDOWN  | 1           | 9/7/1983 | B1 B3        |

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing  
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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# SPECIAL REPORT

## Foreign Media Reaction

September 6, 1983

### PRESIDENT'S TV ADDRESS--WORLD REACTION TO DOWNING OF JET - V

#### Summary

The President's television speech to the nation last night made banner headlines throughout most of the world today.

Early assessment of it in Western Europe and the Far East cited Mr. Reagan for moderation although some felt, as did today's nationalistic Daily Mail, that "after all the tough talk he pulls his punches."

BBC today said that the President, "speaking eloquently and carrying a fairly small stick," gave a "vintage Reagan" performance.

London's sensationalist left-leaning Daily Mirror thought that "the tough talking President...went soft on the Russians" because U.S. defense officials admitted that RC-135 planes "sometimes flew behind civil airlines while monitoring Russian radar." This, the paper said, put the President in a "tricky position."

Generally, early comment seemed to approve of the tone of the speech although there was recognition that it would not be approved by everybody. Stockholm's liberal tabloid Expressen said it was "a disappointment to American hawks and came as a relief to the peace movement." But Tokyo's Yomiuri held that the President's remarks "were moderate."

Media observers everywhere were impressed by the President's use of the tape recording of the Soviet pilots as they attacked the airliner. In London, Independent Television News made extensive use of extracts from the President's remarks with the main focus on the tape.

At the same time, media worldwide continued to condemn the Soviet Union for its action, and this outpouring increasingly included expressions of impatience with the Soviet Union's failure to satisfactorily explain the attack. West Berlin's Volksblatt Berlin held that "time has run out for the USSR to give a credible explanation."



## WESTERN EUROPE

### BRITAIN

Electronic media coverage of President Reagan's remarks last night on the South Korean jet incident judged they were "milder than expected."

Headlines in London today emphasized the playing of voice tapes of the Soviet pilots as they attacked the KAL plane and Moscow's reaction to the speech

#### "Anxious Russians Fear War"

London headlines today were "Canada Cuts Last Aeroflot Link to North America...Spy Plane Was Back at Base--U.S...Anxious Russians Fear War But Rally Round Flag" and "U.K. Rejects Moscow's Explanation" (Times), "Reagan Reveals 'Massacre' Tapes--'The Target Is Destroyed...Missile Talks 'Not Affected'" and "East-West Confrontation Looms" (Daily Telegraph).

#### "Soviet Sources Admit Shooting Down Jumbo"

Additional headlines in London were "Soviet Sources Admit Shooting Down Jumbo...Reagan Sends Tapes to U.N." and "Jet Disaster 'Unavoidably Linked' to Geneva Arms Talks" (Guardian), "U.S. Fanning Hysteria Over Airliner, Soviets Claim" and "Jet Disaster Could Hit Soviet Development Plan" (Financial Times), "Reagan Plays Atrocity Tapes on TV" (Daily Mail), "Reagan the Softie--After All the Tough Talk He Pulls His Punches Over Jet" (Daily Mirror), "Reagan Calls For Ban on Red Jets" (Sun) and "The Fatal Blunders--Now Both Sides Must Come Clean Over Jet Disaster" (Daily Express).

#### ITN Broadcast Featured Specific Measures

ITN's noon bulletin today led with the President's television address making extensive use of extracts and focusing on the tapes of the Soviet pilots making the attack.

The broadcast also featured the President's announcement of specific measures against the Soviet Union. The report said the Secretary of State is expected to take a firm line when he meets Gromyko in Madrid on Saturday.

The report concluded with an item on the resumption of the general arms talks saying they were resuming "in the shadow of the airline incident."



### "Vintage Reagan"

BBC television at noon today led with Washington correspondent Martin Bell's report that the President, speaking "eloquently and carrying a fairly small stick," gave a "vintage Reagan" performance but that the reprisals were "a good deal milder" than expected.

### "Dramatized With Recordings of Soviet Pilots"

The conservative Daily Telegraph today ran Washington correspondent Richard Beeston's report that "President Reagan last night delivered a denunciation of the Soviet Union's action in shooting down the Korean airliner which he dramatized with recordings of the conversations of Soviet pilots as they prepared to destroy the aircraft.

"In a television address in which he referred several times to what can only be called 'the Korean airline massacre,' Mr. Reagan announced a number of measures against the Soviet Union.

### "Omnibus Claim for Compensation"

"Mr. Reagan said he would be presenting an omnibus claim for compensation for the families of more than 55 American nationals who were among the 269 people lost aboard the airliner.

"While playing the recording of the Russian pilots' voices as they tracked the Korean airliner, Mr. Reagan gave this paraphrase: 'In this tape he describes his search for what he calls the target. He reports he has it in sight. Indeed, he pulls up to within about a mile of the Korean plane, mentions its flashing strobe light and that its navigation lights are on.

"He then reports he is reducing speed to get behind the airliner, gives his distance from the plane at various points in this maneuver and finally announces what can only be called the Korean airline massacre."

### "Reagan Tough-Talking...But Soft on Russians"

The left-oriented, Daily Mirror's front-page lead said today, "Tough-talking President Reagan went soft on the Russians last night over the Korean jumbo jet disaster.

"After threatening all kinds of retaliation, he settled for 'the cancellation of cultural and transport cooperation' with Russia and a demand for compensation for the relatives of people who died.

"His about-face was caused by the news that America had a spy plane in the area where a Russian fighter shot down the Korean 747, killing all 269 people aboard.



"Canada which lost ten people in the crash banned all landings by Aeroflot...but Reagan could not even do that. No Aeroflot airliners fly to the United States.

#### "Russians Have Not Admitted Shooting Down Boeing"

"The Russians have not admitted shooting down the Boeing 747 jumbo although they have said their fighters could have mistaken it for an American spy plane. The spy plane concerned is a military version of the Boeing 707--which the Americans say could not be mistaken for the jumbo.

"But American defense officials admitted that the spy planes, known as RC-135s, sometimes flew behind civil airlines while monitoring Russian radar. President Reagan was therefore in a tricky position in his bid to retaliate when he went on nationwide TV.

#### TASS and U.S. Statements Compared

Today's Financial Times reported from London and Paris that "the Soviet Union last night accused Washington of fanning hysteria over the shooting down of a South Korean passenger jet...in order to facilitate the deployment of new missiles in Western Europe.

"This bitter attack on the U.S. carried by TASS...was closely followed by an evening news report on Soviet television that came the closest yet to admitting Soviet forces had shot down the aircraft.

"The Soviet accusation contrasts with U.S. statements that the United States had no intention of breaking off the Geneva arms control talks as their importance transcended the rise in international tension provoked by the aircraft incident.

"It also contradicts an earlier statement by the chief Soviet negotiator in Geneva...that the latest incident should have no bearing on the talks."

#### WEST GERMANY

#### "Incident Will Sharpen World Crisis"

Today's left-of-center Frankfurter Rundschau held that "now that the two world powers and their allies are confronting each other with almost no chance of reconciliation, the downing of the jumbo jet will even sharpen the crisis..."



"Europeans Can Hope Not Too Much Will Be Asked of Them"

Munich's center-left Sueddeutsche Zeitung remarked today that "since the Americans have so far virtually abstained from seeking consultation with the allies, and since Reagan himself has referred to moderate reaction, the Europeans can hope that not too much will be asked of them..."

WEST BERLIN

"Reagan Must Resist Calls Drastic Retaliatory Measures"

Pro-Social Democratic Volksblatt Berlin said today, "Time has run out for the USSR to give a credible explanation....Yet one must not give in to impulsive emotions demanding action....President Reagan resisted the temptation of giving this incident the dimension of the Gulf of Tonkin..."

"President Reagan must now pass a test consisting in calls by the large majority in America for drastic retaliatory measures that would lead to a direct military confrontation and of adequate sanctions that, as opposed to the Olympic boycott in Moscow would have a good chance of being implemented."

Conservative Berliner Morgenpost said today, "It is interesting that Moscow offers something like an official statement, even if the statement is unbelievable..."

"The fact that it throws a bad light on its own air defense indicates how much the Kremlin feels disturbed..."

In another item the paper observed that the Soviets "can only be pleased" over the delay of Foreign Minister Gromyko's visit to Paris since its purpose, "to break France out of the Western 'missile front,'" would not be served under the present circumstances.

"Loss of Confidence in International Relations Will Reach Dangerous Peak"

Independent Tagesspiegel today ran the report of Washington correspondent Emil Boelke that "Even if the USSR is unable to give firm assurance that such an incident will never happen again, the loss of confidence in international relations will reach a dangerous dimension."

"The United States and the USSR are involved in very complex security negotiations concerning the entire area of...nuclear armament. It lies in the nature of the matter that such negotiations cannot be conducted and agreements cannot be reached without confidence on both sides..."



SWITZERLAND

"U.S. Trying to Orchestrate International Reaction"

Prestigious Neue Zuercher Zeitung carried the report of Washington correspondent Hans Rudolph Kramer that "the U.S. Administration is trying to orchestrate international reaction without seeming to be the initiator..."

CANADA

"Compensation Is Absolute Moral Duty"

Major circulation Toronto Star bannered today "Canada Bans Aeroflot Flights as U.S. Demands Soviet Apology" and subheaded "No Legal or Moral Justification for What Soviets Did: Reagan" above a Washington correspondent's story. He wrote:

"President Reagan has demanded reparations for the families of victims of the 'Korean airline massacre' in which 269 unarmed men, women and children were shot down Thursday by a Soviet fighter. Such compensation is an absolute moral duty which the Soviets must assume, the President said..."

"Canada Is Tired of Waiting for Soviets to Explain"

In a twin story, subheaded "We Want Explanations, We Want Compensation: MacEachen Says," the paper reported that "Canada has cut off the Soviet Union's only direct air transport link with North America.

"External Affairs Minister Allan MacEachen told a news conference yesterday that beginning today, twice-weekly flights by Soviet airline Aeroflot to Montreal's Mirabel Airport will be suspended for 60 days.

"He said Canada is tired of waiting for the Soviet Government to explain its shooting down of a South Korean airliner carrying 269 people, including ten Canadians....'I hope this suspension will prompt a review by Soviet authorities of the merits of continuing to evade their responsibility for the deaths of Canadians and of so many other innocent passengers.

"'We want explanations, we want justification, we want compensation for the victims,' MacEachen declared."

A similar account was carried by Ottawa's English-language Citizen.



## SWEDEN

### "President Reagan Deeply Disappointed American Hawks"

In Stockholm, today's liberal tabloid Expressen ran the headline "Reagan's Cautiousness Surprises Entire United States" over a story that "President Reagan last night deeply disappointed all American hawks...and equally relieved the peace movement..."

Social Democratic Aftonbladet said of the President's remarks, "No surprises. This was the most common reaction to Reagan's speech last night. The United States apparently has decided to keep a low profile and, as one could expect, avoid considerably worsening relations with the Soviet Union."

## SPAIN

President Reagan's television address was headlined in all leading papers in Madrid today.

## EASTERN EUROPE

## SOVIET UNION

### "Aggressive, Hateful Speech"

Moscow English-language radio reported today that "President Reagan has urged Congress to approve his giant military programs, using the incident with the incursion of the plane in the airspace of the Soviet Union as a pretext.

"In an aggressive, hateful speech President Reagan stressed the need to further rearm America. He admitted that legislators had serious objections against the unbridled arms race.



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"In an aggressive, hateful speech President Reagan stressed the need to further rearm America. He admitted that legislators had serious objections against the unbridled arms race.

"The U.S. President made bitter, slanderous attacks against the Soviet Union in a bid to arouse an outburst of anti-Soviet sentiment in the American nation. 'We must maintain peace through force,' he said in conclusion. President Reagan reported that the American side was breaking off negotiations with the Soviet Union on a number of issues of mutual interest and urged U.S. allies to introduce trade sanctions against the Soviet Union."

#### "CIA Responsible for Plane 'Provocation,' Passenger Deaths"

Moscow Krasnaya Zvezda, commented in its first edition today: "Irrefutable facts prove that the intrusion of an American-made South Korean aircraft into the USSR's air space in the Far East was in no way fortuitous.

"It was an operation that was planned in advance and prepared in detail... judging by the handwriting, by the American CIA.

"When (such a dangerous provocation) has been carried out, a hypocritical attempt is made to blame somebody else for what has been done and use the Soviet Union's legitimate actions in defense of the inviolability of its borders and its air space as a pretext for unleashing an anti-Soviet slander campaign on an unprecedented scale...a campaign in which its initiators would like to enlist not only the U.S. allies in military-political blocs, but virtually the entire world community.

"If you familiarize yourself with statements by American officials, the content of radio and television broadcasts and newspaper reports, you get the impression not that the USSR's air space has been violated but that a Soviet aircraft has intruded into the skies over California or Texas. But the Kamchatka Peninsula and Sakhalin Island are Soviet territory."



### "President Reagan Makes Filthy Insinuations Against USSR"

Today's Pravda, in an article stating that the shooting down of the Korean airline was "prepared in advance" by the United States and South Korea and "expected," claimed that President Reagan in his speeches has "repeatedly" made "filthy insinuations against the Soviet Union."

The article headed "What Lies Behind the 'Incident'" said, "The frantic anti-Soviet hysteria around the disappearance of the South Korean aircraft...is taking on increasingly unbridled and coarse forms."

"The coordinated and deliberate character of both the provocative flight itself and the broad anti-Soviet campaign subsequently unleashed by the U.S. Administration is worthy of attention."

"It is evident that the 'incident' was prepared in advance and that--judging by what followed--was expected. It is also indicative that the first report about the disappearance of the aircraft came from the CIA..."

Referring to President Reagan's speeches, the article asked, "Do not the statements of the American President himself indicate the true purpose and the real meaning of the provocation that has been undertaken?"

"In any event the facts bear convincing witness to the fact that the South Korean airplane's coarse violation of the Soviet state border and deep intrusion into the Soviet Union's airspace were a deliberate action, which was planned in advance and pursued far-reaching political and military aims...."

"The American President is now expressing his 'indignation' at what has taken place and is speaking about the 'cruelty of the action that has been committed.' But surely it was not the Soviet side that planned and implemented this flight?"

"Surely it is the United States and Japan that, in accordance with international norms, bear the responsibility for observing the flight rules and insuring the flight's safety on an international route that lies within the zone they control?"

### "We Sweep Aside Accusations From the Other Side of the Ocean"

Moscow TASS international service in Russian today cited Pravda observer Vitaliy Korionov as saying, "We sweep aside the accusations and instructions from the other side of the ocean. We will not allow our borders to be violated and we know how to defend them. Let no one be in any doubt on this matter."



## POLAND

### "Groundless Accusations Against USSR"

Warsaw radio in Polish today said, "In connection with the disappearance of the South Korean Airlines civilian plane, U.S. President Ronald Reagan has made more groundless accusations against the Soviet Union.

"He has also announced that the United States is suspending talks with the Soviet Union on the further development of bilateral relations. The suspension of the talks (includes) agreements on cultural cooperation...and civil aviation, and talks on the opening of an American Consulate in Kiev and a Soviet Consulate in New York."

## YUGOSLAVIA

### Yugoslav News Agency Says Speech Showed "Moderation"

The Yugoslav news service Tanjug said today, "Using sharp words but exhibiting perceptible moderation in his proposal for concrete measures, U.S. President Ronald Reagan on Monday evening demanded an apology from the Soviet Union for the tragedy of the South Korean passenger plane and compensation for the families of the 269 victims.

"In a television appearance the U.S. President reiterated the charge that the South Korean Boeing 747 was shot down by Soviet fighters and that no mistake was involved. Reagan dismissed the possibility of the jumbo jet having been mistaken by the Soviet pilots for a U.S. RC-135 spy plane that was flying in the vicinity of the ill-fated airliner at the time.

"Reagan described the shooting down of the passenger aircraft as an act of barbarism which the world will never forget (and) added that the United States wants not vengeance but only the whole truth and assurances that nothing similar will happen again...

"In his charges against the Soviet Union, the U.S. President went so far as to put forward the thesis that such acts of barbarism are a product of Soviet society which, he asserted, seeks to put other nations under its domination and shows no respect for human rights."

### "Spy Plane...Under Cloak of CIA"

Belgrade's daily Borba carried an editorial today under the headline "Questions Without Answers." It held that "the reply of Moscow is perhaps incomplete, but rather clear....The Soviet reaction reflects anger due to the U.S. claims and speaks of the 'spy plane carrying 269 people under the cloak of the CIA.'



"The question why the Soviets shot down the plane still remains unanswered ....And there is still another less certain question--did they really fire in the first place?... (There is) yet another question. Would Washington be that angry had there been no U.S. citizens on that plane?"

#### Radio Talk Show Included Soviet Pilot Tapes

The popular Belgrade radio talk show "Studio B" today included a segment of the Soviet fighter tape recordings as released by the White House "so that listeners will know what Americans have been hearing" about the KAL downing.

#### "Tragic Mistake...But Unexplained Facts"

Today's Vecernji List of Zagreb carried an article headed, "Fatal Airplane Mistake?" It called the incident an "obvious, tragic mistake...still, there are a lot of unexplained facts."

The paper commented that "it would be naive to think that the downing of the South Korean airliner could have been done without the knowledge of higher circles. The Air Defense Command had surely informed higher authorities and the decision to shoot the plane down was not theirs."

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

#### "President Reagan Surely Had Been Informed"

A commentator in Rude Pravo yesterday stated that President Reagan...had surely been informed in detail by the American intelligence service about the course of the whole event (but) did not stop short of statements that call into question the Soviet Union's trustworthiness."

### EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

### JAPAN

#### Nakasone on Reagan Proposal

The Kyodo News Service reported this morning that Prime Minister Nakasone said, "Japan will make efforts in concert with the United States and other countries to establish facts about the incident at the U.N. and other opportunities."



It added that "when questioned about President Reagan's move to call on other countries to ban traffic of Soviet Aeroflot planes, Nakasone said Japan will take necessary steps in view of future Soviet moves concerning the incident."

"Posts and Telecommunications Minister Tokutaro Higaki, who is Acting Transport Minister, also took a cautious attitude in responding to the U.S. move due to its serious effects."

#### Soviets Brand Japanese Tapes "Fabrication"

The news agency carried a second report this morning stating that "the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo today branded as a 'fabrication' Japanese-monitored radio communications from a Soviet fighter that allegedly shot down (the KAL plane)."

#### Extensive Coverage of the Reagan Speech

In Tokyo today Publicly financed NHK television ran the speech live via satellite with simultaneous interpretation in Japanese.

All networks carried the tape recordings used by the President which, they said, made clear that a Soviet pilot reported the destruction of the KAL plane after launching a missile.

#### The President's Appeal to the World

Fuji television said that the President wanted to emphasize to Americans and to the world that the murderous attack indicated the nature of Soviet society. The network cited him as pointing out the need for Western nations to build up their military to cope with the Soviet Union.

#### Reagan's "Comparatively Moderate" Anti-Soviet Measures

Today's moderate Yomiuri reported that Mr. Reagan demanded an apology and compensation from the Soviet Union and announced independent and joint retaliatory measures with other countries.

In the paper's opinion, he made a "severe" verbal criticism of the USSR but the anti-Soviet measures taken were "comparatively moderate."

#### "Moderate" Washington Reaction to Speech

Liberal Asahi's Washington correspondent Sato today described Washington reaction to the President's speech as "rather moderate" compared to that following events in Afghanistan and Poland.



## A Difference In Interpreting Soviet Pilot's Communication?

Moderate Tokyo Shimbun today front-paged a report saying there appears to be an important difference in interpretation between the United States and Japan concerning the contents of the Soviet pilot's communication with ground control.

## SOUTH KOREA

### Major Electronic and Press Coverage of President's Speech

National television gave live coverage to the speech with a simultaneous translation of it. Leading papers front-paged full text or excerpts of the speech as well as Washington correspondents' reports on the President's emphases.

### ROK Government "Welcomes, Supports" Reagan Statement

Seoul domestic radio in Korean today quoted a spokesman for the ROK Government as saying "President Reagan made public the measures to be taken with each friendly country to counter the Soviet Union. Viewing his statement as being proper and just, the Government of South Korea welcomes and supports it.

### "U.S. Retaliatory Measures Are Quite Limited"

Today's moderately conservative Donga Ilbo said of the President's speech that "one cannot but get the impression that the U.S. retaliatory measures are quite limited in scale probably because excessively strong retaliatory measures would exert a negative influence on U.S. national interests and are apt to heighten tensions between the United States and the USSR."

### "President Reagan's Lukewarm First Step"

An editorial in today's Joongang Ilbo stated that "unfortunately, President Reagan's first step is lukewarm in contrast to our expectations....In a sense, the U.S. measures seem to focus on the improvement of the management of the incident and are not retaliatory measures."

An editorial in today's pro-Government Kyunghyang Shinmun was headed "Lukewarm U.S. Retaliatory Measures: We Expect a Second Step." In the paper's view, the measures "are not strong ones, corresponding to the world's feeling of indignation.

"We cannot but feel that President Reagan's measures did not come up to American public opinion ... and could be termed milder than those adopted by the United States during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.



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## SINGAPORE

### "Even Clumsy Bears Can be Coerced to Behave More Responsibly"

Today's independent Straits Times wrote: "It is clear that Moscow is more than prepared to ride out the storm of international affront, willy-nilly. For those who have been living under fairy-tale images of gentle and smiling Soviet Government officials receiving young American girls offering flowers and letters of peace, this latest tragedy must be a rude awakening.

"By all means short of shooting down every Aeroflot airliner in sight and declaring war on the Soviet Union, the world must not let the Russians get away scot-free. Even clumsy bears can be coerced to behave more responsibly."

## CHINA

### Report of Reagan Speech on KAL Incident

The New China News Agency today carried a Washington-datelined report saying that President Reagan last night "announced a series of restrictions on the Soviet Union in response to the downing of the South Korean commercial plane by a Soviet missile...

"Reagan said that the United States is 'cooperating with other countries to find better means to ensure the safety of civil aviation and to join us in not accepting Aeroflot as a normal member of the international civil air community unless and until, the Soviets satisfy the cries of humanity for justice.'"

## AUSTRALIA

### "Reagan's Outrage Stemmed From Humanitarian Concern"

Television and radio carried the President's speech live. Some outlets ran an interview afterwards with foreign affairs analyst and former Australian Ambassador to the United States Alan Renouf who reportedly said that the President's speech had recognized that economic sanctions had not worked in the past and "clearly his outrage (was motivated by) humanitarian concern."



### "Speech Was Short on Actual Retaliation Against USSR"

Australian Broadcasting Corporation Washington correspondent Richard Palfreyman concluded that Mr. Reagan's speech "was short on actual retaliation against the Soviet Union.

"In President Reagan's own words, the American response has been calm and measured. This staunchly anti-Communist President has resisted pressure from the far right of American politics to seek major punitive action against the Soviet Union, such as economic or political sanctions.

"Instead President Reagan has tried to unite world reaction in what is really a symbolic gesture of anger and disgust.

### "A Stern-Faced Ron Reagan"

Sydney television ran Los Angeles correspondent Barry Matheson's assertion that "it was a stern-faced Ron Reagan who tonight spent most of his twenty-minute nationally televised address assailing the Soviet Union for shooting down the Korean passenger plane.

### "Reagan Reveals Tapes of Death"

Today's Melbourne Herald front-paged a report of the Reagan speech by Washington correspondent Bruce Wilson under the headline "Reagan Unveils Tapes of Death--Punish Guilty for Horror."

The paper also ran the text of the Soviet pilot's conversation with ground control under the heading "Target Hit: Attack Pilot."

## LATIN AMERICA

### BRAZIL

### "Reagan Announces Mild Sanctions"

In Sao Paulo today, both major papers carried the text of the President's speech and news stories. Headlines read "Reagan: USSR Must Apologize" (O Estado de Sao Paulo) and "Reagan Announces Soft Sanctions... 'The Crime Must Not Be Forgotten'" (Folha de Sao Paulo).



## MEXICO

### "Reagan Accuses Moscow of 'Massacre'"

Papers in Mexico City carried excerpts from the text of the President's speech today.

Headlines read "Reagan Accuses Moscow of 'Massacre' and Suspends Agreements" (Unomasuno), "Reagan Announces Sanctions Against Moscow ...Suspends Cultural Exchanges...Soviet Union Should Compensate Families of Murdered Victims" (El Heraldo) and "Reagan Demands Moscow Offer Apologies" (Novedades).

Marxist El Dia headlined "Reagan Suspends Exchange Agreements With Soviet Union" and carried a statement released by the Soviet Ambassador that the incident was "one out of so many engineered by the CIA."

### "President Reagan Condemns Massacre in Violent Terms"

San Jose's leading daily La Nacion today led with a wire service article on the President's speech headlined: "Reagan Announces Suspension of Agreements with USSR" and "President Reagan Condemns Massacre in Violent Terms."

The paper's lead editorial today called for the Costa Rican Legislative Assembly to pass a motion proposed by the leaders of parliamentary parties condemning the Soviet Union for its "atrocious attack and destruction of a civilian airliner flying casually in Soviet skies."

The editorial sharply criticized the Communist deputy for refusing to sign the motion. It stated, "The crime is, as we have said, subhuman--a fact that in Western humanity has no explanation."

Independent La Republica today bannered the President's speech last night: "U.S. Takes Action Against the Russians."

### "Reagan Made Virulent, Anti-Soviet Speech"

Havana domestic service in Spanish today commented that "Ronald Reagan last night in a televised speech of virulent, anti-Soviet tone, announced a series of measures against the USSR, the pretext for which was the incident of a South Korean airplane which violated Soviet air space during an open mission of espionage."

"Reagan also took advantage of his appearance last night to exhort the Congress to approve the enormous military expenditure demand by his Administration."



## MIDDLE EAST

### JORDAN

#### Radio Jordan on "Sanctions Proposed by Reagan Against USSR"

In Amman, Radio Jordan was the only media outlet to report on the President's speech "proposing sanctions against the Soviet Union for downing the Korean plane."

Papers ran reports of world reaction, reporting Soviet assertions that the Korean jet resembled a U.S. spy aircraft. Jordan national TV and the independent Jordan Times highlighted a reported U.S. "disclosure of the presence of a spy plane shortly before the passenger aircraft strayed into the Soviet air space."

#### South Korean Ambassador Interviewed

The paper front-paged an interview with the South Korean ambassador in Amman "condemning the Soviets." Calling the downing of the plane "inhuman and barbaric," the Korean ambassador noted that "this is the worst incident in the history of aviation" and was "a clear violation of international law."

### UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

#### "RC-135 Used for Spying Exact Replica of the Korean Boeing"

President Reagan's speech came too late for papers in the United Arab Emirates.

On other aspects of the downing of the South Korean plane, semi-official al-Ittihad of Abu Dhabi today headlined "New Events in Incident of Korean Aircraft: Washington Admits Presence of American Spy Plane Behind Korean Passenger Airliner" and "American Official: We Do Not Possess Firm Evidence That Soviets Were Aware of Nature of Aircraft."

Widely circulated, anti-U.S. al-Khaleej, showing a photograph "from the archives" of a U.S. Air Force Boeing RC-135 "used for spying," said it was an "exact replica of the Korean Boeing." The paper headlined the photograph and story "Interesting Development: Washington Admits Presence of American Spy Plane Near Ill-Fated Airliner; Moscow Points to Similarity Between American and Korean Airplanes."



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Mike  
Deaver*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 7, 1983

Dear Nancy:

At Mike's suggestion, I am attaching most recent press comments on the President's measured response to the Soviet massacre. In my first notification of the incident and the high probability that Soviet Migs downed a civilian aircraft, the President's first response was "If this has occurred we must guard against overreaction in our response." The national security community has attempted to follow his wisdom.

If you have any questions concerning this or any other matter in our area of responsibility, please call.

Sincerely,

*Jim*

DECLASSIFIED  
Sec. 3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended  
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006  
BY NARA *amf* DATE *1/16/09*


~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 7, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK 

SUBJECT: Korean Airline Massacre - USIA/VOA Actions

Charlie Wick and VOA Director Ken Tomlinson and their organizations continue to reinforce the impact of ongoing world reaction against the Soviet action:

- The message was delivered through international broadcasting as the lead subject on all VOA output (961 program hours in 42 languages per week). Ninety transmitter hours to the USSR per day have been added. Ken Tomlinson personally contacted the BBC on the first day to stimulate their activity, and followed up with broadcasters of other countries
- USIA facilitated worldwide television satellite coverage of all major events. We are sending fifteen programs in video cassette by air overnight delivery to posts for TV placement and Embassy briefings.
- Washington, New York and Los Angeles Foreign Press Centers helped resident foreign journalists cover the story, with special briefings and round the clock operation during the Labor Day weekend.
- Written texts of your speech and fifty other major statements, briefings, and articles were transmitted worldwide in English, Arabic, Spanish, and French in special daily wireless file reports.
- In an enormously successful special project, USIA produced the videotape used by Jeane Kirkpatrick at the UN Security Council yesterday. A one hour TV co-production with world networks on international reaction is in preparation.

Yesterday, we tasked the Interagency Public Diplomacy system to come up with an analysis of the impact of the incident on your Far East trip, to include suggestions for creative initiatives such as your possible participation in a memorial service for victims of the tragedy in the countries you visit.



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| ID    | Document Type<br>Document Description  | No of<br>pages | Doc Date | Restrictions |
|-------|--|----------------|----------|--------------|
| 61744 | MEMO<br><br>EAGLEBURGER TO THE PRESIDENT RE<br>DEVELOPMENTS ON KORAN AIRLINES INCIDENT | 1              | 9/6/1983 | B1           |

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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|-----------|---|-------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 61745     | PAPER<br>RE KAL SHOOTDOWN                           | 1                             | 9/7/1983        | B1<br>B3            |

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September 6, 1983



MEMORANDUM FOR: Judge William P. Clark, Jr.  
FROM: Charles Z. Wick *Wick for*  
SUBJECT: Korean Shoot-down Activities, September 1-6  
REFERENCE: Your Request for Capsule Summary Report Today

1. Our objectives are:

- \* Reinforce impact of ongoing world reaction against the Soviet shoot-down
- \* Inform peoples without ready access to commercial media for political (USSR) or technological reasons (Third World)
- \* Sustain continued worldwide attention on the issue

2. Action taken by USIA/Washington and its 206 overseas posts:

Message content and emphasis - two policy directives issued drawn from State Department guidance

Monitoring foreign opinion for USG foreign affairs agencies and crossplay by USIA media - five daily Special Foreign Media Reaction Reports produced

Delivering the Message

- \* International Broadcasting -- Issue is ongoing lead subject in all VOA output (961 program hours in 42 languages per week); 90 transmitter hours to USSR have been added per day
- \* Television -- Facilitated worldwide satellited coverage of all major events; 15 programs in videocassette sent by air overnight delivery to posts for TV placement and Embassy briefings with officials and contacts
- \* Washington and New York Foreign Press Centers -- Facilitated coverage activities by resident foreign journalists
- \* Print -- Texts of 50 major statements (President's speech; etc.), briefings (like Eagleburger's yesterday) and other relevant articles transmitted in English, Arabic, Spanish and French special daily Wireless Files
- \* Special Projects -- Produced video document used by Ambassador Kirkpatrick in UNSC meeting today; one-hour TV coproduction with world networks on international reaction is in preparation



EDITORIALS/COLUMNISTSAIRLINER SHOOTING

Where is Reagan's Leadership? -- "President Reagan was eloquent indeed...on the heinousness of Soviet behavior in shooting down an unarmed Korean passenger plane found in airspace the U.S.S.R. claims. He was equally eloquent in debunking proffered justifications for what was done. Beyond that, though, he did no more than pelt the swaggering offender with the adjectives of pious outrage...." (Washington Times, 9/6)

Dealing with the Russians -- "...while there is an understandable urge to want to punish the Soviet Union -- and some international action is surely appropriate -- unwise retaliation could in the end make matters even worse. To cut off nuclear arms talks, for instance, or to cancel the recent U.S.-Soviet grain deal as some American lawmakers suggest, might provide a sense of self-satisfaction. But it would also harm the West's interests. President Reagan is to be commended for a measured, farsighted response that seeks to avoid sharp confrontation...." (Christian Science Monitor, 9/6)

U.S.S.R. is Barbarous, But We Still Must Live on Same Planet -- "...The meeting this week in Madrid...takes on new importance. The document to be signed, with its focus on human rights, is now thrown into sharp relief. Secretary of State George Shultz' mandate is clear. The Madrid meeting must be used to call the Soviet Union to account for its murder of 269 people and for its gross disregard of human rights in general -- while the world looks on. Perhaps we can do little more than this to register our shock and anger -- but we can surely do no less." (Robert Hunter, Newsday, 9/6)

A Measured Response -- "The United States' formal response to the Soviet Union's murderous destruction of an unarmed South Korean jetliner with 269 people on board is likely to strike many Americans as embarrassingly lame, perhaps scarcely better than nothing....Cast in a less emotional light, however, Mr. Reagan's approach is the eminently correct one. Without resorting to saber-rattling threats that might senselessly escalate international tensions, and without opting for unilateral economic sanctions that might harm Americans far more than Russians, the President is keeping the pressure of world opinion firmly on the Soviets and, by doing relatively little, handing them a propaganda defeat from which it may be difficult for them to recover...." (Dallas Times Herald, 9/6)

No Excuse for Attack -- "The Soviet warplane that shot down a Korean jetliner Thursday, apparently killing 269 people and causing an international chill of rare proportions, also raised seemingly unanswerable questions....But, on the day it took place, only one conclusion seemed possible -- the one that Secretary of State George Shultz drew during his press conference. There can be, he said, 'no excuse whatsoever for this appalling act.'" (Des Moines Register, 9/2)

For Firmness and Caution -- "...President Reagan and his advisers are...taking the appropriate and responsible course, proceeding with the Geneva arms talks, having Secretary of State George P. Shultz meet with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko in Madrid, eschewing retaliation on trade. The international approach is best...." (Los Angeles Times, 9/5)



EDITORIALS (continued)

Reportage with a Spin — "On Saturday and again yesterday, The Washington Post prominently displayed on its front page articles that could not help but increase skepticism of the U.S. version of the downing of the Korean Air Lines 747. Did those two leading stories merely reflect editor's judgment about what was new and necessary information....we suspect that The Post was also exercising what has come to be an institutional premise that the White House is to be trusted no further than Ben Bradlee can toss it, particularly the Reagan White House." (Washington Times, 9/6)

A Barbarous Crime — "...the Reagan Administration ought to be rethinking the wisdom of its recent efforts at a 'thaw' in U.S.-Soviet relations." (San Diego Union, 9/2)

Soviets Murder 269 — More — "Weighing what we might appropriately do only reminds us of the inadequacy of our choices. That is something the Soviets know, and is one reason they laugh at us as they continue their aggression." (Chattanooga News Free Press, 9/2)

--end--



LOS ANGELES TIMES  
September 6, 1983

# Reagan: Forceful Restraint

President Reagan tried on the mantle of statesmanship in his televised address to the American people Monday night. It is a surprisingly good fit and it will give him better wear than the sheer saber-rattling in which he might have indulged a year or two ago.

The language in parts of the address were justifiably strident—calling the shooting down of an unarmed Republic of Korea 747 airliner carrying 269 innocent people from 17 nations a “massacre.”

But the words were not the message, which was restrained, focusing on a need for the community of nations to share in punishing a renegade member for a brutal act, even if the act may have resulted from a barbaric blunder.

In short, he followed an important axiom of statesmanship and crisis management—look at where you want to be strategically five or 10 years from now rather than where you could be politically in a month.

In that respect, Reagan put full emphasis on a need for continuing negotiations to try to slow down and then reverse the arms race. He called for an international effort to compel the Soviet Union to

follow the same rules that other nations follow in global aviation.

As he said, it may not be possible to persuade an isolated, blustering, sullen and trigger-happy government like that of the Soviet Union to stop using force not only on its own people but also on others. But also, as he said, “we must try.”

The President and his advisers apparently want more time to think of the value of negotiations on cultural exchanges and other relationships that had seemed possible in recent weeks after months of recrimination. He has suspended the talks. The question he now must answer is whether total isolation of a warrior-state will make it more amenable to reason or push it further into truculence. We would think that some continued contact is to be preferred.

Reagan's forceful insistence on an apology and reparations and his balanced insistence on moving with some caution into the future is likely to win approval from most Americans, except for a forgettable fringe element calling for retaliation. It will help him even more abroad, where he will need support for steps to impress on the Soviets the revulsion the world feels at what they have done.



# U.S. response to Soviet attack should be tough and measured.

By Richard Allen

(Richard Allen, former national security adviser to President Reagan, wrote the following analysis of the Soviet downing of a South Korean airliner — which killed 269 people — for *The Washington Times*.)

The Soviet act of mass destruction in shooting down an unarmed civilian airliner is heinous and dramatic — but not any more heinous or dramatic than Soviet actions in the past.

In fact, there has been a string of unexplained Soviet actions recently: The assassination of Benigno Aquino in the Philippines, the attack on our Marines in Lebanon and now this execution of more than 250 people aboard an unarmed Korean 747.

It's intriguing, too, that the Soviets moved these jet fighters into Sakhalin Island bases only about 10 days ago. I long ago ceased to believe in coincidence, even though the linkage in these incidents is tenuous. But it is reasonable to ask a big question: What is going on in the Soviet Union?

Is the situation out of control in the Kremlin? Doesn't the leadership there have an idea how monstrously an act like this will be considered across the world? Weren't the Soviet leaders aware of the consequences this would have? That air-to-air rocket that brought down a civilian aircraft accidentally intruding on Soviet airspace was analogous to a driver deciding to execute a death sentence on a pedestrian who was crossing the street on a yellow warning light.

It is possible that the awful mess could have been an accident — but not likely. Had one of the Soviet fighter pilots gone insane or had there been a maniac somewhere along in the Soviet command-and-control system, Defense Minister Ustinov would have known about the attack in five minutes. If the downing of the Korean airliner had been due, say, to the recklessness of some Soviet pilot or commander, why can't they say so? In that case, why not be candid, knowing how shattering the world reaction would be?

The Soviets have been incredibly lethargic in responding to this. They did

## NEWS ANALYSIS

not react at all until Secretary of State George Shultz went public with the results of our intelligence — probably signal intelligence. At that point they had to know that any lying explanation wouldn't wash.

So, again, we have to ask — did these ominous actions of late simply occur by chance, were they unrelated?

Let's remember that the Soviets have had strong indications in the past, from this country and other Western and industrial nations, that there will be outrage over one or another of their calculated actions — the invasion of Afghanistan as an obvious one. But hasn't the Kremlin deduced that outrage, however severe, will be temporary

But, unfortunately, we don't have much leverage right now — our stick isn't very big. The steps that can and should be taken, though, ought to be relentlessly pursued.

The first task for the White House is inventorying the available options. Cancellation of the just-signed grain contract might be one: It could be an option for six days or six weeks even, but not beyond that. It might be well to immediately rescind the decision made just the other day to sell pipe-laying equipment to the Soviets.

As the president and his advisers study the facts to assign clear responsibility for the mass murders and determine the intent to the degree possible, the United States should keep relentless pressure on the Soviet Union for a complete and full explanation. We should also relentlessly — the word is worth

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*The crucial problem for the United States and the rest of the world . . . is to guard against doing too little and then, in a few days or a few weeks, pretending nothing had happened.*

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— that there is a tremendous inclination for the West to indulge in convenient amnesia, go back to business as usual as soon as possible because we don't want to disturb the "delicate balance" between East and West?

President Reagan is, I think, responding appropriately. Had he jumped in his plane in Santa Barbara and rushed back to Washington, he would have risked infusing a greater sense of crisis, needlessly at this time perhaps. His decision to return today, after the utterly inadequate comments from the Kremlin, is about the right calibration.

The crucial problem for the United States and the rest of the world — let's not forget the glaring international dimensions of this attack — is to guard against doing too little and then, in a few days or a few weeks, pretending nothing had happened. That course will be tempting to some people in some countries.

using again — mobilize nations around the world to completely restrict Soviet airline traffic and access to international airports and terminals because of this act of barbarism.

If the Soviets fail to respond, Secretary of State Shultz absolutely should not go to Madrid next week to meet with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, and this country and our allies certainly should not now put their signatures on a Helsinki Accords document that purports to protect human rights — it clearly is appropriate now to postpone that sort of international theatrics.

These actions, and a range of other possibilities that are obviously being urgently studied, should be combined with the most intense pressure again to insure that other nations do not fill the lacunae — as Australia, Canada and Argentina, for example, rushed to fill the commercial vacuum when the United States imposed its grain

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Washington Times



# US Response to Soviet Attack

22

embargo after the invasion of Afghanistan.

One thing this incident has done is to underscore the dramatic need for increasing Japanese participation in the defense of the free world — and underscores as well the wisdom of Prime Minister Nakasone's decision to expand Japan's defensive capabilities. I expect that the Japanese will be absolutely horrified at this mass execution in the sky — as they should be.

If the linkage between these recent acts of violence is tenuous, as I said, we must remember that the Soviet Union seeks always to destabilize foreign governments. It welcomes cases in which governments, particularly the U.S. government, can be thrown into confusion.

Finally, the question really is: Does this obscene incident destroy the fabric of U.S.-Soviet relations? The answer is: No. Does it damage them, set them back significantly: Yes. It is the continuing relationship between the two powers that's at risk.

It is vital now, I think, that the president himself — and his is the only voice that counts — announce as promptly as possible what steps this country intends to pursue. The Soviet Union cannot escape the consequences of an act of this magnitude.

WT  
9/2/82  
2 of 2



Joseph C. Harsch

## 'conduct unbecoming a gentleman'

"Polite society" is an outmoded phrase but we need to use it to get into perspective the brutal action taken by Soviet military authorities against the South Korean airliner which strayed into Soviet air space.

Under international law and conduct it is legal for the Soviets, or for anyone else, to forbid unauthorized traffic through their air space, particularly over military areas. It is also legal to take whatever measures are deemed necessary to protect that air space from unauthorized use.

Others have done in kind although not in degree what the Soviets did last week just south of the island of Sakhalin, which is loaded with Soviet air and sea bases.

Bulgaria shot down an Israeli passenger plane in 1955. All 58 persons aboard were killed, including 12 Americans.

Israel shot down a Libyan passenger plane in 1973. There were 113 persons aboard of whom 5 were French, the others Libyans and Egyptians. There were 7 survivors.

This is not the first time the Soviets have shot at a plane which they alleged to be in-

truding in their air space.

They forced down a South Korean airliner in 1978.

This matter differs from previous matters of a like kind in that the plane carried 269 persons of whom over 50 were Americans. There were also Koreans, Japanese, Australians, and Canadians.

Like the others, this was a scheduled international flight.

The Soviets intercepted and followed the plane for 2 1/2 hours before shooting it down.

Therefore their action was not a sudden reaction to something unexpected. It had to be a deliberate reaction after ample time for consideration and for taking other than violent means to protect their air space.

Hence we are dealing here not with something illegal or unprecedented, but with something which, to revert to a Victorian phrase, "nice people don't do."

There is a code of conduct among civilized countries. We do not shoot down each others' airlines when they stray by accident over each others' forbidden zones. There is an

elaborate ritual for giving warning and for escorting a plane away, or down. The last thing any "civilized" country does is to shoot down a harmless commercial airliner loaded with unarmed passengers of various nationalities.

The phrase "officer and gentleman" survives from those Victorian codes of conduct which distinguish between members of "polite society" and outsiders we used to call barbarians.

What makes a person a "gentleman"? There are two main features of "gentlemanly conduct." The first is being considerate of the feelings and interests of others. The second is refraining from violence.

The above gives us the necessary clue to how the world will react toward the deed of Soviet brutality and violence.

"Polite society" simply excludes from its social activities those persons who violate the code.

I would no more want at my dinner table a Soviet officer who had a hand in this deed of violence, or any Soviet citizen who tried to

make excuses for it, than I would want a Nazi concentration camp guard or a member of an El Salvador "death squad" which still, we are told, goes out on its nightly round of killing.

The United States is going to continue to sell grain to the Soviet Union because, as President Reagan was quick to say, another grain embargo would hurt the American economy. It certainly would not make the Soviets less paranoid about their military frontiers. And the US is not going to pull away from exploring with Soviet diplomats the possibilities of new curbs on the arms race. A full arms control agreement is as much desired in Washington now as ever — If it can be had.

But a time of social ostracism is expectable and it just might cause the Soviets to be more restrained in the future. This was an unnecessary and uncivilized act of violence. It is the sort of thing "nice people" do not do. Civilized countries will let them know by behavior patterns that they have committed another deed which puts them beyond the pale of "polite society."

C.S.M.  
9/6/83  
P.27



# Dealing with the Russians

The world weeps over the Soviet downing of an unarmed South Korean commercial airliner last week. It weeps because of the personal tragedy, the needless loss of so many innocent lives. It weeps, too, out of frustration and anger that the Soviet Union has again acted in such uncivilized, brutal manner. Can the West, it is asked, associate and do business with a nation that seems to scorn every code of decent, humane behavior?

The question needs careful thinking through. For, while there is an understandable urge to want to punish the Soviet Union and some international action is surely appropriate — unwise retaliation could in the end make matters even worse. To cut off nuclear arms talks, for instance, or to cancel the recent US-Soviet grain deal as some American lawmakers suggest might provide a sense of self-satisfaction. But it would also harm the West's interests. President Reagan is to be commended for a measured, farsighted response that seeks to avoid sharp confrontation.

Americans in particular have a tendency to want quick solutions to international problems, including the problem of coping with a powerful communist adversary. Yet the fact is, it could take years, perhaps decades, before the totalitarian system of the USSR changes enough to make friendly association possible. The shooting down of the South Korean airliner is another stark illustration of how different the Russians are. They are a people with different values, a different outlook, a different historical background. Their behavior and experience cannot be measured by that of the United States or Great Britain.

There is no excuse for the violent attack on the Korean airplane. But it may help to understand that the Soviets have a fixation about security and about their borders that leads

them to excessive measures of "self-defense." They also have a fear of showing weakness. In a similar air incident in 1978 a South Korean Boeing 707 strayed many hundreds of miles into Soviet territory before the Russians fired on it, causing it to make a forced landing. Were they perhaps remembering that incident — and the slowness of their reaction — and determined not to let it happen again? There is also the matter of the Soviet military mentality which sees orders in black-and-white terms and makes no leeway for "humane considerations."

While all of that is profoundly sad, it must not blind the outside world to the urgency of working for stable relations with the Soviet Union. The Russians do not have to be admired. However, it would be self-defeating for the West to stop trying to do business with them. It is in the mutual interest that the superpowers bring their nuclear arms competition under control — not only to reduce the danger of armed conflict but to help provide a climate in which such tragic border incidents can more easily be avoided. East-West trade is also in the mutual interest — because it yields benefits for both sides and because it forces the Soviet Union to live up to certain international standards.

Over the course of time it can be hoped there will be changes for the better in the Soviet Union, that the Russians will become less xenophobic and insecure, less aggressive. They themselves are victims of centuries of autocratic rule that prevents them from realizing their potential and making a constructive contribution in the world. That, too, is tragic. The West cannot morally tolerate the terrible misdeeds of the Soviet Union. But in calculating its reaction, it must count the long-term cost. Peace demands that East and West learn to live together, however uneasily.

C.S.M  
9/6/83

P.28



# Prudently, Reagan refuses to rise to Moscow's bait

The most important question, and the most frightening, is who was in charge?

- Was it a political decision? Did Yuri Andropov personally order that Korean Air Lines Flight 007 be shot down? Given 2½ hours' tracking, instant communications, a rigidly authoritarian state and the fact that the killing of 269 innocent men, women and children — including 61 Americans — inevitably would have major international political impact, that possibility cannot be discounted.

- Did high-level Soviet military commanders make the decision in conscious independence of Mr. Andropov and the political leadership of the Soviet Union? In defiance?

- Did middle-level Soviet military commanders, acting on the basis of an established procedure, secret but secure, order the liner shot down in confidence that they were unassailably protected from disapproval by bureaucratic policy?

If it was a case of middle-level routine, the same echelon of Soviet commanders then must appear capable of beginning World War III. If it was high-level military defiance of political authority, the Soviet Union's real, global life-or-death power is clearly in the hands of the military, not of those leaders, including Mr. Andropov, who are responsible — or appear to be responsible — for negotiating arms-control agreements and other matters of consequence to every living human.

If Mr. Andropov did it — whether to offset domestic opposition by hard-liners including military brass or as an act of exemplary barbarism — then the challenge of dealing with him and his emissaries on any international negotiation becomes a very different one from that which has recently emerged among American and European politicians and diplomats.

There is no indication and less reason for hope that the Soviet government has any interest in clarifying the details of what President Reagan branded Monday night as "the Korean airline massacre." It does not take

more than a moment's thought to conclude what would happen if the incident had been caused by any politically accountable nation. Inquiry would be swift. Responsibility would be made clear. Instead, daily the Soviet government digs itself deeper into a mire of incredibility and arrogance. The Soviet government's belated and tortuous concession yesterday that its plane had shot down Flight 007 did nothing more than deepen that mire.

As Moscow continues that course, prudent people, whether in Washington or Gdansk, Peking or Lisbon, Buenos Aires or, most important, Moscow, must more deeply conclude that at the level of actual control of Soviet policy there is no limit on the degree of barbarity that is acceptable if it has political usefulness or convenience.

Mr. Reagan's response Monday night was measured prudently. From the left and right, calls for retribution are sounding. Every significant additional sanction the United States could impose, as Mr. Reagan argued, could directly damage U.S. interests or the long-range hopes for a more peaceful and secure world. The hard-line anti-communist stayed his hand far short of the sanctions his predecessor ordered in response to the invasion of Afghanistan.

Mr. Reagan has been presented with a historic, grisly and unwanted opportunity to let the Soviet Union demonstrate its moral character to an attentive world. Its murderous act and its continuing incredible rationalization of it more persuasively makes the case against sentimentality about socialist totalitarianism than all possible oratory that could be brought to bear.

Whatever additional facts or insights may emerge from intelligence sources or from the Kremlin, it is clear that today the world seems a more perilous place than it did before Flight 007 took 269 innocents to their graves. Mr. Reagan's response could not subdue that sense of peril, but it very well could have increased it. Prudently, he did not rise to that dramatically inviting bait.



# From Lies to Remedies

The Soviet leaders have managed to turn one night of reckless aerial murder into a prolonged and ugly flight from responsibility. They are conceding facts that they have known for days only as the evidence shoots down their original lies. They will regret this destruction of their new leader's credibility even more than they undoubtedly regret their air force's stupidity. They should quit trying to justify the unjustifiable and purge their consciences instead by joining other nations in constructive remedial action.

And President Reagan, having shrewdly and moderately made his point, should quit while he's ahead. The Russians made a grievous mistake that they found too humiliating to confess. But they do not routinely massacre innocent travelers. They compounded the error with denials and countercharges that they have been unable to sustain. But if not browbeaten mercilessly they will recognize the importance of safe transit and of channels of reliable communication with American leaders.

There is obviously no moral symmetry in the present arguments of the two superpowers. But they do have to reach a reciprocal restraint in the evolving propaganda war.

The Soviet Union owes itself and the world a burst of candor that can lead to agreements that make its aerial security consistent with safe international aviation. To proclaim a "right" to shoot down suspicious planes does not make it right to do

so. The tragic consequences of a paranoid fear of border violations hardly justify making the Soviet people more paranoid. Surely, for the most self-interested reasons, the men in the Kremlin will eventually want to take measures that can prevent such cruel attacks in the future.

That is why Mr. Reagan is right to seek international rather than merely American protests and countermeasures. That is why he is right to confine his measures mostly to the realm of aviation.

The technology that exposed so much of the truth after the fact can be harnessed to prevent comparable tragedy in the future. New rules for handling off-course planes are obviously needed. So are new rules of engagement inside the Soviet Air Force.

But sanctions alone will not make the Russians change their rules. They need to be accompanied by intensive diplomacy in which other nations seek benefit rather than triumph.

The United States, having spearheaded the quest for truth, now owes itself and the world a mature digestion of the facts. This tragic episode does not prove the perfidy of every Soviet deed any more than it proves the validity of every American action or arms program.

What has been so admirable about President Reagan's performance so far is his insistence on arguing from the evidence and tailoring his actions to the problem at issue. He, too, commands awesome power that can be tragically misapplied. He, too, leads a fallible people, not a moral crusade.

*New York Times*

*Wednesday, September 7, 1983*



# Soviet trigger finger and peace

WASHINGTON — The Soviet Union's destruction of a South Korean airliner demonstrates in the most vivid terms how a single international event can radically alter the landscape of American domestic politics.

It is obviously too soon to judge how the incident will play out in terms of the long-term relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. But it is clear that there are likely to be at least short-term effects both on the relationship between President Reagan and Congress on defense spending and on the campaign for the presidency in 1984.

In the short run, the President can reap the political benefits that flow to any president in such a crisis — a totally predictable desire to unite behind him in fashioning a national response that reflects American outrage at the Soviet madness. And Reagan is especially well positioned to capitalize on this sentiment because of his long history of implacable hostility toward the Soviets.

In practical terms, this means that the President clearly is in a stronger position in making his case for huge increases in defense spending.

In terms of the 1984 presidential campaign, the effects are likely to be felt most directly right now in the competition among the six Democrats for their party's nomination.

## Germond/Witcover

First, the nuclear freeze movement is obviously more vulnerable than ever to the accusation that it is founded on an unrealistic view of world politics in general and the Soviet Union in particular. There may not be any logical relationship between this incident and the efficacy of a mutual and verifiable freeze on nuclear weapons, but there is obviously an emotional one.

All of the Democratic presidential candidates except Reubin Askew are on record as supporters of a freeze. But the one who has been most conspicuously left hanging out to dry by the Soviet attack is Sen. Alan Cranston, who not only has been the candidate most clearly identified with the peace movement but also the one who has been telling literally hundreds of audiences that the Soviet leaders aren't really that different from the rest of us in their concern about nuclear war.

whether Democrats now see the main event between Walter Mondale and John Glenn in different terms. One of the burdens Glenn has been carrying with liberal Democrats has been the suspicion that the former Marine

somehow was more devoted to a strong defense and thus less devoted to the cause of peace than his competition. That may now prove to be far less of a burden with an electorate that has just been presented such glaring evidence that we live in a very dangerous world.

At this point, there is no way of knowing whether the incident will continue to be a concern in an election that is still 14 months in the future.

There is no assurance, anyway, that Reagan will have it all his own way politically because of this apparent "confirmation" of his suspicions about the Soviets. But Reagan also must deal with the crisis over the long haul in a way that does not reinforce the fears about him as a "risk of war" that are still so apparent in every public opinion poll. And he must avoid playing to the crackpots who are trying to depict the attack on the airliner as an attack on one of the victims, Rep. Larry McDonald of Georgia, the chairman of the John Birch Society.

If the President is successful in achieving that balance, his position as a candidate for re-election will be strengthened enormously. But there are no certainties in a situation so full of peril.

Chicago Tribune

Wednesday, September 7, 1983



# Bitter Affair Leaves Reagan a Chance for Statesmanship

By JOSEPH KRAFT

The affair of the Korean airliner marks the first Big Two crisis for both Ronald Reagan and Yuri V. Andropov. While the record is muddled by the uncertain movements of an American reconnaissance plane, the Reagan Administration worked hard to keep lines open to Moscow.

But the Andropov regime stumbled into a position of Cold War confrontation. So the upshot is that steady progress toward improved Soviet-American relations has been dealt a shattering blow.

Prior to the shooting down of the jumbo jet, Washington and Moscow had been moving in tandem toward an easing of tensions. The Russians had agreed to a long-term purchase of American grain. The United States had relaxed restrictions on sales of sophisticated equipment to Russia. Both countries had offered small concessions in arms control. A meeting between Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko had been set for Madrid this week. It offered promise of future moves on arms control and of an opening for a Reagan-Andropov meeting at the summit early next year.

The U.S. reaction to the airliner incident kept these larger, diplomatic interests in view. Reagan and Shultz personally and publicly got out front of public indignation with strong condemnations of what the President called a "terrorist act."

But the largest retaliatory step announced by the President, in addition to a demand for an apology and reparations, was a call for international action to limit civil air traffic with the Soviet Union. That approach left the lead to such countries as South Korea, Japan and Canada. It circumscribed punitive measures and kept the Big Two rivalry in the background.

From the first, the President and the secretary of state tried to keep alive the

progress in improving relations made over the summer. Thus the White House made it known early that the economic accords would not be revoked and that Shultz would keep his date with Gromyko in Madrid.

An equally responsible reaction was open to Moscow even after the Korean jet had been downed with the loss of 269 lives. The Soviets could have first said that a plane had intruded on Soviet air space and that an investigation was under way. The investigation could have found that the Korean airliner was way off course over Soviet territory, and that, after many warnings had been ignored, the Russian pilots followed standard instructions and fired. Finally there would have come an expression of regret for the loss of life.

Instead the Soviet authorities reacted to American rhetoric and issued a series of confusing statements. Their position now is that the Korean plane entered Soviet airspace; that it looked like an American reconnaissance plane; that it was tracked and warned; and that it disappeared and crashed.

Regrets have been expressed for the loss of life. But the Russians claim that the airliner was on a "preplanned" intelligence mission that constitutes a "provocation" against the Soviet Union. They put down American protests to a "worldwide rabid anti-Soviet campaign."

The belligerent Soviet tone makes it extremely hard to regain the road toward better relations. Even those who favor arms control in principle have to wonder if there is a responsible partner in Moscow. By its mismanagement of the plane incident, by compounding a crime with a blunder, the Andropov regime has made the government of Leonid I. Brezhnev look good.

Right-wing hard-liners in this country now have a field day with charges of Soviet

"barbarism" and unworthiness for inclusion in any diplomatic agreement. It is difficult to see how anybody can buck the overwhelming tide of anti-Soviet feeling at this point.

Certainly not the bipartisan coalition established by the presidential commission under Gen. Brent Scowcroft, which has done so much to push the Administration on arms control. Members of the Scowcroft Commission and leading senators and congressmen had hoped to force further concessions as a price for approval of appropriations for the MX missile. Now the MX missile appropriation, and most other defense requests, will sail through Congress without any concessions from the Administration.

Nor can the European allies exert further pressure on the President to moderate his stand. It had been expected that in return for beginning deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe by the end of the year, the allies would insist on more American flexibility in arms control talks. Now the peace movement in Europe has been rocked, and deployment of the new missiles can go through without any American concessions in arms control.

So President Reagan has a relatively free hand. He may get some lumps about the reconnaissance plane, and an inquiry into the whole intelligence aspect of the affair seems in order. But he can probably be reelected as an anti-Soviet hawk without an arms control agreement or a meeting at the summit. The only hope for improvement in East-West relations lies in the possibility that the President, on his own initiative and for the larger good, will press through with the statesmanship that has been evoked by the truly tragic affair of the Korean airliner.

Joseph Kraft is a syndicated columnist in Washington.



## Brazening It Out

HAVING SHOT DOWN a Korean airliner, the Soviet Union appears determined to meet international protests by trying to shift the burden of fault to the United States. Its statement, yesterday bristled with an evident intent to brazen it out. Some parts of the statement—that the airliner was flying without navigation lights, for instance—are directly contradicted by tapes of the Soviet pilots. The potentially most telling allegation—that the airliner emitted coded radio signals of a sort “usually used in transmitting intelligence information”—was vague and undocumented. The personal abuse directed at Mr. Reagan suggests that the Kremlin is reeling under the hard evidence made public, promptly, by the president and that it lacks confidence in its own case.

Why are the Soviets not seeking to cut their losses by admitting error and moving on with other business? Why are they acting in a self-indulgent, emotional and nationalistic way, one seeming to undercut the presumed Soviet interest in improving relations with the United States and Europe in particular?

Some part of the explanation rests on dim considerations of the Russian national psyche. The main part would seem to flow from a calculated political judgment. It is as though Mr. Andropov, once he realized an innocent airliner had been destroyed, took the course of least internal resistance: he de-

cided to stand with the Soviet military and KGB against any other tendency to give priority to ties with Washington and the world at large.

In doing the easy political thing, the Kremlin has failed to act on the obligation of a great power to do in small matters what must be done to maintain an atmosphere conducive to working on the big matters: reducing the dangers of nuclear war and moderating political disputes. Thus has it taken upon itself the responsibility for whatever degree of greater freeze in Soviet-American relations may now ensue.

The president's television presentation Monday was at once firm and restrained. He supplied the details and analysis to bulwark the nation's collective outrage, but he did his part—even if Mr. Andropov has not done his—to keep this country on the important arms control negotiating track. That he confined the action items to civil aviation measures within the political range of many different countries was sensible and not a little courageous, given the bitter disappointment felt by so many of his political supporters.

We thought he stretched awkwardly and unnecessarily by making a pitch for the MX: the shock of Soviet conduct and his own measured handling of the crisis are likely to firm up support for his defense projects anyway. Meanwhile he is right to keep leaning on Moscow, with facts, for a fuller and more forthcoming response.

Washington Post

Wednesday, September 7, 1983



# Tough But Restrained

By Tom Wicker

President Reagan was exactly right when he denounced the Soviet destruction of Korean Air Lines Flight 7 as a "horrifying act of violence."

Secretary of State Shultz was entirely justified by the known facts in calling Soviet statements about this wanton deed "a coverup." And the Administration had ample reason for allowing a senior State Department official to claim that the shooting down of a civilian airliner tended to justify the President's hard-line policy toward what he has called an "evil empire."

In view of all that, it's all the more remarkable that U.S. reaction so far has been restrained and farsighted. Mr. Reagan has seen the incident for what it is: an international issue, properly to be aired in the United Nations and best answered not by hasty American but by measured international action — probably an appropriate suspension of international air travel in and out of the Soviet Union.

Washington's restraint seems doubly wise in view of the disclosure that an American RC-135 reconnaissance plane was in the general area, and a Soviet defense official's speculation that a Soviet fighter pilot may have thought he was shooting at it. That seems a remote possibility, but it emphasizes the dangers of overreaction.

So far, no trade sanctions are being sought, for the good reasons that they are of proven ineffectiveness and, in the case of grain, hurt American farmers more than they hurt Soviet consumers. Mr. Shultz is not canceling his planned meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, the better to confront him directly with the gravity of the Soviet assault on an unarmed plane and the consequent deaths of 269 people.

Most important of all, Mr. Reagan has resisted what must have been great temptation — and the political pressures of his conservative base — to break off the two sets of nuclear arms control talks in which the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are now engaged. He even met with Paul Nitze, the U.S. negotiator on medium-range missiles in Europe, to emphasize his decision to continue the talks — which, in these circumstances, may be the strongest signal he has yet sent to Moscow that he genuinely wants an agreement.

Such moderation is justified for a number of reasons, even though no incident since the Beirut massacres has aroused such sheer revulsion throughout the world. For one thing, in the absence of substantive penalties that can be practically applied to the Russians, name-calling and rhetoric are useful substitutes only up to a point. Ultimately, they will poison U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations past any rational need; and Moscow would like nothing better than the opportunity afforded it by a loud propaganda battle to shift its guilt to the U.S.

There still is no answer, moreover, to the question of why Flight 7 entered Soviet airspace and remained there for two and a half hours, even after being intercepted and tracked by Soviet fighters. The plane's sophisticated navigation equipment virtually rules out the original assumption that it somehow strayed off course. Pilots experienced on Pacific routes surely would not deliberately have taken a beeline course for Seoul (as another theory suggests) over sensitive Soviet territory. South Korean officials have denounced as "absurd" the Soviet suggestion that Flight 7 was on a U.S. spy mission — a charge that in view of satellite and radar wizardry already available makes little sense anyway.

The presence of the RC-135 may cause the Russians to drop this charge in favor of a "confusion" theory; but owing to such previous incidents like the U-2, the RB-47 and the Pueblo, all too many people will be willing to believe that U.S. espionage was somehow the cause of the incident.

As for arms control talks, the shooting down of Flight 7, for whatever reason, makes new and stringent agreements all the more necessary. That State Department official made the point, for example, that this unwarranted act confirms the Administration view of the Soviet Government as "a brutal regime" tending to rely "on military force and intimidation."

If so, it is with just such regimes that binding, verifiable agreements are most needed. The more brutal and militaristic the U.S.S.R. is judged to be, the more reason the U.S. must seek by every possible means not just to match its strength but to define and limit that strength. On the other hand, to engage in an unlimited arms race with a nation judged brutal and militaristic is to invite, at some point, that nation to react brutally and militaristically in what it sees as its own interest.

Thus, to break off the arms control talks in retaliation for the destruction of Flight 7 would be the least sensible of all the options theoretically open to Mr. Reagan — particularly in the case of medium-range missiles in Europe, the negotiations on which are about to enter the crucial stage just before the planned deployment of U.S. missiles in December. That is the stage, if ever, at which an agreement is most likely to be reached.

Mr. Reagan has asked rhetorically, "What can be the scope of legitimate mutual discourse" with a nation capable of the Flight 7 atrocity? But arms control is not merely "legitimate mutual discourse," like grain deals and cultural exchanges. It is, instead, a vital mutual interest that transcends all others and should depend not the least on civility.

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## Mr. Reagan's Response

THE SUGGESTION of some of the tapes is that the Soviet defense network misidentified the Korean Boeing 747; the thought was that it was a U.S. Air Force RC135, a military reconnaissance version of the smaller and older 707 that, American officials acknowledge, flies regularly off Soviet shores. The Soviet air defense commander offered the misidentification theory yesterday. Does it plausibly explain shooting down the Korean airliner?

A mixture of confusion and incompetence—compounded by the Soviet Union's paranoia and the rigidity of its air defense instructions—is conceivable. But it does not constitute anything near a full or satisfactory explanation. Why were the differences between a 747 and 707 not noted? How were the Korean markings avoided? Why not let dawn resolve the doubt? Why shoot to kill?

And once Western alarms had established the civilian character of the loss, why not let others join the search? Why, still, no actual acknowledgment that a Soviet hand fired the missile that destroyed the plane and 269 lives? Why such a stingy expression of regret? Why a fake and vicious counterstory of a Korean and American espionage mission?

Perhaps more information will come into the public domain. In the meantime, President Rea-

gan's handling of this affair deserves to be commended. His basic constituency, including the part of it lodged in the bureaucracy, sees in the incident not simply a proof of its and Mr. Reagan's long-held convictions about the Soviet Union. It sees as well an occasion to pull the president back from the way he has gone about trying to make agreements with the Soviet Union over the last year.

Convinced as many of them are that Mr. Reagan is an unreconstructed hardliner, the president's critics on the left often show only the slightest comprehension of the heat he has generated among his natural political environment on the right. It is a tribute to Mr. Reagan that he seems to have acted according to his best judgment in this episode rather than in reaction to political pressures. He has been acting presidential.

Mr. Reagan is to make known his response to the Soviet Union this evening. The word is that he will suggest a range of measures designed to call the Soviet Union to public account and, in as broad international company as possible, to take steps in the area of civilian air travel and safety. The more he shows himself to be acting in a presidential rather than a partisan or ideological mode, the better the chance that his policy will work.

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9/5/83



# Incident to Bolster President's Hand, Congressmen Say

By Helen Dewar and T.R. Reid  
Washington Post Staff Writers

The furor over the Soviet Union's downing of a South Korean airliner has at least temporarily strengthened President Reagan's hand in dealing with Congress on defense and related national security issues, a broad array of Republican and Democratic lawmakers said yesterday.

But some questioned whether Congress will translate its outrage into a new surge in defense spending, and most said any long-term, fundamental shifts in congressional attitudes are likely to hinge more on future Soviet behavior than on this one incident.

Among about 15 legislators who were interviewed yesterday, mostly members of defense-related committees of the House and Senate, a vast majority voiced support for the president's handling of the situation, especially his emphasis on an international response.

They also were ambivalent as to how Congress should respond to the killing on Monday of two more Marines in Lebanon, after the deaths of two others there last week. While some said the administration should consider seeking congressional authorization under the War Powers Act for continued deployment of U.S. forces there, few appeared willing to initiate congressional action on their own.

It was generally agreed that the Democratic-controlled House, where some key defense issues have been decided by relatively close votes, is likely to feel more of an impact from the Korean airline disaster than the Republican-controlled Senate, where Reagan has a comfortable margin on most defense issues.

Congress faces votes on several major defense measures shortly after it returns from its five-week summer recess Monday, including a conference report on the defense authorization bill and the defense appropriations bill, both of which involve the controversial MX missile.

The Senate also faces a nuclear freeze resolution, and several senators, including Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) as well as several Republicans, said already dim prospects for the resolution are probably even dimmer.

Several lawmakers, including the chairmen of the House and Senate Appropriations subcommittees on defense, said they believe that support for the MX will be stronger than it was before the Soviet attack.

"That's a big, visible vote and you can say, 'Well, I got back at the Russians, I voted for this MX,'" said Rep. Joseph P. Addabbo (D-N.Y.), chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee on defense.

Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska), chairman of the counterpart Senate subcommittee, said he thought an appropriation for the MX would be approved by roughly the same 17-vote margin by which the Senate voted to authorize the missile in July, although he previously said he thought the MX money would squeak through by one or two votes.

As for defense spending in general, "the effect will be that it probably will cause the defense budget to be a bloated mess again," Addabbo said.

"There's no logic to it, but I would imagine people are going to try to fool the American people by voting for some big defense projects and saying they're getting back at the Russians," Addabbo said. "You don't fool the Russians, because they read these technical journals, and they know the money is going into planes that don't fly and ships that don't work."

"It obviously strengthens the president's hand for about 30 days . . . . The question is how much longer," said Sen. Dan Quayle (R-Ind.), a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.), a senior member of the House Armed Services Committee and key figure in marshaling Democratic support for the MX, agreed that Reagan's position on both defense and arms control, including the MX, will be strengthened for the short run. But, he noted sardonically, Congress "has an institutional memory of about 6 months."

On arms control, said Aspin, "It'll buy him time; it doesn't get him off the hook. He's still got to come up with an arms-control proposal that moderate people on both sides say is a serious thing."

*Washington Post, Wednesday, September 7, 1982*  
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Said Sen. John W. Warner (R-Va.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services subcommittee on nuclear forces: "In all likelihood there will be stronger support [for defense], but I hope that support will not be in the direction of appearing to propel us into an arms race."

"The momentum on defense issues is going to move the president's way," said Rep. James A.S. Leach (R-Iowa), a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Several lawmakers, including Senate Appropriations Chairman Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.) and several Democrats, doubted that the Korean air disaster would have much of any effect on defense votes, largely because it was not a crisis that required military response.

Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.) said, for instance, that opposition to the MX arises from the question of "whether we'd be stronger with it or without it."

Rep. Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.), a Foreign Affairs Committee member, said: "It [the impact of the air disaster] will be marginally helpful to the president, but I don't think it will mean a permanent change in congressional attitudes. The results will be seen on some specific systems, where the vote will be sending a message.

As for the Senate, "The president gets what he wants out of here anyway," Proxmire said.

But even Senate Republicans did not suggest that Congress would go back on its earlier decision to cut Reagan's military buildup for the fiscal year starting Oct. 1 from 10 to 5 percent.

"Nobody's talking about going back to 10 percent," said a GOP leadership aide.

More likely, said Sen. Warren Rudman (R-N.H.), a member of the defense appropriations subcommittee, are votes to increase readiness of fighting forces, such as increased outlays for ammunition and training.



# Reagan Condemns Jet's 'Massacre' By Russia, but Shuns Tough Moves

## Instead, He Uses the Incident To Push Defense Buildup, Specifically MX Missile

By KAREN ELLIOTT HOUSE

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Condemning Moscow for what he called the "Korean Airline Massacre," President Reagan last night shunned any tough retaliatory measures and instead used the incident to urge new support for his big defense buildup.

In a nationally televised address, a grim-faced Mr. Reagan gave details about the Soviet assault on the commercial South Korean jetliner with 269 people, calling it an attack "against the world and the moral precepts which guide human relations among people everywhere." He then urged Congress, which will face major defense issues when it returns this month, "to ponder long and hard the Soviets' aggression as they consider the security and safety of our people."

At least in the short run, the incident almost certainly will ease congressional opposition to the president's defense programs, specifically the MX missile. At last, administration officials said, Mr. Reagan can pursue his stance without criticism from Congress or Europe that he is being too hard on the Soviets. By holding fast to his policies and not making any major changes, Mr. Reagan is trying to stress that he has been right about the Russians all along.

"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," he said last night. "But we must try."

### Meeting With Gromyko

Toward that end, Secretary of State George Shultz leaves today for Madrid for a scheduled meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. President Reagan said that Mr. Shultz, who originally hoped to use the meeting to promote warmer relations with Moscow, now will demand an admission of responsibility from the Soviets and an apology.

Beyond that, the president said the U.S. will work with other countries to seek from the Soviets reparations for the families of the people killed on the South Korean airliner. Among the victims were 55 U.S. citizens and 10 Canadians. He said he has notified the Russians that the U.S. will continue to ban landing rights to the Soviet airline Aeroflot, as it has since late 1981 after the Soviet-inspired military crackdown in Poland.

The president praised Canada for its decision yesterday to suspend for 60 days landing privileges in Montreal for Aeroflot's two weekly flights there. However, Soviet military and commercial aircraft will continue to have access to an air strip at Gander, Newfoundland, for refueling.

Mr. Reagan also said he will ask the International Civil Aviation Organization, a United Nations agency based in Montreal, to investigate ways to improve warning signals to prevent planes from straying into Soviet airspace.

None of these measures is surprising or significant. U.S. officials had hoped for more world-wide support for penalties against Soviet commercial aviation, a major source of hard currency for the Soviet Union, but apparently didn't get it.

Despite all the brouhaha over Moscow's downing of the Korean airliner, U.S.-Soviet relations aren't likely to sustain any long-term setback. Kremlin watchers both in and out of government believe the world-wide outrage soon will subside, leaving behind the familiar tensions that have marred the two superpowers' relations at least since the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

### Avoids Unilateral Retaliation

With that in mind, the president has studiously avoided unilateral retaliation that might be popular for the moment but soon could leave him out on a political limb. He refused to disrupt a new grain sale agreement, impose economic sanctions or suspend arms-control talks.

"We cannot, we must not give up our effort to reduce the arsenals of destructive weapons threatening the world," he said last night. Talks resume today in Geneva on limiting U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons in Europe.

However, efforts to draft a more flexible U.S. proposal have been dropped. For a time, President Reagan "will be under less pressure from European allies, Congress and the public to produce new agreements with the Russians," said a top administration official. "But in six weeks everyone's likely to be asking again, 'Why don't we have an arms-control deal with the Soviets?'"

For the moment, however, the president is benefiting politically from Moscow's action. His longtime view that the Soviets are ruthless appears to be vindicated. Those who oppose his deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe this fall by arguing that the Soviets pose no threat have been undercut. And his continuation of arms-control talks implicitly underscores his assertions that he isn't the impediment to peace.

"We have recognized from the outset that this is a brutal regime," a senior administration official said. "So this episode hasn't led to a fundamental reappraisal of our policy toward the Soviets. Rather, it has tended to confirm our existing policy."

### Appears Politically Wise

The president's decision to forgo new policy initiatives already is beginning to appear politically wise. Not only have most of the world's nations shunned specific retaliatory moves, but the Soviets and the White House have moved somewhat closer to their accounts of the incident.

The White House belatedly disclosed this weekend that at one point a U.S. spy plane flying over international waters "crossed paths" with the South Korean airliner. And for the first time, a Soviet defense official yesterday said that one of the fighter pilots mistook the South Korean airliner for an American reconnaissance plane.

Although U.S. officials concede the Soviets may have been confused at one point by an RC-135 reconnaissance plane, they insist the Russian pilot knew by the time he fired his missile that he was aiming at a Boeing 747 jumbo jet, not the smaller RC-135. The U.S. spy plane, the president said, never entered Soviet airspace as it conducted a routine reconnaissance mission in the vicinity of the militarily sensitive Sakhalin Island. (Soviet and American planes regularly use such flights to monitor each other's defense activities.)

Mr. Reagan said the U.S. reconnaissance plane returned to its base in Anchorage, Alaska, at least one hour before the Korean jetliner was shot down by a Soviet pilot. The Soviets tracked the commercial jet for nearly 2½ hours and got within 1½ miles of it before firing the heat-seeking missile that destroyed the jetliner. "The 747 has a unique and distinctive silhouette unlike any other plane in the world," the president said. "There was no way a pilot could mistake this for anything other than a civilian airliner."

But that's exactly what Moscow is claiming. In a statement carried by the Soviet media, Col. Gen. Semyon Romanov, air defense chief of staff, said: "The jetliner was flying with its lights out and its profile is in many ways similar to that of the American RC-135 reconnaissance plane. It is clamored in the West that the Soviet pilot was well aware that he was dealing with a civilian aircraft, but this is precisely what he did not know."

Still, the Soviets haven't admitted shooting down any airplane, insisting instead that one "crashed."

To prove that the Soviets did shoot down the South Korean plane, Mr. Reagan last night played excerpts from a taped conversation of two Soviet pilots who tracked the airliner. The final minutes of that tape is expected to be played publicly today at the U.N. by U.S. Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick. Those who have heard the entire recording described it as dramatic and said that the pilots spoke in a steely, professional tone.

"The absolute lack of emotion is chilling," said a U.S. official who has heard the tape. "The pilot has just blown up 269 people and he's not excited or depressed, just flat; a professional doing his job. It's a good illustration of the kind of people we're dealing with in the Soviet Union."

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# Reagan Avoids Dramatic in Response to Shooting

By BERNARD GWEERTZMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 5 — On the recommendation of his key advisers, President Reagan decided not to impose any new, dramatic sanctions against the Soviet Union for the downing of the Korean airliner.

He agreed not to do so, his aides said tonight, because it would be too damaging to the Administration if he took such steps as suspending the arms control negotiations or halting the trade in grain and nonstrategic goods.

Several conservative organizations and public figures had urged the President to use the outrage generated over the airliner incident to sever relations effectively with Moscow. He was advised by the publication *Conservative Digest*, for instance, to halt the arms control talks, end all trade, and cut diplomatic relations to a bare minimum.

After the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981, Mr. Reagan did, in fact, impose a number of sharp sanctions, but the consensus of his advisers this time was that it was crucial for Mr. Reagan to appear measured and restrained, both for foreign and domestic

considerations, officials said privately. Mr. Reagan's decision to limit his actions primarily to the international civil aviation field is expected by his aides to cause sharp criticism within conservative circles and unusual praise from liberals.

As a result, there was some uneasiness evident at the White House tonight in the briefing for reporters. Senior officials stressed that the restraint shown by Mr. Reagan did not mean any softening in the Administration's attitude toward the Russians.

The shooting down of the Korean airliner was "hideous," one high official said, "and so is Afghanistan, Poland and Yellow Rain." He said, "A realistic assessment of the Soviets must recognize that the shootdown of Flight 007 is not out of keeping with past Soviet performance."

The best way to change Soviet behavior, the official said, in defending the decision not to cut trade or to suspend arms control negotiations "is through economic, military and alliance strength."

## Strengthening of Alliance

What he had in mind was that the grain trade and sale of such items as tractor pipelayers, opposed by some conservatives, improves the American economy and thus, the strength of the alliance.

Likewise, by going ahead with the arms control talks, Mr. Reagan makes it easier for Western allies to continue to agree to the deployment of new American missiles in Europe beginning later this year.

"If we had halted the Geneva talks on missiles," one State Department official said, "a lot of Europeans would be saying that Reagan is a warmonger and there would be new demonstrations against us, and the Flight 007 would be forgotten."

Mr. Reagan, in fact, sought to use the incident in his speech to increase sup-

port for his MX program, which faces a difficult fight in Congress. He has been advised that unless members of Congress are convinced that he is negotiating seriously for a new strategic arms reduction treaty, the MX might be dealt a setback. That is why Mr. Reagan linked the Soviet "aggression" in his speech with a new appeal for passage of the MX and why he stressed that the United States would continue to negotiate for a new strategic arms accord, his aides said.

"The shootdown does not change our estimate or approach to the Soviet Union," another senior Administration official said. "Rather, it confirms it. It was a terrible act. But it must be dealt with in a way that increases the chances it won't happen again."

## Some Fear Among Officials

Nevertheless, the calculated decision to be restrained in action, seemed to bother White House officials who feared that Mr. Reagan might be castigated as giving up his well-known abhorrence of the Soviet Union. Even as recently as last Friday, before he had had a chance to meet with his top advisers, Mr. Reagan appeared to be holding out the possibility of much more severe sanctions.

"What can be the scope of legitimate mutual discourse with a state whose values permit such atrocities?" Mr. Reagan asked in remarks he made in California before flying back to Washington for a series of weekend meetings.

But once here, Mr. Reagan was told by Secretary of State George P. Shultz that whatever the United States did, it had to avoid turning the Korean airliner incident into a strictly Soviet-American issue. The United States could serve as a catalyst in persuading other countries to halt air service to the Soviet Union, as Canada did today. And given its intelligence-gathering ability, it could serve as a kind of international

prosecutor before the United Nations Security Council.

"We should not do something that will get the headlines for a day or two and then spend the next six months trying to undo," Mr. Shultz urged in private, his aides said. In other words, Mr. Shultz, who has publicly said that he believes trade sanctions are a poor way of achieving diplomatic ends, saw no point in causing new rifts in the alliance, or arguments with farmers and businessmen by imposing new sanctions that had nothing to do specifically with the Korean airliner.

## Some Initiatives Dropped

Nevertheless, the State Department did agree to shelve some initiatives it had undertaken with the Soviet Union a few months ago to undo some of the sanctions imposed by President Jimmy Carter after the Soviet military moves into Afghanistan. Mr. Carter had suspended a new cultural and scientific exchange agreement and stopped plans to set up consulates in Kiev and New York.

The United States traditionally felt it gained more by making inroads into the closed Soviet society by such exchanges and consulates than the Soviet Union did, but they had a symbolism associated with good relations that led to their suspension.

Mr. Shultz, arguing that the accords were in American interests, had pressed to resume them. The Russians had agreed and talks were to start in a month or so. The President announced tonight that they were again suspended, as was a tentative decision to renew a minor accord on exchanges in the transportation field.

A senior State Department official, however, said privately that he thought these exchanges would be resumed once passions cooled over the airliner because they remained in American interest to keep contacts with the Soviet Union at all levels.

New York Times

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# SPECIAL REPORT

## Foreign Media Reaction

September 2, 1983

### DOWNING OF SOUTH KOREAN PASSENGER PLANE BY USSR

#### Summary

Media around the world reacted with headline expressions of revulsion and condemnation to the Soviet shooting down of a South Korean passenger plane and the death of 269 people.

President Reagan's and Secretary of State Shultz's reaction to the incident received extensive coverage in many capitals.

Typical of West European headlines were "Massacre in the Sky" (London Daily Mail), "Murder in the Skies" (La Repubblica of Rome) and "Prompt Indignation From White House" (Le Matin of Paris).

Electronic media in Western Europe led the way with extensive coverage last night of Secretary of State Shultz's press conference. Some papers carried his remarks in their entirety on page one. The press conference led some observers, such as a correspondent for Rome's GR-1 radio and a writer for Milan's prestigious Corriere della Sera, to characterize the U.S. reaction as "prudent" and "restrained."

At the same time, commentators and editorial writers in many places saw the incident as "plunging" East-West relations to their lowest ebb since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and even since the Cuban missile crisis.

Some editorial writers saw the incident as "ruining detente" and putting the arms reduction talks in jeopardy. In Bonn, conservative Die Welt wondered if "the Kremlin rulers are still seriously interested in an understanding on the problem of arms..."

Still other observers agreed with the conservative Quotidien de Paris that "when a nation reaches that extreme" of attacking a passenger plane "it casts off its mask and shows its true face...that of a barbarous nation."



# SPECIAL REPORT

## Foreign Media Reaction

September 3, 1983

### DOWNING OF SOUTH KOREAN PLANE BY USSR - II

#### Summary

Second day media coverage of the Soviet attack on the South Korean passenger jet emphasized President Reagan's statement that the Kremlin was lying about the facts of the case in response to the Soviet claim the plane was on a spy mission.

The attack was condemned in most of the world's media in extensive and impassioned comment. Many saw it as "a slap in the face" to the peace movement. Conservative De Telegraaf of Amsterdam said the incident "will further open the eyes of the friends of peace who have trouble imagining that they can immediately grasp the hand of those friendly Soviets who are just as afraid as we are."

The Soviet claim was received wryly by many media observers. Paris' conservative Quotidien, for example, noted that "this plane filled with sleepy people was, according to TASS, conducting intelligence operations....Nobody is fooled."

The independent Times of London judged the President's statement as his "toughest anti-Soviet remarks since coming to office." Papers in many countries ran interviews with key government officials expressing shock.

Some speculated as to what level the order to down the airliner was given. A number thought it was "a local decision." Tokyo's moderate Yomiuri said, "If so, we have a frightening situation."

Others such as the Frankfurter Rundschau suggested that the attack reflected "not only the evil character of the Soviets but the fatal automatism of the mechanism of reaction....The persons responsible reacted like mechanical robots..."

Many writers worried about the state of East-West relations in the wake of the tragedy. Dublin's liberal Irish Press said that "relations between Moscow and Washington were bad enough. This will make them worse."



# SPECIAL REPORT

## Foreign Media Reaction

September 4, 1983

### DOWNING OF SOUTH KOREAN PASSENGER JET - III

#### Summary

President Reagan's radio talk was widely covered in the third day of voluminous, worldwide media attention to the Soviet downing of South Korea's Boeing 747.

On the basis of the President's remarks, media speculated on what actions the United States might take against the Soviet Union. West German TV One's Washington correspondent said, "The Americans do not want to use economic pressure against the Soviets." And many insisted, as did the London Sunday Telegraph, that INF "talks have to go ahead for the sake of those that live on both sides of the iron curtain."

Even though editorialists in all parts of the world complained about the Soviet's lack of candor over the incident, they expected that, as liberal Le Monde of Paris said today, "Moscow, little by little, crumb by crumb" will admit new facts.

Observers challenged the credibility of the Soviet Union over the incident. Copenhagen's conservative Berlingske Tidende said, "The Soviet Union, in just a few hours, has succeeded in tearing down its own credibility."

It was suggested by others that Soviet leader Andropov may have "lost control" of the Soviet military, and cannot "admit the facts" without a confrontation with his military leaders. Some such as Oslo's conservative Aftenposten went so far as to say that "it looks as if the (Soviet) political leaders are mere figureheads."

Editorialists in widely separated capitals as Athens and Suva agreed with today's London Observer that "in many quarters there seemed to be a greater concern for exploiting the disaster for propaganda purposes than for establishing the actual details of what occurred."



# SPECIAL REPORT

## Foreign Media Reaction

September 5, 1983

### DOWNING OF SOUTH KOREAN PASSENGER PLANE - IV

#### Summary

Media in Western Europe and the Far East and other scattered areas today led with the Washington disclosure that a U.S. reconnaissance plane was in the general area at the time the KAL Boeing was downed by Soviet MIGs.

Today's conservative Daily Telegraph held that "the belated American admission...is certain to prove a windfall for Soviet propaganda efforts."

Lisbon's pro-Socialist Jornal de Noticias said the possibility that the Soviet pilot thought he was shooting at a military plane "may change the whole case and ridicule the worldwide accusations..."

Japanese television networks today broadcast White House spokesman Speakes' statement that a U.S. RC-135 reconnaissance plane had flown in the vicinity.

At the same time editorial writers devoted considerable speculation to how the United States would and should respond. Correspondents in Washington maintained the Administration would be restrained. Conservative Frankfurter Allgemeine's correspondent said the President "had expressed himself in favor of...a quiet, controlled but absolutely firm" action.

Throughout the world, media tried to reason why the tragedy happened. Many writers attributed it to world tensions. Hong Kong's independent Ming Pao worried that the Soviets are "under severe tension, nervousness and full of hostility...with fingers always on the trigger..."



# SPECIAL REPORT

## Foreign Media Reaction

September 6, 1983

### PRESIDENT'S TV ADDRESS--WORLD REACTION TO DOWNING OF JET - V

#### Summary

The President's television speech to the nation last night made banner headlines throughout most of the world today.

Early assessment of it in Western Europe and the Far East cited Mr. Reagan for moderation although some felt, as did today's nationalistic Daily Mail, that "after all the tough talk he pulls his punches."

BBC today said that the President, "speaking eloquently and carrying a fairly small stick," gave a "vintage Reagan" performance.

London's sensationalist left-leaning Daily Mirror thought that "the tough talking President...went soft on the Russians" because U.S. defense officials admitted that RC-135 planes "sometimes flew behind civil airlines while monitoring Russian radar." This, the paper said, put the President in a "tricky position."

Generally, early comment seemed to approve of the tone of the speech although there was recognition that it would not be approved by everybody. Stockholm's liberal tabloid Expressen said it was "a disappointment to American hawks and came as a relief to the peace movement." But Tokyo's Yomiuri held that the President's remarks "were moderate."

Media observers everywhere were impressed by the President's use of the tape recording of the Soviet pilots as they attacked the airliner. In London, Independent Television News made extensive use of extracts from the President's remarks with the main focus on the tape.

At the same time, media worldwide continued to condemn the Soviet Union for its action, and this outpouring increasingly included expressions of impatience with the Soviet Union's failure to satisfactorily explain the attack. West Berlin's Volksblatt Berlin held that "time has run out for the USSR to give a credible explanation."