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President Reagan

Korean Airline Massacre

September 5, 1983



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.

Following is President Reagan's address to the nation, Washington, D.C., September 5, 1983.

My fellow Americans, I am coming before you tonight about the Korean airline massacre—the attack by the Soviet Union against 269 innocent men, women, and children aboard an unarmed Korean passenger plane. This crime against humanity must never be forgotten, here or throughout the world.

Our prayers tonight are with the victims and their families in their time of terrible grief. Our hearts go out to them—to brave people like Kathryn McDonald, the wife of a Congressman, whose composure and eloquence on the day of her husband's death moved us all. He will be sorely missed by all of us here in Government.

The parents of one slain couple wired me: "Our daughter and her husband died on Korean Air Lines 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. From around the world press accounts reflect an explosion of condemnation by people everywhere.

Let me state as plainly as I can: there was absolutely no justification, either legal or moral, for what the Soviets did. 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."

This is not the first time the Soviet Union has shot at and hit a civilian airliner when it overflew its territory. In another tragic incident in 1978, the Soviets also shot down an unarmed civilian airliner after having positively identified it as such. In that instance the Soviet interceptor pilot clearly identified the civilian markings on the side of the aircraft, repeatedly questioned the order to fire on a civilian airliner, and was ordered to shoot it down anyway. The aircraft was hit with a missile and made a crash landing. Several innocent people lost their lives in this attack—killed by shrapnel from the blast of a Soviet missile.

Is this a practice of other countries in the world? The answer is no. Commercial aircraft from the Soviet Union and Cuba on a number of occasions have overflown sensitive U.S. military facilities. They weren't shot down. We and other civilized countries believe in the tradition of offering help to mariners and pilots who are lost or in distress, on the sea or in the air. We believe in following procedures to prevent a tragedy, not to provoke one.

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

They have spun a confused tale of tracking the plane by radar until it just mysteriously disappeared from their radar screens; that no one fired a shot of any kind. But, then, they coupled this with charges that it was a spy plane sent by us and that their planes fired tracer bullets past the plane as a warning that it was in Soviet airspace.

Let me recap for a moment and present the incontrovertible evidence that we have. The Korean airliner, a Boeing 747, left Anchorage, Alaska, bound for Seoul, Korea, on a course south and west which would take it across Japan. Out over the Pacific, in international waters, it was for a brief time in the vicinity of one of our reconnaissance planes, an RC-135, on a routine mission. At no time was the RC-135 in Soviet airspace. The Korean airliner flew on, and the two planes were soon widely separated.

A 747 is equipped with the most modern computerized navigation facilities, but a computer must respond to input provided by human hands. No one will ever know whether a mistake was made in giving the computer the course or whether there was a malfunction. Whichever, the 747 was flying a course further to the west than it was supposed to fly—a course which took it into Soviet airspace.

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

The Soviets scrambled jet interceptors from a base in Sakhalin Island.

Japanese ground sites recorded the interceptor plane's radio transmissions—their conversations with their own ground control. We only have the voices from the pilots; the Soviet ground-to-air transmissions were not recorded. It is plain, however, from the pilot's words that he is responding to orders and queries from his own ground control.

Here is a brief segment of the tape which we're going to play in its entirety for the UN Security Council tomorrow.

[Translations of taped radio transmissions from two Soviet pilots to "DEPUTAT," the Soviet ground station call sign:

Soviet SU-15 (805) at 1818:34 GMT: The A.N.O. [air navigation lights] are burning. The strobe light is flashing.

MiG-23 (163) at 1818:56 GMT: Roger, I'm at 7500, course 230.

SU-15 (805) at 1819:02 GMT: I am closing on the target.

SU-15 (805) at 1826:20 GMT: I have executed the launch.

SU-15 (805) at 1826:22 GMT: The target is destroyed.

SU-15 (805) at 1826:27 GMT: I am breaking off attack.

White House Note: The missile was fired by the SU-15, and the MiG-23 was an observer.]

Those are the voices of the Soviet pilots. In this tape the pilot who fired the missile describes his search for what he calls the target. He reports he has it in sight; indeed he pulls up to within about a mile of the Korean plane, mentions its flashing strobe light and that its navigation lights are on. He then reports he's reducing speed to get behind the airliner, gives his distance from the plane at various points in this maneuver, and finally announces what can only be called the Korean airline massacre. He says he has locked on the radar, which aims his missiles, has launched those missiles, the target has been destroyed, and he is breaking off the attack.

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

And make no mistake about it, this attack was not just against ourselves or the Republic of Korea. This was the Soviet Union against the world and the moral precepts which guide human relations among people everywhere. It was an act of barbarism, born of a society which wantonly disregards individual rights and the value of human life and seeks constantly to expand and dominate other nations.

They deny the deed, but in their conflicting and misleading protestations, the Soviets reveal that, yes, shooting down a plane—even one with hundreds of innocent men, women, children, and babies—is a part of their normal procedure if that plane is in what they claim as their airspace.

They owe the world an apology and an offer to join the rest of the world in working out a system to protect against this ever happening again. Among the rest of us there is one protective

measure: an international radio wave length on which pilots can communicate with planes of other nations if they are in trouble or lost. Soviet military planes are not so equipped because that would make it easier for pilots who might want to defect.

Our request to send vessels into Soviet waters to search for wreckage and bodies has received no satisfactory answer. Bereaved families of the Japanese victims were harassed by Soviet patrol boats when they tried to get near where the plane is believed to have gone down in order to hold a ceremony for their dead. But we shouldn't be surprised by such inhuman brutality. Memories come back of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, the gassing of villages in Afghanistan. If the massacre and their subsequent conduct are intended to intimidate, they have failed in their purpose. From every corner of the globe the word is defiance in the face of this unspeakable act and defiance of the system which excuses it and tries to cover it up. With our horror and our sorrow, there is a righteous and terrible anger. It would be easy to think in terms of vengeance, but that is not a proper answer. We want justice and action to see that this never happens again.

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

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

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

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

Since 1981 the Soviet airline Aeroflot has been denied the right to fly to the United States. We have reaffirmed that order and are examining additional steps we can take with regard to Aeroflot facilities in this country. We are cooperating with other countries to find better means to ensure the safety of civil aviation and to join us in not accepting Aeroflot as a normal member of the international civil air community

unless, and until, the Soviets satisfy the cries of humanity for justice. I am pleased to report that Canada today suspended Aeroflot's landing and refueling privileges for 60 days.

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. At the same time, we are listening most carefully to private groups, both American and international, airline pilots, passenger associations, and others, who have a special interest in civil air safety.

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

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

Along with Korea and Japan, we called an emergency meeting of the UN Security Council which began on Friday. On that first day, Korea, Japan, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, France, China, the United Kingdom, Zaire, New Zealand, and West Germany all joined us in denouncing the Soviet action and expressing our horror. We expect to hear from additional countries as debate resumes tomorrow.

We intend to work with the 13 countries who had citizens aboard the Korean airliner to seek reparations for the families of all those who were killed. The United States will be making a claim against the Soviet Union within the next week to obtain compensation for the benefit of the victims' survivors. Such compensation is an absolute moral duty which the Soviets must assume.

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

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

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

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

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 those statements in July, on the Senate floor, speaking in behalf of the MX missile program he considered vital to restore America's strategic parity with the Soviets.

When John F. Kennedy was president, defense spending as a share of the Federal budget was 70% greater than it is today. Since then, the Soviet Union has carried on the most massive military buildup the world has ever seen. Until they are willing to join the rest of the world community, we must maintain the strength to deter their aggression.

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

I've told you of negotiations we've suspended as a result of the Korean airline massacre, but we cannot, we must not, give up our effort to reduce the arsenals of destructive weapons threatening the world. Ambassador Nitze has returned to Geneva to resume the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Equally, we will continue to press for arms reductions in the START [strategic arms reduction talks] talks that resume in October. We are more determined than ever to reduce and, if possible, eliminate the threat hanging over mankind.

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 we must try.

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

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

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KAL Flight #007: Compilation of Statements and Documents

September 1-16, 1983



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.

This collection of statements and other documents relating to the Soviet downing of Korean Air Lines flight #007 originally appeared in the October 1983 issue of the Department of State Bulletin. It is reprinted here in order to respond to numerous requests for copies of these materials.

SECRETARY'S NEWS BRIEFING, SEPT. 1, 1983¹

At 1400 hours Greenwich Mean Time (GMT) yesterday, a Korean Air Lines Boeing 747, en route from New York to Seoul, Korea, departed Anchorage, Alaska. Two hundred and sixty-nine passengers and crew were on board, including Congressman Lawrence P. McDonald [D.-Ga.].

At approximately 1600 hours Greenwich Mean Time, the aircraft came to the attention of Soviet radar. It was tracked constantly by the Soviets from that time.

The aircraft strayed into Soviet airspace over the Kamchatka Peninsula and over the Sea of Okhotsk and over the Sakhalin Island. The Soviets tracked the commercial airliner for some 2½ hours.

A Soviet pilot reported visual contact with the aircraft at 1812 hours. The Soviet plane was, we know, in constant contact with its ground control.

At 1821 hours, the Korean aircraft was reported by the Soviet pilot at 10,000 meters. At 1826 hours, the Soviet pilot reported that he fired a missile, and the target was destroyed.

At 1830 hours, the Korean aircraft was reported by radar at 5,000 meters. At 1838 hours, the Korean plane disappeared from the radar screen.

We know that at least eight Soviet fighters reacted at one time or another to the airliner. The pilot who shot the aircraft down reported after the attack that he had, in fact, fired a missile, that he had destroyed the target, and that he was breaking away.

About an hour later, Soviet controllers ordered a number of their search aircraft to conduct search-and-rescue activity in the vicinity of the last position of the Korean airliner reflected by Soviet tracking. One of these aircraft reported finding kerosene on the surface of the seas in that area.

During Wednesday night, U.S. State Department officials, particularly Assistant Secretary [for European Affairs Richard R.] Burt, were in contact with Soviet officials, seeking information concerning the airliner's fate. The Soviets offered no information.

As soon as U.S. sources had confirmed the shooting down of the aircraft, the United States, on its own behalf and on behalf of the Republic of Korea, called in the Soviet Charge d'Affaires in Washington this morning to express our grave concern over the shooting down of an unarmed civilian plane carrying passengers of a number of nationalities. We also urgently demanded an explanation from the Soviet Union.

The United States reacts with revulsion to this attack. Loss of life appears to be heavy. We can see no excuse whatsoever for this appalling act.

Q. Will this make any difference in the way the United States deals with the Soviet Union, for example, your meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko?

A. I certainly will want to meet with Foreign Minister Gromyko and hear what he has to say about this. Of course, we expect to hear from the Soviet Union long before that.

Q. Was the United States in touch with Moscow at all on the hotline or any Presidential contact in this case?

A. No. This information that we have has come into our hands after the shooting down of this plane.

Q. Have you spoken to the President about this matter, and what does he say?

A. I haven't spoken to the President as yet, but I should say the President is fully informed. I've talked with the west coast, and the President knows all about this and has been kept fully informed. I haven't personally spoken to him.

Q. Did the Soviet Union give any warning to this aircraft and request it to land or try to force it down before it shot it down?

A. We have no evidence of that. There was apparently no ability to communicate between the two aircraft. But as the statement says, the Soviet plane that shot down the commercial airliner moved itself into position where it had visual contact with the aircraft, so that with the eye you could inspect the aircraft and see what it was you were looking at.

Q. Do we know whether the Soviets sought to force the KAL plane down without using missiles?

A. We have no information about that. And as I said, as far as we can see, there was no communication between the two aircraft except that they did track this aircraft for 2½ hours; at least eight fighters at one time or another were around in the vicinity; and the aircraft that shot the plane down was close enough for visual inspection of the aircraft.

Q. Were they aware of any particular kind of Soviet military exercises or maneuvers or super-sophisticated radar that might have been in the area and that they had warned everybody to stay away from it?

A. No.

Q. Is there any explanation that you could offer for this?

A. We have no explanation to offer. We can see no explanation whatever for shooting down an unarmed commercial airliner, no matter whether it's in your airspace or not.

Q. Are you suggesting that the decision to shoot this plane down was made at a fairly high level since they were tracking it a long time?

A. I'm relating the facts as we have them at this point, and I can't go beyond the facts that I have here. I'm not going to speculate about it. I'm trying to put forward the facts as we know them and to tell you the U.S. Government's attitude and my own attitude toward the shooting down of an unarmed commercial airliner.

Q. Do you have any sense as to whether there could be any political motivation for this, beyond what you know already?

A. I can't imagine any political motivation for shooting down an unarmed airliner.

WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT, SEPT. 1, 1983²

The President is very concerned and deeply disturbed about the loss of life aboard the Korean Air Lines flight overnight. There are no circumstances that can justify the unprecedented attack on an unarmed civilian aircraft. The Soviet Union owes an explanation to the world about how and why this tragedy has occurred.

At the direction of the President, the Secretary of State is demanding an immediate and full account of this tragic incident from the Soviet Union.

The President discussed this matter last night at 7:30 with his national security adviser, Bill Clark, and again at 10:30 last night he was briefed in further detail. This morning at 7:10, Ed Meese spoke to the President, provided him with a morning assessment of the situation, and at 8:33 this morning, the President spoke for about 15 minutes with Secretary Shultz.

He is being kept abreast and will be kept advised throughout the day as the assessments proceed by officials in Washington.

PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT, SEPT. 1, 1983³

I speak for all Americans and for the people everywhere who cherish civilized values in protesting the Soviet attack on an unarmed civilian passenger plane. Words can scarcely express our revulsion at this horrifying act of violence.

The United States joins with other members of the international community in demanding a full explanation for this appalling and wanton misdeed. The Soviet statements to this moment have totally failed to explain how or why this tragedy has occurred. Indeed, the whole incident appears to be inexplicable to civilized people everywhere.

Mrs. Reagan and I want to express our deepest sympathy to the families of the victims. Our prayers are with them in this time of bereavement, and they have my personal assurance that I will make every effort to get to the bottom of this tragedy.

I have ordered the flags of the United States flown at half staff at all Federal installations and U.S. military bases around the world.

DEPARTMENT STATEMENT, SEPT. 1, 1983⁴

The Soviet Foreign Minister has sent a message to Secretary Shultz in reply to our demand of earlier today for an explanation of the shooting down of a Korean Air Lines 747 by Soviet aircraft. The message, which was delivered by the Soviet Embassy here to the Department of State, is an almost verbatim repetition of the TASS item issued from Moscow today. That TASS message reads as follows:

An unidentified plane entered the airspace of the Soviet Union over the Kamchatka Peninsula from the direction of the Pacific Ocean and then for the second time violated the airspace of the U.S.S.R. over Sakhalin Island on the night from August 31 to September 1. The plane did not have navigation lights, did not respond to queries, and did not enter into contact with the dispatcher service.

Fighters of the anti-aircraft defense, which were sent aloft toward the intruder plane, tried to give it assistance in directing it to the nearest airfield. But the intruder plane did not react to the signals and warnings from the Soviet fighters and continued its flight in the direction of the Sea of Japan.

In addition, Mr. Gromyko's message includes a statement that in connection with the U.S. request, the Soviets have taken measures to search for the aircraft and indicates that as a result of the search, signs of a possible crash have been found in the area of Morenon Island. The search, the message says, continues in the area.

The Soviet Charge has been informed that the U.S. Government finds this reply totally inadequate and reiterates its demand for a satisfactory explanation.

**U.S. LETTER TO PRESIDENT,
UN SECURITY COUNCIL,
SEPT. 1, 1983⁵**

Dear Mr. President:

On urgent instructions from my government and in view of the gravity of the situation arising from the destruction by fighters of the Soviet airforce of a Republic of Korea Boeing 747 aircraft carrying civilian passengers of different nationalities over waters of the Japanese island of Hokkaido, I wish to bring the following facts to your attention and to that of all members of the Security Council.

At 1400 hours, Greenwich Mean Time, August 31, 1983, a Korean Airline Boeing 747 en route from New York to Seoul, Korea, departed Anchorage, Alaska carrying 269 passengers and crew.

At approximately 1600 hours (GMT), the aircraft came to the attention of Soviet radar personnel. It was tracked constantly by Soviet military authorities from that time. According to information available to my government, the aircraft strayed into Soviet airspace over the Kamchatka Peninsula, over the Sea of Okhotsk and over Sakhalin Island.

The Soviets tracked the commercial airliner for some two-and-one-half hours. A Soviet pilot reported visual contact with the aircraft at 1812 hours. The Soviet plane was in constant contact with its ground control.

At 1812 hours the Korean aircraft was reported by the Soviet pilot at 10,000 meters. At 1826 hours the Soviet pilot reported that he fired a missile and the target was destroyed. At 1830 hours the Korean aircraft was reported by radar at an altitude of 5,000 meters. At 1838 hours the Korean plane disappeared from the radar screens.

The United States Government knows that at least eight Soviet fighters reacted at one time or another to the airliner. The pilot who shot the airliner down reported after the attack that he had, in fact, fired a missile, that he had destroyed the target, and that he was breaking away.

About an hour later, Soviet controllers ordered a number of their search aircraft to conduct search and rescue activity in the vicinity of the last position of the Korean airliner reflected by Soviet tracking. One of these aircraft reported finding kerosene on the surface of the seas in that area.

The United States Government considers this action of Soviet military authorities against a civil air transport vehicle a flagrant and serious attack on the safety of international civil aviation.

This action by the Soviet Union violates the fundamental legal norms and standards of international civil aviation. These norms and standards do not permit such use of armed force against foreign civil aircraft. There exists no justification in international law for the destruction of an identifiable civil aircraft, an aircraft which was tracked on radar for two-and-one-half hours, and which was in visual contact of Soviet military pilots prior to being deliberately shot down.

It is the considered position of the Government of the United States of America that this unprovoked resort to the use of force by the Soviet military authorities in contravention of International Civil Aviation Organization standards and the basic norms of international law must be deplored and condemned by the international community and by world public opinion.

Upon instructions from my government, I request, in association with the Republic of Korea, that you convene an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider this serious matter. I further request that this letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

Sincerely,

CHARLES M. LICHENSTEIN
Acting Permanent
Representative of the U.S.

**PRESIDENT'S REMARKS,
SEPT. 2, 1983⁶**

First, let me just say that Nancy and I were deeply saddened last night to hear of the death of Senator Henry Jackson. He was a friend, a colleague, a true patriot, and a devoted servant of the people. He will be sorely missed, and we both extend our deepest sympathy to his family.

And now, in the wake of the barbaric act committed yesterday by the Soviet regime against a commercial jetliner, the United States and many other countries of the world made clear and compelling statements that expressed not only our outrage but also our demand for a truthful accounting of the facts.

Our first emotions are anger, disbelief, and profound sadness. While events in Afghanistan and elsewhere have left few illusions about the willingness of the Soviet Union to advance its interests through violence and intimidation, all of us had hoped that certain ir-

reducible standards of civilized behavior, nonetheless, obtained. But this event shocks the sensibilities of people everywhere. The tradition in a civilized world has always been to offer help to mariners and pilots who are lost or in distress on the sea or in the air. Where human life is valued, extraordinary efforts are extended to preserve and protect it, and it's essential that as civilized societies, we ask searching questions about the nature of regimes where such standards do not apply.

Beyond these emotions, the world notes the stark contrast that exists between Soviet words and deeds. What can we think of a regime that so broadly trumpets its vision of peace and global disarmament and yet so callously and quickly commits a terrorist act to sacrifice the lives of innocent human beings? What could be said about Soviet credibility when they so flagrantly lie about such a heinous act? What can be the scope of legitimate and mutual discourse with a state whose values permit such atrocities? And what are we to make of a regime which establishes one set of standards for itself and another for the rest of human kind?

We've joined in the call for an urgent UN Security Council meeting today. The brutality of this act should not be compounded through silence or the cynical distortion of the evidence now at hand. And tonight I will be meeting with my advisers to conduct a formal review of this matter, and this weekend I shall be meeting with the congressional leadership.

To the families of all those on the ill-fated aircraft, we send our deepest sympathy, and I hope they know our prayers are with them all.

**AMBASSADOR LICHENSTEIN'S
STATEMENT,
UN SECURITY COUNCIL,
SEPT. 2, 1983⁷**

I wish at the outset to read the statement issued today by the President of the United States, as he left California on his return to Washington, where at 1830 hours he has convened an extraordinary meeting of his National Security Council.

[Ambassador Lichenstein read the President's statement.]

This strong and eloquent expression of anguish for the families of 269 victims, this expression of deep concern for what this heinous crime means for international peace and security, indeed, for

the best hopes of decent people everywhere, this statement by the President of my country needs no amplification by me.

What I will try to do this afternoon is, first, to provide some framework, some context for this tragedy. I will then spell out the facts as best we now know them—and let me note here that hour-by-hour these last 2½ days, more and more facts have become and are becoming available to my government, and as they do, our concern deepens and our outrage grows. Then, finally, I will draw some few, preliminary conclusions about the meaning of this tragedy—the lessons that it may hold for us here in this Council and, more generally, for all people everywhere in the world who enjoy freedom, who would preserve the freedom they enjoy, those who seek freedom.

How can we begin to characterize this crime? And a crime worse compounded by the Soviets' continuing denial of any responsibility for it, a denial which is in contempt of the truth as, gradually, we are learning it and in contempt of the opinion of civilized mankind.

On the basis of the facts presently available to my government, the crime must be characterized as calculated and deliberate. From all presently available evidence, the pilot of the SU-15 Soviet interceptor—the pilot who pulled the trigger or pushed the button that unleashed the heat-guided missile which destroyed Korean Air Lines #007 and 269 innocent lives along with it—that pilot had the Korean 747 in his sights, clearly identified as a civilian airliner, well within 2 kilometers of the 747, for more than 10 minutes running, prior to launching the destructive missile.

The crime committed was, indeed, calculated; and, indeed, it was deliberate; and it was wantonly irresponsible. On no conceivable assumption of the peril posed by a single commercial airliner to the putative security of the Soviet Union, a regularly scheduled night-time flight, however much off course it may have strayed—on no conceivable such assumption could the Soviet reaction be characterized as other than incommensurate, as outrageously excessive, as wantonly irresponsible.

Let us call the crime for what clearly it is: wanton, calculated, deliberate murder.

Most of us by now know the basic facts of this criminal act of mass murder, but let me again outline them in brief.

At 1400 hours, Greenwich Mean Time, August 31, 1983, a Korean Air Lines Boeing 747 en route from New

York to Seoul, Korea, departed Anchorage, Alaska, carrying 269 passengers and crew.

At approximately 1600 hours, the aircraft came to the attention of Soviet radar personnel. It was tracked constantly by Soviet military authorities from that time. According to information available to my government, the aircraft strayed into Soviet airspace over the Kamchatka Peninsula, over the Sea of Okhotsk, and over Sakhalin Island.

The Soviets tracked the commercial airliner for some 2½ hours. A Soviet pilot reported visual contact with the aircraft at 1812 hours. The Soviet plane was in constant contact, was receiving orders and instructions from its ground control.

At 1812 hours the Korean aircraft was reported by the Soviet pilot at 10,000 meters, roughly 33,000 feet. At 1826 hours the Soviet pilot reported that he fired a missile, and the target was destroyed. At 1830 hours the Korean aircraft was reported by radar at an altitude of 5,000 meters. At 1838 hours the Korean plane disappeared from the radar screens.

The U.S. Government knows that at least eight Soviet fighters reacted at one time or another throughout this period in excess of 2½ hours to the airliner. The pilot who shot the airliner down reported after the attack that he had, in fact, fired a missile, that he had destroyed the target, and that he was breaking away—as he put it, “I am leaving the attack.” (I must defer to our Soviet colleague. It may well be that I am not adequately or properly translating the Russian. But then he has all of the facts in his possession.) It is also of interest to note that prior to firing the heat-seeking missile, the Soviet SU-15 interceptor deliberately circled back around behind the Korean 747, the better to aim his heat-seeking missile and in order to avoid any possibility of being hit by flying debris.

As we reflect on the possible meaning of this crime, and its possible consequences, I want very briefly to touch on its implications for any reasonable approximation to the codes and conventions of international law.

First and foremost are the legal obligations which flow from what the International Court of Justice—whose jurisdiction, needless to say, the Soviet Union usually does not accept—has called “certain general and well-recognized principles, namely elementary considerations of humanity, even more exacting in peace than in war.”

If there were no other relevant rules, these well-recognized principles of humanity would rule out shooting down a passenger plane, a clearly marked airliner engaged in international civil aviation. But there are other very relevant rules. There are the rules of the Charter about the prohibition of the use of force. There are rules specific to civil aviation. Annex 2 to the Chicago convention on civil aviation contains “Rules of the Air.” These rules set forth the procedures to be used when intercepting a foreign aircraft not properly within the airspace of the intercepting country, that is to say, radio communications, rocking of wings, and irregular flashing of lights. The “Rules of the Air” do *not* include shooting down a civil airliner.

Attachment A to Annex 2 of the Chicago convention is even clearer:

Interception of civil aircraft should be avoided and should be undertaken only as a last resort. If undertaken, the interception should be limited to determining the identity of the aircraft and providing any navigational guidance necessary for the safe conduct of the flight . . . Intercepting aircraft should refrain from the use of weapons in all cases of interception of civil aircraft.

It is interesting to note—as I have looked over the detailed log of some 75 instances—documented instances in which Soviet aircraft have strayed into Western, into American airspace. I have looked over the log carefully to discover the response in each case. I wish to recite from that long catalogue only two rather interesting such flights. Among the numerous incidents there was that of the Aeroflot flight into Dulles Airport on November 8, 1981. This flight entered U.S. airspace at an unauthorized entry point in New England, flew over New England land area although its clearly demarcated route was almost exclusively over open water. It continued to fly according to an unauthorized route over the Pease Air Force Base and the naval facility at Groton, Connecticut. And then, finally, it landed in Dulles, Washington, D.C. Several days later, the same aircraft on leaving Dulles for its return flight flew a similar unauthorized route over New England.

My government lodged a very firm protest. My government then imposed what it considered a proportionate penalty. It suspended Aeroflot scheduled service into Dulles for two flights. It did not authorize the use of a heat-seeking missile!

What might we expect that a normal, reasonably civilized government should do in a situation such as the one that confronts us? It would, first of all, admit and accept responsibility for the

act. It would express profound regret for the loss of life. It would undertake a credible investigation of the circumstances of the act to determine if there was individual responsibility, and it would discipline the responsible individuals. It would also pledge that such an act would never be repeated, and it would demonstrate that appropriate steps are being taken to ensure against any repetition.

What, by contrast, has the Soviet Union done until now? Has it given the slightest indication that it accepts responsibility for this heinous act? Has it shown the least bit of compassion for the families of those innocent people who were killed, who were, as I have said, murdered? Has it taken any steps to initiate a process of investigation to determine responsibility? Has it given any sign of reassurance to the international community that it appreciates the gravity of what has happened and will take whatever steps are necessary to ensure against its repetition? On the contrary, the Soviet attitude has lacked even a trace of contrition. In the face of utter disbelief on the part of the entire international community, it denies any responsibility for shooting down this unarmed civilian airliner. It has shown no regret over the loss of life. It has indicated no readiness to punish those responsible. It has demonstrated no determination to avoid a repetition of such an incident.

It has, in other words, behaved with complete—and I must add, characteristic—contempt for the international community and for even minimal standards of decency and civilized behavior. In its refusal to admit the truth—to accept responsibility for this act—it is lying openly, brazenly, knowingly. In so doing it is—ironically—showing its true face to the world, the face that is so often hidden behind the peace offensive and the propaganda machine, behind all the talk of brotherhood and human solidarity, and international coexistence.

It is the face of a ruthless totalitarian state, a state which has been responsible over the past six-and-one-half decades for killing more people—the latest estimate I have read is between 70 and 80 million—and enslaving more nations than any state in the history of mankind; a state that tailors its concept of truth to what will advance its own interests—that and nothing else; a state that does not accept responsibility for a minimally decent international order; a state whose ultimate objective is to remake the world in its own image, which necessarily means a world in which it will control the lives of people

and the fate of nations as completely and as ruthlessly as it exercises control over its own people—and I should add, over those who innocently stray into its airspace.

If we are to learn anything from this awful tragedy, it is this message and this terrible warning.

It is said that we must—and, of course, we must—live in the same world with the Soviet Union. But if we are to live in that world—in freedom and not in slavery—and if that world is to continue to allow room for the individual existence of nations and the survival of freedom and comparable human values, then it is best that we recognize now, before it is far, far, too late, the true nature of Soviet totalitarianism and the threat it poses to all people—those living under its yoke and those still free of such domination.

Let me complete my statement by reading the words of a noble and eloquent Russian, formerly a citizen of the Soviet Union—not atypically a former citizen of the Soviet Union now who finds it necessary to live outside his country. I quote from Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn:

Let us not forget that violence does not and cannot exist by itself. It is invariably intertwined with the lie. They are linked in the most intimate, most organic and most profound fashion. Violence cannot conceal itself behind anything except lies. And lies have nothing to maintain them except violence. Anyone who has once proclaimed violence as his methods must inexorably choose the lie as his principle.

SECRETARY'S STATEMENT, SEPT. 2, 1983^o

The Soviet Union has today issued another statement in its continuing effort to cover up the facts of the inhuman Soviet attack on an unarmed civilian airliner. They still will not admit the truth—that they shot down an unarmed civilian aircraft. The facts are:

1. The aircraft was a commercial airliner on a regularly scheduled flight—and the Soviet fighter came close enough to see that;
2. The passengers on the flight came from many nations and included a number of women and children;
3. The airliner in question was not of U.S. registry; and
4. The United States was not aware that the Korean airliner was in jeopardy until after it was shot down. Our first knowledge of this incident was based on

subsequent analysis of Soviet defense activity.

TASS also asserts that the Soviet aircraft fired warning shots with tracer shells along the route of the plane. We know the Soviet pilot reported that he had fired on the target, and it was destroyed. There is no indication that the Soviets tried to warn the plane by firing tracers.

The Soviet Union is clearly engaged in an effort to divert attention from its own actions by false claims of a U.S. intelligence connection with the Korean civilian airliner.

None of this can obscure the facts. The Soviets Union must accept the responsibility for having shot down an unarmed commercial airliner, taking the lives of 269 human beings. No cover-up, however brazen and elaborate, can change this reality—or absolve the Soviet Union of its responsibility to explain its behavior. The world is waiting for the Soviet Union to tell the truth.

PRESIDENT'S RADIO ADDRESS, SEPT. 3, 1983^o

This weekend marks the 189th observance of Labor Day, a special day for all Americans. Before I get to that topic, however, I'm going to speak to you briefly about the recent act of brutality that continues to horrify us all.

I'm referring to the outrageous Soviet attack against the 269 people aboard the unarmed Korean passenger plane. This murder of innocent civilians is a serious international issue between the Soviet Union and civilized people everywhere who cherish individual rights and value human life. It is up to all of us, leaders and citizens of the world, to deal with the Soviets in a calm, controlled but absolutely firm manner. We have joined in this call for an urgent UN Security Council meeting. The evidence is clear; it leaves no doubt it is time for the Soviets to account.

The Soviet Union owes the world a fullest possible explanation and apology for their inexcusable act of brutality. So far they flunk the test. Even now they continue to distort and deny the truth.

People everywhere can draw only one conclusion from their violent behavior; there is a glaring gap between Soviet words and deeds. They speak endlessly about their love of brotherhood, disarmament, and peace, but they reserve the right to disregard aviation safety and to sacrifice human life.

Make no mistake on this last point; this is not the first time the Soviets have shot at and hit a civilian airliner when it flew over Soviet territory. Our 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 rather than to provoke one, but while the Soviets accuse others of wanting to return to the cold war, it's they who have never left it behind.

I met with the National Security Council last night. Tomorrow I will meet with congressional leaders of both parties to discuss this issue as well as the situation in Lebanon on which the National Security Council met today. We're determined to move forward and to act in concert with the Congress and other members of the international community. We must make sure that the fundamental rules of safety of travel are respected by all nations, even the Soviet Union.

WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT, SEPT. 4, 1983^o

A U.S. RC-135 aircraft was in the vicinity of the Korean airliner on August 31 when the airliner was initially detected by Soviet radar. Both aircraft were then in international airspace, and the U.S. aircraft never entered Soviet airspace. The United States routinely conducts unarmed RC-135 flights in international airspace off the Kamchatka Peninsula to monitor, by technical means, Soviet compliance with the SALT treaties. The Soviets conduct similar monitoring activities near U.S. missile-testing areas. The Soviets are aware of our flights and track them routinely. They know that our aircraft do not enter their airspace. The Korean aircraft's inadvertent entry into Soviet territory should have been an early and strong indication to them that the flight was not a U.S. reconnaissance aircraft.

The Soviets traced the Korean aircraft and the U.S. aircraft separately and knew there were two aircraft in the area, so we do not think this was a case of mistaken identity. The closest point of approach was approximately 75 nautical miles, while the U.S. aircraft was in its mission orbit. Later the U.S. aircraft crossed the path taken by the Korean airliner, but by then the airliner was

almost 300 miles away. Still later, as the Korean airliner strayed off course and overflowed Kamchatka Peninsula, it was initially identified by the Soviets as an RC-135 and then as an unidentified aircraft. Approximately 2½ hours after the U.S. and Korean aircraft were near each other in international space, the Soviets shot down the Korean airliner as it was exiting—or had exited—their territory west of Sakhalin Island, some 1,000 miles from the operating area of the U.S. aircraft.

During the 2½ hours of Soviet surveillance of the Korean aircraft, the Soviets had radar images—both ground and air—of the Korean 747. The two aircraft are distinctly different in shape and size. Their fighter aircraft also had visual contact with the Korean aircraft. The SU-15 and MiG-23 aircraft pilots, whose voices are on the tape obtained by the United States and played for the congressional leadership, never refer to the Korean aircraft as an RC-135, only as the "target." They made no serious effort to identify the aircraft or to warn it. They did not appear to care what it was. Instead, they were intent on killing it. If the Soviets made a mistake in identification, which stretches the imagination, they have not said so to date. In fact, they have not to date admitted shooting down the Korean commercial aircraft with 269 people aboard. We continue to ask the Soviets for their full accounting of this incident.

The presence of a U.S. reconnaissance aircraft on a routine monitoring mission to assure Soviet compliance with treaty obligations some 1,000 miles and 2½ hours flight time from the scene of the shootdown in no way excuses or explains this act, which speaks for itself. In fact, the RC-135 in question, at the time KAL #007 was shot down, had been on the ground at its home base in Alaska for more than 1 hour.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION, SEPT. 5, 1983^o

My fellow Americans, I am coming before you tonight about the Korean airline massacre—the attack by the Soviet Union against 269 innocent men, women, and children aboard an unarmed Korean passenger plane. This crime against humanity must never be forgotten, here or throughout the world.

Our prayers tonight are with the victims and their families in their time of terrible grief. Our hearts go out to them—to brave people like Kathryn McDonald, the wife of a Congressman, whose composure and eloquence on the

day of her husband's death moved us all. He will be sorely missed by all of us here in government.

The parents of one slain couple wired me: "Our daughter and her husband died on Korean Air Lines 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. From around the world press accounts reflect an explosion of condemnation by people everywhere.

Let me state as plainly as I can: There was absolutely no justification, either legal or moral, for what the Soviets did. 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."

This is not the first time the Soviet Union has shot at and hit a civilian airliner when it overflowed its territory. In another tragic incident in 1978, the Soviets also shot down an unarmed civilian airliner after having positively identified it as such. In that instance the Soviet interceptor pilot clearly identified the civilian markings on the side of the aircraft, repeatedly questioned the order to fire on a civilian airliner, and was ordered to shoot it down anyway. The aircraft was hit with a missile and made a crash landing. Several innocent people lost their lives in this attack—killed by shrapnel from the blast of a Soviet missile.

Is this a practice of other countries in the world? The answer is no. Commercial aircraft from the Soviet Union and Cuba on a number of occasions have overflowed sensitive U.S. military facilities. They weren't shot down. We and other civilized countries believe in the tradition of offering help to mariners and pilots who are lost or in distress, on the sea or in the air. We believe in following procedures to prevent a tragedy, not to provoke one.

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

They have spun a confused tale of tracking the plane by radar until it just mysteriously disappeared from their radar screens; that no one fired a shot of any kind. But, then, they coupled this with charges that it was a spy plane sent by us and that their planes fired tracer bullets past the plane as a warning that it was in Soviet airspace.

Let me recap for a moment and present the incontrovertible evidence that we have. The Korean airliner, a Boeing 747, left Anchorage, Alaska, bound for Seoul, Korea, on a course south and west which would take it across Japan. Out over the Pacific, in international waters, it was for a brief time in the vicinity of one of our reconnaissance planes, an RC-135, on a routine mission. At no time was the RC-135 in Soviet airspace. The Korean airliner flew on, and the two planes were soon widely separated.

A 747 is equipped with the most modern computerized navigation facilities, but a computer must respond to input provided by human hands. No one will ever know whether a mistake was made in giving the computer the course or whether there was a malfunction. Whichever, the 747 was flying a course further to the west than it was supposed to fly—a course which took it into Soviet airspace.

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

The Soviets scrambled jet interceptors from a base in Sakhalin Island.

Japanese ground sites recorded the interceptor plane's radio transmissions—their conversations with their own ground control. We only have the voices from the pilots; the Soviet ground-to-air transmissions were not recorded. It is plain, however, from the pilot's words that he is responding to orders and queries from his own ground control.

Here is a brief segment of the tape which we're going to play in its entirety for the UN Security Council tomorrow.

[Translations of taped radio transmissions from two Soviet pilots to "DEPUTAT," the Soviet ground station call sign:

Soviet SU-15 (805) at 1818:34

GMT: The A.N.O. [air navigation lights] are burning. The strobe light is flashing.

MiG-23 (163) at 1818:56 GMT:

Roger, I'm at 7500, course 230.

SU-15 (805) at 1819:02 GMT: I am closing on the target.

SU-15 (805) at 1826:20 GMT: I have executed the launch.

SU-15 (805) at 1826:22 GMT: The target is destroyed.

SU-15 (805) at 1826:27 GMT: I am breaking off attack.

White House Note: The missile was fired by the SU-15, and the MiG-23 was an observer.]

Those are the voices of the Soviet pilots. In this tape the pilot who fired the missile describes his search for what he calls the target. He reports he has it in sight; indeed, he pulls up to within about a mile of the Korean plane, mentions its flashing strobe light and that its navigation lights are on. He then reports he's reducing speed to get behind the airliner, gives his distance from the plane at various points in this maneuver, and finally announces what can only be called the Korean airline massacre. He says he has locked on the radar, which aims his missiles, has launched those missiles, the target has been destroyed, and he is breaking off the attack.

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

And make no mistake about it, this attack was not just against ourselves or the Republic of Korea. This was the Soviet Union against the world and the moral precepts which guide human relations among people everywhere. It was an act of barbarism, born of a society which wantonly disregards individual rights and the value of human life and seeks constantly to expand and dominate other nations.

They deny the deed, but in their conflicting and misleading protestations, the Soviets reveal that, yes, shooting down a plane—even one with hundreds of innocent men, women, children, and babies—is a part of their normal procedure if that plane is in what they claim as their airspace.

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

Our request to send vessels into Soviet waters to search for wreckage and bodies has received no satisfactory answer. Bereaved families of the Japanese victims were harassed by Soviet patrol boats when they tried to get near where the plane is believed to have gone down in order to hold a ceremony for their dead. But we shouldn't be surprised by such inhuman brutality. Memories come back of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, the gassing of villages in Afghanistan. If the massacre and their subsequent conduct is intended to intimidate, they have failed in their purpose. From every corner of the globe, the word is defiance in the face of this unspeakable act and defiance of the system which excuses it and tries to cover it up. With our horror and our sorrow, there is a righteous and terrible anger. It would be easy to think in terms of vengeance, but that is not a proper answer. We want justice and action to see that this never happens again.

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

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

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

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

Since 1981 the Soviet airline Aeroflot has been denied the right to fly to the United States. We have reaffirmed that order and are examining additional steps we can take with regard to Aeroflot facilities in this country. We are cooperating with other countries to find better means to ensure the safety of civil aviation and to join us in not accepting Aeroflot as a normal member of the international civil air community unless, and until, the Soviets satisfy the cries of humanity for justice. I am pleased to report that Canada today suspended Aeroflot's landing and refueling privileges for 60 days.

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. At the same time, we are listening most carefully to private groups, both American and international, airline pilots, passenger associations, and others, who have a special interest in civil air safety.

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

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

Along with Korea and Japan, we called an emergency meeting of the UN Security Council which began on Friday. On that first day, Korea, Japan, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, France, China, the United Kingdom, Zaire, New Zealand, and West Germany all joined us in denouncing the Soviet action and expressing our horror. We expect to hear from additional countries as debate resumes tomorrow.

We intend to work with the 13 countries which had citizens aboard the Korean airliner to seek reparations for the families of all those who were killed. The United States will be making a claim against the Soviet Union within the next week to obtain compensation for the benefit of the victims' survivors. Such compensation is an absolute moral duty which the Soviets must assume.

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

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

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

I have outlined some of the steps we're taking in response to the tragic massacre. There is something I've always believed in, but which now seems more important than ever. The Congress will be facing key defense issues when it

returns from recess. There has been legitimate difference of opinion on this subject, I know, but I urge the members of that distinguished body to ponder long and hard the Soviets' aggression as they consider the security and safety of our people, indeed all people who believe in freedom.

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 those statements in July, on the Senate floor, speaking in behalf of the MX missile program he considered vital to restore America's strategic parity with the Soviets.

When John F. Kennedy was President, defense spending as a share of the Federal budget was 70% greater than it is today. Since then, the Soviet Union has carried on the most massive military buildup the world has ever seen. Until they are willing to join the rest of the world community, we must maintain the strength to deter their aggression.

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

I've told you of negotiations we've suspended as a result of the Korean airline massacre, but we cannot, we must not, give up our effort to reduce the arsenals of destructive weapons threatening the world. Ambassador Nitze [Paul H. Nitze, chairman of the U.S. delegation to the intermediate-range nuclear forces negotiations] has returned to Geneva to resume the negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Equally, we will continue to press for arms reductions in the START [strategic arms reduction talks] talks that resume in October. We are more determined than ever to reduce and, if possible, eliminate the threat hanging over mankind.

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 we must try.

This is not a role we sought—we preach no manifest destiny. But like Americans who began this country and

brought forth this last, best hope of mankind, history has asked much of the Americans of our own time. Much we have already given. Much more we must be prepared to give.

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

AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK'S STATEMENT, UN SECURITY COUNCIL, SEPT. 6, 1983¹¹

Most of the world outside the Soviet Union has heard by now of the Korean flight #007 carrying 269 persons between New York and Seoul which strayed off course into Soviet airspace, was tracked by Soviet radar, was targeted by a Soviet SU-15 whose pilot coolly, and after careful consultation, fired two air-launched missiles which destroyed the plane and, apparently, its 269 passengers and crew.

This calculated attack on a civilian airliner—unarmed, undefended, as civilian airliners always are—has shocked the world.

Only the Soviet people have still not heard about this attack on Korean Air Lines #007 and death of the passengers because the Soviet Government has not acknowledged firing on the Korean airliner. Indeed, not until September 5 did Soviet officials acknowledge that KAL #007 had disappeared in its icy waters.

The Soviet Government has not been silent about the plane; it has merely lied. On September 1, Foreign Minister Gromyko announced that:

An unidentified plane coming from the direction of the Pacific Ocean, entered the air space of the Soviet Union over the Kamchatka Peninsula and then for the second time violated the Soviet airspace over the Sakhalin Island. The plane did not have navigation lights, did not respond to queries, and did not enter into contact with the radio control service.

Fighters of the anti-aircraft defense, which were sent aloft toward the intruder plane, tried to give it assistance in directing it to the nearest airfield. But the intruder plane did not react to the signals and warnings from the Soviet fighters and continued its flight in the direction of the Sea of Japan.

The next day, September 2, TASS repeated Gromyko's charge that Soviet airspace had been rudely violated by "an unidentified plane" which "in violation of international regulations . . . flew without navigation lights. . . ." TASS referred to efforts to establish contacts with the plane ". . . using generally accepted signals and to take it to the nearest airfield in the territory of the Soviet Union. Over the Sakhalin Island, a Soviet aircraft fired warning shots and tracer shells along the flying route of the plane. Soon after this the intruder plane left the limits of Soviet airspace and continued its flight toward the Sea of Japan. For about 10 minutes, it was within the observation zone of radio location means, after which it could be observed no more."

Yesterday, when Soviet General Romanov finally admitted that the Korean plane had crashed killing "numerous" people, he also asserted, "the jetliner was flying with its lights out. . . ."

This is what TASS said, but we do not have to wonder about what really happened to the airliner or when it happened or what Soviet officials knew about its fate. We know, because we know what the Soviet pilots who intercepted the Korean airliners over the Sakhalin Island said to their ground controllers during the 50-minute period from 1756 hours to 1846 hours on August 31 while they tracked, discussed, and destroyed the Korean airliner and its passengers.

The U.S. Government, in cooperation with the Government of Japan, has decided to spread the evidence before this Council and the world. It is available on the video tape I am about to play. On this tape you will hear the voices of the pilots of Soviet interceptors—which included three SU-15 Flagons and one MiG-23 Flogger, including the SU-15 pilot who pulled the trigger which released the missiles that destroyed Korean Air Lines #007. While it is obvious that the pilots are acknowledging instructions from ground controllers, those instructions are not audible. What I am about to play back for you is the intercepted tape of the actual air-to-ground reports; it is, of course, in Russian; on the monitor screens you will see, simultaneously, the original Russian and the English translation; through your audio system you will listen to these voices in translation into all the working languages of the United Nations. Immediately following my presentation, the Russian-to-English transcript will be made available to all

who may wish to study it. After this session of the Security Council, an audio cassette on which voices are still clearer will be provided to any interested mission.

Nothing was cut from this tape. The recording was made on a voice-actuated recorder and, therefore, it covers only those periods of time when conversation was heard.

[The video tape was played.]

The transcript we have just heard needs little explanation. Quite simply, it establishes that the Soviets decided to shoot down this civilian airliner, shot it down, murdering the 269 persons aboard, and lied about it.

The transcript of the pilot's cockpit conversations illuminates several key points.

- The interceptor which shot KAL #007 down had the airliner in sight for over 20 minutes before firing his missiles.
- Contrary to what the Soviets have repeatedly stated, the interceptor pilot saw the airliner's navigation lights and reported that fact to the ground on three occasions.
- Contrary to Soviet statements, the pilot makes no mention of firing any warning shots, only the firing of the missiles which he said struck the "target."
- Contrary to Soviet statements, there is no indication whatsoever that the interceptor pilot made any attempt either to communicate with the airliner or to signal for it to land in accordance with accepted international practice. Indeed, the Soviet interceptor planes may be technically incapable of communicating by radio with civilian aircraft, presumably out of fear of Soviet pilot defections.
- Perhaps the most shocking fact learned from the transcript is that at no point did the pilots raise the question of the identity of the target aircraft nor at any time did the interceptor pilots refer to it as anything other than the "target." The only activity bearing on the identity of the aircraft was a statement by the pilot of the attacking interceptor that "the target isn't responding to IFF." This means the aircraft did not respond to the electronic interrogation by which military aircraft identify friends or foes (IFF). But, of course, the Korean airliner could not have responded to IFF because commercial aircraft are not equipped to do so.

We know the interceptor which shot down KAL #007 flew behind, alongside, and in front of the airliner—coming at least as close as 2 kilometers—before dropping back behind the plane and firing his missiles. At a distance of 2 kilometers under the conditions prevailing at that time, it was easily possible to identify a 747 passenger airliner. Either the Soviet pilot knew the Korean plane was a commercial airliner, or he did not know his target was a civilian passenger airliner. If the latter, then he fired his deadly missiles without knowing or caring what they would hit. Though he could easily have pulled up to within some number of meters of the airliner to assure its identity, he did not bother to do so. In either case, there was shocking disregard for human life and international norms.

In the days following the destruction of KAL #007, Soviet leaders and the Soviet press have said they do not understand what all the fuss is about. They began by accusing the United States of creating a "hulabaloo" about nothing, and more recently they have accused us of a "provocation"—implying, though never quite saying, that we "provoked" them into shooting down an airliner that strayed into their space, "provoked" them into violating the internationally agreed upon standards and practices of behavior. They have spoken as though a plane's straying off course is a crime punishable by death. They have suggested that "like any self-respecting state, [they] are doing no more than looking after [their] sovereignty which [they] shall permit no one to violate." (From a newscast, September 4, 1983, Moscow Domestic Television Series.)

They have claimed, still without acknowledging that they shot down the Korean airliner, that "our anti-aircraft defense has fulfilled its duty for the defense of the security of our motherland." They have suggested that they may have mistaken the Korean airliner for an American reconnaissance plane, but still do not admit that they attacked and destroyed it.

But none of these lies, half lies, and excuses can withstand examination. Straying off course is not recognized as a capital crime by civilized nations. And no nation has the sovereign right to shoot down any person or vehicle that may stray across its border in peacetime. There are internationally agreed upon standards for intercepting unwelcome aircraft. They call for serious efforts at identification, verification, warning, and, if the case is serious, for

intercepting the intruder and forcing it to land or to leave one's airspace. Sovereignty neither requires nor permits shooting down airliners in peacetime.

Recently the Soviets have implied that the KAL #007 may have been mistaken for a U.S. aerial reconnaissance flight. But that is no more persuasive. The Korean Boeing 747 was on a routine scheduled flight. At the time it was shot down, the U.S. reconnaissance plane referred to by the Soviets had been on the ground 1,500 miles away for more than an hour.

Moreover, the United States does not fly reconnaissance missions in Soviet airspace. We do regularly operate aircraft in international airspace to monitor Soviet compliance with SALT and other arms control agreements. The Soviets know what our usual flight patterns are and can readily identify these missions.

Finally, neither the United States nor any other country upset about the slaughter of the 269 passengers of KAL #007 is creating a "hulabaloo" by exaggerating the importance of the events. We are protesting very important violations of the norms of civilized conduct on which international aviation rests, without which it will not be possible for any of us to board airliners, fly across continents and oceans without fear of being the object of a murderous attack. To a degree we rarely consider, international air travel depends on networks of mutual trust that we will not shoot down one another's airliners, kidnap, jail, or poison passengers and crews.

Why did the Soviet Union violate these norms; why have they lied about it? Two reasons are most often advanced to explain why the Soviet pilot shot down the airliner. One is that it was a mistake—the mistake of a trigger-happy pilot who, with his ground controller, followed a philosophy of shoot now, identify later.

But if pilot error was responsible for this tragic mistake, why has the Soviet Government not said so? Why has it lied, and why is it complementing the murderous attack on KAL #007 with a lying attack on the United States for provocation and aggression?

As I considered this question, my mind returned to a debate that took place in this Security Council 21 years ago when my distinguished predecessor, Adlai Stevenson, called the attention of the Council to the "unmistakable evidence" that a series of facilities for launching offensive nuclear missiles was being installed in the Western Hemisphere. Soviet representative Zorin flatly denied the charges and, as Soviet

representatives so often do, coupled his lying denial with a vicious attack on the United States. Our calling attention to threatening Soviet behavior, Zorin asserted, only masked the United States' own aggression and piracy. But Adlai Stevenson, too, had the photographic evidence to back up his charge—as irrefutable as the audio tapes we have today.

The fact is that violence and lies are regular instruments of Soviet policy. Soviet officials regularly behave as though truth were only a function of force and will—as if the truth were only what they said it is; as if violence were an instrument of first resort in foreign affairs. They occupy Afghanistan and accuse the United States of interference in internal affairs. They create massive new European vulnerabilities with their SS-20s and accuse NATO of seeking to upset the balance of power.

We think otherwise. We believe that truth is as vital to cooperation and peace among nations as among people

It is depressing to consider seriously our global prospects if they must be built on relations devoid of truth, devoid of trust. It is depressing to consider a world in which a major nation equipped with the most powerful modern weapons believes it has a sovereign right to fire on a commercial airliner lost over its territory. These Soviet actions and claims illuminate the Soviet conception of appropriate relations among nations in peacetime. They illuminate the world in which we live and work and make policy.

Of course, some sophisticated observers believe that the destruction of KAL #007 was not the work of an isolated Strangelove, unconcerned about human life but was, instead, a deliberate stroke designed to intimidate—a brutal, decisive act meant to instill fear and hesitation in all who observed its ruthless violence much as the destruction of Afghan villagers or the imprisonment of the Helsinki monitors are intended to secure compliance through terror.

Whichever the case—whether the destruction of KAL #007 and its passengers reflects only utter indifference to human life or whether it was designed to intimidate—we are dealing here not with pilot error but with decisions and priorities characteristic of a system. Not only did Soviet officials shoot down a stray commercial airliner and lie about it, they have callously refused offers of international participation in search-and-rescue efforts in spite of clearly stated "International Standards and Recommended Practices" of the International Civil Aviation Organization, which call on states to

"grant any necessary permission for the entry of such aircraft, vessels, personnel or equipment into its territory and make necessary arrangements . . . with a view to expediting such entry."

We are reminded once again that the Soviet Union is a state based on the dual principles of callousness and mendacity. It is dedicated to the rule of force. Here is how Lenin described the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in 1920: "The scientific concept of 'dictatorship' means nothing more than unrestricted power, absolutely unimpeded by law or regulations and resting directly on force" (the fifth Russian edition of Lenin's collected works, Vol. 41, p. 383).

It is this principle of force—this mentality of force—that lies at the root of the Korean airline tragedy. This is the reality revealed to the world by this horrible tragedy. It is a reality that we all must ponder as we consider the threats to peace and human rights that face all of us today.

The United States deeply believes that immediate steps should be taken here in the United Nations to decrease the likelihood of any repetition of the tragedy of KAL #007. We ask our colleagues to join with us in the coming days in the effort to wrest from the tragedy of KAL #007 new clarity about the character of our world and new constructive efforts to render us all more secure in the air and on the ground.

**ACTING SECRETARY
EAGLEBURGER'S STATEMENT,
SEPT. 6, 1983¹²**

Today the Soviet Government at last admitted that its forces shot down KAL #007. Their confession comes only after the truth was known everywhere, that the U.S.S.R., without any justification, shot down an unarmed civilian airliner with 269 people aboard. And their admission was made only after the entire civilized world had condemned the Soviet action. Yet the Soviet Union has still not apologized, nor has it accepted responsibility for this atrocity. On the contrary, the Soviet Government states flatly that it will take the same action in the future in similar circumstances.

The international community is thus being asked to accept that the Soviet Union is not bound by the norms of international behavior and human decency to which virtually all other nations subscribe.

The Soviet Government statement claims that the Soviet air defense forces concluded that the Korean airliner was a

reconnaissance plane on a spying mission. It strains credulity to accept the argument that the Soviets, after more than 2½ hours of tracking, and after the SU-15 that later shot down KAL #007 had moved to approximately 1 mile from the Korean aircraft, failed to identify the KAL airliner for what it was—a distinctively shaped Boeing 747 commercial aircraft. Despite statements by the Soviet Government to the contrary, it is clear from the recording of the Soviet interceptor pilots' conversations with ground control that the Korean airliner's navigation lights were, in fact, illuminated. The recording reveals no warnings given to the doomed KAL flight.

The statement that attempts were made on the international distress frequency—121.5 megacycles—is not borne out by the facts. Even if the Soviet aircraft had that capability—which we do not believe—there is no evidence on the tapes of the Soviet pilots making any such transmission. The Korean airliner's radios were working prior to the shoot-down—as evidenced by the position reports made by the pilot to Japanese ground radio stations up to the time he was blasted out of the sky by a Soviet fighter. These transmissions were remarkable only by the routine nature of the conversations.

Just as there is no indication that the Soviet fighters attempted to contact the innocent airliner using the established international procedures, there is no indication that the airliner was either aware of or trying to evade the Soviet fighters or even that it was aware of the presence of those aircraft. Tragically, there is no indication that the Korean airliner even thought it was off course.

Previous Soviet accounts have been demonstrated by this most recent statement to be, at a minimum, grossly misleading. Today's release continues to lie to the world but also raises the most serious questions about the competence of the Soviet air defense system, with all the danger that implies.

The world community still needs straight answers. We are tired of lies and half-truths. Decent respect for the opinion of mankind requires that:

- The Soviet Union must provide a full accounting of what transpired;
- It must make an unequivocal apology for its actions;
- It must make restitution for the victims' families; and
- It must cooperate with international efforts to investigate this tragedy and to recover its victims.

The Soviet Union must accept the norms of civilized society in respecting the lives of innocent travelers. The world demands that the Soviet Union give assurances and take specific steps to ensure that the events of August 31 cannot occur again.

WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT, SEPT. 7, 1983¹³

The Soviet TASS "news analysis" of September 7 on "Larry Speakes' Strange Logic," has come to my attention. In it, their commentator, Yuriy Kornilov, writes that his country will continue to act "in compliance with Soviet laws" which call for the shooting down of unarmed aircraft which may chance to fly over their airspace. This comes on the heels of the Soviet Government's admission of yesterday that its forces shot down the unarmed airliner of another country on August 31 and killed 269 people from 13 countries. This admission came only after the truth was known everywhere else in the world—and even known to some in the Soviet Union through BBC, VOA, and other international broadcast outlets that bring the facts to the truth-starved people under the control of the Soviet regime. The admission, however, was coupled with a flat Soviet statement saying they will take the same action in the future in similar circumstances—in other words, that they will shoot down the next off-course unarmed aircraft that transgresses the territory prescribed by Soviet law.

As Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger said yesterday, the international community is being asked to accept that the Soviet Union is not bound by the norms of international behavior and human decency to which all other nations subscribe.

Fortunately, the international community is not accepting this, and continues to ask—at the United Nations in particular—that the Soviets provide a full accounting of what transpired, an unequivocal apology for Soviet actions, restitution for the victims' families, full cooperation with international efforts to investigate this tragedy and recover its victims, and assurances that the Soviet Union will take specific steps to ensure that the massacre of August 31 not occur again. The case is in no way closed by the Soviet admission of yesterday.

SECRETARY'S STATEMENT, MADRID, SEPT. 7, 1983¹⁴

I have a brief comment on Mr. Gromyko's address. Foreign Minister Gromyko says: "We state"—and I'm reading the translation here—"in Soviet territory the borders of the Soviet Union are sacred." The implication is that if anyone strays over them, they are ready to shoot them down again. I think that illustrates the difference in allocation of weight to security on the one hand and human values on the other. There is no weight given to human values in that kind of a statement.

Secondly, he speaks of a dishonest juggling of facts and falsehoods. The falsehoods have been continuous, and juggling of the facts is too mild a word for the way in which the Soviet Union has responded to this Korean plane shootdown. The falsehoods are on the part of the Soviet Union, and they continue in Mr. Gromyko's speech. And I would have to say that I am very disappointed to sit here in the hall and hear that continued falsehood on such a matter of moving importance in the human rights area at the conclusion of a conference that has stressed human rights matters so strongly.

SECRETARY'S STATEMENT, MADRID, SEPT. 8, 1983¹⁵

The unprovoked Soviet destruction of a defenseless, unarmed Korean airliner has underlined the basic themes of this conference in the most distressing conceivable way. This Madrid conference has been about the fundamental relationship between human rights and security. This brutal Soviet action has vividly displayed the Soviet Union's lack of concern for the human lives involved, and the preposterous explanation the Soviets have offered and continue to offer to a disbelieving world has only compounded the problem.

In his formal statement to the conference yesterday, Foreign Minister Gromyko made matters even worse by claiming that his country had the right to do what it did and has the right to do it again.

My comments in our meeting this afternoon were appropriately focused on human rights, and particularly on the rights of people everywhere who expect

decent regard for their lives and safety when they travel by air.

Foreign Minister Gromyko's response to me today was even more unsatisfactory than the response he gave in public yesterday. I find it totally unacceptable.

This is not the end of the matter. In the days and weeks ahead, the United States, along with others throughout the international community, will press hard for justice for the families of those murdered and safety and security for innocent travelers.

DEPARTMENT STATEMENT, SEPT. 8, 1983¹⁶

The governing board of the International Federation of Air Line Pilots Associations (IFALPA) has recommended to its national associations a 60-day ban on civil airline flights to Moscow. IFALPA notes that this recommendation was made in response to "the action of the Soviet Union in destroying a defenseless civilian airliner"—Korean Air Lines #007. IFALPA concludes that "we expect our members to fully comply" with the ban.

American travelers to the Soviet Union should be aware that the proposed IFALPA ban could seriously disrupt air travel to the Soviet Union. Flights to and from the Soviet Union may be canceled without notice. Arranging alternate transportation to and from the Soviet Union could potentially involve substantially higher costs to the traveler. Travelers should also anticipate lengthy delays in obtaining such transportation from Moscow should the ban be fully implemented.

PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO THE CHAIRMAN, CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD, SEPT. 8, 1983¹⁰

Dear Dan [Daniel McKinnon],

The Soviet attack on Korean Air Line Flight 7 on Sept. 1, 1983, which resulted in the loss of 269 innocent lives, calls for a united, firm and measured response from the international community. Toward this end, I have initiated a number of measures in coordination with other nations and in international fora to insure that measures are taken against the Soviet Union to secure appropriate redress for this tragic loss of lives and property.

I, therefore, have determined that it is in the essential foreign policy interest of the United States to take resolute action against the Soviet air carrier, Aeroflot. I have determined that it would be appropriate to reaffirm the suspension of Aeroflot flights to and from the United States, which has been in effect since January 5, 1982.

In addition, I am requesting the Civil Aeronautics Board to take the following steps, effective as of September 12, 1983:

One: suspend Aeroflot's right to sell any air transportation in the United States.

Two: preclude U.S. air carriers from carrying traffic to, from or within the United States where Aeroflot is on the itinerary.

Three: prohibit U.S. air carriers from selling in the United States any air transportation any part of which is on Aeroflot.

Number four: direct U.S. air carriers to suspend any interline service arrangements with Aeroflot either effective as of or entered into after September 12, 1983.

And five: prohibit U.S. air carriers from accepting any tickets or shipping document issued by Aeroflot for air transportation to, from or within the United States.

The board should take appropriate immediate action to implement this decision. These actions will be consistent with the international obligations of the United States. These measures should remain in effect until further notification.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT, SEPT. 8, 1983¹³

In response to the brutal and unprovoked Soviet attack on Korean Air Lines #007 on September 1, 1983, the President has requested the Civil Aeronautics Board to take strong action against the Soviet airline Aeroflot. In a letter sent this morning to CAB Chairman Dan McKinnon, the President asked the Board to take the following action, effective September 12, 1983:

(1) To suspend the right of Aeroflot to sell tickets in the United States;

(2) To prohibit U.S. airlines from selling tickets in the United States for transportation on Aeroflot;

(3) To preclude U.S. airlines from carrying traffic to, from, or within the United States where an Aeroflot flight is on the ticket;

(4) To direct U.S. airlines to suspend any interline service arrangements with Aeroflot; and

(5) To prohibit U.S. airlines from accepting any tickets issued by Aeroflot for air travel to, from, or within the United States.

The President has also reaffirmed the suspension of Aeroflot flights to and from this country which has been in effect since January 5, 1982. The impending board decision would prevent Aeroflot from marketing any of its services through U.S. carriers or their American agents. The President requests all United States airlines and travel agents to comply with the letter and spirit of these actions.

The duration of these measures in the civil aviation area will be for a period of time, in part dependent upon the extent to which the U.S.S.R. demonstrates its willingness to honor essential standards of civil aviation, makes a full account of its shootdown of the airliner, and issues an apology as well as compensation to aggrieved parties.

In another action, as directed by the President, Acting Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger informed Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin today that the Soviet airline Aeroflot must close its offices in the United States by September 15. Aeroflot airline officials must depart this country by that date.

The United States will continue to work with the members of the international community in their efforts to promote air safety and to deter such Soviet actions from happening again.

PROCLAMATION, SEPT. 9, 1983¹⁰

September 1, 1983, will be seared in the minds of civilized people everywhere as the night of the Korean Air Lines Massacre. Two hundred sixty-nine innocent men, women and children, from 13 different countries, who were flying aboard KAL flight 007, were stalked, then shot out of the air and sent crashing to their deaths by a missile aimed and fired by the Soviet Union.

Good and decent people everywhere are filled with revulsion by this despicable deed, and by the refusal of the guilty to tell the truth. This was a crime against humanity that must never be forgotten, here or throughout the world.

We open our hearts in prayer to the victims and their families. We earnestly beseech Almighty God to minister to them in their trial of grief, sorrow, and pain.

In the memory, we ask all people who cherish individual rights, and who believe each human life is sacred, to come together in a shared spirit of wisdom, unity, courage, and love, so the world can prevent such an inhuman act from ever happening again.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, in tribute to the memory of the slain passengers

of Korean Air Lines flight 007, and as an expression of public sorrow, do hereby appoint Sunday, September 11, 1983, to be a National Day of Mourning throughout the United States. I recommend that the people assemble on that day in their respective places of worship, there to pay homage to the memory of those who died. I invite the people of the world who share our grief to join us in this solemn observance.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this ninth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eighth.

RONALD REAGAN

PRESIDENT'S RADIO ADDRESS, SEPT. 10, 1983⁹

During my first press conference, 9 days after being sworn in as your President, I was asked a question having to do with Soviet intentions. In my answer, I cited their own words, that they have openly and publicly declared the only morality they recognize is what will further world communism, that they reserve unto themselves the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat, in order to attain that. And I pointed out that we should keep this in mind when we deal with them.

I was charged with being too harsh in my language. I tried to point out I was only quoting their own words. I hope the Soviet's recent behavior will dispel any lingering doubt about what kind of regime we are dealing with and what our responsibilities are as trustees of freedom and peace. Isn't it time for all of us to see the Soviet rulers as they are rather than as we would like them to be?

Rather than tell the truth about the Korean Air Lines massacre, rather than immediately and publicly investigate the crash, explain to the world how it happened, punish those guilty of the crime, cooperate in efforts to find the wreckage, recover the bodies, apologize and offer compensation to the families, and work to prevent a repetition, they have done the opposite. They have stonewalled the world, mobilizing their entire government behind a massive cover-up, then brazenly threatening to kill more men, women, and children should another civilian airliner make the same mistake as KAL #007.

The Soviets are terrified of the truth. They understand well and they dread the meaning of St. John's words,

"You will know the truth, and the truth will set you free." The truth is mankind's best hope for a better world. That's why in times like this, few assets are more important than the Voice of America and Radio Liberty, our primary means of getting the truth to the Russian people.

Within minutes of the report of the Soviet destruction of the Korean jet, the Voice of America aired the story in its news programs around the globe. We made sure people in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Europe, and, most important, the people in the Soviet bloc itself knew the truth. That includes every Soviet misstatement, from their initial denials through all the tortured changes and contradictions in their story, including their UN representative still denying they shot down the plane even as his own government was finally admitting they did.

Accurate news like this is about as welcome as the plague among the Soviet elite. Censorship is as natural and necessary to the survival of their dictatorship as free speech is to our democracy. That's why they devote such enormous resources to block our broadcast inside Soviet-controlled countries. The Soviets spend more to block Western broadcasts coming into those countries than the entire worldwide budget of the Voice of America.

To get the news across to the Russian people about the Korean Air Lines massacre, the Voice of America added new frequencies and new broadcast times. But within minutes of those changes, new Soviet jamming began. Luckily, jamming is more like a sieve than a wall. International radio broadcasts can still get through to many people with the news. But we still face enormous difficulties.

One of the Voice of America's listeners in the Middle East wrote: "If you do not strengthen your broadcasting frequencies, no one can get anything from your program." Our radio equipment is just plain old, some of it World War II vintage. I don't mind people getting older; it's just not so good for machines.

More than 35% of the Voice of America's transmitters are over 30 years old. We have a similar problem at Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. We have 6 antiquated 500-kilowatt shortwave transmitters. The Soviets have 37, and theirs are neither old nor outdated. We regularly receive complaints that Soviet broadcasts are clearer than ours. One person wrote and asked why it's not possible for a nation

that can send ships into space to have its own voice heard here on Earth.

The answer is simple. We are as far behind the Soviets and their allies in international broadcasting today as we were in space when they launched Sputnik in 1957.

We have repeatedly urged the Congress to support our long-term modernization program and our proposal for a new radio station, Radio Marti, for broadcasting to Cuba. The sums involved are modest, but for whatever reason this critical program has not been enacted.

Today I am appealing to the Congress, help us get the truth through—help us strengthen our international broadcasting effort by supporting increased funding for the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and by authorizing the establishment of Radio Marti.

And I appeal to you, especially those of you who came from Eastern Europe, Russian, and Soviet-dominated countries who understand how crucial this issue is, let your representatives hear from you. Tell them you want Soviet rulers held accountable for their actions even by their own people. The truth is still our strongest weapon. We just have to use it.

Finally, let us come together as a nation tomorrow in a National Day of Mourning to share the sorrow of the families, and let us resolve that this crime against humanity will never be forgotten anywhere in the world.

DEPARTMENT STATEMENT, SEPT. 11, 1983¹⁷

As part of the policy of the U.S. Government to develop full information on the tragic shutdown of KAL #007 by Soviet forces on August 31, U.S. Government experts have continued to review the poor quality transmission on the tape which was played at the UN Security Council September 6. That review has now been completed. After efforts at electronic enhancement and hundreds of replays of the tape, U.S. Government linguists were able to interpret three passages more clearly as indicated below.

The first segment at 1819:08 which originally was translated "I have enough time," now is translated as "They do not see me." The second segment was a previously unintelligible phrase at 1820:49, which has now been translated

as "I am firing cannon bursts." Because of the Soviet pilot's reference at 1828:05 to launching "both" rockets, the linguists also rechecked the reference at 1823:37 which was previously translated as "rocket." They were able to clarify that the plural was used; thus the translations should be ". . . , now I will try rockets."

The transcript does not indicate whether the cannon shots were aimed at the KAL plane or were tracer rounds. We do note that, according to information made available by the Government of Japan to the United Nations, KAL #007, in its routine radio transmissions to Tokyo at 1823¹⁸ (over 2 minutes after the cannons were fired) gave no indication it was aware of Soviet aircraft in the vicinity or that cannon had been fired. The evidence indicates that the pilot was totally unaware of the fact that he was off course, that he was intercepted by Soviet fighters, or that any warnings—visual, radio, gunfire—were given.

This additional analysis of the tapes reinforces our belief that the totality of the events remains exactly as stated by the United States and Japan. The Korean airliner was not aware of the Soviet fighters, nor was it aware that any warning was given. The Soviets consciously made the decision to shoot down the aircraft. The fact is that it was an unarmed, civilian airliner, and it cost the lives of 269 innocent people.

DEPARTMENT STATEMENT, SEPT. 12, 1983¹⁶

At 10:30 a.m. today, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs John H. Kelly presented the Soviet Embassy's Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) Sokoloff with a diplomatic note demanding compensation from the Soviet Union for the lives of U.S. nationals aboard Korean Air Lines #007. The note indicated that the United States considers the Soviet Union's destruction of that aircraft as a "flagrant and unjustifiable breach of applicable principles of international law and as a direct violation of internationally agreed procedures to be followed when an aircraft inadvertently intrudes on a state's territorial airspace." The note further characterized the Soviet Union's action as "wrongful" and as giving rise to "responsibility under international law to make reparation." The U.S. diplomatic note did not specify an amount of compensation but

indicated that the United States will supplement its claim with specifics at a later date.

Soviet DCM Sokoloff refused to accept the note. Acting Assistant Secretary Kelly refused to accept Mr. Sokoloff's rejection of the U.S. note.

At the same time the U.S. note was presented to DCM Sokoloff, Mr. Kelly presented a similar diplomatic note on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Korea demanding compensation for its losses as well. DCM Sokoloff also rejected that note.

We shall continue to press the Soviets to meet their clear obligation under international law to pay compensation to both the United States and Korea.

U.S. DIPLOMATIC NOTE, SEPT. 12, 1983¹⁹

The United States refers to the Soviet Union's action of September 1, 1983 in firing upon and destroying an unarmed civil airliner, Korean Air Lines Flight No. 007, in the vicinity of Sakhalin Island, thereby causing the deaths of 269 innocent persons. The United States considers this action as a flagrant and unjustifiable breach of applicable principles of international law and as a direct violation of internationally agreed procedures to be followed when an aircraft inadvertently intrudes on a state's territorial airspace. The United States submits that the Soviet Union's action was wrongful and gives rise to responsibility under international law to make reparation.

The United States Government therefore demands that the Soviet Union provide prompt, adequate, and effective compensation to the United States Government for the lives of United States nationals aboard Korean Air Lines Flight No. 007 and for any other compensable loss incurred by any United States national as a result of the Soviet Union's wrongful actions. The United States will advise the Soviet Union at a later date of the specific losses for which the United States considers the Soviet Union responsible under international law.

This demand is in addition to any other form of redress that the United States may lawfully require from the Soviet Union for its action in firing upon and destroying Korean Air Lines Flight No. 007.

U.S. DIPLOMATIC NOTE ON BEHALF OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, SEPT. 12, 1983¹⁹

The Government of the Republic of Korea has requested that the United States refer to the attention of the Soviet Embassy the destruction by Soviet military aircraft of a Korean Air Lines passenger aircraft, Korean Air Lines Flight No. 007, on September 1,

1983. The Government of the Republic of Korea advises the United States that it considers the destruction of the Korean Air Lines aircraft by Soviet military aircraft as wrongful under international law and as creating an obligation on the part of the Soviet Union to pay reparation to the Government of the Republic of Korea.

The Government of the Republic of Korea has further requested that the United States demand from the Soviet Union on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Korea prompt, adequate, and effective compensation for the lives of Korean nationals aboard Korean Air Lines Flight No. 007 and for any other compensable loss incurred by any Korean national or by the Government of the Republic of Korea or any of its agencies or instrumentalities as a result of the Soviet Union's wrongful action. The Government of the Republic of Korea will at a later date notify the United States, and through the United States the Soviet Union, of specific losses for which the Government of the Republic of Korea considers the Soviet Union responsible under international law.

The Government of the Republic of Korea has further requested the United States to advise the Soviet Embassy that the Republic of Korea reserves the right to demand any other lawful form of redress from the Soviet Union for its destruction of Korean Air Lines Flight No. 007.

UN SECURITY COUNCIL PROVISIONAL RESOLUTION S/15966/REV. 1, SEPT. 12, 1983²⁰

The Security Council,

Having considered the letters dated 1 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the United States of America (S/15947), the Permanent Observer of the Republic of Korea (S/15948), the Charge d'Affaires of the Permanent Mission of Canada (S/15949) and the Permanent Representative of Japan (S/15950), and the letter dated 2 September 1983 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Australia (S/15951),

Gravely disturbed that a civil air liner of the Korean Airlines on an international flight was shot down by Soviet military aircraft, with the loss of all 269 people on board,

Expressing its sincere condolences to the families of the victims of the incident, and *urging* all parties concerned, as a humanitarian gesture, to assist them in dealing with the consequences of this tragedy,

Reaffirming the rules of international law that prohibit acts of violence which pose a threat to the safety of international civil aviation,

Recognizing the importance of the principle of territorial integrity as well as the necessity that only internationally agreed procedures should be used in response to intrusions into the airspace of a State,

Stressing the need for a full and adequate explanation of the facts of the incident based upon impartial investigation,

Recognizing the right under international law to appropriate compensation,

1. *Deeply deplores* the destruction of the Korean air liner and the tragic loss of civilian life therein;

2. *Declares* that such use of armed force against international civil aviation is incompatible with the norms governing international behaviour and elementary considerations of humanity;

3. *Urges* all States to comply with the aims and objectives of the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation;

4. *Welcomes* the decision to convene an urgent meeting of the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization to consider the Korean air liner incident;

5. *Urges* all States to co-operate fully with the International Civil Aviation Organization in efforts to strengthen the safety of international civil aviation and to prevent any recurrence of such use of armed force against international civil aviation;

6. *Invites* the Secretary-General, making use of such expert advice as he deems necessary and in consultation with appropriate international bodies, to conduct a full investigation into the circumstances of the tragedy;

7. *Further invites* the Secretary-General to report his findings to the Security Council within 14 days;

8. *Calls upon* all States to lend their fullest co-operation to the Secretary-General in order to facilitate his investigation pursuant to the present resolution;

9. *Decides* to remain seized of the issue.

**AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK'S
STATEMENT,
UN SECURITY COUNCIL,
SEPT. 12, 1983²¹**

The issue that we have been discussing now for more than a week bears directly on the ability of all of us working together, working singly to secure and preserve peace in this world. It bears also on the readiness of member states to take responsibility for achieving a civilized and peaceful international order.

Destruction of the civilian airliner, KAL #007, was a deeply shocking act. But even more disturbing than the deed itself has been the behavior of the Soviet Government in the days since it shot down that plane. Had the Soviet Government taken responsibility for the action, admitted that a terrible mistake had been made, offered compensation to the families for the loss of life, and in cooperation with other states undertaken a review of the incident to ensure that such a tragedy would not recur,

then the consequences of the event would have been contained and, to the degree possible, minimized. Nothing, to be sure, could reclaim the lives of 269 people. But relations among nations would not have suffered, and civilian air travel might have been rendered less vulnerable to such errors in the future.

But as we all know, the response of the Soviet Government has been quite different. Instead of admitting error, it has insisted that no error was made. Instead of taking responsibility for the act, it has lashed out with groundless accusations. Instead of taking steps to ensure against a repetition of such an incident, it has emphasized that it would do the same thing all over again.

By taking this position, the Soviet Union has magnified the negative consequences of a tragic incident and has damaged anew the already tattered fabric of international relations. It has further poisoned the international atmosphere. For this, as for the incident itself, the Soviet Union must bear heavy responsibility.

During the past 10 days, the Soviet Union has taken a position at once inconsistent and contradictory. It has been self-justifying and self-defeating in its statements. In its determined defense of an indefensible act, the Soviet Union has demonstrated an attitude that is as contemptuous of the truth as it is callous toward human life—an attitude underscored by its veto of the resolution before us today.

For nearly a week, the Soviet Union refused to admit it shot down flight #007. Then it admitted to having fired warning shots. Only after the public disclosure of the tape recordings in which the Soviet pilot told Soviet ground control that he had executed the order to destroy "the target," did the Soviet Government announce that one of its pilots had, in fact, "stopped the flight," as they euphemistically put it.

In the ensuing days, we have heard a tangle of charges from the Soviet Union. On the one hand, it has been said that flight #007 was itself on a spy mission and therefore *invited* destruction. But it has also been said that the presence, earlier in the evening, of an RC-135 reconnaissance plane, which had landed more than 1,500 miles away from the location of the incident, "caused" the Soviet pilot to mistake the two aircrafts, thus acknowledging tacitly that the Korean 747 was not on a spy mission after all.

Not surprisingly, the testimony of the Soviet pilot who shot down KAL #007 corroborates the official Soviet version of events. The Korean pilot is dead and cannot refute this testimony. But it is interesting and significant, I believe, to note in this context the testimony given to *The New York Times* by Kim Chang Kyu, the pilot of the Korean Air Lines plane that strayed over Soviet airspace in 1978, thus becoming the target of a Soviet missile that sheared off nearly 15 feet of the plane's left wing and killed two of the plane's passengers. The pilot was able to regain control of the plane and was able to make an emergency landing on a frozen lake 400 miles northeast of Leningrad.

"After I was shot down," the pilot recounts, "the Russians made the same claims we're hearing now. They said, 'We tracked you for more than 2 hours, flew around the plane, fired tracers in front of you'—all that. It all sounds exactly the same this time."

Mr. Kim gives a different version of what actually happened. He tells us he saw the plane only once, off to the right and somewhat behind him. He thought this was strange, since international guidelines call for intercepting fighters to fly to the left of the plane, where the pilot sits. When Mr. Kim's copilot, who had a clearer view of the plane, reported that it bore the red Soviet star, Mr. Kim immediately slowed his speed and turned his landing lights off and on repeatedly, the recognized international signal that an aircraft will follow the interceptor's directions. In addition, Mr. Kim tried to establish contact with the Soviet craft, but the two planes' radios were on different frequencies. In any event, the next thing Mr. Kim knew a missile fired by the Soviet pilot had torn off a good part of his plane's left wing.

In light of this previous incident, and in view of the established fact that the pilot of KAL #007 made no radio transmissions indicating that he had been intercepted, one can only conclude that there was no communication with the pilot of KAL #007 in accordance with normal procedures and on normal emergency frequencies.

The fact that the tapes now show that the Soviet pilot fired "cannon bursts" 6 minutes before he destroyed KAL #007 does not alter this conclusion. Clearly the Korean pilot was not aware of the Soviet fighters, nor was he aware that any warning was given. If there were shots fired 6 minutes in advance of

the fatal shot, it, therefore, seems likely that they were not tracers but regular, normal cannon rounds which are *not* visible.

Even assuming for the sake of argument that the Soviet pilot had tried to establish communication with the pilot of KAL #007, but for some reason that we do not know had failed to get through, *this would not justify shooting down a 747 civilian airliner.*

What conceivable harm could the plane have done, especially since it was within 60 seconds of leaving Soviet airspace, a fact that renders absurd the statement by one of the Soviet pilots that the 747 might have been carrying "a bomb that might have fallen, maybe on my house"—presumably located in the Sea of Japan.

Let us recall for a moment the incident almost 2 years ago when a Soviet W-class submarine penetrated deep into restricted Swedish waters near Karlskrona naval base and ran aground there. In response to the protest of the Swedish Government, the Soviet Government said:

It was expected, of course, that the Swedish authorities would abide by existing international norms under which if a foreign warship does not even observe the rules of a coastal state regarding passage through its territorial waters, the only thing the coastal state may do with respect to the given warship is to demand that it leave its territorial waters.

According to this unique interpretation of international law, if a Soviet warship—a *warship*, mind you—invades the territorial waters of another state, that state cannot even detain the warship but must simply escort it out of its territorial waters. But if a civilian airliner with 269 people aboard happens to stray into Soviet airspace, the Soviet Union is justified in shooting it down, even as it is about to exit that airspace. Mr. Leonid M. Zamyatin, the spokesman on the Central Committee for General Secretary Yuriy Andropov, went so far as to say that Soviet air defense forces were "humane" to have waited so long before destroying KAL #007. How callous it is to talk about "humaneness" with regard to a ruthless act that resulted in 269 deaths. Is a Soviet warship entitled to more "humane" treatment than a civilian airplane?

The Soviet leadership refuses to concede the possibility that a civilian airliner, traveling a scheduled flight, with 269 people aboard, might have strayed accidentally into its airspace—despite the fact that there have been 21 recorded incidents where civilian planes

with similar navigational equipment have strayed off course. Here, too, the incident of the Soviet W-class submarine offers an interesting analogy. In its statement to the Government of Sweden, the Soviet Government rejected the Swedish charge that this warship was engaged in "carrying out impermissible activities," namely, spying. According to the Soviet statement, the submarine "went of course as a result of the failure of its navigational instruments and resultant mistakes in position finding" and, therefore, "entered unintentionally the territorial waters of Sweden. . . . The Soviet side, taking into consideration the breakdown character of the incident, could rightfully expect at least a manifestation of correct attitude and objective appraisal of what happened." Instead, it charged the Swedish Government with "distorting facts," and it flatly rejected the Swedish demand "to prevent the recurrence of such a gross violation," saying—and I quote—"In this concrete case this sounds like a demand to rule out the very possibility of breakdown situations occurring at sea. This demand," said the Soviet Union, "is simply out of tune with common sense."

Yet the Soviet Union finds it is inconceivable that such a "breakdown situation," to use their term, might have occurred in the case of the civilian airliner, KAL #007.

Now we come to the final Soviet argument—its ultimate line of defense. It was stated in explicit terms last week by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko: "We state," he said: "Soviet territory, the borders of the Soviet Union, are sacred." It is on the basis of this principle that the top Soviet leadership has defended and, by so doing, has assumed responsibility for, the destruction of a civilian airliner.

In this context, we would like to ask the Soviet Union: Are the borders of the Soviet Union more sacred than, say, the borders of Sweden, not to speak of the borders of Afghanistan? Are they more sacred than the airspace of the United States, which has frequently been violated by Soviet planes flying off route over sensitive military facilities, though these planes have not as a result of such violations been shot down? And how, may we ask, can the Soviet Union reconcile this remarkable doctrine of absolute Soviet sovereignty, according to which the Soviet Union is within its rights to shoot down a civilian airliner that strays across its sacred borders, with its doctrine of "limited sovereignty," which was propounded 15 years ago in relationship to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia?

In the article in *Pravda* (September 26, 1968) where this doctrine of "limited sovereignty" was propounded, the Soviet Union not only claimed the right to invade any Soviet-bloc country that threatened to deviate from the path of fealty to Moscow; it also claimed the right to intervene in the internal affairs of states that are not part of the Soviet bloc.

This same article explains how the Soviet Union reconciles the doctrine of absolute Soviet sovereignty with the doctrine of "limited sovereignty" for everyone else, as well as with the norms of international law. Accordingly, it states that:

Laws and the norms of law are subordinated to the laws of the class struggle and the laws of social development. . . . The class approach to the matter cannot be discarded in the name of legalistic considerations. Whoever does so forfeits the only correct, class-oriented criterion for evaluating legal norms and begins to measure events with the yardsticks of bourgeois law.

In other words, there are two forms of law—"bourgeois law," which includes the Charter of the United Nations, and "the laws of the class struggle," and there is no question that in the Soviet view, the former are conditioned by and subordinate to the latter. This dual conception of international law accords to the Soviet Union absolute rights but no obligation to respect the rights of others, while it accords to all other states no rights but absolute obligations to respect the rights of the Soviet Union.

The destruction of KAL #007, and especially the manner in which the Soviet Union has defended that action, has illuminated as few events in recent years the nature of the predicament that faces us all.

I would like to quote from a letter written by a Soviet citizen who is surely one of the outstanding and most courageous persons of our age. I am referring to Dr. Andrei Sakharov whose letter was secretly transmitted to the outside world from within the Soviet Union where he has been internally exiled. In his letter from exile, Dr. Sakharov warns that:

The world is facing very difficult times and cruel cataclysms if the West and the developing countries trying to find their place in the world do not now show the required firmness, unity and consistency in resisting the totalitarian challenge. This relates to government, to the intelligentsia, businessmen and to all people. It is important that the common danger be fully understood—everything else will then fall into place.

If the destruction of KAL #007 helps us to understand the nature of the world in which we live and the dangers to our rights and laws therein, helps us to show the necessary clarity and firmness in defending precisely the principles of international law contained in the Charter of the United Nations, then perhaps the 269 people aboard that ill-fated airliner will not have died in vain.

In closing, I should like to say that there is one question which above all confronts this Council and the world in this debate, which is responded to by the resolution we have adopted, in spite of its veto. Does a nation which is not at war have the right to shoot down planes that enter their airspace without authorization? That is the question with which we have been confronted. The answer to that question must be no. We do not believe that the protection of sovereignty of any nation gives that nation an absolute right in peacetime to shoot down any plane flying any place over its territory. There are internationally agreed on procedures to take care of such problems. We believe that this view has been endorsed by a majority of this Council in the resolution we have considered this afternoon.

We stand ready to work with our colleagues to ensure greater safety for all passengers and pilots, indeed, for all people.

**FAA ADMINISTRATOR
HELMS' STATEMENT,
ICAO COUNCIL,
MONTREAL, SEPT. 15, 1983**

I need not repeat the outrage expressed at the highest levels of my government at the interception and destruction by Soviet military aircraft of Korean Air Lines #007. We have expressed our deepest sympathy to the families of the 269 passengers and crew aboard that ill-fated aircraft who were killed in this incident. As we know, from sad experience, the attack on KAL #007 was not the first time that a civilian passenger airline has been intercepted and destroyed. This Soviet action constitutes a grave threat to the safety of the international civil aviation system requiring urgent remedial measures.

The civilized world cannot permit this type of incident to recur. This extraordinary session of the ICAO council must take action to initiate an investigation of this incident, condemn those responsible, and clearly reaffirm that such use of force against civil aircraft is prohibited.

I need not remind this distinguished audience of aviation experts that a previous incident involving a Soviet interception of a Korean Air Lines Boeing 707 in 1978 prompted ICAO to revise its material in Annex 2 governing the interception of civil aircraft.

This latest event and the apparent repudiation by the U.S.S.R. of internationally accepted legal and humanitarian norms for dealing with civil aircraft has shattered the confidence in the safety and security of air travel that this new guidance, in effect only 2 years, was designed to restore. We deplore the failure of the Soviet Union in its official statements to acknowledge the paramount importance of the safety and lives of passengers and crew when dealing with a civil aircraft in or near its territorial airspace. The Soviet Union has told the world that it would take the same action again. The international civil aviation community must categorically reject the appalling threat of similar action in future instances.

The world must insist that the Soviet Union offer a formal apology, provide full and complete information regarding this incident, comply with its obligation under international law to make appropriate compensation, and give credible guarantees to refrain from similar action in the future. Elementary considerations of humanity dictate that the Soviet Union assist the bereaved families to visit the site of the incident and to return the bodies of the victims and their belongings promptly.

Such threats can only further weaken the international community's confidence in the safety of flight. We have a right to expect the Soviet Union to join in an endeavor to ensure that such a tragic incident never occurs again.

In this regard, the United States is prepared to join with other members of this council in putting forward a resolution which we believe could make a constructive contribution to preventing such use of force against civilian aviation in the future. We believe that the Soviet Union should be strongly condemned for this senseless and irresponsible violation of international law which resulted in the destruction of a civil aircraft—an action that is an established fact. An investigation must be conducted. The Air Navigation Commission should study ways to facilitate coordination between civilian and military aircraft and their respective air traffic control systems.

As one of the founders of the International Civil Aviation Organization, the United States looks to this organization as the recognized international forum for promoting the safe and orderly growth of civil aviation. Under the umbrella of ICAO's rules and procedures, civil aviation has become a singularly important factor in international commerce, tourism, and other kinds of travel. More than 750 million passengers traveled to their international destinations in 1982. Each of the 151 members of ICAO has agreed to respect certain principles and obligations, as codified in the Convention on International Civil Aviation of 1944 and its annexes, to facilitate this travel.

The Soviet Union must, as an ICAO member, also respect these principles and obligations. It is clear to my delegation that the Soviet Union not only failed to carry out its responsibilities with regard to KAL #007 but failed in a consistent and comprehensive fashion. Let us look at the record in detail.

**Principles and Obligations
Under the Civil Aviation Convention**

The countries that have joined together as parties to the convention have agreed that the safety of flight in international air navigation is of the highest priority. To this end, states have agreed, in the exercise of their sovereignty, to work together to foster the safety of civil aircraft traversing national boundaries. It is upon this foundation that the International Civil Aviation Organization was built, and it is with this basic premise in mind that the nations of the world have carried out their good work under ICAO auspices. We have recognized the unique vulnerability of the people aboard aircraft engaged in international air navigation and have promised to conduct our activities as sovereign states accordingly. It has been and continues to be unthinkable that a commercial airliner in time of peace should operate under threat of being shot out of the sky. The world community has labeled this type of behavior from private individuals and organizations as terrorist action.

For an ICAO member state to take such action against airliners which stray into their airspace, and to assert their intent to do so again, sets an ominous example and is fundamentally inimical to the aims and objectives of the convention.

Internationally Agreed Upon Intercept Procedures

The ICAO countries have agreed that they will "have due regard for the safety of navigation of civil aircraft" when issuing regulations for their military aircraft. It is self-evident that intercepts of civil aircraft by military aircraft must be governed by this paramount concern.

The international community has rejected deadly assault on a civil airliner by a military aircraft in time of peace as totally unacceptable. It violates not only the basic principles set forth in the convention but also the fundamental norms of international law enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and established firmly in the practice of the civilized world. This is clear from the statements and actions of states in response to each time this event has occurred in the past several decades. One example, if I may refresh the memories of my distinguished colleagues, is the position of the Soviet Union when this council examined an incident involving the interception of a Libyan airliner in 1973. On that occasion the Soviet Union was "convinced that ICAO could not remain aloof" from such a "barbaric act."

The Soviet representative insisted that ICAO, as a specialized agency of the United Nations pledged to the promotion of air safety in all parts of the world, had to strongly condemn that act, in accordance with the principles embodied in the Convention on International Civil Aviation and other international legal instruments. The Soviet Union also joined in a unanimous General Assembly resolution calling for an investigation of the incident.

As a result of the deplorable attack of a KAL airliner by the U.S.S.R. in 1978, the ICAO council, on April 1, 1981, approved new and expanded material for Annex 2 on the interception of civil aircraft. This was a direct effort to ensure that such an act would not recur. The U.S.S.R. was represented on the Air Navigation Commission and the ICAO council at the time and assisted in the preparation of these new guidelines.

The U.S.S.R.'s Airman's Information Publication (AIP) indicates that ICAO intercept signals are to be used by the U.S.S.R. Specifically, the Soviet AIP states that, at night, a military aircraft will signal the fact that it is intercepting another aircraft by:

- "Rocking wings from a position in front and normally to the left of the intercepted aircraft," and
- "Flashing navigational and, if available, landing lights at irregular intervals."

The AIP also contains the following:

"An aircraft which is intercepted by another aircraft shall immediately:

"(C) attempt to establish audiocommunications with the intercepting aircraft or with the appropriate intercept control unit, making a general call on the emergency frequency 121.5 MHz and repeating this call on the emergency frequency 243 MHz, if practicable. . . ."

The evidence that we have indicates the U.S.S.R. fighters did not use these intercept signals before destroying KAL #007. It is clear from communications that KAL #007 was unaware that it was being intercepted. We do not know, if the Korean airliner chose to broadcast on 121.5 MHz, that the appropriate U.S.S.R. intercept control unit has that frequency capability or, if so, was using it.

Treatment of Civil Aircraft in Prohibited Areas

States reserve the right under Article 9 to restrict or prohibit operations of foreign aircraft over certain areas of their *territory* for reasons of military necessity or public safety. These prohibited areas must be of "reasonable extent and location so as not to interfere unnecessarily with air navigation."

Further, Article 9(c) contemplates that the remedial measure for aircraft entering a prohibited area is a requirement to land within the territory of the state in which the prohibited area is located. By its actions and words, the Soviet Union has declared the right to guard its prohibited areas by the destruction of civil aircraft, even those which have left or are about to leave its airspace. Such actions clearly go far beyond the rights of states contemplated in Article 9, or reflected elsewhere in international law.

The Obligation To Assist

A commercial airliner found to be flying off course should not be presumed to be hostile. It is likely that such an aircraft is lost and in need of assistance. Under Article 25 of the convention, each ICAO state has promised "to provide such measures of assistance to aircraft in distress in its territory as it may find practicable, and to permit, subject to control by its own authorities, the owners of the aircraft or authorities of the State in which the aircraft is registered to provide such measures of assistance as may be necessitated by the circumstances."

This obligation to assist is a reaffirmation of basic principles of humanitarian behavior and is also a recognition on the part of the international community that civil aircraft are uniquely vulnerable and should, accordingly, be helped when the situation calls for help. From the statements made, it appears that the Soviet Union tracked the straying airliner for at least 2 hours. Then, apparently without adequate warning and without any known attempt to assist the aircraft back onto its course, the Soviet Union fired on the airliner and its 269 occupants. This action was precisely the opposite of what the Chicago convention seeks to ensure.

Obligation To Facilitate Search and Rescue

The precise location of the remains of KAL #007 as of this date is not certain. However, we do know that the airliner went down in either Soviet territorial waters or in that portion of the high seas contained in the flight information region around Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. The U.S.S.R. is assigned responsibility for this region under the ICAO regional air navigation plan and has accepted responsibility under Annex 12 to provide search and rescue services in this area.

As an ICAO member state, the U.S.S.R. is also obliged to immediately acknowledge receipt of requests by other states to enter Soviet territory for search and rescue purposes. Further, the U.S.S.R. has agreed to permit and facilitate, in accordance with such conditions as it may impose, entry into its territory by rescue units from other states for the purpose of searching for the site of an aircraft accident and rescuing any survivors of that accident. To date, the U.S.S.R. has refused to permit search and rescue units from other countries to enter Soviet territorial waters to search for the remains of KAL #007. Moreover, the Soviet Union has blocked access to the likely crash site and has refused to cooperate with other interested parties to ensure prompt recovery of all technical equipment, wreckage, and other material that may facilitate and expedite completion of an investigation.

Obligation To Investigate

The Soviet Union destroyed KAL #007 in the early morning hours of September 1. Despite widespread demands on the part of the international community for a confirmation and an explanation,

the Soviet Union refused to even acknowledge its action for almost an entire week. Yet the destruction of an aircraft that was engaged in international air navigation has multinational ramifications and is of utmost international concern. Each member of ICAO has agreed under Article 26 of the convention to institute an investigation into the circumstances of an aircraft accident occurring in its territory. The international community defines an accident as an occurrence involving an aircraft resulting in death or serious injury. The country in which the accident occurs also has the obligation under the treaty to invite the state of registry to attend the inquiry as an observer.

It is self-evident that the Soviet destruction of the Korean airliner has international ramifications. The aircraft was registered in Korea and operated by a Korean air carrier. The aircraft, a Boeing 747, was manufactured in the United States. Two hundred sixty-nine citizens of 13 countries were on board. The safety of all civil aircraft of countless nations that fly in or near the Soviet Union has been placed in extreme jeopardy. The Soviet Union owes the entire world an accounting as to how and why such an unthinkable event occurred.

North Pacific Composite Route System

KAL #007 was a flight planned on designated route R20 in the North Pacific composite route system (NOPAC) when for some reason it strayed off course. NOPAC was developed and implemented by the United States and Japan using accepted domestic and international procedures according to Annex 11. Since the route is largely in international airspace, it was coordinated using normal ICAO procedures for amendment of the regional air navigation plans. All interested states were asked for comments on the route system, including the U.S.S.R. The U.S.S.R. had no objection.

On the contrary, during a meeting convened in Montreal November 12-13, 1981, the U.S.S.R. acknowledged R20 and agreed to "provide separation, in accordance with applicable ICAO provisions, between aircraft under their control and the airspace to be protected in respect of ATS routes NOPAC 2/R 20 (proposed), i.e., the airspace bounded by a line 50NM north of the route centre line, and without any coordination of information on or restrictions to flights assigned to operate thereon." By this agreement, the U.S.S.R. acknowledged

the existence of R20 and the relatively less precise nature of navigation used on long, over-water flights.

Radio Communications on the Emergency Frequency

Requirements in Annex 10 indicate that KAL #007 should have been monitoring 121.5. Was there any attempt by the U.S.S.R. to contact KAL #007? (The United States can find no evidence of such attempts.) If so, what are the details, and what is the evidence?

There are many unknowns involved in this tragic occurrence. We do not know, for example, what caused the aircraft to stray off course. Some of these questions may never be answered. Some may be resolved by a technical investigation. It cannot, however, be denied that there is no answer to any of these questions that could possibly justify, under international legal and humanitarian norms, the wanton destruction of KAL #007.

U.S. Respect for ICAO

In contrast to the procedures employed by the Soviet Union in the KAL incident, the United States and other ICAO members do not use deadly force against off course civilian airlines of other countries. The U.S.S.R. has alleged in its communication to the President of ICAO that "some Soviet air crews always comply religiously with the international standards and regulations of ICAO when engaged in international flights." This Soviet claim is not supported by the facts. Soviet airliners have strayed from their assigned paths and overflown sensitive U.S. military installations. I have here in my hand a detailed list of Aeroflot violations in U.S. airspace, showing the date and the aircraft. Our response to these violations has been to assist the offending aircraft back to its assigned flight path, to lodge formal protests through diplomatic channels with the Soviet authorities, and apply an appropriate penalty—the suspension of Aeroflot services for a reasonable period of time. We certainly have never shot down such an aircraft.

The United States has firmly supported measures to prevent the unjustified use of force against civil aviation operations. We have actively worked to institute procedures to reduce threats from terrorists. Likewise, we have joined ICAO in responding to downing of civil aircraft in 1973 and again in 1978.

The perpetrators of this most recent tragedy have attempted to downplay

their action by alleging that they were victims of a provocation. They have suggested that their military forces may have mistaken the Korean airliner for an American reconnaissance aircraft. My government has acknowledged that a RC-135 aircraft was conducting a routine reconnaissance mission in international airspace off the Kamchatka Peninsula to monitor compliance with the SALT treaties. There was no connection between the RC-135 mission and the KAL flight.

The closest point of approach of the two aircraft was 75 nautical miles. At the moment of actual interception of KAL #007, the RC-135 had been at its base in Alaska for more than an hour. Thus, it is absurd to suggest that the RC-135 was there to monitor the KAL flight or that the planes flew together for 10 minutes. This group of aviation experts knows well that the silhouette of the RC-135 is different from that of the Boeing 747. You must also share our conclusion that no military pilot using accepted intercept procedures could fail to recognize the Boeing 747 with its distinctive features.

A majority of the members of the UN Security Council supported a full investigation into the circumstances of this tragedy. But a veto by the Soviet Union prevented adoption of this resolution.

This extraordinary session of the council has the most important duty of reaffirming the principles on which civil aviation has developed in an orderly and safe manner over the past four decades. We cannot shirk that responsibility. To preserve and protect those principles, we must condemn this violation. We must also, through an impartial investigation, establish as clear a record as we can of the relevant facts. Each of ICAO's 151 members has subscribed to promoting a system of safe and secure international civil aviation. We can strengthen that system by taking steps to repudiate that violation and prevent recurrences. Unless we do so, we will have failed to meet our obligation to international civil aviation.

I call on this council to ensure that the "spirit of the Chicago convention" endures. That spirit requires that violators be warned and the traveling public assured that transgressions against the international norms of civil aviation will not be tolerated. Our success in making the airlines safe from such threat of force will be an important contribution to international peace and security. In that task, the United States is pleased to join our colleagues.

by acting Department spokesman Brian Carlson.

¹⁸"1823 GMT (3:23 JST)—KE-007: Tokyo Radio Korean Air 007 level 350 (altitude 35,000 feet).

RJAA: Korean Air 007 Tokyo Roger."

From the Sept. 7, 1983 statement by the Director General of the Public Information and Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan.

¹⁹Made available to news correspondents by acting Department spokesman Alan Romberg.

²⁰The resolution was rejected: the vote was 2 against (U.S.S.R. and Poland), 9 for (France, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Pakistan, Togo, U.K., U.S., and Zaire), with 4 abstentions (China, Guyana, Nicaragua, and Zimbabwe). The resolution received the requisite votes necessary for adoption. However, because the Soviet Union, a permanent member of the Security Council, cast a veto, the resolution was not adopted.

²¹USUN press release 71.

²²Adopted by a vote of 26 for (Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Indonesia, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Madagascar, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Spain, Uganda, U.K., U.S., and Venezuela), 2 against (Czechoslovakia and U.S.S.R.), with 3 abstentions (Algeria, China, and India) and 2 absent (Iraq and Lebanon).

²³Read to news correspondents by Department spokesman John Hughes.

RE: Resolution On KAL Flight 007

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1983 (XXX45C)

Dear Mr. Ortega:

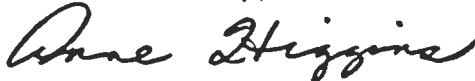
It was good of you to send President Reagan the resolution regarding the brutal Soviet massacre of 269 innocent civilians on board Korean Air Lines Flight 007.

The President has put the Kremlin on notice: When it comes to standing in the face of such a barbaric act there are no longer Republicans or Democrats -- only Americans united and determined to protect our freedom and secure the peace. The continuing response of our country and the international community to this wanton act demonstrates the Soviets' isolation from the civilized world.

President Reagan deeply appreciates your thoughtfulness in sending this expression of outrage and resolve. He knows that with your support, as well as that of millions of other Americans, the lessons of this tragedy will be ingrained in the memory of the people of all free nations.

With the President's best wishes,

Sincerely,



Anne Higgins
Special Assistant to the President
and Director of Correspondence

(9/30/83)

Mr. Michael Ortega
Night Supervisor
Correspondence Analysis Section
Room 60
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, DC 20500

AVH/SRH/CAD

RE: Korean Air Line Massacre

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 29, 1983

Dear Friend:

The whole world was shocked and outraged by the midair massacre of 269 innocent civilians aboard a Korean airliner above the Sea of Japan. The victims included 63 American citizens, including Larry McDonald, a distinguished member of the Congress. Americans continue to express their grief and anger over this unconscionable atrocity.

Despite a desperate Soviet propaganda campaign of evasions, half-truths, and self-contradictory fabrications, the world is under no illusion about who is to blame. The evidence is undeniable and overwhelming. Soviet fighter planes and Soviet radar stations had traced the flight of the doomed airliner for some two and one-half hours as it strayed off course and drifted over Soviet airspace. The interceptor that fired the heat-seeking missiles had been following and observing KAL Flight 007 for about twenty minutes before it obeyed orders from ground control and fired the deadly salvo. There are no indications that the Korean airliner pilot or any of the other 268 innocent victims had any warning prior to being shot out of the sky.

The President has been unequivocal in his denunciation of this unspeakable crime. He is not alone. From all corners of the globe, spokesmen and citizens have joined in condemning this barbaric act. At international forums like the United Nations the outcry has been virtually unanimous. Editorial pages around the world have blistered the Soviets for the callousness of this mass murder and the cynical web of lies which they have spun out in an effort to evade responsibility for the grisly crime.

I am enclosing a copy of the President's televised address on the subject. It speaks for itself. It is important to note that President Reagan was not "caught by surprise." He has understood for many years that when we deal with the Soviet Union we are dealing with a regime that has little respect for traditional ethical norms. In his very first press conference as President, he bluntly pointed out that the Soviets "have openly and publicly declared that the only morality they recognize is what will further their cause, meaning they reserve unto themselves the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat, in order to attain that" He has referred to the USSR as the "focus of evil" in the world and for such remarks, by the way, he has been sharply criticized and even derided. But he was right. His critics were wrong.

And now, in the wake of this horrible crime, some people are asking that the President do more. Many urge that more drastic and specific sanctions be implemented. It is quite understandable that some people are frustrated that more is not being done to redress this crime and express the grief and outrage that we all feel.

(9/28/83)

But the President must not act rashly on the impulse of the moment -- or make this a Soviet-American confrontation. The massacre is a case of the Soviets vs. the world. The President believes it essential that we work with all other civilized nations to ensure that similar attacks never happen again.

This atrocity shows the true nature of the Soviet government; it emphasizes the need for the U.S. to be strong enough to thwart Soviet aggression. The fact is that the President has already taken a whole series of actions to reduce the ability of the Soviet Union to terrorize other nations and threaten peace:

- The rebuilding of our national defenses, including modernized ICBMs and medium-range ballistic missiles;
- Increased emphasis on strategic defense;
- The curbing of high-technology transfer to the Soviet bloc;
- Pressure to end preferential terms on credits to the USSR;
- The further strengthening of our mutual security alliances around the world;
- Efforts to reduce the dependency of our allies on Soviet energy resources, particularly natural gas;
- Effective measures to prevent the advance of Soviet influence in our Hemisphere, especially in Central America.

The innocent victims aboard that plane will not have died in vain if the American people have been awakened from any delusions they may have had about the nature and aims of the men in the Kremlin. They will not have died in vain if American outrage and indignation are transformed into support by the people and their representatives in the Congress for a realistic, long-term policy which will reduce the dangers we face from the calculating adversary the President so correctly described.

The Kremlin deeply fears a national consensus which can make America invincible and rally the Free World to stand up to Soviet terrorism and aggression. Such a consensus can only exist with your firm support.

Sincerely,



Anne Higgins
Special Assistant to the President
and Director of Correspondence

(9/28/83)

Enclosure: President's 9/5/83 Address

RR/NSC/AVH

RE: Children Concerned for Peace (KAL Air Lines Massacre)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1983

Dear Young Friend:

The whole world was shocked and outraged by the Soviet attack on the Korean Air Lines jet carrying 269 innocent civilians. The victims of the massacre included 63 American citizens, among them Larry McDonald, a distinguished member of the Congress. Americans everywhere continue to express their grief and anger over this inhuman act.

The President has taken a number of actions to punish this act of terrorism and to prevent similar tragedies from happening in the future. As the President said in his Address to the Nation on September 5, "With our horror and our sorrow, there is a righteous and terrible anger. It would be easy to think in terms of vengeance, but that is not a proper answer. We want justice and action to see that this never happens again."

The most important of these actions are those that will maintain America's strength, improve our ability to deter the Soviets' aggression and reduce threats to peace. These have been the President's policies since the beginning of his Administration, and they are more important now than ever. But the President has also stressed that we must not give up our efforts to bring the Soviets into the world community of nations. Our goal, he has said, continues to be peace -- "peace through strength as long as necessary, but never giving up our effort to bring peace closer through mutual, verifiable reduction in the weapons of war."

The President believes that Americans are now strong, steady and united in their will to see acts of aggression condemned and our peace and security preserved. This is a lesson we can learn and carry with us for the rest of our lives.

With the President's best wishes,

Sincerely,

Anne Higgins
Special Assistant to the President
and Director of Correspondence

(9/27/83)

AVH/CAD/RDC/CAD

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

I was most pleased to learn of the efforts of you and your colleagues in

January 5, 1984 (XXX292) collecting signatures petitions demanding a strong response to

Golden:
Dear Mr. Ortega:

~~The whole world was shocked and outraged by the midair massacre of 269 innocent civilians aboard a Korean airliner above the Sea of Japan. The victims included 62 American citizens, including Larry McDonald, a distinguished member of the Congress. Americans continue to express their grief and anger over this unconscionable atrocity.~~

Despite a desperate Soviet prooganda campaign of evasions, half-truths, and self-contradictory fabrications, the world is under no illusion who is to blame. The evidence is undeniable and overwhelming. ~~Soviet fighter planes and Soviet radar stations had traced the flight of the doomed airliner for some two and one-half hours as it strayed off course and drifted over Soviet airspace. The interceptor that fired the heat-seeking missiles had been following and observing KAL Flight 007 for about twenty minutes before it obeyed orders from ground control and fired the deadly salvo. There are no indications that the Korean airliner pilot or any of the other 268 innocent victims had any warning prior to being shot out of the sky.~~

The President has been unequivocal in his denunciation of this unspeakable crime. He is not alone. From all corners of the globe, spokesmen and citizens have joined in condemning this barbaric act. At international forums like the United Nations the outcry has been virtually unanimous. Editorial pages around the world have blistered the Soviets for the callousness of this mass murder and the cynical web of lies which they have spun out in an effort to evade responsibility for the grisly crime.

in my opinion I would advise you that I have long believed

I am enclosing a compilation of statements and documents on this incident, including a transcript of the President's televised address on the subject. It speaks for itself. It is important to note that President Reagan was not "caught by surprise." ~~He has understood for many years that when we deal with the Soviet Union we are dealing with a regime that has little respect for traditional ethical norms. In his very first press conference as President, he bluntly pointed out that the Soviets "have openly and publicly declared that the only morality they recognize is what will further their cause, meaning they reserve unto themselves the right to commit any crime to lie, to cheat, in order to attain that..." He has referred to the USSR as the "focus of evil" in the world and for such remarks, by the way, he has been sharply criticized and even derided. But he was right. His critics were wrong.~~

This atrocity shows the true nature of the Soviet government; it emphasizes the need for the U.S. to be strong enough to thwart Soviet aggression. ~~The President~~ have taken a whole series of actions to reduce the ability of the Soviet Union to terrorize other nations and threaten peace:

B - please type this out and print 2 sp. draft - i

(1/5/84)

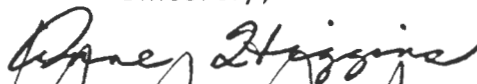
- The rebuilding of our national defenses, including modernized ICBMs and medium-range ballistic missiles;
- Increased emphasis on strategic defense;
- The curbing of high-technology transfer to the Soviet bloc;
- Pressure to end preferential terms on credits to the USSR;
- The further strengthening of our mutual security alliances around the world;
- Efforts to reduce the dependency of our allies on Soviet energy resources, particularly natural gas;
- Effective measures to prevent the advance of Soviet influence in our hemisphere, especially in Central America and the Caribbean.

The innocent victims aboard that plane will not have died in vain if the American people have been awakened from any delusions they may have had about the nature and aims of the men in the Kremlin. They will not have died in vain if American outrage and indignation are transformed into support by the people and their representatives in the Congress for a realistic, long-term policy which will reduce the dangers we face from ~~the~~ calculating adversary, ~~the President so correctly described.~~

The Kremlin deeply fears a national consensus which can make America invincible and rally the Free World to stand up to Soviet terrorism and aggression. Such a consensus can only exist ~~with~~ *thanks to* your firm support.

~~With the President's best wishes,~~

Sincerely,



Anne Higgins
Special Assistant to the President
and Director of Correspondence

Mr. Michael Ortega
Night Supervisor
Correspondence Analysis Section
Room 60
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, DC 20500

(1/5/84)

RR

Enclosure: Department of State Bulletin Reprint on KAL #007