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# Introduction

In the early morning of September 1, an unidentified aircraft entered Soviet airspace. The jet overflew sensitive Soviet military installations on Kamchatka Peninsula and the Soviet island of Sakhalin near Japan. After two and a half hours in Soviet airspace, the aircraft was taken out by the Russians. Right away the American government took to the airwaves to announce that the Soviets had shot down a civilian aircraft which had supposedly "strayed off course." The U.S. claimed moment-to-moment familiarity by radar with the course and outcome of the flight, which they identified as Korean Air Lines (KAL) Flight 007, bound for Seoul, South Korea after refueling in Anchorage, Alaska. Aboard were 269 passengers and crew, including ultra-right-wing U.S. Congressman Larry McDonald of Marietta, Georgia.

The U.S. tabloids started dutifully screaming for Russian blood. Outside this country, though, the capitalist news media anticipated and echoed the Soviet press agency, TASS, in demanding: What was the Korean passenger jet doing deep in Soviet territory? What are the Americans up to?

On September 7, when our new issue of *Workers Vanguard* went to press, it headlined from its front page: "Reagan's Story Stinks!" Zeroing in on the multiple absurdities of the Reagan administration's early accounts, *WV* evaluated the Soviets' first press dispatches (which we also reprinted) as evidently truthful—Flight 007 looked like a warplane and behaved like one. The 747 jumbo jet, flying in the dark, refused to respond to Soviet radio contact and took evasive action instead of landing when accosted by Russian interceptor planes. We denounced the sending of 200-plus unknowing civilian airline passengers deep inside Soviet airspace as bait in the service of Reagan's insane war drive. From the beginning, we were clear that this was no "mere" Korean CIA spying overflight gone wrong, but stank of deliberate provocation, with the full connivance (at least) of the U.S. government.

Meanwhile, the U.S. capitalist press was still struggling to hold the line against massive international disbelief in Reagan's fabric of lies. But even the ultra-Establishment *New York Times* (which in moments when it really counts takes the most servile posture toward U.S. government disinforma-

tion—witness its knowing concealment during the JFK/CIA "Bay of Pigs" invasion of Cuba in 1961) had to acknowledge the mounting evidence of intent by the Americans—for example, the close coordination of movements between KAL Flight 007 and an American RC-135 military spy plane. Nonetheless the capitalist media loyally refrained from putting the pieces of the picture together to show provocation made in U.S.A. They continued to hypocritically blame the Russians for the death of the 007 passengers and to rally behind the vicious American calls for "retribution": the acts of mock war against Soviet UN delegation head Gromyko's landing rights, the attempted imperialist economic sanctions, etc.

This pamphlet aims to present very clearly what we firmly believe is the truth about the provocative mission of KAL Flight 007 in Soviet airspace. And it aims to explain why Marxists say that the capitalist U.S. government must continue to shed innocent blood in pursuit of its sinister global ambitions. The pamphlet contains three front-page articles from the Spartacist press: one from *WV* No. 337 (9 September), one from the September issue of our youth press, *Young Spartacus*, which appeared a week later, and one from *WV* No. 338 (23 September) a week after that. These articles document the exposures surrounding KAL 007 as they emerged and analyze from a Marxist revolutionary standpoint the evident political/military aims of this "Mission Provocation." We include the related materials and illustrations which accompanied these three articles, as well as our 9 September non-obituary for Congressman Larry McDonald, the 007 passenger most likely to have died happily for global anti-Communism. In preparing the pamphlet, typographical errors have been corrected.

The Spartacist League press told the truth about KAL 007 because we are not blinded by the class ideology of this country's rulers—and because we are not muzzled by fear of confronting "the Russian question." Thus our published views in the heat of the KAL 007 crisis contrast sharply with those of America's other self-styled "left" papers. The reformist "left" has as its central perspective the attempt to make an "anti-Reagan" bloc with the Democratic Party, the people who brought you

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reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 337, 9 September 1983

# Mission 007: Cold War Provocation Reagan's Story Stinks!



SEPTEMBER 6—When Korean Air Lines Flight 007 took off after refueling in Anchorage, Alaska in the early morning hours of August 31, it headed southwest down the international corridor known as R-20, the closest of five air lanes to the Soviet peninsula of Kamchatka. Some time after it passed the last American radar checkpoint in the Aleutians, it apparently veered off to the right and thereafter followed a steady course some 300 miles to the west of its assigned path. According to ABC-TV, two hours after takeoff "it passed over one of Russia's most sensitive

military installations, the submarine base at Petropavlovsk" on the southern tip of Kamchatka.

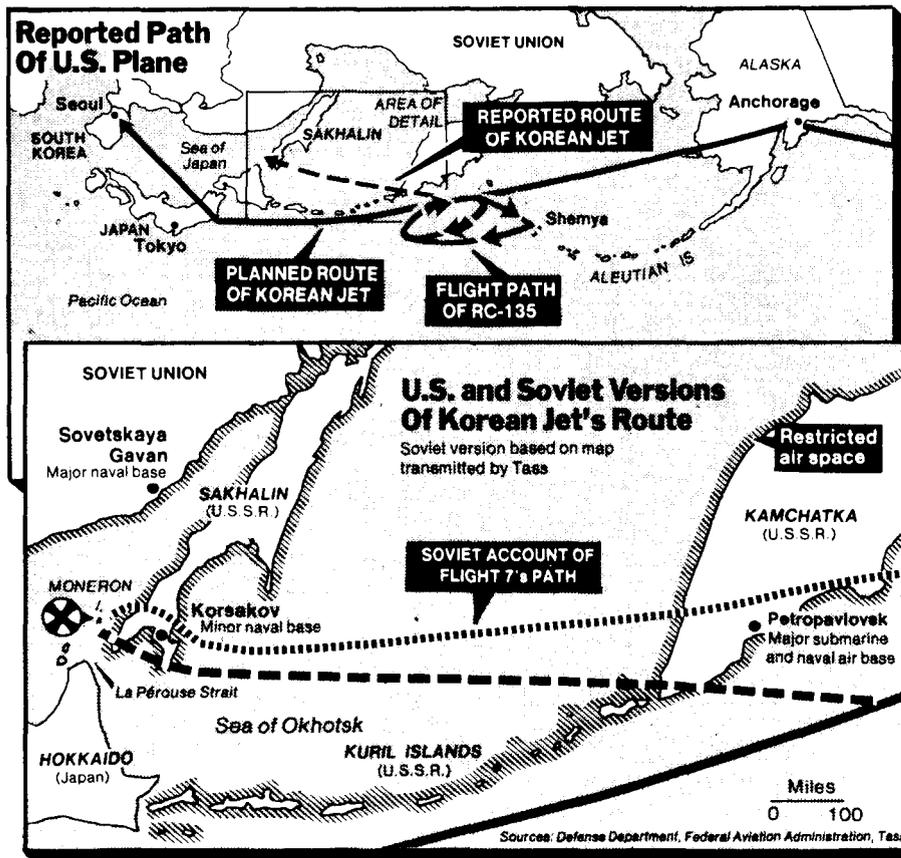
In response to this blatant violation of Soviet airspace, KAL Flight 007 was picked up by Soviet radar and pursued by Soviet fighter planes as it crossed the Sea of Okhotsk inside the Kuril Islands chain. Two hours later, shortly after 3:00 a.m. Japanese time, the plane overflew the Soviet island of Sakhalin passing near the Korsakov air and naval base. Continuing its course would have taken the jetliner over the port of Vladivostok, home of the Soviet Pacific

fleet. But Western reports say that at 3:38 a.m. the South Korean Boeing 747 jet plunged into the sea just off Sakhalin, taken out by the Soviets.

Now Ronald Reagan accuses the Russians of the "Korean Air Line massacre," an "act of barbarism" by an evil society in which "shooting down a plane... with hundreds of innocent men, women, children and babies, is part of their normal procedure." What shameless hypocrisy! Who took the civilian passengers as hostages on this cold-blooded Cold War provocation in the first place? This criminal game of "chicken" by the Korean military pilots, with the cooperation (at least) of U.S. and Japanese authorities who were closely tracking Flight 007, was more heinous than any hijacking. A Soviet TV commentator compared it to the Nazis, pointing out that "when the Hitlerites attacked, they forced women and children in front of them."

It is highly suspicious that the U.S. government seemed immediately to know all about the incident while Moscow was patently still trying to figure out what the hell *did* happen. (P.S. So are we, and so is the rest of the world, except for the most rabid chauvinists.) The plane certainly didn't "stray off course," it deliberately *changed* course, and not just in any direction but heading straight toward Seoul and passing over a succession of military bases. Flying without navigational lights, KAL 007 refused to follow repeated radio and visual instructions by Soviet interceptors to land. When challenged over Sakhalin, it engaged in evasive action. Clearly this was a deliberate provocation, and if it wasn't a preplanned spy mission, it might as well have been.

If the government of the Soviet Union knew that the intruding aircraft was in



What was the sinister mission of Flight 007? Its flight path over the most militarily sensitive areas of the USSR was a deliberate anti-Soviet provocation.

NY Times

fact a commercial passenger plane containing 200-plus innocent civilians, despite the potential military damage of such an apparent spying mission, if they deliberately destroyed the airplane and its occupants, then, to paraphrase the French, the act of shooting it down would have been worse than a barbaric atrocity, it would have been an idiocy worthy of the Israelis. But the piecemeal facts and obvious falsifications argue that this was not the case, and something resembling what really might have gone on is rapidly being pieced together internationally.

What are the Americans up to? As a statement by the Soviet news agency TASS [printed on page 8] put it, it "is necessary to find out the truth on who and for what purposes sent this plane to Soviet airspace." As the Russians have pointed out, Washington badly wanted an incident that would give it an excuse to break off or sidetrack arms control negotiations and undercut demonstrations against the stationing of new U.S. missiles in Europe this fall. Meanwhile, they would like to put the Soviets in a situation like in 1919: no trade, no communication, no transportation, a complete world blockade. This isn't 1919 and it won't work. But that's the meaning of the ban on Aeroflot landings, begun by Reagan's flunky in Canada. This deadly provocation is preparation for imperialist war.

The U.S. evidently needs about a two-year buildup for war with Russia. It's insane, but then the Reaganites are insane. And to whip up war hysteria, their battle cry will be "Remember the



AP  
The real perpetrator of barbarism, Ronald Reagan. Innocent airline passengers were used as hostages in Cold War provocation against USSR.

Korean Air Line Massacre." Reagan's version of Teddy Roosevelt's "Remember the Maine." As Trotskyists we unconditionally militarily defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack because it embodies gains of the first workers revolution overthrowing capitalism, despite the bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin and his heirs. While rad-libs and reformists fell prey to Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade over Afghanistan, we hailed the Red Army fighting against Islamic reactionaries. We have exposed Washington's "yellow rain" hoax and the phony "KGB kill pope plot." From the Caribbean to Poland, we have defended the Soviet bloc deformed workers states against counterrevolution, and today vigilance is more necessary than ever in defending the homeland of the October Revolution.

### 007 Big Lie

We offer below some of the innumerable contradictions in the American story. To begin with: how did the South Korean airliner get over Soviet airspace in the first place? Reagan suggests mistaken information fed into the plane's computer or machine malfunction, "no one will ever know." At least he hopes so. But the KAL 747 carried three state-of-the-art inertial navigational systems made by

Litton Industries, which cross-check on each other. According to the *New York Times* (3 September) "the odds against more than one computer malfunctioning are enormous." Before being fed in, the coordinates are supposed to be checked by a second crew member. In addition the plane had a weather radar which can pick up land masses up to 200 miles away, and standard operating procedure along route R-20, because it is so close to Soviet territory, is to point the radar down and scan at every waypoint. Was it possible, Ted Koppel asked on ABC's "Nightline," that you had a problem with the computer, *and* the lights were out, *and* the radio wasn't working? "To have them all fail simultaneously or even in close sequence, the odds against it are astronomical," answered Captain Tom Ashwood, vice president of the Airline Pilots Association.

Then there is the course followed by Flight 007 once it left the standard route. "The plane did not veer off suddenly in some completely random direction," said a senior intelligence official, "It was on the wrong path for several hours, never deviating from a line that would have taken it straight to Seoul" (*New York Times*, 4 September). While intentionally flying through Soviet airspace was "unthinkable" to experienced pilots, officials said other

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explanations like machine malfunction are "even more unlikely." And there can be no doubt that all pilots on the route are aware of the danger. The most widely used navigational map, the Jeppesen, carries a specific warning over Sakhalin Island saying that aircraft flying over Soviet territory "may be fired on without warning" (see illustration). The pilots of Flight 007 knew what they were doing.

This was further demonstrated by the plane's actions after being pursued by Soviet interceptors. According to the U.S., Russian fighters scrambled to chase the plane as soon as it passed over Kamchatka, but at no time in the next 2-1/2 hours did the KAL pilots radio to American or Japanese air controllers that they were in trouble. When approaching Sakhalin Island, the plane radioed its position to Tokyo airport as longitude 147 east, latitude 41 north. The press speculates they may have had the coordinates reversed, but then the plane swerved directly west across the Korsakov naval-air base. At 3:12 a.m., according to the U.S., Soviet pilots reported visual contact with the plane. At 3:15 a.m., again without reporting any problems, Flight 007 requested permission from Tokyo to climb to 35,000 feet, which it did without receiving permission. As a *Philadelphia Inquirer* (4 September) article pointed out,

"...to interceptor pilots, who want to force the intruder to land, that is defiant action...he may have been trying to shake the fighters as [former National Security Agency director and former CIA deputy director Admiral] Inman speculated."

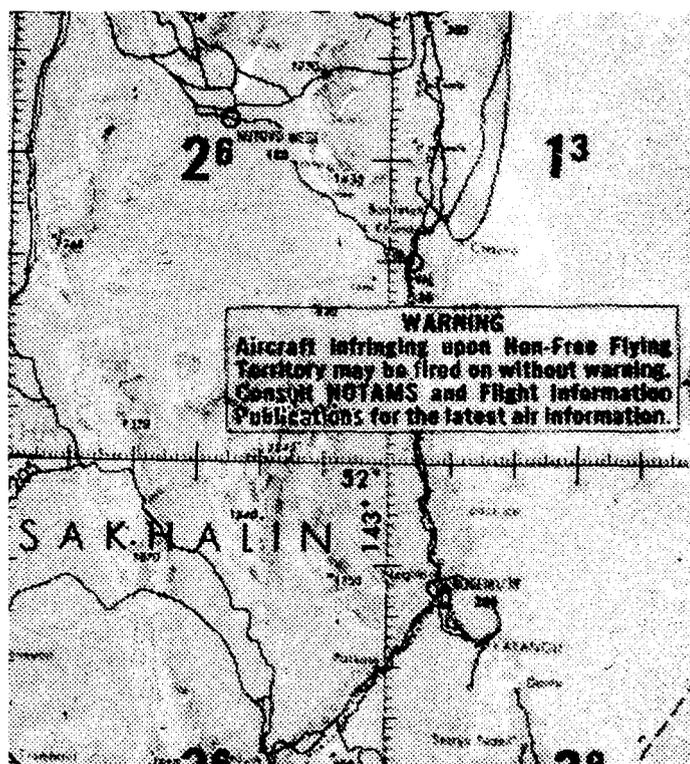
What, then, about the Japanese air controllers, U.S. and Japanese "communications monitors" who were closely tracking the plane? The Americans claim to know precisely when Soviet radar picked up the KAL plane, how many fighters were sent after it, what the pilots said to their ground control. The Japan Defense Agency said its radar showed the plane crossing Sakhalin Island. But, noted the *Washington Post* (2 September), "Despite the monitoring, there are no reports of anybody's warning the flight that it was badly off course. Nor is there any indication that the pilot radioed for help or sounded alarmed." And, as TASS points out, no one bothered to inform Soviet authorities either. So why wasn't there any attempt to notify *anyone*? One only has to recall the imperialist fury against Gary Powers, the U-2 pilot in 1960, for having brought his crippled plane down and lived, rather than dying in a fiery

crash—which would have let Washington go on peddling the lie that it was only a "weather flight." These are supposed to be suicide missions if you get caught. The KAL pilot did his job.

Then there is the 22-hour gap between when the airliner went down and when it was reported by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz. Everyone remembers the Rosemary Woods 18-minute gap, of Watergate fame, but this one is of monumental proportions. Especially considering, as the *Washington Post* put it, "somebody's radar knew a great deal about the progress of Flight 007." The U.S. claims it didn't know the KAL jetliner was in trouble until *after* it was downed, and excuses the delay with the difficulties of translating from Russian to Japanese to

first place, Reagan in his speech last night said "the 747 has a unique and distinctive silhouette... there is no way a pilot could mistake this for anything other than a civilian airliner." Wrong. There is a military plane which has *exactly* the profile of a Boeing 747, namely the E4B. Ronald Reagan is certainly familiar with this, since they are used as command-and-control centers for nuclear warfare. The Soviets have also said that their pilot might have mistaken the 747 for an AWACS radar plane. The AWACS has a bubble on the top; a 747 has a bulge. At 3:30 a.m., a Soviet pilot who probably had never seen a 747 before, since they aren't in the habit of straying into Russian airspace, might well have thought he had an

**Standard navigation map provided for international airliners warns against flying over militarily sensitive Soviet area.**



English. Both of these claims are contradicted in press reports. The *Washington Post* (3 September) reports that "intelligence specialists... listen to air communications as they take place," and that "the information arrived in Washington sooner than has been publicly acknowledged." Besides which, if the evidence is so conclusive, why haven't the unexpurgated tapes been played for public consumption?

What about the Soviet side? At the United Nations, the American delegate accused the Russians of "wanton, calculated, deliberate murder." The Soviets say that they were not aware that the intruding plane was a commercial airliner. Whom to believe? In the

AWACS in his sights, a particularly dangerous aircraft.

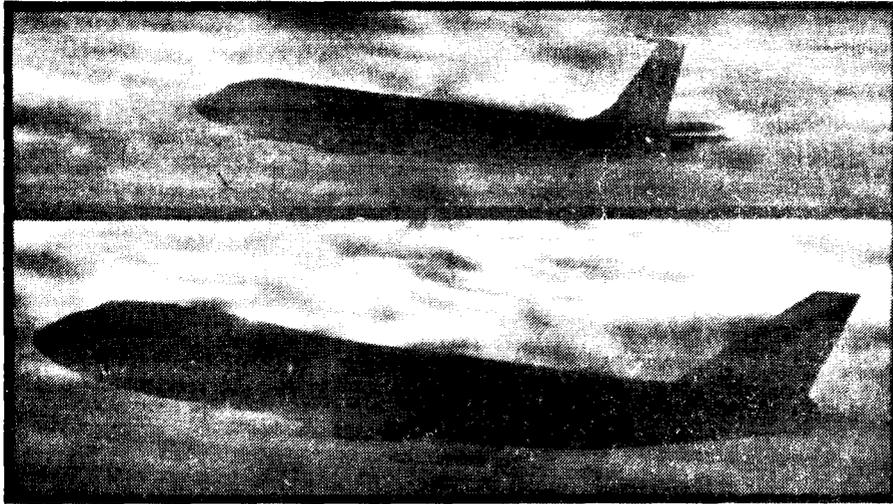
And the RC 135, a U.S. spy plane that was admittedly in the area and even crossed the flight path of KAL 007? Washington said nothing about this until House Democratic leader Jim Wright inadvertently leaked that the Russians at first identified the South Korean airliner as an RC135. Yesterday's *Pravda* reported that the U.S. had seven RC135s flying off the Soviet Far East during this time period, in addition to three American naval vessels. "I'm sorry it was ever mentioned," said Senate Democratic leader Robert Byrd. So, no doubt, is Ronald Reagan. But the fact is that Washington does conduct

aerial surveillance of the Soviet Union on a 24-hour basis. Spies-in-the-sky are not limited to satellites. Moreover, the United States now concedes that the one RC135 they admit to was tracking the KAL 747. Curiouser and curiouser.

### "We Don't Spy and We Don't Lie"—Oh, No?

The 2 September *New York Times* quoted Major General George Keegan, former chief of Air Force intelligence, saying:

"I have never failed to be surprised at how careless the Koreans are, despite the risks of flying near Soviet airspace.



L'Express

**Reagan's Big Lie: "There is no way a pilot could mistake this for anything other than a civilian airliner." Oh, no? A month later, *New York Times* (7 October) reports, "U.S. Experts Say Soviet Didn't See Jet Was Civilian."**

Despite all that the Soviets had there, the Koreans continued to fly too close. The Koreans continued to bruise the Soviets on this. What happened today they invited."

A Korean predilection for playing with fire, perhaps? There is indeed a precedent of another KAL flight, in April 1978, which belligerently intruded on Soviet airspace and was shot down. On that occasion, the South Korean airliner flew north from London on a polar flight, headed west over Greenland and then doubled back, 1,000 miles off course, flying straight over the strategic naval base at Murmansk on the Kola Peninsula. That time, as well, the South Korean pilot took evasive action... and received a blast of machine-gun fire from Soviet fighters. An "enormous navigation error"?

Washington is pretending that civilian airliners never spy, or at least not for the "free world." Ha! In the first place, there are the "routine reconnaissance" flights of the U-2 or SR71s. Then there are the more than 400 American "listening posts" surrounding the Soviet

Union, from Helsinki to Hokkaido. And the use of commercial flights for espionage against the Soviet bloc is hardly novel. John le Carré's novel, *The Looking Glass War*, begins with a scene of a British intelligence agent waiting in Finland for the pilot of a civilian airliner contracted to go off course and photograph sensitive installations in East Germany. Impossible? In the *Philadelphia Inquirer* interview, ex-NSA chief Inman said that the U.S. did not use passenger planes for spy missions, because it had adequate information from satellites. Of course, the U.S. "might at one time have used commer-

cial aircraft for spying, 'perhaps in the Berlin Corridor'... but that is supposedly ancient history.

On the 1 September program of ABC-TV's "Nightline," former CIA director (under Democratic president Jimmy Carter) Stansfield Turner repeatedly referred to Soviet "paranoia" about intrusions into their airspace. Paranoia, but explicable paranoia. "When the Koreans five years ago went 1,000 miles into Soviet territory, and then have done it again this time, I think that makes them suspicious." And "paranoia" with good reason. What Hitler's Germany did to Soviet Russia was Pearl Harbor on a giant scale, the equivalent of seizing and destroying all of the U.S. east of the Mississippi. Meanwhile, the USSR is besieged by American imperialism in every known malicious way, forced into a giant arms race, penetrated, damaged, you name it. In fact, a good part of the Western tourists, newsmen, scholars, etc., etc. that do turn up in and around the Soviet Union are spies. Take for example the 1980 salvage operation on the HMS *Edin-*

*burgh* related in the book *Stalin's Gold* by Barrie Penrose. Presumably a straight commercial venture, yet a British "scientist" involved attempted to set off underwater charges in order to run tests in the shallow seas just off Murmansk.

And then the 747 is supposed to be the preeminently civilian aircraft. Never mind that it was originally designed as the world's largest military transport with a cargo capacity of 75 tons (almost double any other commercial plane). It's not hard to imagine KAL's Flight 007 with 30 Korean military men down in the freight compartment with various kinds of sensing devices: who would know the difference? And the South Koreans are not novices at this game. Ernest Volkman, "national security editor" of *Defense Science* magazine, said in an interview broadcast by the Canadian CBC network on September 2 the Korean Air Lines, among others, was "notorious" for placing "special sensors and photo equipment" on board their planes. He also noted that "the pilots and crews of Korean planes are all military personnel." In fact, the pilot of KAL Flight 007, Colonel Chung Byung, was the airline's senior 747 skipper, who piloted Korean dictator Chun Do Hwan to Washington when he visited the U.S. in 1981.

But it's not some kind of Korean specialty. The *New York Times* (2 September) noted that "this week's incident came against the backdrop of an aggressive American effort to develop technical intelligence penetration of the Sea of Okhotsk over more than 30 years and after more than a score of such incidents..." The purpose of aircraft penetration would not only be for surveillance but also to test Soviet responses.

In particular, the Pentagon and NATO strategists are concerned to thwart a supposed primeval Russian drive to conquer access to "warm water ports." Located atop the Eurasian land mass, the Soviets can reach the high seas only through four main passages. On the northwest, the Red Banner Fleet based in Murmansk must pass through the narrow passage between Norway's North Cape and the Arctic ice pack. The Baltic Fleet operating out of Leningrad must traverse the shallow Oresund between Denmark and Sweden. To the south, the Soviet navy operating out of Odessa in the Black Sea is bottled in by the Dardenelles. And in the Far East, ships leaving Vladivostok must either go through the La Pérouse Strait between the Soviet island of Sakhalin and the

Japanese island of Hokkaido or pass the Tsushima Strait between Korea and Japan. In the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, the tsar's Far Eastern fleet was destroyed at Tsushima. Today the imperialists seek to close off these strategic routes of access.

The Americans would like to repeat Britain's (successful) tactics against the German navy during World War II, when they destroyed the U-boats as they came out of their pens, from Hamburg to the Bay of Biscay. This military-strategic calculation underscores the importance of the Soviet naval base at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam (and explains Washington's obsession with it). Likewise, it highlights the importance of opposing the U.S. imperialists' attempts to forge a string of anti-Soviet naval bases from the Cape of Good Hope through Diego Garcia, Trincomalee (Sri Lanka) and Singapore to Japan.

A recent critical study, "Pacific Command: The Structure and Strategy of the U.S. Military," notes that:

"...the homewaters of the Soviet Pacific fleet is the almost landlocked Sea of Japan. By building up its forces in the Northwest Pacific the U.S. Navy hopes to 'cramp' the Soviets in their prime base of operations, thus depriving them of the maneuvering space provided by the high seas. As the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff put it in their recent annual 'Defense Posture,' a major U.S. advantage 'is the ability of American forces—including those in Japan and Korea—to bottle up the Soviets' Pacific Fleet at Vladivostok.'

"This strategy of high confrontation is, of course, accompanied by war plans to insure preparedness if an 'incident' occurs....

"To prepare for the possibility of such a swift knock-out punch in the Sea of Japan, a massive deployment of forces is currently taking place in the area.... "This naval buildup in the Northwest Pacific has been accompanied by U.S. saber-rattling. Current Pacific command chief Admiral Robert Long, for instance, told an astonished Japanese correspondent, 'This region [the Pacific], I believe, is most probably where we shall witness a confrontation with the Soviet Union'."

—Walden Bello, Peter Hayes and Lyuba Zarsky, "Preparing for War in the Pacific," *CounterSpy*, September-November 1983

### South Korea: Launching Pad for World War III?

The Koreans have acquired a pretty bad odor in Washington, what with the stench of corruption over "Koreagate" and the issue of maintaining U.S. troops at a cost of a few hundred million dollars

a year or more. Moreover, Reagan is due to meet President Chun in November (on his Asian tour which includes a visit to murderous Philippines dictator Marcos). Perhaps the provocation-minded quislings in Seoul decided they could hand their American godfathers a present. Engineered by the KCIA, seconded by the CIA, no doubt they could bring in the Japanese as accomplices—after all, it would take place over the Kurils and southern Sakhalin, both claimed by Tokyo.

The South Koreans evidently aspire to play the role of Israel in the Far East. KAL pilots, like those of El Al, are on military service, whether openly or "in reserve." Such local allies of U.S. imperialism can play an explosive role. The Israelis, for example, are said to be "only a screwdriver turn away" from having an atomic bomb. They have local delivery systems, but not long-range rockets. If they wanted to try to hit Russia, they would have to drop it off a plane with a 5,000-mile radius. So some of those El Al 747s may well be fitted with bomb bays. They're subsonic, and it's a very primitive system requiring a lot of luck. But they're probably better performers than the American B52s. If an Israeli 747 approached the Soviets' southern perimeter, you can bet they'd try to interdict it. And who's to say a KAL jetliner couldn't serve the same purpose against the USSR's most strategic Far Eastern installations?

As the *New York Times* (3 September) noted in passing, "The

airliner incident could hardly have come at a worse moment for Soviet efforts to generate support for the Western antinuclear movement and the campaign to halt American missile deployments in Western Europe this year. This fact alone makes any Soviet motivation for the incident inexplicable...." In contrast, Reagan's interest in generating an "incident" to show that the "godless Communists" lie, cheat and steal is self-evident.

Reagan's efforts to use the shooting down of KAL flight 007 to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria have encountered increasing skepticism, especially outside the United States. If Reagan is holding back from major new economic sanctions against the USSR, it is because he knows that the West Europeans and Japanese won't go along. But whether or not the Korean plane provocation succeeds in further inflaming anti-Soviet sentiment here and abroad, the rulers of U.S. imperialism are on a headlong war drive against the Soviet Union. They have in their hands the means to destroy civilization and they will not be restrained by the universal horror of nuclear war. Only socialist revolution—by disarming the capitalist class—can prevent imperialism from unleashing its awesome technology of death.

Meanwhile, over 200 innocent civilian travelers are dead, not the first and, surely, not the last in this mad game on the road to the threatened nuclear holocaust engulfing us all. ■

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# TASS Exposes Flight 007 Provocation

MOSCOW, September 1 (TASS)—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 Aug. 31 to Sept. 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 antiaircraft defense, which were sent aloft towards 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. ■

MOSCOW, September 2 (TASS)—As it has already been reported, on the night from August 31 to September 1 this year, an unidentified plane had rudely violated the Soviet state border and intruded deep into the Soviet Union's airspace. The intruder plane had deviated from the existing international route in the direction of the Soviet Union's territory by up to 500 kilometers and spent more than two hours over the Kamchatka Peninsula, the area of the Sea of Okhotsk and the island of Sakhalin.

In violation of international regulations the plane flew without navigation lights, did not react to radio signals of the Soviet dispatcher services and made no attempts to establish such communications contact.

It was natural that during the time the unidentified intruder plane was in the U.S.S.R. airspace Soviet antiair defense aircraft were ordered aloft, which repeatedly tried 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. The intruder plane, however, ignored all this. 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.

Now a hullabaloo has been raised in the U.S.A. and some other countries around the disappearance of a South Korean plane carrying out a flight from New York to Seoul.

One's attention is drawn to the fact that already in the first report about this reference was made to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Further reports emanating from the United States provide increasingly more grounds to consider that the itinerary and the nature of the flight were not accidental. It is indicative that now, post factum, the American side not only officially admits the fact of that plane's violation of Soviet airspace, but also cites data which indicate that the

relevant U.S. services followed the flight throughout its duration in the most attentive manner.

So one may ask that if it were an ordinary flight of a civil aircraft which was under continuous observation, then why were there not taken any steps from the American side to end the gross violation of the airspace of the U.S.S.R. and to get the plane back to an international flight route?

Why the American authorities, which now resort to all kinds of dirty insinuations about the U.S.S.R., did not try to establish contact with the Soviet side and provide it with the necessary data about this flight? Neither was done, although there was more than ample time for this.

It is appropriate to recall that instances of deliberate violation of the state frontiers of the Soviet Union by American planes, including in the Far East, are far from rare. Protests have repeatedly been lodged with the U.S. Government over that matter.

In the light of these facts the intrusion into the airspace by the mentioned plane cannot be regarded in any other way than a preplanned act. It was obviously thought possible to attain special intelligence aims without hindrance using civilian planes as a cover.

More than that, there is reason to believe that those who organized this provocation had deliberately desired a further aggravation of the international situation striving to smear the Soviet Union, to sow hostility to it and to cast aspersions on the Soviet peaceloving policy.

This is illustrated also by the impudent, slanderous statement in respect of the Soviet Union that was instantly made by President Reagan of the United States.

Tass is authorized to state that in the leading circles of the Soviet Union regret is expressed over the loss of human life and at the same time a resolute condemnation of those who consciously or as a result of criminal disregard have allowed the death of people and are now trying to use this occurrence for unseemly political aims. ■

MOSCOW, September 3 (TASS)—Washington is feverishly covering up traces of the provocation staged against the Soviet Union with the utilization of the South Korean plane, which has flown out of the United States and intruded into the Soviet

Union's airspace.

The White House and the Department of State are mounting a worldwide rabid anti-Soviet campaign. The tone is set by the U.S. President. In his statement permeated with

frenzied hatred and malice for the Soviet State, for Socialism, using as a cover-up bombastic phrases about "humanism" and "noble feelings," the head of the White House is trying to convince public opinion that the U.S.S.R. allegedly is guilty of loss of life. Issuing forth torrents of vicious abuses, representatives of the U.S. Administration want to avoid answering clear questions: Why did the plane happen to find itself in the airspace of the Soviet Union, deviating by 500 kilometres from the existing international route? Why did the authorities of the U.S. and Japan, whose air traffic controlling services control flights of planes on this route, knowing that the plane had remained for a long time in Soviet airspace, had not taken appropriate measure to put an end to this flagrant violation of the sovereignty of the Soviet Union?

U.S. journalists also have been putting these questions to the U.S. Administration, and each time its representative has been wriggling out of answering them. However, the answer is necessary to find out the truth on who and for what purposes sent this plane to Soviet airspace.

Let us quote a statement on this score, which was made on French television by General Gallois, a specialist of France in strategic issues. He declared: "the Soviet armed forces have two zones which may be considered as being top secret; the area of Murmansk in the Kola Peninsula and the zone of the Sea of Okhotsk, where the Kamchatka Peninsula and the island of Sakhalin are situated." There are, the general said, "a considerable part of the Soviet Navy concentrated and intercontinental ballistic missile testing facilities located there." General Gallois recalled that several years ago the Soviet Air Force in the area of the Kola Peninsula compelled what also was a "South Korean" plane to land. Now an aircraft of the same company emerges in another strategically important area of the U.S.S.R. The scientific commentator of the French television program TF-1 summed up explicitly what had happened: "the Boeing 747 deliberately veered off course with the purpose of performing an intelligence mission."

Professor Stephen Meyer from the Massachusetts Technological Institute said that in the existing conditions the corresponding Soviet bodies had every reason to suspect that the plane was fulfilling an intelligence mission over a strategically important area.

U.S. officials are striving to prove that all this is "mere coincidence," that the plane "wandered off its flight path," that it "lost communication contact," etc. What "loss of communication contact" can it be, if the U.S. authorities admitted that they had been following the flight throughout its duration? The flimsiness of the attempts of the White House to justify the "appearance of the South Korean plane in the airspace of the Soviet Union by some technical malfunction" is also made obvious by the statements of the former head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Japanese armed forces, at present the military observer of the newspaper "Mainichi Shimbun" G. Takeda. "With 'Boeing' having a computer on board, two pilots and a system of double-triple checking, the deviation of the plane of the South Korean air company looks more than strange," he writes in this newspaper. This is also confirmed by a report published by The New York Times.

Materials, which were made public by the Japanese news agency Kyodo, prove the discourse of U.S. Administration spokesmen about some "technical troubles" on the intruder plane to be wholly untenable. Quoting sources which had been carefully monitoring that flight, the news agency reported that "the South Korean liner's radio communications with Japanese air traffic controller stations had been maintained almost until the very moment of the plane's disappearance."

Thus, the Washington version that the plane's radio equipment got out of order and that its crew could not respond to the signals given to it does not correspond to reality. This is confirmed also by the fact, reported by Kyodo, that more than an hour after the Soviet planes' first attempt to establish contact with the Boeing, a telegram was sent from aboard the plane, which said, in particular, "the plane's navigational equipment is operating normally."

According to Australian newspapers, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency followed the plane's flight most closely. A BBC broadcast pointed out that U.S. and Japanese tracking services had been continuously tracking the South Korean plane over the entire length of its route but had not adopted measures to correct its path.

The Western press reported also that the crews of the South Korean liners on this route are made up solely of air force pilots.

The Australian newspaper Sydney Morning Herald pointed out, in its turn, that the South Korean plane could have been taken in the Soviet Union for a U.S. spy plane since on radars it looked like an intelligence plane of the U.S. Air Force, and that it could also well be mistaken for a U.S. E4B bomber.

All this corroborates the fact that the corresponding U.S. services had a direct relation to this provocation. The conclusion drawn by the New York correspondent of the Australian radio and television network ABC that the C.I.A.'s conduct in that whole affair appeared very suspicious, therefore, looks to have its grounds. Isn't it the involvement of the well-known terrorist center of the United States in the whole affair that caused U.S. State Department spokesman Hughes to sidestep on more than one occasion at a press conference in Washington journalists' questions of why the corresponding U.S. and Japanese services had not warned the plane that it had violated the airspace of the U.S.S.R. and why they had not guided it out of there.

In this connection, it is proper to ask: what the thoroughly hypocritical "sorrow" demonstrated by the White House is based on? Or does Mr. President believe that the very concept of national sovereignty no longer exists and one may intrude with impunity into the airspace of independent states? Or is he viewing the whole world now as a "zone of U.S. vital interests"?

There is one more side to this question. The U.S. President asks: How one can conduct negotiations with a state which is capable of such actions?

This phrase in itself explains a great deal. Why so? Because the U.S. Administration is going out of its way to disrupt the process of the normalization of the situation in the world, to evade solving problems facing the world which are vital to the interests of nations.

The head of the White House is shedding hypocritical tears over what has happened! More than once the world has witnessed the situation when Washington officials speak of "humaneness," while at the same time U.S. marines, acting in concert with Israeli aggressors, commit mass killings in Lebanon, when under the guidance of American instructors bandits perpetrate atrocities in sovereign Nicaragua and make short work of Salvadoran patriots. The world knows the worth of this "sorrow" and "concern for humaneness." Some time ago it brought about the killing of several million people in Indochina.

The purpose of this provocation with the plane is more than obvious. However, the Washington Administration will be unable to put the Soviet Union and its people in a bad light, as it is frantically trying to do these days. Its designs are frustrated by irrefutable facts. It will be impossible to cover up the traces of dirty deeds with the help of vicious abuses. ■

# Larry McDonald, All-Purpose Ultra-Rightist Portrait of a "Real American"

Larry McDonald is no longer among us. One of the nastiest enemies of human progress went down with the 007 Korean airliner on its mission of Cold War provocation over sensitive military installations in Soviet territory.

The U.S. capitalists cynically weep all over the front page and six o'clock news in mock sorrow for the passengers who were set up on the death-plane provocation against the USSR. But their tears for Larry McDonald are genuine. If those passengers were made hostages and then human sacrifices on the altar of anti-Sovietism, Larry McDonald might have been the only one of them to accept the mission as part of his anti-Communist duty. Indeed, here was a man who truly embodied the sinister purpose and hideous spirit behind that flight: as a focus for mass hysteria in the anti-Soviet war drive.

McDonald's congressional aides declared him the "first casualty of World War III." It is certainly their hope to have apocalypse now. War against the Soviet Union was McDonald's driving ambition, anti-Communism his obsession. Not only McDonald's friends, but his enemies as well—and these included nearly everyone to the left of Hitler—understood that there was something historically appropriate, nearly poetic, about his being shot out of the sky by the Russians.

Larry McDonald's wife—who wants to inherit his witchhunter's seat in the House of Representatives—and the rest of the New Right think they have confirmed their wildest conspiratorial fantasies of Soviet malignancy. They insist the 007 was shot down to get their man. McDonald, who missed his scheduled flight to Seoul by only a few minutes, was one of a gaggle of ultrarightist U.S. politicians on their way to Seoul for a three-day privately funded celebration of the U.S./South Korea military alliance against the Soviet Union. Jesse Helms went as Reagan's representative. The whole gang of them regularly lobby for massive U.S. military and financial support to this "free world democracy" torture capital.

Universally acknowledged as the most right-wing member of Congress, McDonald was the head of the fanatic John Birch Society, a pillar of the New Right (a member of some 30 of their reactionary committees), the most vicious and active witchhunter in Congress using private agents provocateurs and official police agencies to stamp out "The Red Menace" under the beds or anywhere else. He was a racist who called even the liberal Martin Luther King a Communist "wedded to violence." He opposed everything from abortion to the Panama Canal treaty ("It's ours") to food stamps for the poor.

It isn't surprising that all the right-wing and fascistic elements in the U.S. are trying to make McDonald into an instant anti-Soviet martyr. About 100 Ku Klux Klan fascists in their white hoods of racist terror took over Marietta Square in McDonald's home district of Marietta, Georgia on Saturday. Their "memorial" to McDonald is the threat of burning crosses and lynch ropes for blacks. The race terrorists who work the fringes of the Cold War want to make McDonald and the 007 a battering ram in a racist and anti-Communist offensive.

The New Right's godfather and computer-mail fundraiser, Richard A. Viguerie (who helped fund McDonald's electoral campaigns), demanded that the entire month of September be observed as a national month of mourning. He wants all Americans to tie black ribbons around their trees. (For this suburban Wizard of Oz, ownership of a tree is evidence of citizenship.) The Moral Majority's televangelist for nuclear armageddon, Jerry Falwell, is planning a McDonald memorial mobilization in Marietta, Georgia on September 11, while the John Birch Society simultaneously broadcasts a film on "Communist subversion" on Ted Turner's national TV network. The Birch Society has demanded that the U.S. break diplomatic ties to the Soviet Union. And Jhoon Rhee, bigwig in the dangerous ultraright-wing Moonie cult, railed against the Soviets and hoped that through McDonald's death America would be "woken up." McDonald

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**CPUSA ORGANIZES ON AFRICAN LIBERATION:** A three page addendum (see Digest Report of the same date).....

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**Larry McDonald's lists. Police informer newsletter edited by McDonald associate for use of red squads for disrupting and spying on the left.**

served on a number of committees engaged in keeping the bucks flowing to South Korea's military dictatorship. He was closely connected with the private, tax-exempt outfit founded by two aides of Jesse Helms, the Institute on American Relations, which sponsored McDonald's fateful trip to Korea via Kamchatka. The Klan and the Moonies, the Moral Majority and the Birchites—all of them have made Larry McDonald a shrine for their wailing chorus of anti-Soviet hatred.

## Nut Case in the Cold War Mainstream

It is politically important that Larry McDonald will not only be mourned by Kluxers, Birchers and Moonies. Larry McDonald was a product of the far-right fringe, but the political mainstream has shifted his way. The renewed Cold War launched dramatically by Carter/Mondale and escalated during the Reagan years has given even Larry McDonald some political influence. Of course Jesse Helms is the prime example of yesterday's ultrarightist in the wings who is now at the center of political power.

When he died, Lawrence Patton (after General George Patton, he says) McDonald was 48 years old, a fourth-

term congressman from the district of Georgia which stretches from Atlanta to Tennessee including some affluent suburbs. He had been a flight surgeon in the navy and was a captain in the naval reserve. He was a veteran member of the House Armed Services Committee, a member of the Special Armed Services Panel, and chairman of the House Special Operations Forces Panel.

An early member of the John Birch Society, McDonald became its chairman last March when founder Robert Welch retired at 83. The Birchers are not much different today than when they labeled President Eisenhower a "comm-symp," but they are gaining a wider audience. McDonald spent much of his time in Congress reading the tracts of the John Birch Society into the *Congressional Record* along with the names and supposed activities of leftists "discovered" by his private spy agency. McDonald received awards for Americanism from the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, and was named "the most conservative member of Congress" by Young Americans for Freedom. He even received an award from Chile's butcher Pinochet.

McDonald was not only a furious right winger—he was a certified crackpot. Like most American right-wing nuts, he had a medical angle. Larry McDonald was a doctor, "the only urologist in Congress," the *New York Times* noted. So he could carry out the program of the John Birch Society to cure the world of cancer through the apricot pit poison known as laetrile. According to the Birchers only the "Communist Conspiracy" (exerted often through that well-known Red Front, the AMA) prevented the American public from being cured of cancer. McDonald was the legislative representative for laetrile, but also as a practicing physician he prescribed it regularly. In 1978 he was sued by the family of an Alabama postal worker who died under McDonald's laetrile "cure." The family claimed McDonald was engaged in "quackery" when standard medical treatment could have been effective. The court forced McDonald to pay the family \$15,000, but did not find him guilty of "wrongful death" (*New York Times*, 6 February 1978).

McDonald seemed to exhibit the stuff of parody of the right-wing crackpot. According to an article in *CounterSpy* (Spring 1976), he had "some sexual problems centered around his extreme versions of patriotism." The details are left to the imagination, but one is forcefully reminded of the character

General Jack D. Ripper in *Doctor Strangelove* who was obsessed with fear that the Communists were sapping his precious bodily fluids.

McDonald had a special hatred (and fear) of homosexuals. And here he had some success in Congress. Every year he offered his amendment to bar the use of Legal Aid funds to "promote, defend, or protect" homosexuality. The 1981 version passed the House overwhelmingly even as the Gay Men's Chorus was performing on the steps of the Capitol Building. More recently McDonald displayed his idea of humor suggesting that homosexuals should be assessed a "users tax" to pay for AIDS research. Then when this disgusting statement met with general revulsion, McDonald must have remembered how well gay-baiting worked for McCarthy as he responded: "Some of us thought it would be appropriate to have a user tax so that we could merely tax the participants of the program to finance it... But I'm afraid, with the current make-up of Congress, that we couldn't pass that. They (congressmen) would not want to raise taxes for themselves" (*Atlanta Constitution*, June 7).

### Witchhunter with a Drawn Gun

McDonald was certainly a right-wing crackpot, but no less dangerous for all that. He was one of the most sinister witchhunters in the United States. When he first arrived in Congress he tried to become a member of the new HUAC, but when it was abandoned, McDonald moved on his own.

As founder and chairman of Western Goals, McDonald had his most ominous project. Western Goals is a private tax-exempt multimillion-dollar high-tech operation to spy on the left and the rest of his political opponents. Western Goals is said to have computerized dossiers on more than a million "subversive" Americans—a computer bank which rivals the FBI's. Western Goals would supply "information" to the police and official U.S. spy agencies. A cozy relationship of exchange seems to have developed. Now there is a grand jury investigation of the relationship between Western Goals and the LAPD's "Red Squad" who, it is charged, gave Western Goals Los Angeles Police Department files.

Providing "research" for Western Goals is John Rees, the husband of Louise Rees, McDonald's Congressional aide. John Rees' (a.k.a. John Seeley) career included FBI and police informant, agent provocateur (along with his

wife), and editor of the police informer "newsletter" called *Information Digest*. The *Information Digest's* secret subscribers include the FBI, CIA and NSA. Immune from prosecution for libel as a Congressman, he could read the charges of *Information Digest* into the *Congressional Record*, and then others interested in blacklisting for instance could pick it up with the "authority" of the *Congressional Record*. Thus he was the central link in this chain of vigilante spying and disruption of the left. McDonald was particularly interested in the broad appeal of the 1976 campaign to save the Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz organized by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and supported by the Spartacist League. "The PDC's list of endorsers of the Muñoz campaign is very interesting and revealing," he said as he read pages of names into the *Congressional Record* in a lying attempt to connect them with "international terrorism."

Although McDonald liked the techniques of Joseph McCarthy, he was clearly engaged in the new style of witchhunting which falsely cites the left as "terrorist" in order to be able to blow them away. This is what happened to the Black Panthers. McDonald stood for and helped to pioneer the new McCarthyism with a drawn gun.

McDonald had formed his private spy agency to counter what he considered the Watergate exposures' "crippling" effect on illegal U.S. secret police spying. While the liberals were threatening to curb CIA/FBI "abuses," McDonald supplied one of the ways to keep it all going. What an example of government cooperation with private enterprise. Now with the new FBI guidelines providing for stepped-up infiltration of the left on the basis that political opposition is equivalent to terrorism, McDonald will be sorely missed by the secret police.

There is little question that if a fascist movement began to make its bid in America, Larry McDonald would have been part of it. We know that there will be other "Seven Days in May" types to take his place as the Congressional voice of anti-Communist police-state terror. Until the victorious workers revolution, the decaying capitalist system will continue to turn out its Larry McDonalds. A few years ago they were embarrassed by such types. Today their embarrassment is mixed with admiration—tomorrow in fear of a mobilized working class they could well turn to them. But for now one can only say that there is one less. ■

## Don't Mess With Russia!

# KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation

## Reagan's Story Stinks!

SEPTEMBER 13--The more facts that come to light about the downing of a Korean Air Lines 747 over the Soviet island of Sakhalin in the early morning hours of September 1, the more Reagan's story falls apart into evasions and downright falsehoods.

In a Soviet government statement on September 6, in interviews with the Soviet pilots involved and in a press conference with the chief of the Soviet General Staff—Marshal Nikolai V. Ogarkov—on September 9, the Soviet Union has presented a logical and consistent account, from their side, of the shooting down of KAL Flight 007, based on the results of a state commission of inquiry. Yet after a week in which every Soviet government statement on the subject was met with hypocritical cries of "lies," "coverup" and "massacre" from the Reagan administration, the U.S. government has not responded to the Soviets' account. Why? Because the Soviets have told the truth. The U.S. government has lied, and now all the unanswered questions are on the U.S. side. KAL 007 was deliberately flown into Soviet airspace as a provocation with the cooperation (at least) of the U.S. and Japanese authorities who were closely monitoring the flight. Who took the civilian passengers as hostages on the cold-blooded Cold War provocation in the first place? Reagan is engaging in some Moonie "heavenly deception" on that question.

According to the Soviet account, KAL Flight 007 departed from its path down the international flight corridor R-20 while still in the range of U.S. civilian and military radar. It entered

within Soviet radar range at the point at which American RC-135 reconnaissance planes normally operate, on a night in which at least one RC-135 was in the area on the same altitude, and after the RC-135 and the KAL 747 had flown in tandem for at least ten minutes. KAL 007 headed straight for the southern tip of Kamchatka peninsula, overflew the strategic Soviet naval base at Petropavlovsk, skirted Soviet SAM-5 ground-to-air missile batteries. The plane flew without navigational lights, did not respond to Soviet attempts from the air and from the ground to contact it on the international frequency 121.5 megacycles. KAL 007 emitted short coded radio signals of the type used to transmit intelligence information, and did not respond to signals from the four Soviet fighters who scrambled to intercept it.

Flight 007 continued over the Sea of Okhotsk to again enter Soviet airspace over the island of Sakhalin. This time it was intercepted by six Soviet fighters who tried to signal the plane to land, but the KAL jet "began to change simultaneously the direction, altitude and speed of flight, obviously trying to evade the air defense planes." Flight 007 overflew the Korsakov air and naval base on Sakhalin, again skirting missile batteries. Over the southwestern part of Sakhalin, the Soviets fired four warnings with tracer shells in a final attempt to warn the plane to land. When the plane continued its flight straight toward Seoul—its destination—which would have taken it over Vladivostok, the home port of the Soviet Pacific fleet, it was stopped by two heat-seeking missiles fired by a Soviet SU-15 fighter. The decision to stop a plane which had traveled for two-and-a-half hours 310 miles into Soviet airspace was made by the district commander of the Biya Air Defense Forces only after the Soviets had "exhausted all cautionary warning

devices at their disposal."

Three of the pilots of Soviet fighters who scrambled to intercept KAL 007 confirmed the Soviet government report. In an interview broadcast on Soviet television they all reported being convinced that the plane was a reconnaissance aircraft: one pilot thought perhaps it was a bomber (all U.S. spy planes would look *huge* compared to a Soviet fighter and, contrary to U.S. assertions, there is a military plane which has exactly the profile of a 747, the E4B, a converted 747 which is used as a command and control center for nuclear war). None of the Soviet pilots reported seeing any lights on the aircraft and the pilot who had scrambled over Kamchatka reported, "Even on the side of the dark area of the sky there were no signs of any illumination on the aircraft." Marshal Ogarkov explained references to the air navigation and strobe lights in the 11 minutes of tapes released by the U.S. (purporting to be the intercepted communications of the Soviet pilots with ground control) as one of the Soviet fighters reporting the lights of another Soviet fighter. While the transcript of these tapes released by the U.S. explicitly links a reference to blinking lights to "the target," it should be noted that the Soviet government denied the veracity of these tapes. When they were played by dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick for the UN Security Council, the *New York Times* (7 September) reported that "Russian-speaking Westerners said they could not decipher any meaning." Now the Americans have "revised" their initial transcripts of the tapes to include the Soviet fighter pilot reporting the firing of warning cannon shots at the exact minute the Russians said they were fired. Yet the U.S. government still claims that KAL 007 was never warned! Only Goebbels was



more brazen in pursuit of the big lie.

In "Reagan's Story Stinks!" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 337, we wrote:

"If the government of the Soviet Union knew that the intruding aircraft was in fact a commercial passenger plane containing 200-plus innocent civilians, despite the potential military damage of such an apparent spying mission, if they deliberately destroyed the airplane and its occupants, then, to paraphrase the French, the act of shooting it down would have been worse than a barbaric atrocity, it would have been an idiocy worthy of the Israelis. But the piecemeal facts and obvious falsifications argue that this was not the case, and something resembling what really might have gone on is rapidly being pieced together internationally."

It is now clear beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Russians had every reason to believe that KAL 007 was on a provocative spying mission, and no reason at all to believe that it was a civilian airliner which had mistakenly "strayed off course." The plane acted like a spy plane: that's what they thought it was. And the Japanese and the U.S. authorities, who so obviously tracked the flight, never gave the Russians any information to the contrary or any information at all!

### RC-135 Controller

The United States government has admitted the presence of an RC-135 spy plane in the area where the KAL 007 entered Soviet airspace. Reagan claims that the RC-135 was just on a "routine" mission, that it never violated Soviet airspace, flew no closer than 75 nautical miles to KAL 007 and was never aware that the KAL jet entered Soviet airspace. According to Marshal Ogarkov the RC-135 was flying a "strange" patrol of wide loops which converged with the flight path of the KAL jet (already off course). The two planes flew side by side for ten minutes, a maneuver which could only have been designed to confuse the Soviet air defense since the blips totally merged on the Soviet radar screen. Moreover, the RC-135 picked up electronic signals from the KAL jet and "must have been controlling the initial stage of the flight of the Boeing 747 and keeping track of the actions of our air defense system at that time."

Reagan's story is belied by all accounts of the espionage capability of the RC-135. According to the *New York Times* (5 September), RC-135s

"...provide access to certain Soviet military activity that cannot be obtained by satellites or high-flying reconnaissance planes, like the U-2 or the SR-71. Intelligence officials said, for example, that the planes normally fly missions designed to coincide with

Soviet Air Force exercises, allowing the American planes to track Soviet fighters in flight."

Moreover, the planes usually carry a "staff of technicians and translators from the National Security Agency." The RC-135 must have been in the air because the U.S. *expected* Soviet fighter activity that night, and it had the full capacity, at least in the early stages, of monitoring all Soviet radar and air defense activity around KAL 007's intrusion into Soviet airspace. According to the same *New York Times* article:

"Intelligence experts out of the Government, however, said that if the surveillance plane was operating anywhere near the path of the South Korean plane during the early phases of its encounter with Soviet aircraft, the American plane would likely have detected unusual Soviet air-defense activity. If so, they said, the crew of the plane could have taken steps to notify civilian air-traffic controllers in Japan."

On September 12 the brazen liars in the U.S. government released tapes which purport to show that KAL 007 had "radio" trouble. But these tapes substantially *confirm* the Soviet assertion that KAL 007 went off course while still within U.S. radar range. The tapes of KAL 007's communications (or more precisely lack thereof) with Anchorage ground control show that by the time the plane should have reached the second mandatory checkpoint for radio contact with Anchorage it could no longer contact ground control over the normal very high frequency (VHF)

radio. When KAL 007 was not heard from, ground control tried to reach it three times over VHF, with no intelligible response. Eventually KAL 007's pilot radioed another Korean jet which had left Anchorage 14 minutes after 007 did, and had that pilot radio to ground control that KAL 007 had passed the checkpoint. The sister Korean jet radioed KAL 007's position to ground control again at its next scheduled report time. Did KAL 007 have radio trouble? Then why did it have no trouble contacting Tokyo airport later? The *New York Times* (13 September) gives a hint of the real explanation:

"Technical experts said it was theoretically possible that Flight 7's communication problems could have been a result of mechanical malfunctions or atmospheric conditions. But the general immediate reaction was that the trouble was caused by the airliner's deviation from course to an area beyond the range of the VHF, or very high frequency, radio network."

VHF is the *normal* method of communicating with planes on R-20. The pilots of KAL 007 were experienced enough on R-20 to know the implications of being out of VHF range. The pilot knew he was out of range, i.e., *off of R-20 and off course*. But he was reporting his position to ground control as being on R-20, giving civilian air traffic controllers no cause for alarm, says the U.S. government. Perhaps, but KAL 007 was in range of military radar on the Aleutian island of Shemya, which is responsible for monitoring civilian

## "All Cats Are Grey in the Dark"

747 KAL passenger plane, U.S. E4B and RC-135 reconnaissance jets: all look huge to a Soviet fighter (below left).



KAL 747



E4B U.S. Military Command Post



SU-15 Interceptor



RC-135 U.S. Spy Plane

1 inch = 72 feet

flights at that point along R-20 under an agreement reached by the Federal Aviation Administration and the Defense Department about a year ago (*Washington Post*, 2 September). Moreover, Shemya is the base of the RC-135 spy plane that was in the air that night and KAL 007 was on a course that led it to enter Soviet radar range at the point where RC-135s normally enter. *Someone* on the U.S. military base at Shemya had to know a lot about the whereabouts of KAL 007.

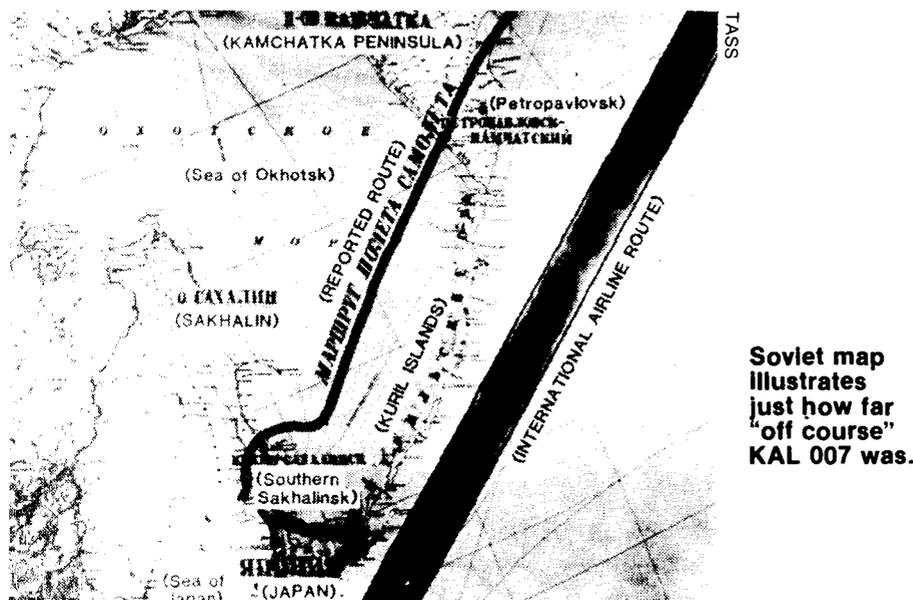
So much for the U.S. government assertion that it had no concurrent intelligence information about KAL 007. And so much for the so-called "translation" time that is supposed to explain the 22-hour gap between when

"strayed" off course, inexplicably over sensitive Russian military installations, and was shot down by the Russians who knew it was a civilian airliner. Out of the Pacific skies falls a made-to-order incident for Ronald Reagan. It's all so neat. "It's going to make some things easier for us," the *New York Times* (3 September) quotes a Reagan adviser as having said, "and that's a bad tradeoff for the Russians."

Meanwhile, what the U.S. government would like is to put the Soviets in a situation like 1919: no trade, no communication, no transportation, a complete world blockade. But this isn't 1919 and it won't work. Reagan backed off on threats to renege on the U.S./Soviet grain deal and he can't impose further

MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction) war is insane, but then the Reaganites are societally insane—"God will prevail over Satan." Their battle cry will be "Remember the Korean Air Lines Massacre," Reagan's version of Teddy Roosevelt's "Remember the Maine," as Reagan fantasizes a conclusive first strike or even victorious "protracted nuclear warfare."

Reagan targets the Soviet Union for war because it embodies the gains of the first workers revolution overthrowing capitalism, ripping a sixth of the globe from imperialist domination and because it is the military-industrial powerhouse capable of thwarting imperialist appetites from Southeast Asia to the Caribbean. It is precisely because the Soviet workers state—albeit bureaucratically degenerated under Stalin and his heirs—retains the fundamental gains of the 1917 revolution that we Trotskyists unconditionally militarily defend the USSR against imperialist attack. As is obvious, the threat of war against the Soviet Union is very real and increasingly imminent: the trip wires extend from the Near East to Central America to the Northwest Pacific—scene of a massive deployment of U.S. forces. Vigilance is more necessary than ever in defending the homeland of the October Revolution. The Spartacus Youth League has not—as many American "leftists" have—pretended that the anti-Soviet war drive has nothing to do with U.S.-backed butchery in Central America, the huge military expenditures, the unleashing of fascistic and right-wing forces domestically. And while ostensible "socialists" joined the Vatican, Reagan and *Wall Street Journal* in shedding tears for the "workers" of Poland, we told the truth: Polish Solidarność was a Vatican-backed company union for the CIA and Western bankers, aiming at capitalist restoration in Poland. When Democratic Cold Warrior Jimmy Carter beat the war drums over Soviet intervention into Afghanistan (reinstating draft registration and setting a precedent which "liberal" Democrats in Congress uphold today as a tough alternative to Reagan's response to the Flight 007 incident) we again swam against the stream of anti-Sovietism. The Red Army in that instance was not only acting in defense of Soviet borders, but on behalf of social progress in Afghanistan—supporting those forces who, for instance, opposed the virtual slavery and enforced illiteracy of Afghani women. Now we are presented with the Flight 007 provocation which—however specifically in-



the plane went down and when it was reported by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz (and by that time the U.S. had its story—the Soviets were still trying to figure out what happened). The U.S. had the capacity to know and *must have known* that KAL 007 was off course and headed straight for Soviet airspace, and they did not alert the Soviet authorities. Neither did the Japanese who were responsible for monitoring the plane at the time it entered Soviet airspace. Did KAL 007 deliberately penetrate Soviet airspace so the U.S. could monitor Soviet responses? It's sure beginning to look that way, and over 200 innocent civilians are dead and their bodies smashed to bits, the victims of an insane game of "chicken" by Cold Warriors against the Soviet Union.

### Provocation Made-to-Order

The U.S. government wants the public to believe that Flight 007 simply

trade sanctions against the USSR—except the ridiculous attempts to take it out on Stolichnaya—because the other Western imperialists won't go along (remember the pipeline fiasco). If Reagan canceled the Geneva negotiations he'd risk massive protest in Europe that might threaten the new missile deployment (the Pershings will be only eight minutes from Moscow).

No one should mistake the meaning of Reagan's closing down of Aeroflot's U.S. offices, the banning of U.S. air carriers' right to sell tickets for Aeroflot flights and the temporary banning of flights to the USSR by some other imperialist nations. Now it is even illegal for U.S. airlines to carry passengers to and from the U.S. if Aeroflot is on the itinerary! This deadly and provocative retaliation is an attempt to isolate Russia in preparation for imperialist war.

The U.S. evidently needs about a two-year buildup for war with Russia. A

## On the Soviet Bureaucracy

*We publish below excerpts from Spartacist League correspondence in reply to critics of our tendency regarding our dubbing the New York City contingent to the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington, D.C. as the "Yuri Andropov Brigade."*

"In your letter you write, 'On the most general level Andropov and the bureaucrats he represents are counterposed to everything that Trotsky fought for.' In the 1952 factional struggle in the SWP the majority got itself saddled with 'Stalinism is coun-

terrevolutionary through and through and to the core'—a more poetic version of your position. But Trotsky and the consistent Trotskyists have been aware of the dual role of the Soviet bureaucracy both as economic disorganizers and social and political oppressors on the one hand, and, on the other, interested in their own survival at the head of the deformed workers states over which they preside. Adolf Hitler was made sharply aware of the latter aspect of their contradictory role....

"Certainly Trotsky wrote, and the

Hungarian revolution verified, that under the impact of political revolution the ordinarily rigid and stratified despotic bureaucracy, not being a social/economic class, will itself undergo profound differentiation—with some, the most corrupt and bourgeoisified, making common cause with capitalist-imperialist counterrevolution, and at the other extreme some throwing in their lot with the workers in the Leninist soviet democratization. Standing at the very summit of the Soviet bureaucracy, Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov is hardly likely to be among the latter. But let me assure you, comrades, it is easier to conceive of him in that role than, for example, Andre Sakharov, pervasively a political supporter of U.S. imperialism."

initially intended—is indeed being used to bring anti-Soviet public opinion to fever pitch and ensure the relatively smooth progress of the MX, Pershing missile deployment in Europe and increased commitment (direct U.S. intervention just short of U.S. troops in combat) to the right-wing butchers of El Salvador and the CIA-backed *contras* invading Nicaragua. The U.S.' tissue of lies does not seem to be accepted by much of the American population; even the U.S. press has become openly skeptical. It is again our task to forthrightly expose these lies and warn against the nuclear holocaust that the U.S. rulers believe is "winnable" as well as to defend the Soviet Union and all those countries where capitalism has been abolished against irrational and bellicose U.S. imperialism.

### Stop Provoking the USSR!

It may come as a rude shock to the rabid chauvinists screaming about the downing of KAL 007, but in the U.S. in the recent period two acts have been committed, the implications of which are far more serious than civilian airliners. In January of 1980 PATCO air traffic controllers at New York's Kennedy International Airport deliberately endangered the life of the Soviet Union's U.S. Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin and all those aboard an Aeroflot jet on its final landing approach when the identification tag that gives the altitude and speed of the aircraft was disappeared from the radar screen. The Aeroflot liner descended ten miles through unprotected airspace before the radar was corrected. On September 5 of this year U.S. authorities allowed about

75 Korean demonstrators protesting the downing of 007 and carrying banners reading "Kill the Russians" to enter the grounds of the Soviet diplomatic retreat at Glen Cove, Long Island, deliberately endangering the lives of all those on the Soviet compound. The rabid Korean anti-communists destroyed security cameras and shredded and burned Soviet flags before they were stopped by some combination of local cops and Soviet armed guards. Diplomatic immunity and extra-territoriality of embassies are necessary conventions if international relations are to exist at all in the imperialist world. The violations of Soviet diplomatic immunity and of the Soviet embassy threaten the very existence of state to state relations.

The USSR is besieged by American imperialism in every known and malicious way, forced into a giant arms race, penetrated, damaged, you name it. In a September 4 interview Col. General Semyon F. Romanov, chief of the main headquarters staff of the Soviet Air Defense Forces said that United States combat planes have violated Soviet airspace near the Kuril islands (just south of the Kamchatka peninsula) nine times this year alone. The United States Navy, whose anti-Soviet strategy depends on bottling up the Soviet navy—which has only four passages to the sea—has also staged deliberate provocations in the northern Pacific. The following is an account of recent activities of the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Enterprise*, taken from the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (16 June):

"On March 25... *Enterprise* sailed, as everyone in Sasebo [Japan] thought, for

home. But in fact it steered north, to meet somewhere off the Aleutians two sister behemoths, the carriers *Midway*—normally home-ported at Yokosuka in Tokyo Bay—and *Coral Sea* from California, both accompanied, like *Enterprise* by escorts of cruisers, destroyers, an unknown number of US submarines and four smaller warships from the Canadian Pacific fleet. The three giant carriers between them have 300 attack aircraft and, with their escorts, constituted the most powerful naval force seen in the Pacific since 1945 or, in terms of firepower, ever assembled there.

"This was not, of course, a social gathering. According to a report by James Foley, chief of the Tokyo bureau of the Reuter news agency (who formerly covered Nato headquarters in Brussels) the three carrier battle groups then proceeded, in mid-April, to steam down the coast of Siberia 'taunting' (as Foley put it) the Soviet garrison there by sailing 'within a few hundred miles' (or, say 15 minutes' flying time) of the Soviet base at Petropavlovsk, home port of the Soviets' Pacific fleet of ballistic missile submarines....

"The aim of these manoeuvres was not, of course, to practise close-formation steaming, which could be done more economically off Seattle. In classical naval theory, a demonstration of this kind shows your prospective opponent that he is outclassed off his own coastline and had better stick close to home if he knows what is good for him.... As the three carrier battle-groups represent a good quarter of the sea strength of the US, it is inconceivable that they were not carrying their full war armament, including tactical nuclear weapons."

A *Pravda* article on September 6 revealed that on April 4, planes based on the *Midway* and *Enterprise* violated Soviet airspace, part of a systematic buildup of such violations in the area.

U.S. submarines regularly penetrate far into Soviet territorial waters to spy. The *New York Times* (6 July 1975) carried a terrifying account of a collision between a U.S. and Soviet nuclear sub in Soviet territorial waters in the Barents Sea, just off the entrance to the White Sea in November 1969. The USS *Gato*, a Thresher class submarine, was operating as part of the Navy's secret "Holystone" program and its mission was to track vessels leaving the Soviet submarine base in Archangel on the White Sea. It carried a team of eight NSA agents who spent their time monitoring Soviet communications. If threatened in Soviet waters (it was authorized to go within four miles off the Soviet coast) it had "authority to use weapons." Well, it collided with a Soviet

last known collision, in May 1974, occurred in Soviet territorial waters off Petropavlovsk. The commanders of these individual spy operations are authorized to use nuclear weapons. Any one of these U.S. provocations could start WW III.

### Counterrevolutionary Suicide?

There is an "innocence" hypothesis which is possible, unlike Reagan's absurd story of navigational "error": that the South Korean pilot did it on his own as a macho suicidal act; perhaps he or his family were in trouble with the KCIA back home. Counterrevolutionary suicide by an Asian John Wayne, suicide on a grandiose scale with a lot of involuntary participants: it's a possibility. Moreover, it's clear that either the

pilot on that flight also took evasive action. The U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance just happened to be in Moscow at the time discussing arms control with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. Coincidence?

As to the assertion that a spy mission for KAL 007 is "unthinkable": Ernest Volkman, "national security editor" of *Defense Science* magazine, said in an interview broadcast by the Canadian CBC network on September 2 that Korean Air Lines, among others, is "notorious" for placing "special sensors and photo equipment" on board their planes. Moreover, according to the testimony of the editor of *New Korea* in front of a 1976 Congressional subcommittee investigating KCIA activity, KAL flights out of Los Angeles to Seoul carry one or two KCIA agents every flight. One thing is certain: any innocent civilian who gets on a KAL flight now has got to be crazy.

### Socialist Revolution to Disarm the Capitalist Class

Reagan answered critics who demanded sterner sanctions against the Russians by saying, "Short of going to war, what would they have us do?" This is no mere rhetorical hyperbole on Reagan's part. Reagan isn't interested in pin pricks, he's after the big bang: he just needs time to prepare. It looks increasingly like the Korean plane provocation has not succeeded in substantially inflaming anti-Soviet sentiment here and abroad. But the rulers of U.S. imperialism are on a headlong war drive to take back the gains of the October Revolution and destroy the Soviet Union. If there is any underlying meaning to this latest exploit it is that Reagan confuses the Kremlin policy of "détente" with capitulation on the part of the Soviets. The U.S. may have sought to confirm that false equation, but the Soviet Union answered "no" in an unambiguous way. It is a good thing for those fighting imperialism in the U.S. and abroad that the Russians don't simply "eat it" faced with heightened imperialist provocations, including the most recent, grotesque KAL 007.

U.S. imperialism has in its hands the capacity to destroy civilization, and the Reaganites will not be restrained by the universal horror of nuclear war, which they insanely believe the U.S. can "win." The working class and its allies must seize power in a socialist revolution and disarm the capitalist class, before imperialism unleashes a nuclear holocaust which will engulf us all. ■



Kalfus/NY Post

**On September 5 rabid Korean anti-communists violently attacked Soviet diplomatic retreat in Glen Cove, NY. Police turned blind eye as mob burned Soviet flag. Stop provoking the USSR!**

sub and the following is an account by a former crew member of what followed:

"... the *Gato's* weapons officer immediately ran two decks below and prepared for orders to arm the vessel's Subroc nuclear torpedo and three smaller torpedoes that also carried nuclear warheads. Only one authentication—either from the ship's captain or her executive officer—was needed to prepare the torpedoes for launching.

"No order came from *Gato's* captain because the Soviet vessel—obviously confused—made no attempt to pursue the *Gato*. Instead, she [the Soviet sub] began utilizing her fathometer in an apparent effort to determine whether she had struck a seamount or a similar underwater object. The Soviet vessel surfaced moments later."

This incident was covered up by the Navy, and it is just one of *four* known collisions of Soviet and U.S. subs involved in the Holystone program. The

captain had turned off power to the cabin lights, or the passengers were never warned. If they had been the main cabin would have been a blaze of lights.

According to Major General George Keegan, former chief of Air Force intelligence:

"I have never failed to be surprised at how careless the Koreans are, despite the risks of flying near Soviet airspace.... Despite all that the Soviets had there, the Koreans continued to fly too close. The Koreans continued to bruise the Soviets on this. What happened today they invited."

—*New York Times*, 2 September

Then there is the case of another KAL flight which in April 1978 flew 1,000 miles off course into Soviet airspace over the strategic naval base at Murmansk before being shot at and forced down by a Soviet fighter. The Korean

reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 338, 23 September 1983

# Reagan's 007 War Fever

SEPTEMBER 20—The war drums are beating in Washington. Even people who thought Ronald Reagan just talked loudly and waved a rhetorical big stick now worry that the "rough riders" in the White House and the Pentagon might actually drop the bomb. Having cynically sent the passengers of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 to their deaths in a demented anti-Soviet provocation, Reagan is now making his move to push through the Pentagon's two main first-strike weapons: the construction of the MX missile and deployment of Pershing 2s in West Europe. The latter have a flight time of only *eight minutes to Moscow*, forcing the Russians to adopt a policy of "launch on warning." Make

no mistake, Reagan is driving toward thermonuclear war directed at the Soviet Union, birthplace of the first workers revolution in history.

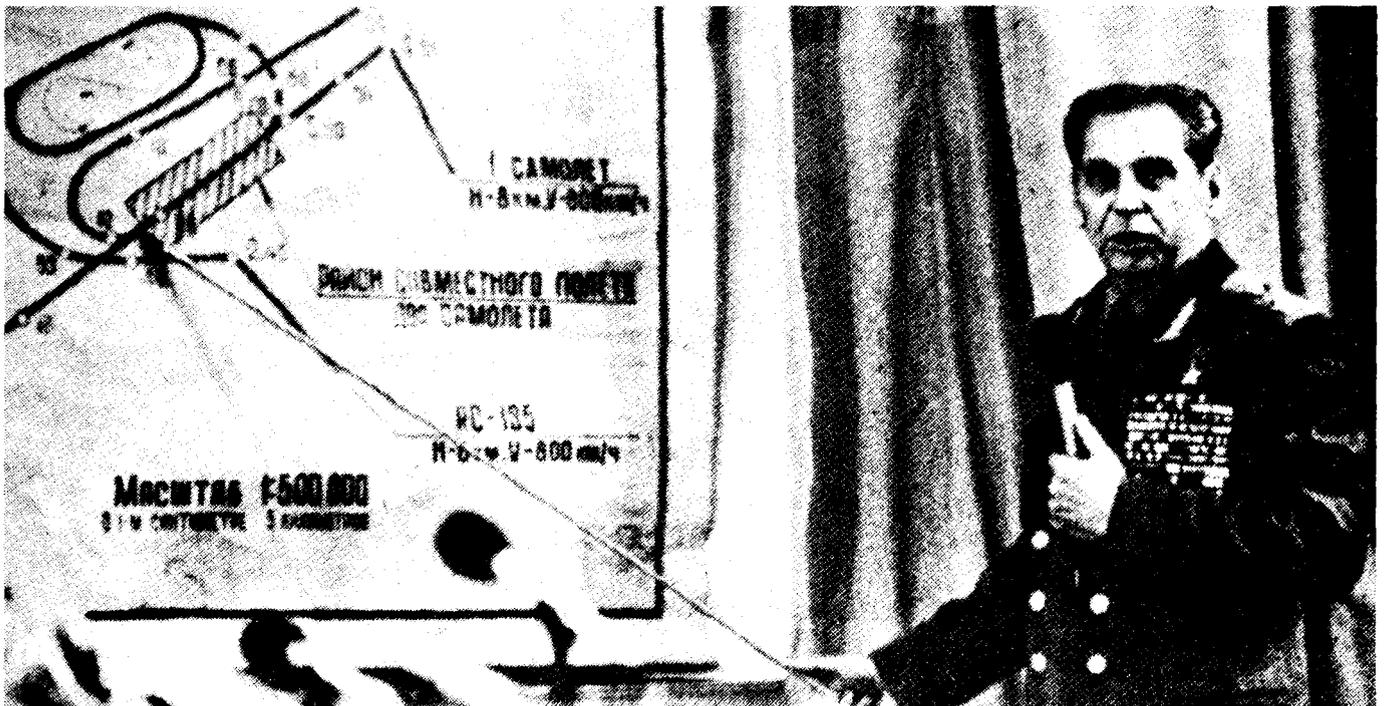
Over and over, Reagan repeats that it is "the Soviets against the world"—or to turn it around, it's world war against the Soviets. Unlike Cold War liberals and New Right conservatives, this administration isn't much interested in sanctions which only hurt American capitalists, such as a grain boycott or the fiasco last year of U.S. efforts (which foundered on interimperialist rivalries) to halt the Soviet gas pipeline. What these warhawks want is not pinpricks but the Big Bang. Thus Reagan's successful appeal to use the 007 uproar to ram



through his \$187 billion "defense" budget, including funds for the MX and binary poison gas weapons, was not a "jarringly inappropriate" note, as *Time* (19 September) claimed, but a central purpose of this elaborately orchestrated war provocation against the Soviet Union.

Now Washington is moving ever closer to breaking off diplomatic relations with the USSR by denying Soviet foreign minister Gromyko and any other Soviet diplomats the right to land in New York aboard an Aeroflot

## — Don't Mess With Russia! —



Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov exposes Reagan's lies in Moscow press conference, September 9. Shaded area on map indicates site of rendezvous between RC-135 spy plane and 007. AP

# Spy Plane RC-135

Yesterday's *Denver Post* ran an article (reprinted in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 19 September) by two former Air Force intelligence officers, T. Edward Eskelson and Tom Bernard, which reveals important information about the RC-135. We quote a few choice paragraphs below, since it is unlikely to get wide circulation in the "free but responsible" capitalist press:

"Obscured by what will surely be claimed as legitimate national security matters, the U.S. government had the capability to directly intercede during the entire sweep of events culminating in the annihilation of Korean Air Lines Flight 007. Few facts concerning that capability have been brought to public attention.

"Based on the information disclosed by the Reagan administration in the past two weeks, it is clear that a major effort has been undertaken to bewilder the American public concerning the capabilities of the U.S. Air Force RC-135 and, more importantly, the National Security Agency.

"As former crew members on an RC-135 aircraft, we find official

statements concerning the extent of its involvement before and after the KAL shootdown incompatible with our experience....

"It has been our experience that, on occasion, NSA adjusts the orbits of RC-135s so that they will intentionally penetrate the airspace of a target nation. This is ordered for the purpose of bringing a target country's air defense systems into a state of alert. This allows NSA to analyze these fully activated systems for potential flaws and weaknesses....

"The RC-135 has a super-advanced, ultra-secure communications system which is linked to the most sophisticated communications network in the world. This system, sometimes referred to as 'backchannel,' permits the instantaneous reporting of real-time, tactical intelligence to the highest levels of the U.S. government, including the president, from any location in the world....

"Because of these RC-135 capabilities we believe that the entire sweep of events—from the time the Soviets first began tracking KAL

Flight 007, to 'confusing' it with the American reconnaissance aircraft, to the moment Soviet fighter airplanes sitting on Soviet airfields were ordered to go from 'standby' to 'alert' status due to the potential penetration of their airspace by an 'intruder aircraft' to the time of the shootdown—was monitored and analyzed instantaneously by U.S. intelligence.

"Without sounding like apologists for Soviet actions, we believe, based upon our experiences, that the official U.S. version of events is incomplete and misleading. There are serious questions in our minds as to not only what specific role did the capabilities of the RC-135 play in the eventual shooting down of the KAL airliner, but also why these capabilities were never used to head off the tragedy."

The government's response to this report is that Eskelson and Bernard had not flown an RC-135 for ten years and therefore "the experience they cite is in fact history." This "denial" is a confirmation. Are we to believe that in the last ten years, the U.S. capabilities have become less powerful, less intrusive? The fact that U.S. intelligence knew all about Flight 007's Mission Provocation is established without a doubt.

airliner. In times gone by such an outrage against a high official of a major power could in itself have led to war. To say the least, as the Russians tersely replied, the question arises whether the United States is a "suitable" location for

UN headquarters. Whereupon a petulant U.S. delegate taunted, we'll see you off at the dock. For the Reaganites, provocation is standard operating procedure.

The Democrats, too, are standing at attention, both "hawks" and "doves," while even some supposed leftists have fallen into line over the KAL 007 Cold War provocation. But despite more than two weeks of "Russians eat babies for breakfast" blitz, the American public, well-attuned to government lying by Vietnam and Watergate, smells a rat. Although many support calls for "tougher sanctions," a recent poll showed 61 percent did not believe the administration was telling the whole story. And they're right. The day after the poll came out a new U.S. intelligence report admitted that the Soviets *never knew* they were tracking a civilian airliner. Earlier in the week, Washington felt obliged to issue a "revised" transcript of the alleged tapes of Soviet fighter pilots, showing that the SU-15 interceptor *had fired warning shots* from its cannons. As we headlined our last issue, "Reagan's Story Stinks!"

Many people who don't buy Reagan's "devil made them do it" story of the KAL 007 regard Washington's anti-Soviet war drive as a conflict between two equally evil "superpowers." If U.S. imperialism succeeded in its drive to roll back the gains of social revolutions from Cuba to Poland to Vietnam and the Soviet Union, it would unleash a global holocaust of reactionary terror. South Korean dictator Chun Doo Hwan, who jails democrats and Presbyterians as subversives; Philippine strongman Marcos, who had returning liberal dissident Aquino gunned down on the airport runway; Salvadoran butcher D'Aubuisson, whose death squads have murdered tens of thousands; these are the "moderate authoritarian" paragons of Reagan's "free world."

Dreams of détente with these bloody-minded mass murderers or with their masters in Washington are dangerous illusions. The imperialist war criminals who would use more than 200 civilian plane passengers in an insane anti-Soviet provocation, who annihilated over one million Indochinese, who talk of detonating a "demonstration" A-

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bomb over the Baltic, who have replaced the MAD doctrine of "mutually assured destruction" with the demented proposal for a "limited, protracted nuclear war"—and who may have selected the Soviet Far East as the "theater" for their Wagnerian war drama—must be driven from power. Only world socialist revolution can secure a future for world humanity.

Today the duty of communists everywhere is unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against the imperialists, despite the bureaucratic usurpation of political power from the revolutionary Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky by the great advocate of "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists, Stalin. Soviet generals today know well that Stalin's criminal faith in his nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany brought the USSR to the brink of defeat due to unpreparedness and failure to react to provocations like Flight 007. Reagan & Co. obviously think the Russians' commitment to "détente" means abject capitulation. And given what was known of KAL's Mission Provocation, we can only be thankful that, to quote Soviet chief of general staff Marshal Ogarkov, "The Soviet military forces protecting the peaceful labor of the Soviet Union honorably fulfilled their duties." Anyone with an ounce of intelligence will conclude: Don't mess with the Russians!

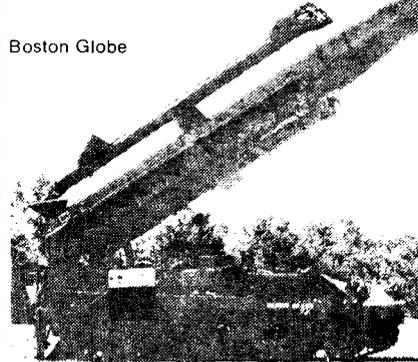
### Lies and Refutations

As we wrote last issue: "If the government of the Soviet Union knew that the intruding aircraft was in fact a commercial passenger plane containing 200-plus innocent civilians, despite the potential military damage of such an apparent spying mission, if they deliberately destroyed the airplane and its occupants, then, to paraphrase the French, the act of shooting it down would have been worse than a barbaric atrocity, it would have been an idiocy worthy of the Israelis. But the piecemeal facts and obvious falsifications argue that this was not the case, and something resembling what really might have gone on is rapidly being pieced together internationally" ("Reagan's Story Stinks!" *WF* No. 337, 9 September). With every passing day, as the government's fabrications unravel and its lies are exposed, the stench of Cold War provocation becomes overwhelming.

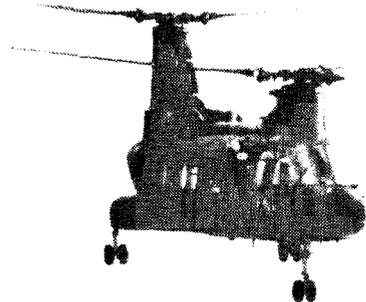
In Reagan's Labor Day speech, he emphatically insisted: "The 747 has a unique silhouette unlike any other plane in the world. There is no way a pilot

## Reagan's Global Anti-Soviet War Drive:

Boston Globe



Pershing missiles in Europe

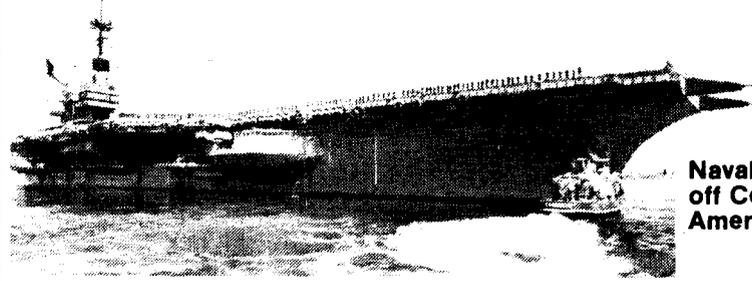


Marines  
in Near East

Kaestner/Zephyr



UPI



Naval armada  
off Central  
American coast

could mistake this for anything other than a civilian airliner." Before the UN, American ambassador Kirkpatrick repeated over and over, "Contrary to Soviet statements, the pilot makes no mention of firing any warning shots." Other elements of the Big Lie: that the U.S. supposedly knew nothing about it until it was over; that KAL Flight 007 was nothing but an innocent civilian airliner; that nobody believes Soviet claims it was on a spy mission. As columnist Alexander Cockburn put it in the *Village Voice* (20 September), to hear Reagan tell it, "Every Soviet leader stood a little taller in his boots the next day and shouted, 'One, two, three, many jumbos' into the shaving mirror."

Kirkpatrick's claim there were no warning shots was blown to bits with the U.S.' reconstructed tape released on September 11.

The U.S. supposedly knew nothing about the affair until it was all over? When it was first admitted that the U.S. had a spy plane in the area, it was reported in the *New York Times* (6 September) that, "Military officers said the Air Force plane would routinely have 'painted,' or registered with radar,

the Korean plane as a matter of aerial safety." Now they are claiming (*New York Times*, 19 September) that the 007 was beyond the range of U.S. radar, both civilian (limit 160 miles) and military (240 miles). However, David Baker reports in his book, *The Shape of Wars to Come* (1982):

"Of peripheral interest...[is] a very powerful phased-array radar antenna looking northwest and west from Shemya close to the Kamchatka Peninsula. Called Cobra Dane, its search and tracking coverage...is designed to detect an object the size of a basketball 3,200 km [2,000 miles] away and simultaneously track 100 separate targets."

Shemya, at the tip of the Aleutians, is the base of the RC-135 mentioned above. So much for the claim that no one knew where KAL 007 was because it was "out of range"!

What about "radio trouble"? Flight 007 was not able to reach Anchorage air traffic control at the second checkpoint on route R-20, and had to relay its position via a second KAL plane (Flight 015) flying a few minutes behind it. Yet there were no complaints of radio malfunctions, and later the 007 pilot was

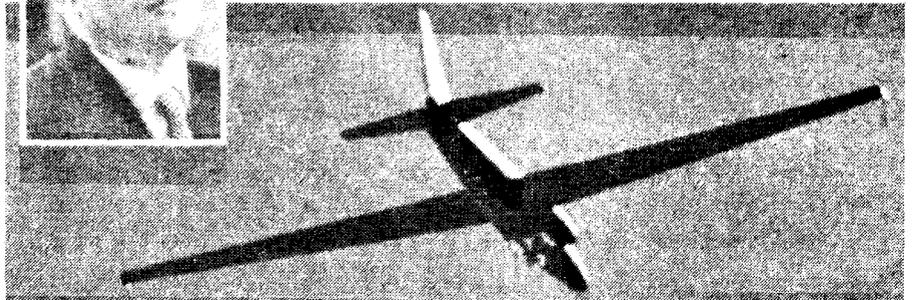
able to communicate clearly with Tokyo airport. Thus both KAL planes and Anchorage and Tokyo air control had to know that the 747 jetliner was off course, but no alarm was raised. (KAL Flight 015, incidentally, which carried Senator Jesse Helms and other conservative luminaries, is a particularly shadowy participant in this drama. It is mentioned once, on the first day, by the Moonies' *New York Tribune* [1 September] under the headline "U.S. intelligence men suggest Soviets downed the wrong KAL 747," and thereafter isn't mentioned for ten days. Yet KAL Flights 007 and 015 were flying in tandem, and since they were relaying radio traffic the second plane would clearly have known if the first was in trouble.)

So what were they doing? The *Times*' disingenuous and dim military correspondent Drew Middleton writes that the U.S. doesn't even need spy planes, anyway, since its reconnaissance satellites can pick up "the bolts on the deck of a Soviet cruiser" or a man reading *Pravda* on the street of a north Russian town. And he says if they really wanted sharp pictures, they would just send over an SR-71 plane which at 80,000 feet is well out of range of Soviet jets (though not missiles, as U-2 pilot Gary Powers found out). The Soviets have responded to this with a detailed article in today's *Pravda* which reported that Flight 007 was held up at Anchorage for 40 minutes "in order to strictly synchronise in time the plane's approach to the shores of Kamchatka and Sakhalin with the flight of the American intelligence



TASS

**Why didn't KAL 007 respond to Soviet signals? In 1960, Russians shot down American U-2 espionage plane, and captured pilot Gary Powers (inset). American president Eisenhower denied the spy flight until Moscow produced pilot alive. U.S. was furious at Powers for not committing suicide. KAL 007 pilot did "better"—with 200-plus innocent hostages on board.**



Life

satellite 'Ferret D'" (TASS dispatch, 19 September). This satellite, which monitors radio traffic, has an orbit of 96 minutes around the earth. It appeared over Kamchatka Peninsula at 1:30 a.m. (local time) on August 31, "i.e., precisely at the moment of the intrusion of the trespasser plane into Soviet air space," and at 3:07 a.m., three minutes after the 747 began its passage over Sakhalin island. **If true, this information is conclusive that the Korean airliner was part of an elaborate provocation involving as well a U.S. spy satellite and the now infamous RC-135. In this triad, KAL Flight 007 was the bait.**

Moreover, this takes on added significance when combined with the "leaked" report (in the *New York Times*, 11 September, and elsewhere) that the now-admitted RC-135 was flying figure eights off Soviet Kamchatka in the early

morning hours of August 31 on a mission to collect information about a Soviet missile test expected that night. The *Washington Post* (7 September) said that this RC-135's mission was to "assess Soviet air defenses." It went on:

"The United States and the Soviet Union, they [U.S. Air Force intelligence officials] said, constantly track each other's 'electronic order of battle,' which includes how radar stations react to intruders, and forward air defenses...."

"It is standard practice, they said, for U.S. military planes to try to 'tickle' Soviet radar into action."

"They said this amounts to flying close enough to air defenses to cause the Soviets to activate search radar and perhaps fire-control radar and to talk about what they are seeing and doing in response to the unidentified aircraft overhead."

"Standard practice," it seems. But Flight 007 was no "tickle." This uniden-

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tified aircraft was on a Mission Provocation Royale.

But why would they set up 200-plus lives on such a mission? David Baker notes ominously that, "Plans for massed intrusion of hostile airspace rely on continuous updating to keep pace with the location of defense installations and, increasingly over the past decade, the Russians have concentrated on protecting their territorial borders from bombers and other intruders" (*The Shape of Wars to Come*). In addition to directly overflying the Petropavlovsk naval base on Kamchatka and the Korsakov air-naval installations on Sakhalin, KAL 007 provided another highly important service to U.S. military analysts: a massive intrusion of hostile airspace. *And there is one particular war scenario for which such information is of crucial importance: a nuclear first strike.*

### Smash the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

From Day 1 of his administration, Reagan has proclaimed the USSR to be the "evil empire," "the source of evil in the modern world" which will "commit any crime, to lie, to cheat" in order to further the goal of world Communism. Actually, far from being champions of world revolution, the Kremlin leaders are a notoriously conservative lot. But this devil-baiting of the Soviets is not some exercise in Moral Majority pulpit pounding. Whenever you hear that kind of talk ("Gott mit uns," said Kaiser Wilhelm—"God is on our side," replied President Wilson), you know the capitalist rulers are getting ready to sacrifice tens of millions of their subjects in a slaughter to redivide the world for the benefit of their profits. Only this time it isn't the Deutsche Bank against the Rothschilds and Rockefellers, but a crusade for global counterrevolution. And for that they're prepared to blow up the planet.

"You Had Nothing to Lose by Saying Sorry," headlined the *Economist* (10 September), repeating one of Reagan's main themes. (According to the capitalist media, then, being a Communist means never having to say you're sorry!!!) They want the Russians to admit their "guilt," so that the Soviet Union would stand before the world as self-branded criminals and murderers of innocent civilians! This is the meaning of all the U.S. denunciations of the Soviets for "barbaric," "uncivilized," "cold-blooded" acts. But the Russians didn't send 200-plus innocent civilians on a suicide mission. As General



With friends like this... Communist Party paper so deluded by "detente" illusions, refused to believe Soviets could shoot down intruder aircraft.

Ogarkov said in the Moscow press conference:

"As far as responsibility and not only financial responsibility is concerned, that falls on those who sent them to their deaths. Referring to President Reagan's claim that we should apologize, President Reagan should simply turn around and take one look in his mirror and it would become clear to him who should answer questions of this sort."

—*New York Times*,  
10 September

What Ronald Reagan is looking for is the ideological banner for World War III. For Teddy Roosevelt it was "Remember the *Maine*," even though the evidence indicates the Spanish didn't blow up that U.S. ship in Havana harbor. Woodrow Wilson dragged the U.S. into World War I using the excuse of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, even though it was later proved to be carrying munitions to the British and the German government warned Americans not to sail on this British ship. Lyndon Johnson used the trumped-up "Tonkin Gulf incident" to get the Vietnam War approved by Congress [see article by publisher Larry Flynt, "Another Gulf of Tonkin Provocation?" *Workers Vanguard* No. 338, 23 September 1983]. Today, Reagan's rallying cry is "Remember the Korean Air Lines massacre" as he escalates his anti-Soviet war drive in the Far East, the Near East and Central America.

In the Far East last spring, the United States concentrated the most powerful naval force seen in the Pacific since World War II (see *Young Spartacus* No. 111, September 1983). Its strategic aim is to bottle up the Soviet navy in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan. Meanwhile, as Reagan becomes ever deeper immersed in the internecine

communal warfare of the Near East, the U.S. has assembled an armada off Lebanon that represents "its most massive show of force since Vietnam" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 15 September). A symbol of the escalating U.S. war drive is the odyssey of the USS *New Jersey*. In May-June it participated in naval maneuvers off Cambodia as Chinese troops menaced Vietnam from the north, and Thailand (with supplies airlifted from the U.S.) stepped up hostilities from the West. In July the battleship was dispatched to Central America, where it joined the aircraft carrier *Ranger* for a display of gunboat diplomacy. And now it is off to Lebanon.

Meanwhile, as Reagan mounts his global counterrevolutionary crusade, much of the fake-left is capitulating to him—while red-white-and-blue pseudo-socialists sign up for yeoman's duty in the anti-Soviet war drive. Most despicable is the Communist Party USA (CP), because of its pretensions to stand on the side of the USSR. At the height of the imperialist frenzy over KAL 007, the CP's *Daily World* (2 September) ran the shameful front-page headline, "Soviets Deny Downing Plane." Even more than cowardice this represents the treacherous results of "detente" politics. So committed to "peaceful coexistence" are these Stalinists that they can't believe it when the USSR actually takes steps to defend itself. The CP's reformist illusions breed pure cynicism, as expressed in the *Daily World* (15 December 1981) headline after Jaruzelski's counter-coup against Solidarność: "Poland Heeds Unity Call." Ultimately the Stalinists' treachery leads them to deny the reality before their very eyes. To consistent detenteniks, the Soviets *couldn't* shoot down the KAL 747.

Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP) sees the 007 provocation as a straight-out spy plane, and spins out a conspiratorial tale of Pentagon "hawks" preparing to launch a first-strike yesterday, only to be blocked by the announcement (by Democratic House majority leader Jim Wright) of the presence of the RC-135, which scotched the operation. This and the Marcyites' fascination with the sham battle over the empty War Powers Act, are a reflection of their fundamental orientation to the liberal Democratic "doves"—who today are firmly lined up behind Reagan over the 007 affair. The now explicitly anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as usual denounces Reagan & Co. for their "hypocrisy," while pointing

to "a lot of questions about the facts" in the KAL Flight 007 confrontation. Clearly the *Militant* would like to ignore the whole business, except to assert that it's really directed at tiny Grenada!

The real scumbags are the Maoists and ex-Maoists, long since accustomed to lining up with their "own" imperialist bourgeoisie. The *Guardian* (14 September) editorializes about a "Double Tragedy," calling the shooting down of the Korean Air Lines plane "an unacceptable response for which the USSR must be held accountable and condemned"! We say these groveling camp followers of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive must be held accountable and condemned for their support to the most murderous, rapacious imperialist ruling

class in history!! As for the leftover Maoists of the League of Revolutionary Struggle, its *Unity* (9 September) rag denounces the "militarism" of the "two superpowers" and calls on the Soviet government to "pay restitution"! This represents the rancid fruits of the Peking bureaucracy's accommodation with American imperialism. Even China abstained on the UN Security Council resolution, and Deng must be wondering about his acolytes in the U.S. who blindly follow the Reagan war drive.

Whether through direct support to Reagan, such as the Maoists, or appeals to Democratic liberals (à la Marcy's WWP), the reformist left is subordinated to one or another wing of the American bourgeoisie. Because we oppose class collaboration down the line, the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League (SL) alone can consistently oppose the anti-Soviet war drive which embraces all sectors of the imperialist rulers, from liberal "doves" to conservative "hawks."

On the eve of World War II, during April-June 1941, there were more than 180 overflights of Soviet territory by the Germans, ranging in depth from 65 to 100 miles. Soviet forces were forbidden to respond to these provocations, which were ascribed to "undisciplined" German units, because of the Stalin-Hitler pact in which the Soviet leader placed his confidence. "Thus it went to the end, Stalin trying in the final hours to stave off attack by ordering his armed forces not to fire at German planes, not to approach the frontiers, not to make any move which might provoke German action," wrote Harrison Salisbury in his epic account of the siege of Leningrad, *900 Days*. The present-day Soviet general staff was forged from among those officers who resisted Stalin's defeatist policy in the first days of the war against Nazi Germany, and who came back from Siberian exile to lead the Red Army to victory over Hitler in 1945.

As Cold War II turns hot, the fundamental response of revolutionary socialists is and must be political. Black workers in particular distrust the anti-Soviet war drive which means taking milk from black schoolchildren in order to build Trident submarines. From New York transit to West Coast longshore, the response to our headline "Reagan's Story Stinks!" has been: "Amen, brother!" The Trotskyists say: Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism! Today, as on the eve of World War II, we stand at our posts, defending the homeland of the October Revolution. ■

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## Introduction...

(continued from page 2)

the Vietnam War. Since the Democrats are quite as anti-Soviet as the Reaganites are, the "Russian question" is for all reformists a subject to be downplayed as much as possible. Hence over KAL 007, even those "left" papers that did not scandalously capitulate to anti-Soviet chauvinism generally made themselves as timidly irrelevant as possible. Most remarkable was the Communist Party's *Daily World*, which is supposed to be a servile mouthpiece for the Kremlin bureaucrats but which lacked the stomach for it in this instance. Apparently the *DW* staffers were so freaked by the idea that the Russians might have committed an act of self-defense that they became unable to read TASS dispatches in plain English. We say this because the *Daily World* of 2 September headlined its front-page story: "Soviets Deny Downing Plane," something the Soviets never did. Elsewhere, the rad-lib *Guardian* took an open anti-Russian tilt that has some of its own readers fuming, while the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* (they really should change the name of the paper) clung to a posture of outraged naiveté. In much the same way as the Marcyite Workers World/All-Peoples Congress, the SWP came down against the U.S. oh so gently—by posing "unanswered questions" and generally lagging behind (hiding behind) the skepticism of thoughtful working people in this country. As late as 30 September the *Militant* front page headlined "Polls: U.S. Gov't Hiding Facts on Korean Plane Downing." It's a safe bet that none of these groups is going to bring out a pamphlet of its articles on this subject.

For Trotskyists, building an international party to defeat poverty, oppression, exploitation, racism and war through international class struggle, the international public-opinion failure of Mission 007 is an opportunity. If U.S. imperialism is ever to be beaten on its home ground, the American working people must leap beyond disbelieving every word "their" government says (and hating its vicious anti-working-class and racist policies at home). American workers must understand, as European workers scared out of their minds by Reagan's MX missiles do, that the U.S. government is bent on nuclear war against the Soviet Union. They must see that "their" government directly props up all over the world

regimes of hideous torturers, enforcing on starving masses the International Monetary Fund/CIA's "Chile treatment." They must understand that the capitalist system of class rule is the root of a genuinely "evil empire" led by the U.S.A., an empire of mass misery, genocide and war. They must organize to take power away from the U.S. rulers by building a revolutionary workers party to lead that fight.

The American government, whether under Republican or Democratic coloration, is driving straight toward nuclear war against the USSR. The motor force for World War III is the imperialist drive to reverse the anti-capitalist social revolutions that have ripped sections of the world from the orbit of direct imperialist plunder. Beginning in October 1917, when the Russian working class took state power under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the decadent and irrational capitalist system has been on a collision course with the liberating gains of that great revolution and its extensions from Yugoslavia to Vietnam.

Under the pressure of international isolation in backward Russia there arose a conservative and repressive bureaucracy under Stalin which usurped political power from the working class and sought treacherously to placate imperialism by "peaceful coexistence" deals at the expense of other peoples' revolutionary struggles. Yet even this political counterrevolution could not destroy the basic social gains of the October Revolution: the expropriation of the tsarist aristocracy, the landlords and capitalists; the replacement of private ownership of the means of production by a collectivized economy; the liberation of the tsarist empire's oppressed national minorities; the suppression of racist pogromists like the "Black Hundreds." Internationally the Stalinist-ruled states play a contradictory role—buying time for imperialism by misleading movements of the oppressed, yet sometimes forced to play a progressive role under direct pressure of imperialist aggression: e.g., Cuban troops opposing South Africa on the Angola battlefield, Soviet intervention against CIA-backed feudalists in Afghanistan, massive Vietnamese involvement in Cambodian reconstruction after Pol Pot. Workers political revolution, however, is needed to place these states squarely on the side of world revolution.

America's anti-Soviet war drive means propping up every kind of hideous backwardness and oppression

in every corner of the globe. The U.S.-led "free world" means the police-state terror of the South African racist butchers and the death squads of El Salvador. It means genocidal Pol Pot and the Shah of Iran. It means the Zionist/Phalange butchers massacring defenseless Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. It means mass slaughter of the Tamil national minority in Ceylon in the service of American appetites toward strategic Trincomalee harbor in the Indian Ocean.

When the terror-bombers of Vietnam talk about "freedom," the workers of the world know that war is coming. It's time that American working people know this as well. For the U.S. working class, acting in its own class interests and on behalf of all the oppressed, has the power to wrest from the most dangerous imperialist ruling class in history the means of mass nuclear death. To do so, what's needed is a revolutionary leadership that tells the truth about what's going on and what needs to be done.

We of the Spartacist League, alongside our comrades of the other national sections of the international Spartacist tendency, are building the revolutionary leadership that will make the difference. Our goal is socialism—genuine freedom and equality of all nations and all peoples, real peace based on a world free from injustice and poverty. At the most general level, the vast mass of the world's toilers believe as we do that socialism is the social system which makes possible these goals of freedom and peace. Indeed, America is virtually unique among advanced capitalist nations in having no mass working-class party committed to "socialism" or the class struggle at least in words. But in no country does there exist a real revolutionary mass leadership fighting for the program of authentic socialist struggle.

In this country, the Spartacist League is a small party of a few hundred fighters whose revolutionary strategy is crucial to winning the class struggle, in this country and throughout the world. Our party is the means to unite working-class militants, fighters against racism and KKK terror, activists from every struggle against oppression, in a fight for socialism. If you want to fight against capitalism, racism and war, for workers power in this country and in defense of the millions already fighting against imperialism, your place is with us.

—7 October 1983



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