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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 8, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM BAKER

FROM:

DAVE GERGEN *dg*

SUBJECT:

Follow-up on Korean Airliner

You asked for an update of activities in the future that will help to support the President on the airline massacre. We have been working with NSC, State, USIA and others in developing events over the past week; the ideas here flow from these same joint efforts.

Aviation Measures

(1) Government Aviation Group -- The U.S. and many other nations belong to the International Civil Aviation Organization (IACO) that is having an emergency meeting in Montreal on Sept. 15. Key meeting. We are looking for a resolution of condemnation as well as adoption of proposed measures to make the skies safer. U.S. expects to be represented by high-level delegation, yet unnamed.

Recommendations:

-- Name the U.S. group ASAP, have them immediately draw up list of changes needed to protect airliners.

-- RR should meet with delegation in well-publicized meetings before and after Montreal meeting. *xx*

(2) Airline Pilots -- Potentially, they can impose some of the most important sanctions. In Europe this week, a group led by U.S., British and Canadian pilots called for 60-day boycott of flights going to Russia. They want to move quickly. SAS will begin boycott this Monday; British Airlines is polling its 5,000 pilots and looks like it may move soon, too. Others also moving.

*How about American Pilots  
coming in? Assoc apcs*

This is a good, supportive story for RR -- witness its major treatment in the NY TIMES Wednesday -- but there is a strong feeling that our role in it ought to be very low key. If we push publicly, that could backfire.

(3) Airline Companies -- State says they are ambivalent, and little can be expected from them. Apparently, they are reluctant to take on Aeroflot.

Recommendation: Despite this ambivalence, recommend that someone high in Administration undertake quiet contacts to see what can be done.

(4) Aeroflot in U.S. -- State tonight is quietly giving the Soviets a protest note, a legal formality that leads to the formal notification on Thursday that Aeroflot must close down its office in the U.S. (offices are in NYC and Washington) and personnel must leave.

Recommendation: I have recommended to State that they give the Aeroflot people a date certain next week for closing down so that we can build press interest around a set event. We are also looking for ways to dramatize the order to close down.

(5) International Aeroflot Operations -- As you know, the President is sending private letters and making some calls to other leaders in an effort to isolate Aeroflot. The press will probably judge our international success to a major extent by how other national governments react; already, there is some sense that a few -- Canada and Australia -- may be tough, but that Europeans may shy away.

Recommendation: Important that this initiative be pushed hard between now and the 15th when ICAO meets in Montreal. Our success here will set the tenor and tone for Montreal.

### Reparations

State is now preparing a consolidated claim on behalf of US families against the Soviet government. They have been in quiet touch with the families and may speak to some of them when they come to the memorial service in Washington on Friday. State was also planning to present the consolidated claim to the Soviet government on Friday.

Recommendations: It is paramount, in my view, that the U.S. government do everything it can to help these families -- that's consistent with RR's pledge and with the tradition of working with POW families and others like them. We ought to be thinking very creatively in this area. Some ideas I would recommend:

-- RR ought to be asked whether he would like to meet with the families when they are here this Friday. ✓

-- If RR unavailable, we ought to have someone at very high level -- Clark or Eagleburger -- meet with them and pledge that we will do everything we can. ?

-- After meeting on Friday, recommend that the U.S. claim be presented to the Soviets next week (this is strictly a press consideration; we ought to separate out the stories). X

-- We also ought to be seriously exploring question of having a very high level lawyer or jurist (e.g., Clark Clifford or Potter Stewart type) who can represent these families in various international tribunals. Could clearly be done pro bona, would help to provide them with the best counsel in the world, and would establish yet another voice to assert the case for justice. X

I am concerned whether we are in fact doing enough on behalf of the families.

#### International Diplomacy

In addition to the items above, here are some key markers for the weeks ahead:

Madrid: As expected, news attention has temporarily shifted there for Shultz-Gromyko talk today. Will be key story. Shultz is dropping hints that if un-satisfactory, he may drop meeting with Gromyko at U.N. this September. Other foreign ministers there may also condemn.

United Nations: The U.S. is now working out language for a resolution that will be introduced Thursday or Friday, vote expected Friday or over the weekend. Jeane has been working hard to fashion resolution that will win 9 votes, forcing a Soviet veto. (Aside from the diplomacy, she deserves high marks for her public presentations; both at the U.N. and on Nightline Wednesday, she was outstanding).

-- Following up the Security Council session, the U.S. will try to get the issue on the agenda in the General Assembly, which opens on Sept. 22. There is apparently a consensus at State that unlike the Security Council, we can win in the Assembly. Note that Shultz is going to be at the U.N. for a number of days in late September and will make a major speech there on Sept. 26th -- a big opportunity.

Other Forums: State has been surveying other international forums that are coming up. U.S. Representatives are to raise this issue front and center in almost every one from large to small (E.G., International Tourism Organization meeting in New Delhi in early October).

### Evidence

There continues to be a great deal of press interest in intelligence reports on what actually happened. We have been trying to cool down all the debates in the White House and State briefing rooms. But in the meantime, I urge that someone be designated to comb thru all the evidence from a public affairs standpoint to assess how to handle from here on out (bits and pieces will continue to dribble out from unnamed sources, and we ought to have a plan for dealing with them).

### Other International Activity

USIA under Charlie Wick has a very energetic program underway; have not tried to describe it here. We do want a Presidential radio speech bolstering VOA. XX

### Other Domestic Steps

#### (1) Congress

-- Congress ought to be encouraged to act immediately on RR's call for a joint resolution of condemnation. Get it next week. replay

-- As preparation for that, recommend that high-level administration briefing be conducted for members this Monday, complete with playing of the tape (have asked USIA to prepare dubs of tape).

-- Would urge that hearings also be held there on question of international aviation safety, calling in pilots and others. Could be good preparation for Montreal meeting of International Civil Aviation Organization.

#### (2) Administration Spokesmen

-- We have a very active program underway to place key surrogates on TV shows, radio call-in shows. Shultz, Kirkpatrick, Eagleburger, Burt have all been highly effective. (Preparing a list for you of these appearances).

-- Talking points distributed to all surrogates.

-- Briefing of administration surrogates scheduled this Friday. We will try to place them in different forums.

-- Recommend that other "friends" of the administration -- key foreign policy and defense people like Don Rumsfeld -- be briefed by NSC/State. Can also be effective spokesmen.

(3) Other Press Activity

- RR has a busy schedule of press activity in coming days. Can keep world informed.
- Mike Deaver and others are working on getting out a definitive story on RR's leadership during this period.
- We have some major press groups coming in from outside Washington this month (e.g., some 250 ethnic, minority and labor publications coming next week). Laying on special briefings for them on this subject.
- Customary mailers also going out to press around country.

(4) Outside Efforts

- Recommend that effort be made by Whittlesey shop to get outside groups to adopt resolutions, buy ads, etc. in support of President's efforts.
- Recommend that a friendly group get out a film ASAP that can be distributed around the country to various groups, incorporating portions of RR's address, remarks, etc., the videotape of the pilots, etc. Can have a reverberation effect in many local communities. Rollins should be able to get this started.
- The question has been raised whether Korea might not take out ads every day for 269 days, showing each day another victim with a little biographical material, saying "Remember" in headline and quoting RR from speech: "This is a crime against humanity we can never forget..." "Remember the Lusitania" -- that was deeply etched in the American psyche; memories need to be built here, too.
- Recommend we also establish information center in administration on what private groups are doing in protest (e.g., cancelling visits to Soviet Union). Can then help to get word out to others.

It is clear that future interest in this subject will depend in very large measure on what steps are taken by others (e.g., foreign nations, pilots, etc.) and any additional policy steps by the U.S. Press interest will last so long as there continues to be some action and controversy. We need to be pressing on many fronts.

For quick reference, I am attaching a summary calendar of key events that are coming up.

September 7, 1983

Current News Calender on Airliner

Thursday, Sept. 8

- Shultz - Gromyko in Madrid
- U.S. orders Aeroflot to close offices, leave country.
- Resolution of condemnation debated in U.N.

Friday, Sept. 9

- RR attends memorial services
- U.S. representatives meet with families of victims in Washington (high-level participation)
- Debate continues in U.N. Security Council

Saturday, Sept 10

- Shultz meeting*
- Possible vote in U.N. Security Council

Monday, Sept. 12

- SAS begins 60-day boycott of its flights to USSR; others may join
- Briefing of Congress by Administration

Tuesday, Sept. 13 - Thursday, Sept. 15

- Aeroflot representatives kicked out of US
- US presents reparation claim to Soviets
- Congress passes resolution of condemnation
- RR meets with U.S. aviation delegation before it goes to Montreal
- Emergency meeting of ICAO in Montreal, begins on Thursday; considers condemnation and steps to improve international safety

Thursday, Sept. 22

- U.N. General Assembly convenes in NYC

Monday, Sept. 26

- Shultz addresses U.N. General Assembly

Tuesday, Sept. 27

- Shultz tentatively scheduled for another meeting with Gromyko

# SUPPORT: Congressmen

## Reagan Backed on Plane Stand

### Public, Congress Strongly Support Moderate Policy

By JACK NELSON,  
Times Washington Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON—President Reagan's firm but restrained reaction to the Soviet Union over its downing of a South Korean commercial airliner has apparently won him new political leverage in Congress—and with the American people as well.

New developments could change the situation, but thus far Democrats and Republicans alike are echoing the President's outrage and supporting his moderate response. And for at least the immediate future, that means Reagan is in a stronger position to push for approval of the MX missile and other elements in his defense buildup, as well as for congressional rejection of the nuclear freeze idea.

The destruction of an unarmed civilian airliner—which remains almost incomprehensible to most people in the West—coupled with Moscow's initial denials, lend weight to Reagan's contention that the Soviet Union remains a serious threat to

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#### Continued from First Page

American security, a threat that must be countered with increased U.S. military might.

And the President can be counted on to make that point when Congress renews its deliberations on defense spending later this month.

Reagan's advisers also believe that his moderate stance has helped ease a political problem that has plagued him since the 1980 presidential campaign: A perception at home and abroad that he is a saber-rattling anti-Communist who might lead the country into war.

If there is any down-side to the immediate political fallout over Reagan's handling of the incident, it comes from the Republican Party's right wing, which has bitterly criticized him for being too soft on the Soviets and denounced him for not imposing harsh sanctions against Moscow. But even that criticism works to Reagan's advantage to some extent, most political analysts believe, because it reassures moderate voters generally that Reagan, for all his harsh anti-Soviet rhetoric, will shun extremism in a crisis.

#### 'Some Political Discomfort'

"The right wing won't be satisfied regardless of what he does short of harsh sanctions and that causes some political discomfort," said one Reagan adviser, who declined to be identified. "On the other hand," he said, "to the extent that the President is viewed as responding in a calm, reasoned but forceful manner, he will be helped politically because politics is still fought not on the extreme ends of the ideological spectrum but in the middle ground."

While observers in both parties generally agree that Reagan will reap short-term political benefits from the incident and his handling of it, some point out that the long-term impact is far from clear and could even present problems for the President.

Democratic pollster Peter Hart, for example, said, "The Soviet ac-

tion underscores that increasingly the world is a less safe place to live, with problems in Lebanon, in Central America and Asia. And the uncertainty and fear that breeds never works to the benefit of the incumbent.

"A second point to keep in mind is don't rush to judgment on this incident or any other," said Hart, who currently polls for former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, the leading candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. "We will return one way or the other to the fundamentals of foreign policy: What must we do to protect our national interest, and what can we do to make the world a safer place to live—and Ronald Reagan will have to deal with those fundamentals in 1984."

The fact that some of the circumstances surrounding the Soviets' shooting of the Korean airliner are far from clear raises the possibility that the United States could yet be embarrassed by the incident.

Even Reagan's own pollster, Richard Wirthlin, who believes the President has helped himself with the handling of the situation, cautions that "a lot of things are not clear yet."

"We don't know what the eventual response of the Soviets will be or how the Europeans will interpret the action or counteraction we are suggesting," Wirthlin said. "But the President now has some political options and leverage that he didn't have before. How that works out next year is still open."

Democratic leaders in Congress, as well as Republicans, have praised Reagan for his restraint, although some of them actually think his response was too mild.

Senate Minority Leader Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.) said Reagan was "tough in tone but restrained in action." Byrd, who said he generally supported the President, added, "I would have hoped the President would have suspended the grain

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## SUPPORT: Reagan

#### Continued from 6th Page

deal at least until the Soviets admitted shooting down the airliner and said they were willing to compensate the families of the victims."

A Democratic Party official, who declined to be identified, said, "Most people were pleasantly surprised that the President didn't rattle a saber. I think he did help himself politically by not embarrassing the country with measures that might be construed as extreme."

Reagan himself was reported to be extremely pleased with the public reaction to his speech Monday night, and the only sour note, from the White House perspective, came from the far right.

White House officials said Tuesday that they are being bombarded with critical calls, which they said appear to have been stimulated by conservative organizations. Nonetheless, most analysts here were inclined to discount criticism from the right as a political problem for Reagan.

# The Philadelphia Inquirer

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SAM S. McKEEL  
President

EUGENE L. ROBERTS JR.  
Executive Editor

EDWIN GUTHMAN  
Editor

Wednesday, September 7, 1983

Page 12-A

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Does this have to happen?

Three neurosurgeons operated on Kiko Bejines last Friday afternoon at the Los Angeles County-USC Medical Center, removing part of his brain

fighters have ended up with their brains addled, but studies have shown that more than half do. "The most predictable and permanent reward" of

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### Letters to

K

To the Editor:

As-a graduate of the am very obviously di with the decision to males to enter Cer School.

My general objection struction of the gener the uniquely separat The separation of the us a chance to, "find in a very developmen our teenagerism. Ce male distraction c proven costly in the sense by shying away ies — a very possible of this decision. Als was the camaraderie closeness — without imposing female arc

Certainly, it seem disparate academic s ist between the s right path would be the standards of the High School for Girls ble, co-equal levels Central.

DAVID R.  
Philadelphia.

### Shallow

To the Editor:

I am stunned by and rather pathetic Inquirer in regard t Girls High, as expr editorial of Sept. 1. of Girls High and ther taught at Cent fend the right, at cost, of a girl to att a boy to go to Cer

The Inquirer say tion of the sexes tory when it is th that actually gave s freedom of choice and the freedom to the city's best hi

# The New York Times

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## From Lies to Remedies

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## The Citizen Astronauts

## REVIEW &amp; OUTLOOK

## Mixed Message

A friend called Monday night to ask what President Reagan had said in his speech about the shooting down of Korean Air Lines Flight 007. We couldn't tell him. Sure, the familiar rhetoric was there—the Soviet “massacre” of “innocent men, women and children,” a “crime against humanity.” And, as we had been led to expect by administration officials over the long weekend, our immediate retaliatory actions would be moderate.

What stuck in our minds was the contrast between the president's remarks from the Oval Office and the piercing questions he raised Friday standing on an airport tarmac in front of Air Force One about to return from California. He had asked, “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 can be said,” Mr. Reagan asked, “about Soviet credibility when they so flagrantly lie about such a heinous act? What can be the scope of legitimate 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 humankind?”

Those certainly are the crucial questions raised by the downing of Flight 007, finally admitted by the Soviets yesterday after days of lies. They are also the same questions raised by the continued use of Soviet “yellow rain” in Asia and the gassing of Afghans. These crimes against humanity and cynical violations of international treaties and customs say all

we need to know about the character of Soviet leadership.

Somehow, in the president's formal speech, that lesson was lost. Listeners were left with a feeling of dissonance and confusion between the harsh rhetoric and modest actions. What other message can they get when the president concludes his speech by announcing that Paul Nitze is returning to Geneva to continue arms negotiations with the same Soviet leadership that thinks nothing of shooting down unarmed civilian aircraft?

This is not to say the president needed to announce a long list of immediate sanctions against the Kremlin; we have no sanctions that would bring back the lives of the passengers on Flight 007. The point is what the shooting of civilian aircraft says about the character of the Soviet leadership, and what this says about the prospects of dealing with them on arms control or any other issues. Curiously, the point seemed less clear to the president than to some normally more dovish Democratic senators. Sen. Christopher Dodd said the incident was a “grim reminder to the world of the kind of heinous and outrageous behavior of which the Soviets are capable.” Sen. Patrick Leahy said these actions “make it impossible to go forward with decent arms control.” Sen. Paul Sarbanes said the downing of the plane “will have a marked effect on the way one approaches the relationship.”

That is the point precisely, because the incident makes so clear the nature of Soviet values and Soviet duplicity. Its lesson is the need to reassess the entire range of our dealings with them.

## Holding the Center

Heavy gunfire is scarring Beirut yet again, and two more U.S. Marines died Monday night in a barrage of rockets and mortar shells fired from a Shiite Moslem neighborhood. The American, French and British peacekeeping force is returning fire from leftist Syrian-backed militiamen. We think back to when the Israelis were camped at the outskirts of the city, hesitating to roll in and clean out the PLO. And we can see that the current mounting disorder could have been predicted, and indeed was foretold.

When the Israeli Defense Force made its strike into Lebanon last year, hawkish Israelis argued that the IDF was going to have to go all the way to Beirut to secure a peace. Re-

killed asked President Reagan in a televised phone call whether it was possible to find a way to pull the Marines out. This grieving father is not the only one asking the question. People wanted to believe the Reagan administration when it said we needed American soldiers in Lebanon for peacekeeping but had no expectation of their being shot up. Such a statement is implausible on its face, of course: If there is really and truly no expectation of a fight, you do not need soldiers at all.

The Israeli army, too, is under domestic pressure to withdraw from its positions near Beirut. A couple of days ago President Reagan asked Prime Minister Begin to delay a scheduled Israeli withdrawal. Mr. Re-

Thinki  
Things  
Over

—By Vermont Re  
Politics '84

It's an old story, so old used it before. It's about the up for reelection who meet the courthouse steps.

After inquiry about the n dren, the congressman say on the support of his old i “Don't know about tha farmer.

“What!” exclaims the “Didn't I get your boy in Didn't I get you that extra ment? Didn't I get you g after the tornado blew aw

“Yep,” replies the farr have you done for me lat

This durable political pr mind as we pass Labor Da the 1984 presidential ca twelvemonth's time it will l by then both parties will h candidates. But already jockeying for position and laying their bets.

The Republicans are a who will carry their colors or other acts of God to a s will be Ronald Reagan. Y all those “will he or won” ter all, newspaper folk n write about.

Mr. Reagan, like all reelection to vindicate h doesn't a legend make. strongly in his view of would hate to see it s might well be under any much less a Democrat. gan enjoys the White H to watch closely are t tins.

With the Democrats have neither a program give them one. Betwixt they'll be fighting as m as with the Republica

Moreover, the De more be playing unde rules, not those that g Govern or Jimmy C posed to concentrate between March and will be on a winner-ta gates, not proporti Party “pros,” such state officials, are more representation. ateurs is to be cut.

Naturally all this always with Democ balking. Iowa and N ample, object to t them for picking del brewing on how ma the convention “unc didate. And so it g

Personally, hav where '84 may be m I'd like to see one settled before the Much more intere

## The Monitor's view

### A balanced response

White House reaction to the South Korean jetliner tragedy has unfolded largely with the balance of moral outrage and calculated countersteps to hold the incident in perspective.

President Reagan labeled the downing of the civilian aircraft by the Soviets "the Korean airline massacre" and an "act of barbarism" in his Monday night address. He set curbs on cultural, scientific, and diplomatic ties between the Soviet Union and the United States. The West's response carried over to the United Nations Tuesday, as the administration sought a coordinated outcry against the Soviet Union.

These are second-tier reactions by the West. None are confrontational. They fall well short of tampering with the first tier of security and arms control issues which are of paramount interest to East and West alike. They are rebukes, warnings.

Notably not done was cancellation of US-Soviet grain agreements, or any tainting of the American welcome to Soviet athletes for next summer's Olympic Games in Los Angeles. These would have been Jimmy Carter-like actions, and the Reagan team want to avoid any comparisons with the previous administration's futile efforts at modifying Soviet behavior.

Apart from the difference between the West's and the Soviets' apparent valuation of human life, the most disturbing revelation in the airliner tragedy is that the Soviet command structure may simply not be up to handling a crisis of this sort. Downing the aircraft was a serious mistake. At a time the Soviets are trying to sow discord among Western allies, it provokes a unified Western response. Combined with the willingness of the Soviet military to take actions that are blunt and inhumane, the dribs and drabs of Soviet official explanation have worsened the Soviets' position in the eyes of the world. The Soviets took five days to admit they had shot down the plane.

Unanswered questions remain. What is the use today of civilian aircraft overflights for military surveillance? How did hours pass with the South Korean aircraft heading over Soviet territory without notice or an immediate Western attempt to clarify its status? Was it a computer failure or some other cause that sent the aircraft on its fatal course? Answers must still be found.

The Reagan administration says the goal

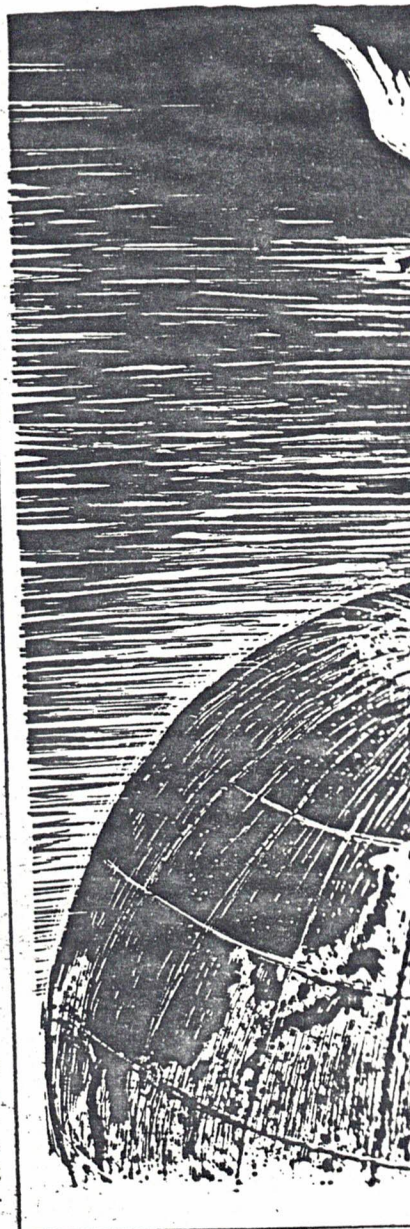
in its response is to focus world and domestic attention on "the nature of the Soviet beast" — a point Reaganites have made all along. "Who are they?" one Reagan insider asks. "We really have to ask that before we focus on the details of the event."

At the same time, the administration assumes the Korean jetliner tragedy will have a relatively short life as a headline commanding event. Emotionally potent as it may be, it will lack the numbing endurance of, say, the year-long Iranian hostage incident. With arms negotiations proceeding, and a US presidential election race about to start, the shootdown will "remain a subject of continuing allusion," insiders say.

The administration clearly wants to avoid tying itself too closely to the jetliner incident, the way President Carter became embroiled in the Iranian hostage episode, and making any specific outcome a test of Reagan's competence. At the same time, the White House is using the event for other purposes, chiefly to press Congress for greater military spending to contain the Soviets.

Fortuitously, the jetliner incident enabled President Reagan to return from his August vacation in California on an urgent business note. Augusts have been awkward months for this administration. The White House has been preparing the stage for a Reagan reelection bid. Reagan's tough words about Soviet behavior in downing the defenseless aircraft should help him hold the support of his own right. The Democrats can do little but back the President in the affair.

The risks are that details of the overflight might eventually compromise the West's position, that a rhetorical escalation might jeopardize East-West security talks. But so far the line between calling the Soviets for their act and excuses, and safeguarding security issues, is apparently being kept in sight.



### Looking afresh at Poland

It is time for the United States to rethink its policy toward Poland. At the moment it still does not have an ambassador in Warsaw, economic sanctions remain in place, and cultural exchanges are dormant. Yet a case can be made that more is to be gained by opening the door to an eventual normalization of rela-

tions than by merely reacting to new developments in that anguished country. A more forthcoming US approach might help Poland as it gropes for a way out of its persisting national stalemate.

This may seem a strange course to take in the wake of the third anniversary of Solidarity, the now-banned labor movement. Indeed, the world can never forget the extraordinary events of August 1980 when Polish workers won the right to an independent and free trade union. The Polish people will never forget the week's mass demonstrations in Wroclaw, and other Polish towns. The commemoration of that anniversary is a giant testimony to a spirit of liberation that never die — no matter how often it is suppressed.

But can US policy continue to be shaped by the past?

Poland now begins the slow process of evolving something new. No one knows what this will be. But the realities of the Jaruzelski regime have effectively destroyed Solidarity. It has also taken its toll against Poland's intellectuals, journalists, artists. It is apparently arrogant enough to tolerate a certain dissent from the working class but not let dissent get out of control — tear gas and clubs used against

### What others say

#### Higher ed: Getting the debate started

If Gov. Blanchard's new ad hoc commission on higher education gets bogged down in the old governance question, then its conclusions will — and for our money, probably should — go nowhere.

But if the [Michigan] citizens' commission looks beyond that question and builds a factual base and defines issues for the Legislature in dealing with higher education, then it can be useful.

Now, at a time when the universities and colleges are dealing with a shrinking pool of students, the Legislature needs some help in making the hard decisions about where to cut, where to preserve and where to build up. The

bled only for that purpose, might be able to arm the Legislature with the will to do whatever circumstances dictate.

In recent weeks, the Presidents Council of State Colleges and Universities in Michigan issued a doleful summary of the neglect of higher education by the state over these last 10 years or so. Indeed, the report paints a far more depressing picture than the facts justify. It does not, for instance, take much account of the turnaround that occurred this year. The record of financial support, though, has been far worse than Michigan's strong tradition dictates and worse than that in many other states.

## Insufficient Response

What's the point of signing a meaningless document that legitimizes Soviet terror

The relative mildness of Mr. Reagan's nostrums is both surprising and disconcerting. »

The question comes down to this: Should a new governor be able to put his imprint on every department when he takes office, or is it possible along for months, even

# THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

*For 115 Years the South's Standard Newspaper*

*James M. Cox, Chairman 1950-1957—James M. Cox Jr., Chairman 1957-1974*

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President

**Jim Minter**  
Editor

**Tom Teepen**  
Editorial Page Editor

**Edward Sears**  
Managing Editor

**Minor J. Ward**  
General Manager

PAGE 10-A, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1983

## Reagan response on the mark

Little by little, the Soviet Union unfolds its preposterous version of the cold-blooded murder of 269 passengers and crew aboard Korean Air Lines Flight 007. After days of infuriating bluster and blather, it finally has owned up to the fact that a Russian fighter did indeed blast an unarmed civilian jetliner out of the skies.

A cowed Soviet public may swallow whole the Kremlin's official justifications, but most of the rest of the world is not likely to — especially if the United States presents its case with care before the bar of global opinion.

President Reagan's restrained statement Monday night furthered that process by focusing on a limited set of objectives: demanding a Soviet admission of responsibility, reparations for survivors and guarantees against a repeat of this barbaric act.

With all the anger generated by what he correctly identified as a "massacre," it must have been tempting for the president to seize this hideous occasion to slap numerous punitive measures against Moscow.

This he resisted, as he should have — for a variety of good reasons:

Above all, this deliberate attack on an off-course jetliner is of paramount global concern involving every nation that plies the skies. For the United States to have obscured it by retaliating with a shotgun mix of embargoes and expulsions would have done a disservice to the cause of international civil aviation and to the memories of the KAL victims.

Americans need reflect back no further than the sanctions initiated by the United States after the Afghanistan invasion and the imposition of martial law in Poland to measure the effectiveness of such weapons. In truth, those measures did little more than slightly inconvenience the Soviets while penalizing our athletes and farmers and antagonizing our European allies.

For the president to have canceled today's scheduled meeting in Madrid between Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko would have been a grave mistake. If nothing else, it offers an opportunity for us to begin to try to gauge whether Thursday's tragedy is indicative, as some have suggested, that the Soviet military machine is slipping out of the control of its Communist Party masters.

Likewise, any tampering with our arms-control negotiating posture in Geneva would have jeopardized our standing in Western Europe. By their swinish conduct, the Soviets have severely damaged their own so-called "peace offensive."

The president's statement would have been totally on the mark if only he had eschewed his calls for congressional support for the MX missile and other weapons programs now pending on Capitol Hill, an appeal entirely out of character with the specific human issues at hand.

The Soviets have dug themselves a deep, deep hole. Reagan must take care to avoid giving them — even inadvertently — some pegs with which to climb out.

## Quit bugging Planned Parenthood

The Reagan administration's almost nutty harassment of Planned Parenthood continues apace with a second, almost surely futile and certainly improper attempt to kick the organization out of a federal employees' charity fund.

The decision is almost certain to be overturned by a federal court if it comes to that. Last year, when a panel stacked with right-wing ideologues attempted to keep the organization from receiving its fair share, a Reagan bureaucrat reluctantly restored the organization to the rolls, admitting that it met all the eligibility requirements for the federal workers' equivalent of the United Way and couldn't legally be excluded

from the Reagan White House. First, Reagan ordered extraordinary audits to determine whether it used federal funds illegally to promote abortion (it did not). Later he named abortion foe Marjorie Mecklenburg to oversee federal family-planning programs, and pushed for a "squeal rule" that would have weakened the organization's effectiveness by putting off teens — most of them already sexually active — who need contraceptives.

Planned Parenthood, which neither supports nor opposes abortion, but does favor freedom of choice in intimate family matters, has survived each assault. But each time Devine, an outspoken abortion foe, and his hand-picked panel take aim at the organization, it is

**Bill K**

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# Opinion

## The Atlanta Journal

Covers Dixie Like the Dew

Since 1883

James M. Cox, Chairman 1939-1957—James M. Cox, Jr., Chairman 1957-1974

David E. Easterly, President

Jim Minter, Editor

Minor J. Ward, General Manager

Durwood McAlister  
Editorial Page Editor

Edward Sears  
Managing Editor

## Soviets must be faced with firm resolution

**P**resident Reagan's Monday night address effectively stated the American case for justice in what he called the "Korean airline massacre."

He demanded that the Russians give a full accounting of what happened, an apology for it, compensation for the families of victims, and assurances that such a thing will not happen again.

The problem remains: What will we do if the Russians continue to ignore the world outcry over their unprovoked, unjustified slaying of 269 people?

Many people are demanding stronger immediate action than the president has taken. But what options do we have?

The president has asked the nations of the world to do as the United States already does in refusing landing rights to the Soviet airline Aeroflot. That would be a very appropriate response to a nation that does not respect the decencies of commercial aviation. But it is up to the other nations whether or not they will do this.

Most of those demanding strong action seem to have in mind a cutoff of trade with the Soviet Union. But twice in recent years we have seen that when the United States acts alone with trade restrictions against the Soviet Union, they do not work: A U.S. grain embargo came in response to Soviet aggression in Afghanistan; other nations refused to cooperate and eventually U.S. public opinion turned against it. The same thing happened with other trade restrictions in response to oppression in Poland.

The trouble is that the American public, and even a great deal of world opinion, is capable of outrage against the Soviets in the short run but we do not seem capable of translating the moment's fury into pressures that last for any length of time.

The most effective thing we can do, as the president said in his address, is to make ourselves so strong that the Russians will think twice about what they do in the future. He is correct not to suspend arms control negotiations; a balanced, verifiable arms agreement would benefit us as much as it would the Soviets, and presumably the Reagan administration will not make an agreement that is not balanced and verifiable.

This latest outrage has renewed our awareness of the evil of the Soviet system. We must find a way to translate that into a firm resolution to support effective opposition to that system rather than falling into a fit of fury for a few days or weeks and then forgetting, as we did in the cases of Afghanistan and Poland, just what we were so angry about.

## The high-tech future

**T**he most recent "crisis" in education demonstrates a proverbial truth: Get away from the basics and quality suffers.

For every business or institution, there is an identifiable job to be done. And, in a society that's economically advanced and competitive, somebody most assuredly has discovered a way to do the job successfully. People who, for whatever reason, venture from the path of demonstrated success risk failing miser-

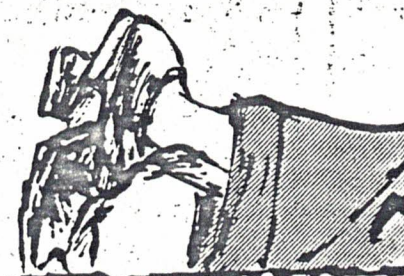
## Durwood McAlister Judge O'Kel

More often than not in recent years viewed federal judges with a jaundice too many cases their decisions seem drawn from neither law nor logic but from the pages of Alice in Wonderland.

One case does not make a trend and one judge cannot atone for the sins of the entire judiciary; but it is refreshing to note that Judge William O'Kelley has, in at least one case, revived the rule of reason and common sense.

His handling of the Lakeside Hi situation in DeKalb County has resulted in a remarkable occurrence — all of the involved, plaintiffs and defendants, are pleased.

Judge O'Kelley, while ordering the board to admit more black students, handed down an open-ended decision which will allow time for common



## James J. Kilpatrick Kuhn mixes

(James J. Kilpatrick's column "The writer's art.")

WASHINGTON — Bowie Kuhn's departing statement recently, his savior of baseball, and Hugh Scott, his lancer in King City, Ore., kindly se-

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Associate Editor

## EDITORIALS

### Mr. Reagan's Response

President Reagan's restrained, realistic response Monday night to the Korean airliner incident was in the nation's best interests.

But his trading on the passions raised by the Soviet Union's destruction of the aircraft to gather support for his defense spending program detracts from an otherwise credible, praiseworthy performance.

Perhaps Mr. Reagan will emerge from this tragedy as the only winner in a political sense. The Soviets certainly are losers, their efforts to appear as the peace-loving superpower shot down in flames with Korean Air Lines Flight 007. The nuclear freeze movement undoubtedly will suffer because of heightened doubts about Soviet intentions, as could the fortunes of Mr. Reagan's political opponents at home.

Still, Mr. Reagan faced risks in handling the crisis, and there is little doubt that the White House calculated the risks before the president responded. The administration chose a course that outrages the right, Mr. Reagan's core constituency but one he will not lose over this one issue, and denies to moderates and the left the opportunity to brand his action overreactive.

Domestic political considerations aside, Mr. Reagan took the correct course. In using tough language, he gave some emotional release to people who are horrified and frustrated by the Soviets' violent behavior. In prescribing mild and limited sanctions, however, Mr. Reagan was mindful of larger concerns. His response acknowledges that the United States would not benefit from turning the incident into a narrow Moscow-Washing-

ton battle, or from burning all the bridges of cooperation.

Any remaining hopes for nuclear sanity would be hurt if Mr. Reagan broke off arms control talks. American farmers, workers and companies would be hurt if he suspended trade agreements already signed. The Western alliance would be hurt if the United States took unilateral actions against the Soviets with which its allies did not agree. Mr. Reagan avoided making those mistakes.

What he did do was to characterize, probably with great success, the Soviet Union as an outlaw country with selective regard for truth and human life. Moscow's admission on Tuesday that its pilots shot down the unarmed jumbo jet while continuing to call it a spy plane and clumsily blaming the United States for the incident, plays right into Mr. Reagan's hands.

The president's lobbying for the MX missile and other military budget requests in his speech to the nation unfortunately lessens the credibility of his response.

Opposition to the MX missile, for example, is not based on a misreading of Soviet intentions, but on the sound argument that it is a prohibitively expensive, provocative and already obsolete weapons system that the United States would be better off without.

The destruction of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 does not suddenly make the MX a necessary part of America's arsenal. Mr. Reagan is wrong to use the incident as a means to sell the MX. The tactic cheapens the sacrifices of the victims of what the president calls a "massacre," and gives his response the unwanted taint of political propaganda.

### Another Tandem Battle Lost

Connecticut faces almost impossible odds in its battle to keep tandem trailer trucks off the state's highways.

That became even more apparent last week when a three-judge panel of the 2nd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld, without comment, a federal district court decision voiding the state anti-tandem law.

Appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court seems pointless, as well as expensive, considering the well-established precedent giving the federal government power to regulate interstate commerce. The wisdom of appealing U.S. District Judge Jose A. Cabranes' ruling in a case brought by the U.S. government should

says legislation limiting tandem truck travel is stalled in a committee whose chairman is unsympathetic to the bill.

Getting Congress to abrogate its pact with the trucking industry — in which the truckers swallowed a gasoline tax hike last December in return for authority for big trucks to travel on permitted routes on the federal highway system in all states — was a dicey bet at any rate.

The compromise with federal highway officials which reduced the mileage of Connecticut highways open to tandem trailers may be as much as the state can win.

Unless Congress or the courts pull off a surprising change of direction, it looks as if

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## EDITORIALS

## Moscow retreats on KAL 007

**W**ELL, NOW THEY'VE admitted it. After five days of lies and stonewalling, the Soviets said yesterday that their fighters "stopped" the Korean airliner. The Soviet pilot was more candid: He told ground control, "Target destroyed."

They came to this admission gradually and grudgingly, as they discovered that no one in the world believed them. Even now, they haven't come clean. Their statement repeated that the 747 carried no lights, when the tapes show the fighter pilot saw its wing lights and the strobe flashing on its roof. Spy planes do not carry strobe lights. They put all the blame on the U.S., and offer tepid regret for the loss of life.

Soviet officials are used to lying, but on this occasion it's no good. Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko will meet Secretary of State Shultz in Madrid this week, and it would be a fine opportunity to make a clean breast of it and begin making reparations.

It's not likely he will, and the question remains what to do. President Reagan is now learning the limits to American power, just as Jimmy Carter learned them during the hostage crisis. Reagan attacked Carter for weakness then. He will have to put up with the same criticism now.

The sanctions he announced Monday are trivial. Real sanctions would harm the U.S. equally or disrupt the Western alliance. All the same, the President got it mostly right. He said: "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's the whole world's reaction, not just ours, that counts, and for once the Soviets are feeling the full weight of it. We may lead world opinion, in the United Nations and elsewhere, but we mustn't get ahead of it. Sanctions are ineffective unless universally applied, and this time there's a chance of a genuine condemnation of the USSR.

### A deadline for 'peace'

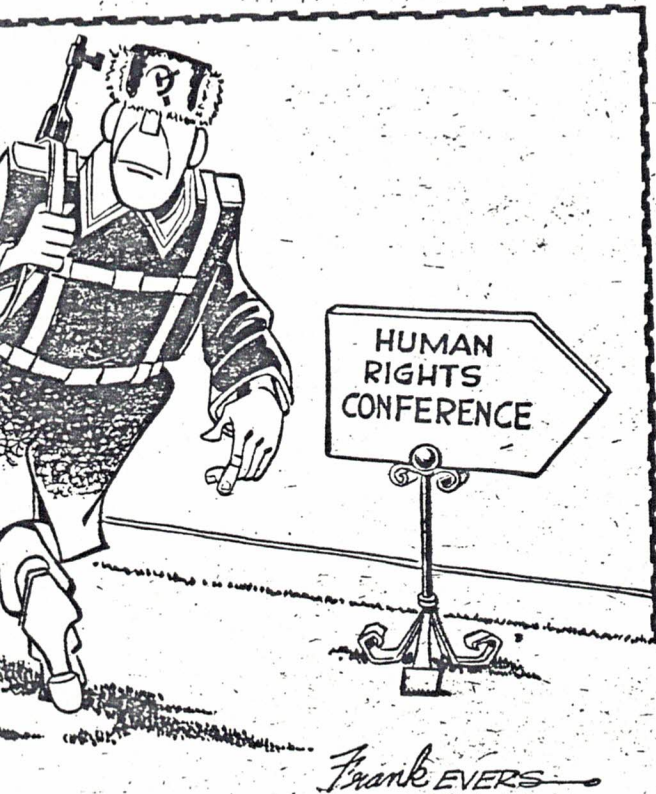
Christians and Moslems are at each other's throats again in Lebanon, and two more United States Marines of the so-called peacekeeping force have been added to the long list of those who have been killed in that strife-torn country. It was almost an exact replay of what happened a week ago when two other Marines died in an artillery barrage fired at United States positions around Beirut airport.

The truth of the matter is that the Marines are not peacekeepers. They are caught between warring factions, and there is no way, short of a costly offensive, that the 1,200 Americans can end the fighting, particularly now that the Israelis have begun their long-awaited withdrawal to more secure areas in southern Lebanon. The Marines are sitting ducks in a civil war that the Lebanese army cannot quell.

If the Reagan administration is prepared to intervene to end the bloodshed, it should say so and let Congress have a voice in the decision. A wiser course would be to set a date for the fighting to stop and for all parties to come to their senses. If it is ignored, then the Americans should be withdrawn. It is a ridiculous policy for brave Marines to be left at the mercy of people who care so little for human life.

### How not to discipline teachers

The Board of Education's system for handling teachers and other employees who are brought up on disciplinary charges is a joke. It takes an average of two years to resolve a case, and one procedure has lasted eight years with no end in sight. The teachers, meanwhile, are "suspended" but draw full pay and perform clerical duties. Since they're still on salary, they have little incentive to push their cases before



## OF THE PEOPLE

### Even tougher red-light law

by the Daily News and other media. And that only continued pressure from the public and the media will finally give us a law which will require judges to suspend the driver's licenses of hard-core red-light runners.

I introduced legislation on March 28 of this year to that effect, providing for the mandatory suspension of a driver's license for 60 days upon conviction of a second traffic signal violation committed within an 18-month period. I will continue to fight for the passage of such legislation and hope that with your continued support it becomes law.

Sen. Martin J. Knorr

disregarding the melting pot theory are the racists.

Robert Schauder

### Clean out rats, PA

Paterson, N.J.: I drive the No. 161 bus to the Port Authority for the New Jersey Transit system five nights a week. Lately, I've been seeing a large number of rats in the terminal. They scamper around platform 53 where my bus leaves from, and I've also seen a few behind the counter on the second level where I go for coffee. I'm sure the PA is taking in enough money to hire the best exterminator in the world.

Norman F. Reinbaugh

(Please include name and address with letter. We will withhold both on request.)

### BEG PARDON

A story in The News on Sept. 3 on the shooting death of Manuel Gonzales, 23, allegedly by an off-duty police officer, erroneously indicated that the incident occurred near the Suspenders bar at Stein-

er's column, a few errors. The Sam went holding plan.

Marilyn Fischer  
ers of the Poor

# The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

## Brazening It Out

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## This Week's Commission

HERE'S A novel idea. How about a high-level, bipartisan commission on the budget deficit? We hear you saying, “Oh, please—not another commission.” But before you dismiss the idea out of hand, let us run through the persuasive case being

deficit projections. Even if all the remaining proposals for cuts were accepted—which, given the harshness of some of them, might not be to the administration's political advantage—the total savings would hardly make a dent in projected deficits. Most likely, that most of the budget gap must be

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▶ MICHAEL K DEEVER  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF  
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE NW  
WASHINGTON DC 20500

A MEMORIAL SERVICE IN HONOR OF CONGRESSMAN LAWRENCE P. MCDONALD  
AND THE 268 OTHER PERSONS ONBOARD KOREAN AIRLINES NO. 007 WHO  
WERE MURDERED AT THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WILL  
BE HELD AT CONSTITUTION HALL IN WASHINGTON, D.C. ON SUNDAY,  
SEPTEMBER 11, AT 2 P.M.

I HAVE BEEN ASKED BY THE CONGRESSMAN'S WIDOW TO CONVEY THIS NOTICE  
CORDIALLY INVITING YOUR ATTENDANCE AS AN HONORED GUEST.

THIS MAILGRAM WILL ADMIT YOU AND TWO GUESTS TO THE VIP RESERVED  
SECTION. PLEASE RSVP TO (703)8931550. SEATS WILL BE HELD UNTIL  
1:30 P.M.

SINCERELY,

HOWARD PHILLIPS

CHAIRMAN, TCC

COORDINATOR, LARRY MCDONALD MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

00:40 EST

MGMCOMP

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM MESSAGE, SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR WESTERN UNION'S TOLL - FREE PHONE NUMBERS

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/13/83

TO: MIKE DEEVER

FROM: DAVID R. GERGEN

FYI: ☒

LET'S DISCUSS: ☐

COMMENT:

*pls send copy  
of this to  
David R. Gergen  
9/15*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 12, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVE GERGEN  
SUBJECT: Handling of Korean Airliner

You might enjoy reading what the political pundits are saying in their newsletters of the past few days about your handling of the Korean airline massacre:

Evans-Novak Political Report  
September 7, 1983

"President Ronald Reagan's decision not to match the Soviet Union's 'Korean airline massacre' with equivalent American punishment, but instead to court U.S.-European-Japanese solidarity and the American peace bloc may give him an edge in the 1984 Presidential campaign....He is simultaneously restored to the middle of the road, and his liberal Democratic opposition is confounded....The unmatched public fury against Moscow, both here and in Europe, contradicts Mr. Reagan's soft line for the moment. Voters want more. In the long run, however, he may look better than today's events suggest....For the moment at least, liberals are checkmated politically - on the link between arms control concessions and Defense appropriations. Beyond being checkmated, we think liberals are frightened and of the political defensive....For the moment, as our Report goes to press, RR looks good; Soviets obviously on the defensive; West Europeans behing the U.S.; no nasty sanctions that, however much they hurt the Russians, could ruffle European feathers, a stronger base in Congress for many coming battles, but most importantly the Defense battle."

The American Political Report - Kevin Phillips  
September 9, 1983

"...our assumption on the Korean/Soviet episode is that Reagan should be a long-term beneficiary. Despite his relatively weak response pattern, the episode A) confirms his worldview of the Soviets; B) undercuts his own itchy trigger-finger image and C) lays groundwork for a tough 1984 campaign stance if circumstances 10-12 months hence so warrant."

The Baron Report - Alan Baron  
September 12, 1983

"If President Reagan is reelected, the single most important factor may be his handling of last week's events. Not because they confirmed how 'evil' the Soviet system is, nor because of Reagan's hardline policies. Rather, for the opposite reasons: The President's surprising moderation, his 'calmness' to use the term touted by the White House, counter what has been the 'Achilles Heel' of his Presidency and a probable major cause of the 'gender gap' - RR's image of being 'trigger happy' in world affairs....But what Reagan obviously realizes - possibly from his pollsters, more probably from his instincts - is that anti-Soviet attitudes do not correlate to a lessening of support for arms control agreements....since the Nuclear Era began, the fear of confrontation has been based more on the chance of an accident than of a decision by national leaders to go to war. The likelihood that the Soviet action was not cleared with or directed by the Kremlin adds to this fear....Obviously, Reagan will have an easier time on defense and Soviet related foreign policy issues in Congress, and certainly the MX's prospects are greatly improved. Reagan will be under less pressure to summit with Andropov or produce an arms control agreement - which will make his life less difficult. And he could well be saying 'I told you so' to aides who have pressed for an early formal declaration of candidacy, with the view that his position as a candidate would have lessened the positive results of his performance."

File

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1983

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~~ETWigg~~

MEMORANDUM FOR ED MEESE  
JIM BAKER  
WILLIAM CLARK  
MIKE DEAVER ✓

FROM: DAVE GERGEN *DS*  
SUBJECT: Korean Airline Massacre

There are several signs now that unless we keep pushing, the press will begin turning its attention to other matters. We must remain on the offensive with actions as well as words. May I offer these suggestions:

(1) Reparations

Unfortunately, some officials at State are handling this in a determinedly low-key way, as if we never expect to get a penny for the victims. I question whether this approach will ever work, and it is clear that the press isn't taking it very seriously. For example, last week's meeting with the families at State produced hardly a line of type. Yesterday's presentation of our demand for reparation was reported this morning on pg. 15 of the Post and didn't even make the headlines of the Times.

We really haven't made a strong public case for reparations. Yet there are plenty of precedents: the Israelis paid compensation when they shot down a stray commercial airliner in 1973, the Bulgarians paid compensation after shooting down an airliner in 1955, and indeed the Soviets paid compensation after arbitration in the Hague in a similar admiralty case in 1905.

I confess that I haven't seen all the research and thinking that has gone into this issue at State, but I would like to suggest these steps:

(a) Serious consideration ought to be given to recruiting a high-powered international law firm, headed up by a major figure of Clark Clifford stature, to represent the families in various international tribunals, working closely with State and Justice. We need to have the best, most creative legal talent in the country working on this issue. Perhaps they won't succeed, but they represent our best hope of either winning in

court or mounting so much pressure on the Soviets that they in effect settle out of court. With a major legal figure in charge, we also have a much better chance of mobilizing public opinion.

(b) We need to expedite efforts to come up with a dollar amount to the claim. State officials were saying last week that the figure would be part of the package yesterday, but the latest word is that it may now take at least a month -- long after it will have an impact in pressuring the Soviets.

(c) We also need a major public document that we can present to the world on the case for compensation -- precedents, violations of law, etc., etc.

## (2) ICAO Meeting in Montreal

Reports reaching here indicate that the proceedings in Montreal starting Thursday will be a debate over a resolution of condemnation among 9 major nations, much like the Security Council debate. Each nation will have a lead spokesman, and all indications are that press coverage could be heavy.

Originally, serious consideration was given to having Elizabeth Dole head our U.S. delegation, and now I gather that Lynn Helms is emerging as the alternative. Can I suggest that Elizabeth be reconsidered:

- She is a much more forceful public advocate than Helms;
- She is much more effective with the press;
- There is much to be said for a woman to again lead the charge for the U.S. (Kirkpatrick did a superb job).

Nothing against Helms -- he can and he should be the leading U.S. representative in working out better safety arrangements internationally -- but with this emergency meeting of ICAO for this public purpose, Mrs. Dole would put our best foot forward.

## (3) Follow-up to Soviet Claims

There is some scepticism creeping into the press and to a minor degree into public thinking about our side of the story after all the public presentations here and in Moscow in recent days. Now that we have heard from the Soviets, I would recommend that a team pull together a comprehensive document tearing the Soviet case to shreds. We need to get that into the hands of editorial writers, columnists and others as quickly as possible.

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There are clearly other things to be done, but these are all steps that, in my view, would be very helpful.