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(Elliott)
September 5, 1983
1:00 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. That was a crime against humanity we can never forget.

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

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

Let me make one thing plain: There is absolutely no justification, either legal or moral, for what the Soviets did. As one 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."

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

X 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 ~~heinous~~ crime, cooperate in efforts to find the wreckage, recover the bodies, offer compensation to the families, and work to prevent a repetition, the Soviets are doing just the opposite. They are mobilizing their entire government behind a massive cover-up.

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

X
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It is the duty of all of us, as leaders and citizens of the civilized world, to respond ~~in a calmly controlled, but absolutely~~ ^{and but} firm ^{ly} ~~manner~~ to provocation. We want justice. But we must act not just for today, but for the long-term future.

X
We must steadfastly ¹⁰ guide ourselves for what John F. Kennedy called "the long twilight struggle." From the beginning of this Administration, our policy toward the Soviets has been based on realism. It recognizes the one, hard reality that has never changed: The Soviets respect only those who live and negotiate from a position of strength.

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

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

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

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

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

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 the first day,} ~~Already,~~ Korea, Japan, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, France, China, the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Zaire ^{all} ~~have~~ joined us in expressing horror at the Soviet action.

Second, we will work with other nations to seek reparations for all who were killed. 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, but we keep our eyes on the long-term challenge to freedom and peace. The real test of our resolve is to remain steady, united and strong.*
HL 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* ~~said was necessary~~ to restore America's strategic parity with the Soviets. In his speech, Senator

Jackson quoted the imprisoned Soviet dissident, Andrei Sakharov. *He too* who 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; ~~to~~ ponder long and hard *aggression* ~~about~~ the Soviets' ~~behavior~~ before

X ~~upon~~
~~they~~ 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.

X 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.

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My fellow citizens, ~~I ask you tonight.~~ As we come together, in the true spirit of America, to help the families harmed by the Soviet 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 our responsibilities.~~ 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.

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

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MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1983

My fellow Americans, I have ~~asked for time to speak to you~~ ^{am coming before} tonight ~~about an outrageous crime that~~ ^{about a matter that} continues to weigh ^{heavily} on our minds. ~~I'm referring to~~ the attack last week by the Soviet Union against 269 innocent men, women and children aboard an unarmed Korean passenger plane. ~~That was a crime against humanity~~ ^{That was a crime against humanity}

~~that we can never forget.~~ Our prayers ^{are with} the victims and their families in this terrible time of grief. Our hearts go out to all of them -- to brave people like ^{Katherine McDonald} the wife of Congressman ~~McDonald~~, ^{McDonald} Katherine ~~McDonald~~, whose composure and eloquence on the day of ~~the news of~~ her husband's death are a tribute to the ideals he so courageously represented.

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

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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 direction to shoot it down. The plane ~~then~~ escaped but

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

But despite the savagery of their crime, the universal reaction against it, and the evidence of their complicity, the Soviets still refuse to tell the truth. The Russian people have

yet to be told that their military shot down and attacked a civilian aircraft. The Soviet Government calls it an accident.

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

The world must hear these words. Tomorrow the Security Council of the United Nations will hear them, just as they were spoken, when a tape recording of the pilot's comments

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

are played in public.

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

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

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

Now when I heard about this attack, ~~my first instinct was to order strong retaliatory action.~~ ^{reaction was probably like yours -- a deep, mixed} The Soviets deserve severe ^{with a deep fury. Who can forget that over the years, this} punishment. ^{Some regime} Their regime has imprisoned half of Europe, put down peaceful movement toward democracy in Czechoslovakia and Poland, invaded, gassed and killed citizens in Afghanistan, condoned the torture and suffering of millions in Southeast Asia and used terrorism and Cuban surrogates to destabilize countries throughout Africa and Latin America. [?]

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

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

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

firm manner. ^{to provocation.} We want justice. But we must ~~not permit one~~ ^{act not just} ~~tragedy to become an even greater tragedy.~~ ^{with an eye for today & but for the long-term future.}

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

^{Our most immediate challenge to this atrocity is} ~~So, the world must not tolerate this latest Soviet crime,~~ ^{to ensure that we make the ships safer and that we seek} ~~without exacting a penalty and taking steps to protect itself.~~ ^{just compensation for the families of those who were killed.} That's why I returned to Washington to consult with my advisers, ^{with} ~~with~~ congressional leaders, ^{of both parties, with and} ~~representatives of other countries and the~~ ^{about} ~~public regarding the steps we should take.~~

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

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

^{Depth Soviet Assistance} -- We are conducting and assisting search efforts in international waters near the tragedy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

~~Working in concert with other nations, we are doing the following:~~ *Already, we have been taking some steps forward;*

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

I am directing the Secretary of State Shultz, Ambassador Jeon Kirkpatrick at the UN and our ambassador in many other lands to meet sit down as soon as they can with their counterparts from other nations (OVER)

to see what the civilized world,
united as ~~never~~ almost never before
can do to address this issue. It
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Second, we will work with other nations to seek reparations ^{settled,} for all who were killed.

Third, ^{and every} we are cooperating with other countries to find ^{important,} better means to ^{insure} the safety of civil aviation. Unless and ^{until} the Soviets satisfy the cries of humanity for justice, their airline Aeroflot should not be accepted as a normal member of the international civil air community. ^{have joined with other countries to} And we ~~are~~ pressing 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. ^{and clear.} ^{Their message is loud}

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. Senator Henry Jackson, a wise and revered statesman, and one who probably understood the Soviets as well 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^{es.} days ago, standing on the Senate floor, speaking in behalf of the MX missile program--a program he said was necessary to restore America's strategic parity with the Soviets. In his speech, Senator Jackson quoted the imprisoned Soviet dissident, Andrei Sakharov, who has urged the west to build the MX.

The Congress will be facing key votes on the MX as soon as it returns from recess. I urge the members of that distinguished body to ponder long and hard about the Soviet's behavior, before they 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 Pershing^{SP} 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 down an unprotected city?

~~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.~~

~~WE WANT THE SOVIETS TO BE DIFFERENT. WE WANT THEM TO JOIN THE REST OF THE WORLD, TO ACCEPT THE RULES AND OBLIGATIONS THE REST OF THE WORLD ACCEPTS, TO BEAT THE SWORDS THEY HAVE ACCUMULATED OVER THE YEARS INTO PLOUGHSHARES.~~

~~BUT WE RECOGNIZE CLEARLY WHAT KIND OF POWER WE MUST DEAL WITH TODAY. OUR POLICY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION BEGINS WITH REALISM.~~

~~WE ALSO RECOGNIZE CLEARLY AND STATE FRANKLY THAT UNTIL THE SOVIETS JOIN THE REST OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY, WE MUST HAVE THE STRENGTH NEEDED TO DEAL WITH THEM. THAT IS WHY BUILDING AND MAINTAINING THIS NATION'S MILITARY AND ECONOMIC STRENGTH AND HELPING OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS BUILD THEIRS, HAS BEEN SUCH AN IMPORTANT PRIMARY GOAL OF THIS ADMINISTRATION FROM THE BEGINNING.~~

~~REALISM AND STRENGTH WILL CONTINUE TO BE ESSENTIAL, BUT THEY ARE NOT ENOUGH 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.~~

~~THAT HAS BEEN MY APPROACH FROM THE BEGINNING, AND IT IS MY APPROACH NOW. THIS TERRIBLE TRAGEDY SHOWS MORE CLEARLY THAN EVER THAT WE NEED TO BE REALISTIC, THAT WE NEED TO BE STRONG, THAT WE NEED TO KEEP TALKING.~~

~~As I told the long-term leaders, peace is our top priority. A true arms reductions - and by that I mean a reduction that will be that or equal, and that is truly verifiable -~~

*Re-estimate
angles
to achieve
those goals
of this kind
newly
again
M-J*

January 21, 1981

*expects their cooperation in building
the world wants a safer place to live*

~~Peace is our top priority. Peace through strength and true arms reduction remains~~

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

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

the true spirit of America
to help the families harmed by the
policy
My fellow Americans, I ask you tonight: ~~as we~~ *come* together in
~~Let us rededicate ourselves to achieving the goals we~~
also
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have pursued from the beginning of this Administration. *we*

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

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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 heinous crime, cooperate in efforts to find the wreckage, recover the bodies, offer compensation to the families, and work to prevent a repetition, the Soviets are doing just the opposite. They are mobilizing their entire government to defend a lie.

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

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

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NSC

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

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

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

In the old days, "an eye for an eye" would have been just and appropriate. ~~Such~~^{Follow} retribution would ~~still~~ be just, but it is no longer appropriate. X

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

It is the duty of all of us, as leaders and citizens of the civilized world, to ~~respond~~^{respond} in a calm, controlled, but absolutely firm manner. We want justice. But we must not permit one tragedy to become an even greater tragedy. ?

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

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

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

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

(Value of Congressional consultation)

For our part, this is what we ^{have done and are trying to do:} ~~are doing~~

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

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

-- We are continuing to press the Soviet leaders to ^{behave honorably} ~~follow the honorable course of investigating and disclosing~~ the facts, taking corrective action, making restitution, and providing concrete assurances that such wanton acts will ~~not~~ never be repeated. And let me say here that I believe ^{those} ~~the~~ compensation to the ^{families} ~~relatives~~ of the victims is an ^{absolute} ~~moral~~ duty which the Soviets must assume.

-- We are taking a number of steps

^{of revulsion} To make clear to the Soviets our deep feelings on this tragedy; in my consultation with Congressional leaders, I asked them to pass a joint Congressional resolution of condemnation of this crime; we will not renew our bilateral agreement for cooperation in the field of transportation.

--We also will reaffirm our exclusion of the Soviet airline ^{Aeroflot} from the United States. ^{we} And ^{other} we will suspend negotiation of several ^{other} bilateral arrangements.

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

--I ^{am sending} ~~have instructed~~ Secretary Shultz to make this matter the center of his meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko next week. *Ch Madrid tomorrow. I have instructed him*

Some steps we can take ourselves, but the most effective ones must be in concert with other concerned ^{Twelve countries were represented in that downed aircraft, and the Republic} nations. ^A The issue is not ~~one~~ just between the Soviet Union and the United States, ^{it is} ~~but~~ between the Soviet regime and humanity.

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

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

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

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

Third, we are cooperating with other countries to find better means to insure the safety of civil aviation. ~~and until~~ ^{Unless} ~~aspect of this effort should be a clear recognition that, if~~ the Soviet ^{Continued} ~~leaders refuse to~~ satisfy the cries of humanity for justice, ^{then I believe} ~~their airline should not be accepted as a~~ ^{Aeroflot} normal member of the international civil air community. And ^{we} ~~are forming the International Civil Aviation Organization~~ ^{the issue is one which should draw the concerned attention} ~~to investigate this crime~~ of international organizations which deal with civil aviation.

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

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

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

(State/Elliott)
September 4, 1983
9:30 p.m.

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

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

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

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

Let me make one thing plain: There is absolutely no justification in international law for what the Soviets did. As one Indian paper said, "If every passenger . . . is fair game for home Air Forces . . . it will be the end to civil aviation as we know it." Nor is this the first time the Soviet Union has shot at and hit a civilian airliner when it 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 direction to shoot it down.

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

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

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

I have long believed that a system, which, at its core, renounces God and our judeo-christian ideals, wantonly disregards individual rights and the value of human life, and seeks constantly to expand and dominate other nations, is a grave threat to the civilized world. This latest outrage is just one

more indication of the glaring gap between Soviet words and deeds.

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

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

The Soviet Union is paying a heavy price in the eyes of world opinion. They can change their attitude, and I pray they will. But, as long as they continue to stonewall, the civilized world will condemn them. If they meant to engage in an act of

intimidation, they have provoked exactly the opposite reaction. For on the lips of people throughout the world tonight is one word, one word directed at the Soviet leadership. That word is defiance; defiance in the face of this unspeakable act and the political system that excuses it and tries to cover it up.

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

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

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It is the duty of all of us, as leaders and citizens of the civilized world, to respond in a calm, controlled, but absolutely firm manner. We want justice. But we must not permit one tragedy to become an even greater tragedy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

con~~demning~~
congressional resolution ~~of condemnation~~ of this crime. We will not renew our bilateral agreement for cooperation in the field of transportation.

-- We also will reaffirm our exclusion of the Soviet airline Aeroflot from the United States. And we will suspend negotiation of several other bilateral arrangements.

-- I am sending Secretary Shultz to Madrid tomorrow. I have instructed him to make ~~this matter the center~~ ^{the Soviet crime the principal subject} of his meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko, ~~next week~~.

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

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

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

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

(State/Elliott)
September 4, 1983
8:30 p.m.

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

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

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

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

Let me make one thing plain: There is absolutely no justification in international law for what the Soviets did. As one Indian paper said, "If every passenger . . . is fair game for home Air Forces . . . it will be the end to civil aviation as we know it." Nor is this the first time the Soviet Union has shot at and hit a civilian airliner when it overflew their territory.

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

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

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

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

I have long believed that ^a ~~the~~ Soviet system, which, at its core, renounces God and our judeo-christian ideals, wantonly disregards individual rights and the value of human life, and seeks constantly to expand and dominate other nations, is ~~the~~ ^a ~~greatest~~ ^{grave} threat to the civilized world. This latest outrage is just one more indication of the glaring gap between Soviet words and deeds.

In recent years, the Soviets have rigged up one of the most elaborate and expensive propaganda machines in the world -- all designed to portray themselves as peacemakers. But now that carefully-cultivated image is being stripped bare. Rather than come clean to the world, rather than immediately and publicly

investigate the incident, explain to the world how it came about, punish those guilty of this heinous crime, cooperate in efforts to find the wreckage, recover the bodies, ~~to the families~~ ^{Not (Fire)}, and work to prevent calculated attacks on civilian aircraft, the Soviets are doing just the opposite. They are mobilizing their entire government to defend a lie.

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

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

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

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

It is the duty of all of us, as leaders and citizens of the civilized world, to respond in a calm, controlled, but absolutely firm manner. We want justice. But we must not permit one tragedy to become an even greater tragedy.

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

So, the world ^{must not} ~~cannot~~ tolerate this latest Soviet crime, without exacting a penalty and taking steps to protect itself. That's why I returned to Washington to consult with my advisers, Congressional leaders, representatives of other countries and the public regarding the steps we should take. ~~Some steps we can do ourselves, but the most effective ones must be in concert with other concerned nations. The issue is not between the Soviet Union and the United States; it is between the Soviet regime and~~ humanity.

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

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

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

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(Value of Congressional consultation)

For our part, this is what we are doing:

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

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

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

--To make clear to the Soviets our deep feelings on this tragedy, we will not renew our bilateral agreement for cooperation in the field of transportation.

(State/Elliott)
September 4, 1983
8:30 p.m.

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

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

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

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

Let me make one thing plain: There is absolutely no justification in international law for what the Soviets did. As one Indian paper said, "If every passenger . . . is fair game for home Air Forces . . . it will be the end to civil aviation as we know it." Nor is this the first time the Soviet Union has shot at and hit a civilian airliner when it overflew their territory.

The United States Government does not shoot down foreign aircraft over U.S. territory, even though commercial aircraft from the Soviet Union and Cuba have overflowed sensitive U.S. military facilities. We and other civilized countries follow procedures to prevent a tragedy, not to provide ^{ok}~~ide~~ one. X

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

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

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

In recent years, the Soviets have rigged up one of the most elaborate and expensive propaganda machines in the world -- all designed to portray themselves as peacemakers. But now that carefully-cultivated image is being stripped bare. Rather than come clean to the world, rather than immediately and publicly

investigate the incident, explain to the world how it came about, punish those guilty of this heinous crime, cooperate in efforts to find the wreckage, recover the bodies, ^{offer compensation} to the families, and work to prevent calculated attacks on civilian aircraft, the Soviets are doing just the opposite. They are mobilizing their entire government to defend a lie. X

The Soviet Union is paying a heavy price in the eyes of world opinion. And as long as they continue to stonewall, the civilized world will condemn them. If the Soviets meant to engage in an act of intimidation, they have engendered 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. X

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

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It is the duty of all of us, as leaders and citizens of the civilized world, to respond in a calm, controlled, but absolutely firm manner. We want justice. But we must not permit one tragedy to become an even greater tragedy.

We must steadfastly grid ourselves for what John F. Kennedy called "the long twilight struggle." From the beginning of this Administration, our policy toward the Soviets has been based on realism. It recognizes the one, hard reality that has never changed: ¹ the Soviets respect only those who operate and negotiate from a position of strength.

So, the world cannot tolerate this latest Soviet crime, without exacting a penalty and taking steps to protect itself. That's why I returned to Washington to consult with my advisers, Congressional leaders, representatives of other countries and the public regarding the steps we should take. Some steps we can do ourselves, but the most effective ones must be in concert with other concerned nations. The issue is not between the Soviet Union and the United States; it is between the Soviet regime and humanity.

(State/Elliott)
September 4, 1983
7:30 p.m.

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

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

Our prayers are with their victims and thier families in this terrible time of grief. Our hearts go out to all of them --

to brave people like the wife of Congressman McDonald, Katherine McDonald, whose composure and eloquence on the day of the news of ~~this awful event~~ ^{her husband's death} were a tribute to herself and her husband. ^{the ideals he so courageously represented.}

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

Let me make one thing plain: There is absolutely no justification in international law for what the Soviets did. As one Indian paper said, "If every passenger . . . is fair game for home Air Forces . . . it will be the end to civil aviation as we know it." Nor is this the first time the Soviet Union has shot at and hit a civilian airliner when it overflew their territory.

The United States Government does not shoot down foreign aircraft over U.S. territory, even though commercial aircraft from the Soviet Union and Cuba have overflowed sensitive U.S. military facilities. *We and other civilized countries follow procedures to prevent a tragedy, not to provide one.*

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

The world must hear these words. Tomorrow the Security Council will hear them, as they were spoken. ~~It is not we who will be indicting the Soviet Union. It is the Soviets, who have lied and continue to lie, who will be condemning themselves in the court of world opinion.~~

I have long believed that the Soviet system, which at its core renounces ^{Sod and} our judeo-christian ideals, wantonly disregards individual rights and the value of human life, and seeks constantly to expand and dominate other nations, is the greatest threat to the civilized world. This latest outrage is just one more indication of the glaring gap between Soviet words and deeds.

In recent years, the Soviets have rigged up one of the most elaborate and expensive propaganda machines in the world -- all designed to portray themselves as peacemakers. But now that

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carefully-cultivated image is being stripped bare. Rather than come clean to the world, rather than immediately and publicly investigate the incident, explain to the world how it came about, punish those guilty of this heinous crime, cooperate in efforts to find the wreckage, ~~and~~ ^{work} recover the bodies, ~~offer compensation~~ ^{test} to the ~~bereaved~~ families, and ~~change the orders given to their military units~~ to prevent calculated attacks on civilian aircraft, the Soviets are doing just the opposite. They are mobilizing their entire government to defend a lie.

The Soviet Union is paying a heavy price in the eyes of world opinion. And as long as they continue to stonewall, the civilized world will condemn them. ^{Insert from Tony's speech.}

Now when I heard about this attack, my first instinct was to order strong retaliatory action. ~~Frankly,~~ ^T the Soviets deserve severe punishment. ~~This is the regime that~~ ^{This} has imprisoned half of Europe, ~~behind an iron curtain,~~ put down peaceful movements toward democracy in Czechoslovakia and Poland, invaded, gassed and ~~massacred~~ ^{killed} citizens in Afghanistan, condoned the torture and suffering of millions in Southeast Asia and used ^{terrorism and} Cuban troops as surrogates to ~~undermine~~ ^{destabilize} countries throughout Africa and Latin America.

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

The world has always been filled with danger, but now it is even more dangerous. In this nuclear world, the rules from olden times no longer apply. As the President of the United States, I

humanity but to explain to you as best I can the possible motives of the Soviet government in this action and those steps we will take in response.

As I have said, the real cause for this tragedy is the unspeakable cruelty that is inherent in totalitarian forms of government. That is why for example Soviet fighters are unequipped to communicate with commercial airliners on international distress channels -- the Soviets are afraid that too many of their pilots will use those channels to defect to freedom.

About the Soviet actions of late last week, we do know this much: the commercial airliner was tracked on radar for more than two and a half hours -- its destruction was no accident; from all that we know of the Soviet system, the order to fire had to come from a high level of the Soviet military or government. Let us have no illusions on this point.

Was this order a deliberate act of intimidation directed at the nations of the world and the United States? We do not know. But surely even the Soviet leadership can see before them now the wreckage of whatever their purpose and intentions were in destroying this airliner. Surely even they can feel the outrage and horror of the world, the anger of the American people. If the Soviets meant to engage in an act of intimidation they have engendered 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

use it

5.

system that excuses it and tries to cover it up, defiance for all of the human suffering that this system has caused and defiance towards all its well-known plans to impose that suffering on even more peoples and nations.

Yet even in the face of this world reaction and even at this late hour, we have received from the Soviets not a trace of an adequate explanation. Despite the cover-up and falsehoods perpetrated by the Soviets, I want to assure you tonight-- as I assured the leadership of Congress yesterday here at the White House -- that your government will continue to press the Soviet government for a full accounting. We will do this through diplomatic channels -- we will do this in the international forum of the United Nations. 269 innocent lives were lost. They must be accounted for. The American people, the world demand this accounting. We shall press this point. We will never relent. There are other steps we are taking and before I turn to what I believe must be the principal response of the United States and the world to this atrocity, let me briefly outline now to you some immediate measures.

OUTLINE STEPS:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

Now besides these steps, let me move to what I believe is the most effective response the United States or the world can make in this crisis. In order to do so, however, I must put in

am responsible for the safety of ^{you} and ^{and your children's and grandchildren's} you and your children. So I cannot respond, as Franklin Roosevelt did, to this new day of infamy.

^{It is the duty of} All of us, as leaders and citizens of the civilized world, ^{to} must respond in a calm, controlled, but absolutely firm, ^{manually} We want justice. But we ^{do not} must not permit one tragedy to become an even greater tragedy.

~~This does not mean we are helpless. We may not be able to change the evil ways of the Soviet regime, but we can change ourselves. We can learn the lessons of this tragic incident.~~

We must steadfastly grid ourselves for what John F. Kennedy called "the long twilight struggle." ^{From the beginning of this Administration,} Our policy toward the Soviets ^{has been} is based on realism. It recognized the one, hard reality that has never changed: the Soviets respect only those who operate and negotiate from a position of strength.

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

(State/Elliott)
September 4, 1983
6:30 p.m.

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

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

eloquence
Our hearts and prayers are with their victims and their families in this terrible time of grief. ~~Our hearts go out to all of them, to the wife of Congressman McDonald, Katherine McDonald, whose composure and grace~~ ^{-- brave people like} they must wonder what their loved ones did, what could they have ever done, to deserve this inhuman fate. ~~We can only imagine the terror they felt, in those few awful seconds, when suddenly they knew the worst had happened.~~ ^{to herself and her husband, we must acknowledge: we hold the} ~~those few awful seconds, when suddenly they knew the worst had happened.~~ ^{newspapers let the world forget the true nature of those responsible for the death of their loved ones.}

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

Let me make one thing plain: There is absolutely no justification in international law for what the Soviets did.

← As one Indian paper said, "If every passenger . . . is fair game for home Air Forces . . . it will be the end to civil aviation as we know it." Nor is this the first time the

Soviet Union has shot at and hit a civilian airliner when it overflowed their territory. The United States Government does not shoot down foreign aircraft over U.S. territory, even though commercial aircraft from the Soviet Union and Cuba have overflowed sensitive U.S. military facilities.

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

The world must hear these words. Tomorrow the Security Council will hear them, as they were spoken. It is not we who will be indicting the Soviet Union. It is the Soviets, who have lied and continue to lie, who will be condemning themselves in the court of world opinion.

I have long believed that the Soviet system, which at its core renounces our judeo-christian ideals, wantonly disregards individual rights and the value of human life, and seeks constantly to expand and dominate other nations, is the greatest threat to the civilized world. This latest outrage is just one more indication of the glaring gap between Soviet words and deeds.

In recent years, ^{the Soviets} ~~they~~ have rigged up one of the most elaborate and expensive propaganda machines in the world -- all

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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 (must)} they are mobilizing their entire government to defend a lie. ^Q The Soviet Union is paying a heavy price in the eyes of world opinion. And as long as they continue to stonewall, the civilized world will condemn them.

Now when I heard about this attack, my first instinct was to order strong retaliatory action, ~~against the Soviets.~~ Frankly, the Soviets deserve severe punishment. This is the regime that has imprisoned half of Europe behind an iron curtain, put down peaceful movements toward democracy in Czechoslovakia and Poland, invaded, gassed and massacred ~~people in~~ ^{citizens} Afghanistan, ~~directed~~ ^{condoned} the torture and suffering of millions in Southeast Asia and used Cuban troops as surrogates to undermine countries throughout Africa and Latin America.

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

The world has always been filled with danger, but now it is even more dangerous. In this nuclear world, the rules from olden times no longer apply. As the President of the United States, I am responsible for the safety of you and your children. ~~And as a leader of the free world, I am charged with protecting humanity from tyranny and death.~~ ^{must work for}

(So I cannot respond, as Franklin Roosevelt did, to this new day of infamy.) ^Q All of us, as leaders and citizens of the civilized world, must respond in a ~~way that is~~ calm, controlled,

NSC

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

~~just the opposite. They have mobilized their entire government to tell a lie.~~

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

But the world must not stand still and allow violence to be used against humanity without exacting a penalty and taking steps to protect itself. That is why I returned to Washington this weekend to consult with my advisers,

Congressional leaders, representatives of other countries and the public regarding the steps we should take. Some steps we can do ourselves, but the most effective ones must be in concert with other concerned nations. The issue is not one just between the Soviet Union and the United States, but between the Soviet regime and humanity.

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

TV ADDRESS:

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: (TITLE)
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1983

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

Our hearts and prayers are with their victims and their families in this terrible time of grief. They must wonder what their loved ones did, what could they have ever done, to deserve this inhuman fate. We can only imagine the terror they felt, in those few awful seconds, when suddenly they knew the worst had

happened. *a couple who were killed on the plane. One of them, Eugene D. Stiller, and his husband Stuart died on Korean Airline flight 007. Their deaths were the result of the Soviet Union violating every concept of human rights.*

The emotions of grief, shock, and anger that well up within us are shared by civilized people everywhere. We are witnessing an outpouring of condemnation throughout the world. One Indian paper said, "If every passenger is fair game for home Air

Forces... it will be the end to civil aviation as we know it."

Let me make one thing plain: There is absolutely no justification in international law for the Soviets to do what they did. Nor is this the first time they have shot at and hit a civilian airliner when it overflew their territory. The United States Government does not shoot down foreign aircraft over U.S. territory, even though commercial aircraft from the Soviet Union and Cuba have overflown sensitive U.S. military facilities.

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

The world must hear these words. Tomorrow in the Security Council it will hear them, as they were spoken. It is not we who will be indicting the Soviet Union. It is the Soviets, who have and continue to lie, who will be condemning themselves in the court of world opinion.

I have long believed that the Soviet system, which at its core renounces our judeo-christian ideals, wantonly disregards individual rights and the value of human life, and seeks constantly to expand and dominate other Nations, is the greatest threat to the civilized world. This latest outrage is just one more indication of the glaring gap between Soviet words and deeds.

In recent years, they 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, they are mobilizing all the forces of their Government to defend a lie.

See
Paper on
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desk. Grant
from Nat.

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come clean to the world, they are mobilizing all the forces of their Government to defend a lie. The Soviet Union is paying a heavy price in the eyes of world opinion. And as long as they continue to stonewall, ~~it's going to get worse.~~ *The civilized world will condemn them.*

Now when I heard about this attack, my first instinct was to order strong retaliatory action against the Soviets. Frankly, the Soviets deserve severe punishment. This is the regime that has imprisoned ~~one~~ half of Europe behind an iron curtain, put down peaceful movements toward democracy in Czechoslovakia and Poland, invaded, gassed and massacred ~~the~~ *thousands* of *in* Afghanistan, directed the torture and suffering of millions in Southeast Asia and used Cuban troops as surrogates to undermine countries ~~in~~ *throughout* Africa and Latin America.

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The world has always been filled with danger, but now it is even more dangerous. In this nuclear world, the rules from olden times no longer apply. As the President of the United States, I am responsible for the safety of you and your children. And as a leader of the free world, I am charged with protecting humanity from tyranny and death.

So I cannot respond, as Franklin Roosevelt did, to this new day of infamy. All of us, as leaders and citizens of the civilized world, must respond in a way that is calm, controlled, but absolutely firm. We want justice. But we must not permit one tragedy to become an even greater tragedy.

Page 4

This does not mean we

~~However we~~ are ~~not~~ helpless. Wwe may not be able to change the evil ways of the Soviet regime, but we can change ourselves. We can learn the lessons of this tragic incident.

Julie -
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PMS PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON DC

SEPT 2 83

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT

OUR DAUGHTER IRENE BIGOTTE STECKLER AND HER HUSBAND STUART DIED ON KOREAN AIRLINE FLIGHT 007. THEIR DEATHS WERE THE RESULT OF THE SOVIET UNION VIOLATING EVERY CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS WAS AN ACT OF MURDER THAT CANNOT REMAIN UNPUNISHED. WE MUST THEREFORE URGE YOU TO ENFORCE THE STRONGEST SANCTIONS AT THE DISPOSAL OF YOUR OFFICE. THIS REQUEST IS NOT MADE FOR PERSONAL REVENGE, FOR THIS WOULD HAVE BEEN AGAINST EVERY BELIEF IRENE AND STUART CHERISHED, BUT WITH THE FERVENT HOPE THAT SANCTIONS TAKEN WILL DETER THE SOVIET UNION FROM FURTHER COMMITTING SUCH WANTON MURDER. JEAN PIERRE AND EVA BIGOTTE 3 MAGNOLIA PLACE RYE NEW YORK 10580.

0846 EST

0925 EST

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

P- communicate this not let
the they shot down either K or
A plane. We're frequently accused
of wanting to return to Cold
War but they been doing this.
They shot down 11 U.S. planes
since 2nd W.W. - We shot
down none of theirs. Theirs
deviated from flight pattern
- U.S. + we never (use
Horn's info.)

Emphasize contact between
this behavior + other members
of unified community.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Judge P. - keep going with
of human rights - freedom
to travel w/o big blow
at air.

We're not surprised - know
that S. U. capable of this
kind of inhumanity - .

Portraying a man who
always ^{understood} ~~was~~ Soviets + is
of this period of time
dealing w/ the issue
controlled but abhorrently
fine manner.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dealing further distinct:
between work + death -

World int. community
vs. Soviets

Came back to meet w/
NSC tonight - .

Leave tomorrow
Long leaders only for
both here -

Not in contact w/ Lyons
Giapari + allies

anticipated that this is

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

will happen - It's
why we need to be
sent to see -
etc.

~~do not~~
have contempt for as pseudo-Christians
actual + disregard rights of individuals
+ value of human life -

What we are doing

Bilaterally -- on our own:

-- As ~~xxxx~~ soon as we knew, we immediately told the ~~xx~~ world and told them in terms we thought would be convincing. Did it carefully. *By the J. T. Smith*

-- We also informed the Soviets that we would not renew a transportation agreement with them. That agreement provides for _____.

-- We have put a hold on the opening of new consulates in New York City and Kiev that were to be opened soon;

-- We have also delayed talks on a new exchange agreement that would send various groups ~~xx~~ from one country to the other.

-- ~~And~~ We have reaffirmed our prohibition of Aeroflot flights to the U.S. Those flights were first cut off after Afghanistan. We have told the ~~Soviet~~ Soviets again that they ~~x~~ are not being renewed, and I have directed that steps be taken to make it more difficult for ~~those~~ anyone to purchase tickets on Aeroflot ~~while~~ here in U.S. (Note: RR is anxious to close down Aeroflot office in NY and perhaps elsewhere that are still open for business, selling tix out of Montreal, etc.)

Working in concert with other nations:

-- Along with ~~Japan~~ Korea and Japan, called emergency meeting of the ~~UN~~ U.N. Security Council. Debate began Friday and many nations ~~have~~ -- ~~a~~ name them -- have already condemned the Soviets. They ~~continue~~ have offered only answers that distort the evidence. Debate will resume tomorrow in NYC.

-- We want to work with other ~~people~~ nations to seek reparations for those who were killed. Soviets must pay just compensation to families. ~~There were over~~ Americans made up large ~~a~~ contingent on plane -- over 50 U.S. citizens on board -- but there were also citizens on there from over a dozen other nations (identified so far). International ~~a~~ Court of Justice may be forum for this (note, Ben: RR thinks reparations and aviation are two key elements of response. He is very hot on reparations).

-- We are working with allies on ways to isolate Aeroflot flights. ~~The~~ This will be matter we will take up with International Civil Aviation Organization ~~a~~ in Montreal.

-- In economic ~~are~~ area, we ~~at~~ are also working with allies on ways to ~~tighten up~~ end flow of military and strategic items to USSR. Have already made progress on this front in past year; hope to make more now.

-- ~~Exhorts~~ Working with both our allies
and on our own, we also intend to continue pressing Soviets
for a full explanation and an apology. Sect. Shultz leaving
tomorrow for Madrid ~~xx~~ to meet iwth Foriegn Minister Gromyko
and I have directed him to make this incident the first
item on the agenda. These talks will not be business as~~x~~ usual.
Indeed, the whole purpose of the Madrid meetings of vari-us
foreign minister~~d~~ is to work on ~~x~~ human righ~~ts~~s, and the
~~x~~ atrocity of ~~xxxx~~ last week is one of the grossest violations
of human rights in recent memory.

DRAFT SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT
ON THE KOREAN AIRLINER SHOOTDOWN

SEPTEMBER 5, 1983

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

THIS INEXCUSABLE ACT OF VIOLENCE CAME AS A SHOCK TO US ALL, BUT IT DID NOT COME AS A SURPRISE TO THIS ADMINISTRATION OR TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

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

THEY DO NOT NEED TO BE THAT WAY. THERE WAS NO REASON IN TERMS OF LEGITIMATE SOVIET INTERESTS FOR THEM TO SHOOT DOWN THIS CIVILIAN AIRLINER. *Said it was an accident. - gr. Not us/du*

LET ME GIVE YOU THE STARK WORDS OF THE SOVIET PILOT HIMSELF: "MISSILE WARHEADS LOCKED ON. I HAVE EXECUTED THE LAUNCH. THE TARGET IS DESTROYED. I AM BREAKING OFF THE ATTACK." *Sov. people not heard any of this.*

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

The real test of our resolve is to ^{remain} ~~stay~~ ^{united} ~~united~~ and stand.

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}

^{dangerous} ^{World} ~~Let us keep our eyes on the long-term challenge to freedom and peace.~~

AL Senator Henry Jackson, a wise and revered statesman, and one who

probably understood the Soviets as well 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,

standing on the Senate floor, speaking in behalf of the MX

missile program--a program he said was ^{vital} ~~necessary~~ to restore

America's strategic parity with the Soviets. In his speech,

Senator Jackson quoted the imprisoned Soviet dissident, Andrei

Sakharov, ^{He too has} ~~who 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, ^{the} ~~to~~ ponder long and hard about ^{the} ~~the~~ Soviet's ^{assertion and intimidation,} ~~behavior~~, before

^{you} ~~they~~ cast any vote, ^{the} ~~that~~ would weaken the security and safety of the American people. ^{AL}

I would also hope that the Europeans can now understand the need for 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 down an unprotected city?

pick up state draft

~~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.~~

~~WE WANT THE SOVIETS TO BE DIFFERENT. WE WANT THEM TO JOIN THE REST OF THE WORLD, TO ACCEPT THE RULES AND OBLIGATIONS THE REST OF THE WORLD ACCEPTS, TO BEAT THE SWORDS THEY HAVE ACCUMULATED OVER THE YEARS INTO PLOUGHSHARES.~~

~~BUT WE RECOGNIZE CLEARLY WHAT KIND OF POWER WE MUST DEAL WITH TODAY. OUR POLICY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION BEGINS WITH REALISM.~~

~~WE ALSO RECOGNIZE CLEARLY AND STATE FRANKLY THAT UNTIL THE SOVIETS JOIN THE REST OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY, WE MUST HAVE THE STRENGTH NEEDED TO DEAL WITH THEM. THAT IS WHY BUILDING AND~~

~~MAINTAINING THIS NATION'S MILITARY AND ECONOMIC STRENGTH, AND~~

~~HELPING OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS BUILD THEIRS, HAS BEEN SUCH AN~~

~~PRIMARY GOAL OF THIS ADMINISTRATION FROM THE BEGINNING.~~

~~REALISM AND STRENGTH WILL CONTINUE TO BE ESSENTIAL, BUT~~

~~THEY ARE NOT ENOUGH 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 wants a safer place to live.~~

~~THAT HAS BEEN MY APPROACH FROM THE BEGINNING, AND IT IS MY APPROACH NOW. THIS TERRIBLE TRAGEDY SHOWS MORE CLEARLY THAN EVER THAT WE NEED TO BE REALISTIC, THAT WE NEED TO BE STRONG, THAT WE NEED TO KEEP TALKING.~~

~~As I told the long-term leaders, peace is our top priority. Some arms reductions and by that I mean a reduction that will be equal, and that is truly verifiable.~~

re-educate ourselves to achieve these goals of this kind of event again. But

such as January 21, 1981

deter them.

important

X

I AM SENDING SECRETARY SHULTZ TO MADRID TOMORROW TO DELIVER OUR MESSAGE DIRECTLY TO FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO, AND AMBASSADOR NITZE WILL BE RETURNING TO GENEVA TO PURSUE NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES WITH HIS SOVIET COUNTERPART. EARLY NEXT MONTH AMBASSADOR ROWNY WILL ALSO RETURN TO GENEVA, TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORT TO ACHIEVE SIGNIFICANT, VERIFIABLE REDUCTIONS IN STRATEGIC ARMS.

THE GOAL OF BEATING SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES IS AS OLD AS OUR CULTURE; IF WE ARE TO LIVE IN PEACE, WE HAVE NO MORE IMPORTANT TASK THAN CONVINCING THE SOVIETS IT IS IN THEIR INTEREST TO JOIN IN THIS EFFORT.

THE SOVIETS WILL SEEK TO TURN AN ACT OF FORCE AND VIOLENCE AGAINST PEACEFUL AIR TRAVELLERS INTO AN ISSUE IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. THEY WANT TO IMPROVE THEIR MISERABLE PROPAGANDA POSITION. THEY BROKE THE NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY, AND THEY WILL TRY TO BLAME US. WE WILL NOT PLAY THEIR GAME. WHEN WE SPEAK OUT AGAINST A BARBARIC ACT, WE SPEAK WITH THE REST OF HUMANITY.

HUMANITY DEMANDS THE TRUTH FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

A NUMBER OF STEPS ARE REQUIRED. FOR OUR PART, WE IMMEDIATELY RELEASED THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET UNION SHOT DOWN THIS UNARMED PLANE.

TOGETHER WITH THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, JAPAN AND OTHER NATIONS WE SUMMONED AN EMERGENCY SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. IT MET FRIDAY, AND NATIONS FROM ACROSS THE GLOBE VIVIDLY EXPRESSED THEIR OUTRAGE.

WE ARE IN CLOSE AND CONTINUOUS CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR NATO ALLIES AND OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS IN ASIA, AND OUR VOICE AND EFFORTS HAVE BEEN JOINED TO THEIRS.

WE HAVE TAKEN A NUMBER OF IMMEDIATE STEPS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS. WE WITHDREW OUR PROPOSAL TO EXTEND THE BILATERAL TRANSPORTATION AGREEMENT; WE HAVE REAFFIRMED OUR SANCTION AGAINST REGULARLY SCHEDULED AEROFLOT FLIGHTS TO THIS COUNTRY; WE WILL NOT PROCEED TO DISCUSSION ON A NUMBER OF OTHER BILATERAL ISSUES.

BUT THIS IS AN INTERNATIONAL ISSUE IN WHICH ALL CIVILIZED NATIONS HAVE A STAKE, AND WE WILL JOIN WITH OTHERS IN RESPONDING. THE DEMAND FOR THE TRUTH WILL CONTINUE.

THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, WHICH LOST MORE LIVES THAN ANY OTHER NATION, HAS PUT THE DEMANDS OF THE WORLD WELL. IT CALLED ON THE SOVIET UNION TO OFFER A FULL ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED, TO APOLOGIZE, TO PUNISH THOSE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE, TO GUARANTEE UNIMPEDED ACCESS TO THE CRASH SITE, TO OFFER FULL COMPENSATION AND CREDIBLE GUARANTEES AGAINST A RECURRENCE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST CIVIL AIRLINERS.

WE MET YESTERDAY WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS, AND OUR APPROACH HAS THEIR FULL, BIPARTISAN SUPPORT. WE ARE IN CONTINUOUS TOUCH WITH THE FAMILIES OF OUR VICTIMS, WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS WHOSE CITIZENS LOST THEIR LIVES, WITH PRIVATE GROUPS WHO ARE AS OUTRAGED AS WE ARE.

THE SOVIET UNION MUST MEET ITS MORAL OBLIGATIONS. FAMILIES THAT SUFFERED SUCH TERRIBLE LOSS ARE DEMANDING THAT THE SOVIETS MEET THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES. WE WILL PUT FORWARD A U.S. CLAIM AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION FOR COMPENSATION FOR THE LOSS OF LIFE AND PROPERTY, FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE VICTIMS' SURVIVORS.

OUR OVERALL RESPONSE WILL BE STRONG, DIGNIFIED AND SUSTAINED. IT WILL FOCUS ON ENHANCING THE INTEGRITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION SYSTEM. WITH OTHER NATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS, WE ARE URGENTLY CONSIDERING SPECIFIC STEPS TO BRING HOME TO THE SOVIETS THAT THEY MUST ABIDE BY CIVILIZED NORMS. TOGETHER WITH OTHERS, WE WILL BE ACTING IN THE UN, IN THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION AND IN REGIONAL AVIATION BODIES. PILOTS FROM MANY COUNTRIES ARE EXPRESSING THEIR CONCERNS AND CONSIDERING THEIR RESPONSES.

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WE WILL REMAIN THE PEACEMAKERS AND THE PEACEKEEPERS. WE WILL MAINTAIN OUR STRENGTH, AND WE WILL PURSUE THE HISTORIC EFFORT TO BRING THE SOVIETS INTO THE WORLD COMMUNITY. IN THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS, WE SEEK SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS IN NUCLEAR ARMS. DESPITE SOVIET EFFORTS TO FUEL CONFLICT, WE WANT PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND ELSEWHERE.

WE KNOW OUR RESPONSIBILITIES. WE KNOW IT WILL BE HARD TO MAKE A NATION THAT RULES ITS OWN PEOPLE THROUGH FORCE CEASE USING FORCE AGAINST THE REST OF THE WORLD. BUT THAT IS THE TASK BEFORE US.

My fellow Americans, I have asked ~~for time to speak to you~~
~~the terrible crime that continues to weigh on our minds:~~
~~tonight about the Soviet act of savagery committed last week:~~
last week's ~~the~~ barbaric Soviet attack on 269 men, women
and babies ~~and~~ children ~~aboard~~ ^{aboard} ~~an~~ unarmed Korean passenger plane.
Our hearts ~~and prayers are with~~ ^{are with} the victims and families ~~that perished~~
they do, what have they ever done, to deserve such an inhuman
fate? We can only imagine

NSC

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

~~just the opposite. They have mobilized their entire government to defend a lie.~~

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

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

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lie.

~~SECRET~~

For our part, we shall do the following:

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

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

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

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

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

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

JFK
Jackson

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

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

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

As I told the Congressional leaders, peace is our top priority. This passage only underscores what a dangerous world we live in, and why we must intensify our efforts to achieve balanced, and verifiable reductions of arms, since this is most important for maintaining peace and security in the world. That is why Ambassador Nitze has returned to Geneva for the next round of negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. If the Soviets are willing to negotiate in earnest, we can make progress. Our policy of seeking to reduce the arms burden has not changed and will not change. I told the Senate that peace is our top priority.

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

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*M-X
H.L. (L)
+ hold
quote from
NASA*

DRAFT SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT
ON THE KOREAN AIRLINER SHOOTDOWN

SEPTEMBER 5, 1983

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

THIS INEXCUSABLE ACT OF VIOLENCE CAME AS A SHOCK TO US ALL, BUT IT DID NOT COME AS A SURPRISE TO THIS ADMINISTRATION OR TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

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

THEY DO NOT NEED TO BE THAT WAY. THERE WAS NO REASON IN TERMS OF LEGITIMATE SOVIET INTERESTS FOR THEM TO SHOOT DOWN THIS CIVILIAN AIRLINER. *Said it was an accident.*

LET ME GIVE YOU THE STARK WORDS OF THE SOVIET PILOT HIMSELF: "MISSILE WARHEADS LOCKED ON. I HAVE EXECUTED THE LAUNCH. THE TARGET IS DESTROYED. I AM BREAKING OFF THE ATTACK." *Sov people not heard any of this.*

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

WE WANT THE SOVIETS TO BE DIFFERENT. WE WANT THEM TO JOIN THE REST OF THE WORLD, TO ACCEPT THE RULES AND OBLIGATIONS THE REST OF THE WORLD ACCEPTS, TO BEAT THE SWORDS THEY HAVE ACCUMULATED OVER THE YEARS INTO PLOUGHSHARES.

BUT WE RECOGNIZE CLEARLY WHAT KIND OF POWER WE MUST DEAL WITH TODAY. OUR POLICY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION BEGINS WITH REALISM.

WE ALSO RECOGNIZE CLEARLY AND STATE FRANKLY THAT UNTIL THE SOVIETS JOIN THE REST OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY WE MUST HAVE THE STRENGTH NEEDED TO DEAL WITH THEM. THAT IS WHY BUILDING AND MAINTAINING THIS NATION'S MILITARY AND ECONOMIC STRENGTH AND HELPING OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS BUILD THEIRS HAS BEEN SUCH A PRIMARY GOAL OF THIS ADMINISTRATION FROM THE BEGINNING.

*Re-dedicate
an idea
to action
those good
to this kind
of event
never happens
again
M-X*

REALISM AND STRENGTH WILL CONTINUE TO BE ESSENTIAL, BUT THEY ARE NOT ENOUGH 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.

THAT HAS BEEN MY APPROACH FROM THE BEGINNING, AND IT IS MY APPROACH NOW. THIS TERRIBLE TRAGEDY SHOWS MORE CLEARLY THAN EVER THAT WE NEED TO BE REALISTIC, THAT WE NEED TO BE STRONG, THAT WE NEED TO KEEP TALKING.

I AM SENDING SECRETARY SHULTZ TO MADRID TOMORROW TO DELIVER OUR MESSAGE DIRECTLY TO FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO, AND AMBASSADOR NITZE WILL BE RETURNING TO GENEVA TO PURSUE NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES WITH HIS SOVIET COUNTERPART. EARLY NEXT MONTH AMBASSADOR ROWNY WILL ALSO RETURN TO GENEVA, TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORT TO ACHIEVE SIGNIFICANT, VERIFIABLE REDUCTIONS IN STRATEGIC ARMS.

THE GOAL OF BEATING SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES IS AS OLD AS OUR CULTURE; IF WE ARE TO LIVE IN PEACE, WE HAVE NO MORE IMPORTANT TASK THAN CONVINCING THE SOVIETS IT IS IN THEIR INTEREST TO JOIN IN THIS EFFORT.

THE SOVIETS WILL SEEK TO TURN AN ACT OF FORCE AND VIOLENCE AGAINST PEACEFUL AIR TRAVELLERS INTO AN ISSUE IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. THEY WANT TO IMPROVE THEIR MISERABLE PROPAGANDA POSITION. THEY BROKE THE NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY, AND THEY WILL TRY TO BLAME US. WE WILL NOT PLAY THEIR GAME. WHEN WE SPEAK OUT AGAINST A BARBARIC ACT, WE SPEAK WITH THE REST OF HUMANITY.

HUMANITY DEMANDS THE TRUTH FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

A NUMBER OF STEPS ARE REQUIRED. FOR OUR PART, WE IMMEDIATELY RELEASED THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET UNION SHOT DOWN THIS UNARMED PLANE.

TOGETHER WITH THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, JAPAN AND OTHER NATIONS WE SUMMONED AN EMERGENCY SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. IT MET FRIDAY, AND NATIONS FROM ACROSS THE GLOBE VIVIDLY EXPRESSED THEIR OUTRAGE.

WE ARE IN CLOSE AND CONTINUOUS CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR NATO ALLIES AND OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS IN ASIA, AND OUR VOICE AND EFFORTS HAVE BEEN JOINED TO THEIRS.

WE HAVE TAKEN A NUMBER OF IMMEDIATE STEPS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS. WE WITHDREW OUR PROPOSAL TO EXTEND THE BILATERAL TRANSPORTATION AGREEMENT; WE HAVE REAFFIRMED OUR SANCTION AGAINST REGULARLY SCHEDULED AEROFLOT FLIGHTS TO THIS COUNTRY; WE WILL NOT PROCEED TO DISCUSSION ON A NUMBER OF OTHER BILATERAL ISSUES.

BUT THIS IS AN INTERNATIONAL ISSUE IN WHICH ALL CIVILIZED NATIONS HAVE A STAKE, AND WE WILL JOIN WITH OTHERS IN RESPONDING. THE DEMAND FOR THE TRUTH WILL CONTINUE.

THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, WHICH LOST MORE LIVES THAN ANY OTHER NATION, HAS PUT THE DEMANDS OF THE WORLD WELL. IT CALLED ON THE SOVIET UNION TO OFFER A FULL ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED, TO APOLOGIZE, TO PUNISH THOSE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE, TO GUARANTEE UNIMPEDED ACCESS TO THE CRASH SITE, TO OFFER FULL COMPENSATION AND CREDIBLE GUARANTEES AGAINST A RECURRENCE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST CIVIL AIRLINERS.

WE MET YESTERDAY WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS, AND OUR APPROACH HAS THEIR FULL, BIPARTISAN SUPPORT. WE ARE IN CONTINUOUS TOUCH WITH THE FAMILIES OF OUR VICTIMS, WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS WHOSE CITIZENS LOST THEIR LIVES, WITH PRIVATE GROUPS WHO ARE AS OUTRAGED AS WE ARE.

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