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

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

My fellow Americans, I am coming before you tonight about ~~a~~
~~the Korean airline massacre~~
~~matter that continues to weigh heavily on our minds~~ -- the attack
~~last week~~ by the Soviet Union against 269 innocent men, women and
children aboard an unarmed Korean passenger plane. This ~~is a~~
crime against humanity ~~we can~~ ^{MUST} never ~~forget.~~ ^{BE FORGOTTEN, HERE OR THROUGHOUT THE WORLD,}

Our prayers tonight are with the victims and their families
in ~~this~~ ^{THEIR} terrible time of grief. Our hearts go out to all of
them -- to brave people like Kathryn McDonald, the wife of a
Congressman, whose composure and eloquence on the day of her
husband's death are a tribute to the ideals he so courageously
represented. *He will be sorely missed by all of us here in govt.*

The parents of one slain couple wired me: "Our
daughter . . . and her husband . . . died on Korean Airline
Flight 007. Their deaths were the result of the Soviet Union
violating every concept of human rights." The emotions of these
parents -- grief, shock, anger -- are shared by civilized people
everywhere. ~~We are witnessing an explosion of condemnation~~
~~BY PEOPLE EVERY WHERE,~~
~~throughout the world.~~ ^{FROM AROUND THE WORLD - PRESS ACCOUNTS REFLECT AN}

Let me ~~make one thing~~ ^{STATE AS PLAINLY AS I CAN!} plain: There ~~is~~ ^{WAS} absolutely no
justification, either legal or moral, for what the Soviets did.
~~as~~ One newspaper in India said, "If every passenger plane . . .
is fair game for home air forces . . . it will be the end to
civil aviation as we know it."

*more accurate
Insert A*

~~Not is~~ ^{is not} This the first time the Soviet Union has shot at and hit a civilian airliner when it overflowed their territory. ~~As a matter of fact,~~ ^{They} In 1978, ~~the Soviets~~ positively identified one aircraft as a civilian airliner. The pilot ^{RADIOED} ~~read~~ the name on the side of the aircraft, and then was given a command to shoot it down. ~~That~~ plane escaped destruction by making a crash landing on a frozen lake, but ^{still} innocent civilians lost their lives. ~~KILLED BY MACHINE GUN BULLETS.~~

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

But despite the savagery of their crime, the universal reaction against it, and the evidence of their complicity, the Soviets still refuse to tell the truth. They have persistently refused to admit that their pilot fired on the Korean aircraft. Indeed, they have not even told ^{THEIR OWN} ~~the Russian~~ people that a plane was shot down.

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The Soviet Government calls the whole thing an accident. I call it murder. Let me repeat the stark words of the Soviet pilot himself after signaling that his missile warheads were locked on the airliner: "I have executed the launch. The target is destroyed. I am breaking off attack."

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

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They have spun a confused tale of tracking the plane by radar until it just mysteriously disappeared from their radar screens; that no one fired a shot of any kind.

But then they coupled this with charges that it was a spy plane sent by us and that their planes fired tracer bullets past the plane as a warning that it was in Soviet airspace.

Let me recap for a moment and present the incontrovertible evidence we have. The Korean airliner, a Boeing 747 left Anchorage Alaska bound for Seoul Korea ~~by way of~~ ^{on} a course South & West which would take it across Japan. Out over the Pacific

in international ^{waters} it was for a brief time in the vicinity of one of our reconnaissance planes a C-135 on a routine mission. At no time was the C-135 in ~~R~~ Soviet airspace. The Korean Air Liner ~~continued on course~~ ^{flew on} and the 2 planes were ~~shortly~~ ^{soon widely} separated.

The 747 is equipped with the most modern computerized navigation facilities but a computer must respond to input provided by human hands. No one will ^{ever} know whether a mistake was made in giving the computer the course ~~the plane was to follow~~ ^{or} whether there was a malfunction. Whichever - the 747 was flying a course ~~farther~~ ^{further} to the West than it was supposed to fly - a course which took it into Soviet airspace. ~~That's~~

The Soviets tracked this plane for 2½ hours while it flew a straight line course^{at} 30 to 35,000 ft. ~~altitude~~. Only civilian airlines fly in such a manner. At one point the Korean pilot gave Japanese air control his position as East of Hokkaido Japan showing that he was unaware ~~that~~ they were off course by as much as more than 100 miles.

The ~~the~~ Soviets scrambled ~~for~~ jet interceptors from a base on Sakhalin Island.

Japanese ground ~~control~~ recorded the ~~interceptor plane~~ radio transmissions, their conversations with each other and with their own ground control. We only have the voices from the pilots; ~~There is no way ~~the JAPANESE~~ ground ~~station~~ could record~~ from Soviet ground control. It is plain however from the Pilot's words that he is responding to orders & queries from ~~his own~~ ground control.

The Soviet ground-to-air transmissions were not recorded.

~~Let me play you~~ Here is a brief segment of the tape which we are going to play in its entirety for the U.N. Security Council tomorrow.

— Play 20 or 30 seconds of tape — That

was the voice of the Soviet pilot.

In this tape ~~you hear the~~ ^{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 ~~a quarter~~ of the Korean plane, ~~he~~ mentions its flashing strobe light and that ~~it blinked~~ ^{the} its running lights ^{and m.} Then ^{he} reports he is ~~is~~ reducing speed to get behind the airliner, gives his distance ~~at sea~~ from the plane at various points in this maneuver and finally announces what ~~can only be~~ called the Korean Airliner Massacre.

He says he has ~~locked~~ ^{locked} on the radar ~~control~~ which aims his missiles, has launched those missiles, ~~and~~ the target ~~has been~~ ^{has been} destroyed & he is breaking off the attack.

Let me point out something here having to do with his close up view of the airliner on what we know was a clear night with a $\frac{3}{4}$ moon. The 747 has a unique & distinctive silhouette unlike any other plane in the world. There is no way a pilot could mistake this for ~~anything other than a civilian~~ ^{anything other than a} civilian airliner. And if that isn't enough let me point out ~~the~~ ^{our} C-135 I mentioned earlier had been back at its base in Alaska, on the ground for an hour when the murderous attack took place over the Sea of Japan.

X

And make no mistake about it - This attack was not just against ourselves or the Republic of Korea this was the Soviet U. against the world and the moral precepts which guide human relations ~~throughout~~ ~~is~~ among people everywhere. It was an act of barbarism born of a society which wantonly disregards individual rights, the value of human life & looks constantly to expand & dominate other nations, shooting down a plane, even one with hundreds of innocent men, women, children & babies is a part of their normal procedure, if that plane is in what they claim is their airspace.

They are the world on apology and an offer to join the rest of the world in working out a system to protect against this ever happening again. Among the rest of us there is one protective measure; an international radio wave length on which pilots can communicate with ^{planes of other nations} ~~other~~ if they are in trouble or lost. Soviet military planes are not so equipped because ~~that would~~ ^{they would} make it easier for pilots who might want to defect.

Our request for such vessels with Soviet vessels to search for wreckage & bodies has received no satisfaction offer. Battered families of the Japanese victims were harassed by Soviet patrol boats when they tried to get near where the plane is believed to have gone down in order to hold a ceremony for their dead. But we shouldn't be surprised by such inhuman cruelty. Memories come back of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, the gassing of villages in Afghanistan. If the measure to their indignity conduct is intended to intimidate they have failed in their purpose. From every corner of the globe the ~~world~~ ^{world} is defying ~~the~~ in the face

of this unspeakable act & defiance of the system which excuses it & tries to cover it up. With our horror & our sorrow there is a righteous & terrible anger. It would be easy to think in terms of vengeance but that is not a proper answer. We want justice and action to see that this never happens again.

Our immediate challenge to this atrocity is to ensure that we make the skies safer and that we seek just compensation for the families of those who were killed.

Since my return to Wash. we have held long meetings, the most recent yesterday with the Congressional leadership. There was a feeling of unity in the room and received a number of constructive suggestions. We will continue to work with the Congress regarding our response to the massacre.

As you know we immediately made known to the world the shocking facts as honestly and completely as they came to us.

We have notified the Soviets that we will not renew our bilateral agreement for cooperation in the field of transportation so long as they threaten the security of civil aviation.

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We have joined with other countries to press

I am pleased to report that Canada today announced it was temporarily suspending Aeroflot's landing & refueling facilities.

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X

the International Civil Aviation Org. to investigate this crime at an urgent special session of the Council. At the same time we are listening ^{in this country and abroad} ~~carefully to private groups both American & international~~ ^{and who can be} ~~airline pilots, passenger associations & others~~ ^{working to isolate} who have a special interest in civil air safety. ^{Soviet aviation}

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

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

Along with Korea & Japan we called an emergency meeting of the U.N. Security Council which began on Fri. On that day Korea, Japan, Canada, ^{West Germany} ~~Australia~~, the Netherlands, Pakistan, France, ~~China~~, The United Kingdom, New Zealand & Zaire all joined us in denouncing the Soviet action and expressing our horror. ^{We expect to hear from additional countries as details & resources tomorrow}

We intend to work with the dozen or more countries who had citizens aboard the Korean airliner to seek reparations for the families of all those who were killed. Such compensation is an absolute moral duty which the Soviets must assume. [There are forums such as the International Court of Justice where such claims can be legitimately settled.]

In the ~~an~~ economic area in general, we ~~will~~ are redoubling our efforts with our allies to end the flow of military & strategic items to the Soviet Union.

Sec. Shultz is going to Madrid to meet with representatives of 35 countries who for 3 years have been negotiating an agreement having to do with, among other things, ~~the~~ human rights. Foreign Minister Gromyko of the Soviet Union is scheduled to attend that meeting. ^(come to the meeting) If he does, Sec. Shultz is going to present him with our demands for disclosure of the facts, corrective action, concrete assurances that such a thing will not

happen again and that restitution be made.

As we work with other countries to see that justice is done ~~we must~~ the real test of our resolve is whether we have the will to remain strong, steady, and united. I believe more than ever as evidenced by your thousands & thousands of wires & phone calls in these last few days that we do.

I have outlined some of the steps we are taking in response to the tragic massacre. There is something I've always believed in but which now seems more important than ever. The Congress will be facing key ~~votes~~ on defense issues when it returns from recess. There has been legitimate difference of opinion ~~of~~ on this subject I know but I urge the Members of that distinguished body to ponder long & hard ~~on~~ the Soviet's aggression as you consider the security & safety of our people. Indeed all people who believe in freedom.

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

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

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

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

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

When John F. Kennedy was Pres. defense spending ~~was half~~ as a share of the Fed. budget was half again as much as it is today. Since then the Soviet U. has carried on the most massive military buildup the world has ever seen. Until they are willing to join the rest of the world community, we must maintain the strength to deter their aggression. ~~that~~

But while we do so we must not give up our effort to bring them into the world community of nations. Peace through strength ^{as long as necessary} ~~is, yet~~ but ~~but~~ never giving up our effort to bring peace closer through mutual, verifiable reduction in the weapons of war.

I've told you of negotiations we've suspended ~~because of~~ as a result of the Korean airline massacre but we can not, we must not give up our effort to reduce the arsenals of destructive weapons threatening the world. Ambas. Nitze has returned to Geneva to resume the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. We are more determined than ever to reduce & if possible eliminate the threat hanging over mankind.

Equally, we will continue to press for arms reduction in the START talks that resume in October.

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

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

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

Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

RR A'S

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They deny the dead but in their complicity & dishonest protestations they reveal that - yes, ~~they~~ shooting down a plane, even one with hundreds of innocent men, women, children & babies is a part of their normal procedure, if that plane is in what they claim is their airspace.

They owe the world an apology and an offer to join the rest of the world in working out a system to protect against this ever happening again. Every the rest of us there is one protective measure; an international radio wave length on which pilots can communicate with ~~other~~ ^{planes of other nations} if they are in trouble or lost. Soviet military planes are not so equipped because ~~they~~ ^{they} ~~never~~ make it easier for pilots who might want to defect.

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

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

Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

Ken Tomlinson - 965-3818

In times such as these, few assets are more important than the Voice of America and Radio Liberty -- our primary means of getting the truth to the people of the Soviet Union. Yet, over the past two decades, this Nation has allowed it's international broadcast facilities to deteriorate to the point that we are forced to use some of the world's most antiquated broadcast equipment to perform this vital mission. The sad fact is that the Soviet Union spends more attempting to jam western broadcasts than the entire worldwide budget of the Voice of America.

Repeadetly we have urged Congress to join with this Administration in supporting a long-term VOA modernization program. The sums involved are relatively modest. Yet somehow these proposals end up relegated to the legislative back burner. ^{let me} Tonight ~~I repeat, that~~ modernizing VOA facilities must be placed near the top of our government's priorities so that the truth can be heard throughout totalitarian lands.

You will know the truth and the truth
will set you free

Master after it went to RR
but Not
Used.
this way.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But despite the savagery of their crime, the universal reaction against it, and the evidence of their complicity, the Soviets still refuse to tell the truth. They have persistently refused to admit that their pilot fired on the Korean aircraft.

Indeed, they have not even told the Russian people that a plane was shot down. ^{The Soviet's air beginning has called the crash everything but} ~~The Soviet Government calls the whole thing an~~

^{what it was!} ~~accident.~~ I call it murder. Let me repeat the stark words of the Soviet pilot himself after signaling that his missile warheads were locked on the airliner: "I have executed the launch. The target is destroyed. I am breaking off attack."

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

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

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

The world demands the truth -- now.

Not long ago, in a tragic accident, a Soviet passenger boat struck a bridge while traveling ~~down~~ *on* the Volga River. ~~Hundreds~~ *Over one* of Soviet citizens died. The Soviet Government immediately had one of its most senior officials lead an inquiry. Within a ~~very~~ short time, the government announced its findings. Negligence was found and ~~procedures~~ *appropriate actions taken* were ~~instituted~~ to prevent further accidents. *(B13?) They say they'd do better...)* Certainly the Soviet Government bears a heavy responsibility for launching a similar investigation of its attack on the civilian airliner.

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

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

In the old days, "an eye for an eye" ^{might} ~~would~~ have been ^{considered} just and appropriate. Today such retribution would be ^{neither} ~~just~~, ^{NOT} ~~but it is~~ ~~no longer~~ appropriate, ^{nor effective.}

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Read to Ken
OK

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

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

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

Already, we are taking some steps forward:

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

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

Second, we will work with other nations to seek reparations
for all who were killed. *The United States will be making a claim*
against the Soviet Union within the next week to obtain appropriate
compensation for the benefit of the victims' survivors, families of life and property.
And we will be coordinating our efforts with other governments.
There are forums, including the
International Court of Justice, where these crimes should
legitimately be settled. And let me say that I believe
compensation to the families of the victims is an absolute moral
duty which the Soviets must assume.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

KA out

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 5, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID R. GERGEN *DR*
SUBJECT: Television Address

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

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

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

PRESIDENTIAL TELEVISION ADDRESS: FLIGHT 007
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My fellow Americans, I am coming before you tonight about a matter that continues to weigh heavily on our minds -- the attack last week by the Soviet Union against 269 innocent men, women and children aboard an unarmed Korean passenger plane. This is a crime against humanity we can never forget.

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

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

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

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secret*

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

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

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New | The world demands the truth -- now.

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(Sentence on MX +
Sakharov dropped here)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

Master

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

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

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Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

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

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

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

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

Already, we are taking some steps forward:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you, God bless you, and good night.