

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

SECRET

Tolson	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Belmont	_____
Callahan	_____
DeLoach	_____
Malone	_____
McGuire	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Ingram	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : MR. TROTTER *b6, b7C*

DATE: 7-21-60

FROM : A. K. Bowles *AKB*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE *WMA 8-1*

SUBJECT: AMERICAN AIRMEN SHOT DOWN
IN RUSSIA AND VICINITY
IDENTIFICATION MATTER

Classified by *SP-16SICRBBG*
Declassify on: *OPR 3/4/83*

FR 557-598-D

We have the fingerprints in our civil files of Francis Gary Powers, American airman who was shot down in Russia in May, and the 6 American airmen missing in flight in the Barents Sea area July 1, 1960.

Ident has received form DD-1300 (report of casualty) from Department of the Air Force on each of the 6 airmen missing July 1, 1960, in the Barents Sea area. (Their names and descriptions are set out on attached page.) In view of newspaper reports that Powers was shot down in Russia and the plane bearing the other 6 men was also shot down by the Russians, Identification Division recommends that a notice be posted on the fingerprint cards of all 7 of these men to notify the Assistant Directors in charge of the Identification Division and Domestic Intelligence Division immediately in the event any fingerprints in the future are received in Ident identical with them.

(S) This action is believed desirable in view of the possibility the Russians may try to use any of these men for their own purposes in the United States under different names. After the proposed notices are posted, the fingerprint cards would be placed in the criminal file because that is the file against which all fingerprint inquiries are searched.

RECOMMENDATION:

That notices be posted on the fingerprint cards of Francis Gary Powers and the 6 American airmen missing in flight in the Barents Sea area to notify Assistant Directors in charge of Identification Division and Domestic Intelligence Division immediately in the event any future incoming fingerprints are identified.

AKB:hs ENCLOSURE

(4)

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Belmont

52 AUG 8 1960

105-87346-

NOT RECORDED
199 AUG 8 1960

7 AUG 2 1960

SECRET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-4-83 BY SP-1 GSK/BBG

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 32-15429-1691

*Notice Posted
7/29/60
AKB*

ONE

Willard George Palm

FBI # 557-599-D (RELEASED)

White, male
Born: 1-25-21, at Oak Park, Illinois
6', 169 lbs.
Blue eyes, blond hair
Army Serial #16,077,577

John Richard McKone

FBI # 557-597-D

White, male
Born: 6-16-32, at Kansas City, Missouri
5' 1", 170 lbs.
Blue eyes, brown hair

Oscar Lee Goforth

FBI # 557-595-D

White, male
Born: 2-19-34, at Nashoba, Oklahoma
6', 160 lbs.
Brown eyes, brown hair

Eugene Ernest Posa

FBI # 557-601-D

White, male
Born: 2-3-22, Santa Monica, California
5' 9", 160 lbs.
Brown eyes, brown hair

Dean Bowen Phillips

FBI # 557-600-D

White, male
Born: 7-27-34, at Far Rockaway, New York
5' 8", 170 lbs.
Blue eyes, brown hair
Air Force Service #11,286,230

Freeman Bruce Olmstead

FBI # 557-596-D

White, male
Born: 6-17-35, at Elmira, New York
6', 160 lbs.
Blue eyes, blond hair

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/4/89 BY SP-16SK/BBG

105-87346-
ENCLOSURE

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**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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For your information: _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
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~~SECRET~~
~~TOP SECRET~~

AHB/42

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Parsons _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Callahan _____
- Mr. DeLoach _____
- Mr. Malone _____
- Mr. McGuire _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Tamm _____
- Mr. Trotter _____
- Mr. W.C. Sullivan _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Ingram _____
- Miss Gandy _____

Date: 7/27/60

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
 FROM: SAC WFO (105-35630)
 FRANCIS G. POWERS
 IS - R

"The Washington Post Times Herald" newspaper 7/27/60, Page B1, carried item headed "U-2 Pilot's Wife in Capital to Seek Help of Embassy." Article stated BARBARA GAY POWERS arrived in WDC, 7/26/60 to keep appointments with her attorneys, and hoped to get a visa from the Soviet Embassy.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Above for Bureau's info.

① - Bureau
 1 - WFO

JON: jmm
 (4)

AIRTEL

REC-90 105-87346-401
 5-67C

Classified by SP16SK/ROG JUL 29 1960

Declassify on: OADR
 314183 #1 LW.00

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE

0-77(23)WFO 7-28-60 LW

52 AUG 3 1960
 Special Agent in Charge
 G. Wick

~~SECRET~~

M Per _____

b7c [REDACTED]
Chappaqua, N.Y.
July 21, 1960

Dear Mr Hoover:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I am sending to some of the influential newspapers regarding their coverage and presentation of news about the U2 trial of Powers.

Is there any way in which you could consistently cooperate in line with the suggestions in the letter? Could you contribute information of sensational interest to take over some of the headlines on August 17 and the remaining days of the trial?

The greatest weakness in our defense is the runaway free press. It overplays the Communist propaganda and underplays and even omits news and facts favorable to the Free World. A glaring example, or so it seems to me, is the New York Times. This is all the more unfortunate because of its impact on world opinion.

If only we could capture some of the headlines during the Powers trial, it would be a great scoop for the Free World.

Sincerely yours,
b7c [REDACTED]

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
FBI, Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Frank's C. Powers

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/4/83 BY SP-1 GSK/RBG

REC-20

105-87346-41

11 AUG 1960

*name
ack
7-29-60
Oct 1960*

CLOSURE

CORRESPONDENCE

Chappaqua, N.Y. *b7c*

THE FATEFUL DAY

The trial of Powers, pilot of the U2 plane, is set for Aug. 17.

The Soviet Union fully expects that the free world press will make this a Hollywood Spectacle.

They will furnish the propaganda and they anticipate that the press will carry it to people the world over exactly as the Communists wish.

So, once again, via the free press, the Communists will have attained a propaganda victory at the expense of the free world.

And Powers in reality a hero of the Free World will become a gladiator for the Communist cause.

CAN SUCH A VICTORY BE FORESTALLED?

Only if the free press will voluntarily discipline itself and assume that responsibility commensurate with its privileges. Without undue interference with free communication

- 1) the press can avoid excesses and sensationalism: by curtailing headlines, limiting coverage to a rational amount of space, placing articles less conspicuously.
- 2) the press can put the trial in proper context by carrying simultaneously the articles detailing the espionage activities of the Communists all over the world, and their police and court procedures.
- 3) the press by reference to the U2 as a reconnaissance rather than a spy plane, can show its readers the difference between photographic missions and the stealing of secrets by real spies such as Abel, etc
- 4) the press can in advance explain how the Communists brainwash their prisoners and prepare for the possibility that these methods have been used on Powers.

THE POWERS TRIAL IS A CRISIS BETWEEN THE FREE WORLD AND THE COMMUNIST WORLD.

IT INVOLVES THE VERY SURVIVAL OF FREE MEN EVERYWHERE AND THEIR RIGHT TO ENSURE THAT SURVIVAL.

THE QUESTION IS, can the free press meet the challenge - a challenge which includes their own survival? Can the press RESTORE TO ITSELF the decision as to what news it will print and how it will present that news?

Or will the free press CONTINUE to let itself be used by the Communists as a vehicle for their world propaganda?

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/4/83 BY SP-1GSK/RBG

105-87346-41

W.P.

REC-20 105-87346-41 July 29, 1960

b7C
↓

[Redacted]

Chappaqua, New York

Dear [Redacted]

Your letter dated July 21, 1960, with enclosure, has been received.

The thought prompting your writing me is appreciated, and I was glad to have the benefit of your suggestions. Enclosed is material which you may find of interest.

Since your communication is of primary concern to another governmental agency, I am forwarding a copy of your letter and enclosure to The Honorable, The Secretary of State, Washington 25, D. C.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

[Handwritten signature]

MAILED 8
JUL 29 1960
COMM-FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/9/83 BY SP-IGSKIRBC

Enclosures (4)
Communist Illusion and Democratic Reality
What You Can Do To Fight Communism
17th National Convention CP, USA & Introduction LEB March, 1960
Expose of Soviet Espionage

NOTE: Correspondent wrote the Director in December, 1953, bringing information to the Bureau's attention which she believed to be of a security interest. Bulet 12-15-53 referred her to our New York Office if she acquired further data. (100-162370-294)

- Tolson _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Belmont _____
- DeLoach _____
- Malone _____
- McGuire _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Trotter _____
- W.C. Sullivan _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Ingram _____
- Gandy _____

58 AUG 5 1960 (3)

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 9 1960

TELETYPE

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Malone	✓
Mr. McGuire	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Ingram	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

URGENT 8-9-60 2-28 PM AMM

TO DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM SAC NEW YORK 2 PGS.

Classified by SP-1 GSKIRB6
Declassify on: OADR
31463
Internal Security -
Russia

FRANCIS G. POWERS., U TWO ESPIONAGE TRIAL., IS DASH R.

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8/12/60

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AIRTEL

Class. & Ext. By SP2 TAP/olp
Reason-FCIM II 1-2.4.2
Date of Review 9-30-91

9-30-81

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED] (S)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK [REDACTED] (S)
SUBJECT: [REDACTED] (S)

SM-C
OO:NY

FRANCIS GARY POWERS (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

3 - Bureau [REDACTED] (S)
1 - New York [REDACTED] (S) (Encl. 7) (RM)

RGS:emv
(5)

Classified by SP-1 GSK/RBG
Declassify on: OADR
3/18/83

105-87346
NOT RECORDED
23 AUG 18 1960

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105-87346-NR DATED 8-12-60

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-87346)

DATE: 8/18/60

July 7/60

FROM : SAC, WFO (105-35630)

SUBJECT: FRANCIS GARY POWERS
IS - R

*Z
KNCU
7/31*

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of a letterhead memo dated and captioned as above, together with its memo of evaluation.

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S) *pl*

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

- ② - Bureau (Enc. 5)
- 2 - WFO

REC-22

105-87346-48

DJK:mf's
(4)

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OTHERWISE

AUG 18 1960

ENCLOSURE
7/19

62 AUG 30 1960

Classified by *SP-16SK/RB6*
Declassify on: OADR
3/14/83

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ESP/SEC

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

August 18, 1960

FRANCIS GARY POWERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

According to the August 9, 1960, edition of the "Evening Star," a daily newspaper published in Washington, D. C., subject is scheduled to go on trial in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on charges of espionage on August 17, 1960. Subject was the pilot of a U-2 plane which the Soviets claim they shot down over Sverdlovsk, USSR, on May 1, 1960.

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

bl
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Classified by SP-1652/RB6
Declassify on: OADR
3/14/83

cc to State
8-29-60
0-146
10/1/60

105-87346-48
SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL
ENCLOSURE

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.

August 16, 1960

Title : FRANCIS GARY POWERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Reference: Memorandum dated and captioned
as above, at Washington, D. C.

All sources (except any listed below) used in referenced
communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP1GSK/RBG
ON 3/14/93

105-87346-48

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
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 Malone _____
 McGuire _____
 Rosen _____
 Trotter _____
 W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Ingram _____
 Gandy _____

TO : MR. TROTTER *h.h.*

DATE: 8-19-60

FROM : A. K. Bowles *AKB*

SUBJECT: FRANCIS G. POWERS
AMERICAN FLYER ON TRIAL IN RUSSIA

Re memo of J. G. Creighton ^{near POWERS} 5-9-60 advising that ^{Mrs. William E. Hileman}
 Francis G. Powers' sister, Jessica Hileman of Glassmanor,
 Maryland is the wife of William E. Hileman who is a
 brother of L. Mitchell Hileman, ~~_____~~

Today's Washington "Daily News" carries pictures of Mrs. Jessica Hileman on pages 1 and 3 attending her brother's trial in Russia.

ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Belmont

AKB:al
(5)

AKB
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 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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INFORMANTS PUBLIC
OF JUSTICE DIVISION
RECORDS DIVISION
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August 10, 1960

Article Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Press Department

THE INDICTMENT IN THE CASE OF FRANCIS GARY POWERS,
ACCUSED OF A CRIME COVERED BY ARTICLE 2
OF THE LAW OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
"ON CRIMINAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR STATE CRIMES"

(Full Text)

Francis Gary Powers

At 5:36 A.M. Moscow time on May 1st, 1960, an unknown plane violated the state frontier of the USSR at a point 20 kilometers southeast of the town of Kirovabad, the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, intruded into the airspace of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and proceeded into Soviet territory at an altitude of 20,000 meters**.

The plane which violated the Soviet frontier was tracked continuously by units of the Soviet anti-aircraft defense. This surveillance showed that the plane's route lay over large industrial centers and important defensive objectives of the Soviet Union. Throughout the entire flight, the plane remained at an altitude of 20,000 meters at which no flights are made by any civilian planes. The obtained data left no doubt that this was a deliberate incursion with hostile aims into the airspace of the USSR.

In view of this, the Soviet Government ordered the plane to be shot down. In fulfillment of this order, a unit of the Soviet anti-aircraft defense brought the aforesaid plane down by a rocket, with the very first shot, at 8:55 A.M. Moscow time, when it was at the altitude of 20,000 meters in the area of Sverdlovsk, that is over 2,000 kilometers from the point where it crossed the frontier of the Soviet Union. The pilot of the plane baled out and was detained. The very first interrogation established that he was Francis Gary Powers, a citizen of the United States of America (Volume 1, pages 20-23; volume 2, page 2; volume 7, page 6).

The examination of the plane's wreckage and of the special equipment it carried established that it was an American plane of the "Lockheed U-2" type, designed for flights at great altitudes, adapted for intelligence purposes and, to this end, equipped for aerial photography and radio reconnaissance from great heights. Found among the wreckage were films of Soviet airfields and other important military and industrial objectives in the Soviet Union. Moreover, a ferromagnetic tape was found with a recording of the signals of certain Soviet radar stations (Volume 1, pages 49-52, 128-146, 227, 228; 248-253).

The preliminary investigation, conducted by the State Security Committee under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, established that the espionage flight of this plane had been organized with the knowledge of the Government of the United States by a special American intelligence unit based in Turkey and known under the code name of Detachment 10-10 (Volume 2, pages 2, 3, 13, 17, 217).

When Comrade N.S. Khrushchev, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, disclosed this gas-star flight in his report to the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on May 5th, 1960, a spokesman of the U.S. Department of State admitted on the same day that the fact of the violation of the frontier of the USSR by an American plane was "entirely possible" but would be of an accidental, unpremeditated nature. According to the statement of the Department of State, a "Lockheed U-2" plane had on May 1st engaged in weather research, took "air samples" in the upper layers of the atmosphere in the area of the Soviet-Turkish frontier, and strayed off course because of a failure in oxygen equipment. This statement by the Department of State said further that the pilot had probably lost consciousness, and the plane continued on the automatic pilot and accidentally intruded into the airspace of the Soviet Union. This version was confirmed on the same day in a statement by the National Aeronautics and Space

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* One kilometer equals .62137 miles
**One meter equals 3.28 feet.

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File

Administration of the United States, which allegedly had the control of the aforesaid plane which, according to the statement, had been used to study gust-meteorological conditions found at high altitude. According to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, a search for the missing "Lockheed U-2" plane had been started in the area of Lake Van in Turkey.

The same version was given in the note of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow delivered to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR on May 6th of this year.

On May 7th, addressing the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Head of the Soviet Government, N.S. Khrushchev, exposed the falseness of this version and cited irrefutable, concrete facts which proved beyond doubt the premeditated, perfidious and gangsterlike nature of the violation of the Soviet airspace by the American "Lockheed U-2" plane, and also the intelligence purposes of its flight which were incompatible with the elementary requirements of the maintenance of normal relations between states in peacetime.

After that, the Department of State, cornered by the facts cited by Comrade N.S. Khrushchev, had to admit in its new statement of May 7th of this year the intelligence nature of the flight made by the "Lockheed U-2" plane, noting, however, that "insofar as the Washington authorities are concerned, there was no authorization for any such flights as described by Mr. Khrushchev."

If this statement by the Department of State still left open the question of the U.S. Government's direct implication in the aforesaid brazen act of aggression against the Soviet Union, all doubts on this score were dispelled by the statement made by U.S. Secretary of State Herter on May 9th in the name of the United States Government.

Secretary of State Herter announced in his statement, unprecedented in the history of international relations, that in accordance with the National Security Act of 1947, President Eisenhower had put into effect since the beginning of his administration directives to carry out intelligence operations against the Soviet Union. Under these directives, as noted by Herter, programs had been developed and put into operation providing for the incursion of American reconnaissance aircraft into the airspace of the USSR.

Herter's statement was confirmed on May 11 by U.S. President Eisenhower himself, who also admitted that flights by American planes over the territory of the Soviet Union had been and remained the "calculated policy of the United States." The same thing was said by the Government of the U.S. in a note to the Soviet Government of May 12th, 1960.

Especially brazen and shameless was the television speech by U.S. Vice President Nixon on May 15th in which he not only confirmed the cynical statements that American overflights of the territory of the Soviet Union were a calculated policy of the United States, statements made earlier by Herter and Eisenhower and violating the standards of international law, but went even farther.

Nixon declared that the United States needed a "continuous program" of espionage, and sought to justify the obvious lie in the May 5th statement by the U.S. Department of State about the "meteorological research" allegedly conducted by the "Lockheed U-2" plane. In other words, he was upholding for the United States of America the "right to espionage."

These statements by the Secretary of State, the President and the Vice President of the United States were an official confirmation of the hostile activities which were conducted by the United States of America with regard to the Soviet Union over a number of years and expressed in repeated incursions by American planes into the airspace of the USSR for intelligence purposes.

Thus, the Government of the U.S. officially proclaimed in peacetime a policy which can only be followed in conditions where countries are in a state of war.

During Eisenhower's tenure as President of the United States, that is, beginning with January 1953, the Soviet Union made several protests to the Government of the U.S. against the incursion of American planes within the boundaries of the USSR.

In assessing these violations of the frontiers, these violations of the frontiers are connected with the full military command." (The note of Sept

Soviet Government pointed out that Soviet Union by American military assignments of the Ameri

1954.)

Protesting resolutely against such acts, the Government of the USSR stressed repeatedly in its notes to the Government of the U.S. that these intrusions "are a gross violation of the elementary standards of international law" (The note of September 8th, 1954), and constitute "premeditated actions by certain U.S. circles aimed at aggravating the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America" (The note of July 10th, 1956).

In reply to all these notes, the Government of the U.S. limited itself to formal answers.

The repeated intrusions by American planes within the confines of the Soviet Union are a flagrant violation of the universally recognized principle of international law establishing the full and exclusive sovereignty of every state over the airspace above its territory.

The principle whereby "each state has full and exclusive sovereignty over the airspace above its territory" was anchored in the multipartite Paris Convention on the Regulation of Air Navigation of October 13th, 1919, taken up in the Havana Convention of 1928, concluded by a number of American States, and reproduced in Article 1 of the Convention on International Civil Aviation concluded in Chicago on December 7th, 1944.

The same principle of complete and exclusive sovereignty of a state over its airspace found expression also in the national legislation of various countries, including the Soviet Union and the United States of America (The Air Commerce Act of the U.S. Congress of 1926 and the Civil Aeronautics Act of the U.S. Congress of 1938).

Article 1 of the Air Code of the USSR of 1935 also lays down that "the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics exercises the full and exclusive sovereignty over the airspace of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

This principle of sovereignty is sacred and immutable in international relations.

In these conditions the above statements of President Eisenhower of the United States, Vice President Nixon and United States Secretary of State Herter by which they attempted to justify violations of the USSR sovereignty by American aircraft and elevated such violations into a principle of the state policy of the United States can not be regarded otherwise than as an open declaration of the refusal of the United States Government to comply with the fundamental universally recognized standards of international law, without the observation of which normal relations between states are impossible.

The repeated intrusions of American aircraft into the airspace of the USSR, specifically the flight of the "Lockheed U-2" plane on May 1st of the current year, constitute a gross violation of the sovereignty of the USSR and an act of aggression which tramples upon standards of international law and the high principles of the United Nations Charter which also bears the signature of the United States of America.

With the present level of military techniques, in the conditions when, as responsible American military leaders have repeatedly declared, the United States of America is constantly keeping aloft patrol bombers carrying atomic and hydrogen bombs, reconnaissance flights involving the photographing of possible bombing targets and the spotting of radar installations represent composite elements of military attack from the air.

Under such conditions, the intrusion of a foreign aircraft into the limits of the USSR at any time be an indication of the beginning of an armed attack. Moreover, there is nothing to guarantee that any such plane appearing over Soviet territory does not carry a deadly load.

The aggressive act of the United States of America in the form of arrogant invasion of the airspace of the USSR by an American military aircraft represents an action which directly jeopardizes world peace. In the conditions when certain states possess nuclear weapons and means to deliver them to targets almost instantaneously, the aggressive act undertaken by the United States on May 1st, 1960 against the Soviet Union might have had most grave consequences for humanity.

The above-mentioned statements of the United States Government leaders, and the note of the United States Government of May 12th of the current year lay heavy stress on the alleged civilian nature of the "Lockheed U-2" plane shot down near Sverdlovsk.

The materials of the investigation prove the falsity of these claims.

An identity certificate number AF 1,288,063 carries the insignia of the United States Defense Department with the inscription "Department of Defense, the United States of America." (Volume 1, page 99; volume 6, page 11.)

Asked whether the possession of such a certificate indicated that he was employed as a United States Air Force pilot, Powers replied: "It means that I served in the United States Air Force as a civilian." (Volume 3, page 180.)

Asked further how the institution in which he worked should be regarded--as military or civil--Powers said: "This is a kind of combination of civilian and military service, all this is covered and ciphered by the name of "detachment 10-10." (Volume 2, page 2.)

Powers testified that approximately in April 1960 the Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force General Thomas D. White visited the Incirlik airbase with the special purpose of inspecting the "10-10" detachment. (Volume 3, pages 92, 93.)

Asked who else of the military, besides General White, had visited the Incirlik base, Powers said that during his stay at the Incirlik base it was visited on two occasions by General Everest, the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Airforce in Europe, and by other American generals. (Volume 4, pages 28, 211.)

It has thus been established that the "Lockheed U-2" plane shot down on May 1st, 1960 belonged to the United States Airforce.

The criminal breach by the United States Government of the universally recognized standards of international law represents one of the elements of the aggressive foreign policy pursued by the United States Government. This aggressive policy was repeatedly formulated by United States leaders, in particular by former Secretary of State of the United States John Foster Dulles as "from positions of strength policy," "deterrent policy" and "the policy of balancing on the brink of war."

As late as July 1959, the United States Vice President Nixon in an article published by Life magazine again highly praised the so-called "policy of balancing on the brink of war" and declared that this policy remained one of the supreme principles of the United States of America.

As is known, this policy was manifested in the conclusion under the United States aegis of aggressive pacts and alliances in nearly all parts of the world, in the arms race, in the establishment of a net of military bases around the borders of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as in other aggressive actions endangering universal peace and security. Expressions of the same policy were the systematic intrusions of aircraft of the United States Air Force into the limits of the Soviet Union, including the aggressive intrusion by an American "Lockheed U-2" military aircraft on May 1st, 1960.

The reckless actions of the United States Government have brought about the breakdown of the Summit Meeting in Paris and complicated the international situation.

The United States Government has drawn into the realization of its aggressive policy a number of states bordering on the Soviet Union, which have lent their territories for American military bases and consequently are accomplices in the aggressive actions against the USSR.

It has been established by the investigation that the intrusion of the American "Lockheed U-2" aircraft on May 1st could not have taken place without the use of military air bases on territories of states lying close to the Soviet Union, specifically of Turkey, Pakistan and Norway in view of the fact that the maximum range of the "Lockheed U-2" aircraft being what it is, it could not operate from the United States territory.

It has been established that the reconnaissance "10-10" detachment in which Powers served was based on the American-Turkish Incirlik airbase. The unit was under the command of Colonel Shelton of the United States Air Force. The "Lockheed U-2" plane in which the aggressive intrusion into the boundaries of the Soviet Union was carried out on May 1st of the current year, was flown from the Incirlik base to the Peshawar military airbase in Pakistan, from which it flew to the Soviet Union. This involved a breach of the sovereignty of Afghanistan over the territory of which the afore-mentioned plane flew unlawfully, without the knowledge of Afghan authorities.

Asked what reserve airfields were indicated to him for his May 1st flight, Powers said: "As reserve airfields I could use any airfield in Norway, Pakistan and Iran." (Volume 3, page 88.)

It has also been established that according to his assignment after ending his flight, Powers was to land on the Bodde military airbase in Norway which had been already used by the "10-10" intelligence detachment on previous occasions.

These circumstances have been established by the testimony given by Powers, his flight map and other evidence (Volume 2, pages 9, 28, 180, 196-198, 304; volume 6, page 25).

Instructions given to Powers envisaged the possibility of a breach of sovereignty of other states as well. On this question defendant Powers testified: "In case of a shortage of fuel to fly to Murmansk along the planned route, I could turn to the left before reaching Kandalaksha and fly via Finland to Bodde, Norway." (Volume 2, page 241.)

The instruction given to Powers envisaged the possibility of landing, if need be, on airfields in Finland or Sweden. This is what Powers testified on this matter:

"The word 'Sodankyla' written along the green line (the line on the flight map) means that I could land at Sodankyla airfield (Finland). However, Colonel Shelton has warned me that this airfield is bad and that I may use it only in case of emergency since in any way it is better than to land somewhere on Soviet territory. He also said that it is best of all to land in Sweden or Norway, the latter being more desirable." (Volume 2, page 271.)

This testimony given by Powers is confirmed by the marks found on his flight map. (Volume 6, page 25.)

Thus the investigation of the present case once more confirmed the fact that American military bases established on the territories of certain foreign states constitute a danger to peace and to the security of nations.

For the realization of their aggressive policy of espionage against the Soviet Union, the government and the military command of the United States for a number of years have been selecting and training the necessary personnel. It was for this purpose that the defendant in this case, Francis Gary Powers, was recruited.

During the investigation Powers testified that in 1950 he volunteered for the United States Air Force, underwent training at an airforce school in Greenville, Mississippi and later on at an airbase outside Phoenix, Arizona. After graduation he had served as a pilot at various United States military airbases with the rank of first lieutenant. (Volume 3, pages 109-113; volume 4, pages 43-45.)

In April 1956, Powers was recruited by the United States Central Intelligence Agency to fly special reconnaissance missions on specially equipped high-altitude aircraft. (Volume 2, pages 88-92, 103, 178; volume 4, pages 45-49.)

When Powers was recruited, the tasks he was to perform were explained to him. In this connection Powers testified: "They said that my main job would be flying the aircraft along the USSR borders to pick up any information I could about radar and radiostations and any other information that could be picked up. They also said that there might be other duties in the future if everything went well." (Volume 4, page 47.)

After that he signed a secret contract with the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States headed by Allen Dulles and pledged in writing to keep this cooperation secret. Powers was warned that for violating his pledge and divulging information about the activities of the American Intelligence Service he is liable to be punished by criminal law by ten years in jail or fined \$10,000, or both. (Volume 2, pages 92, 103-104.)

Indeed Chapter 37 on "Espionage and Censorship" of the United States Legal Code contains Clause 793 which stipulates such punishment for offenses specified above.

Powers testified that for the fulfillment of espionage assignments of the American Intelligence Service he was given a monthly pay of \$2,500, although when he served in the United States Air Force he was paid \$700 a month. (Volume 2, pages 2, 91.)

After being enlisted by the American Intelligence Service he was sent for special training to a desert airfield in Nevada.

At this airfield which at the same time is a part of an atomic testing ground, for two months and a half he studied the high-altitude "Lockheed U-2" plane and received instruction in the operation of equipment designed to intercept radio and radar signals. Piloting aircraft of this type, Powers made high altitude long-range training flights over California, Texas and northern United States.

For secrecy's sake the spy pilots who underwent training at his airfield were registered under fictitious names. In particular, Powers was registered there under the name of Palmer. (Volume 2, pages 192-194; volume 3, pages 45-51; volume 4, pages 47-52.)

After special training Powers was sent to the American-Turkish Incirlik military airbase near Adana where the reconnaissance unit, known under the code name of "10-10" detachment was stationed.

This detachment assigned to conduct intelligence work against the USSR by sending spy planes into the airspace of the USSR to gather information on military, industrial and other important objectives for the sake of camouflage was officially subordinated to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). (Volume 2, pages 195, 217; volume 4, pages 52-56, 62, 313.)

Concerning the certificate found on Powers which was issued on January 1st, 1959, he stated that this certificate "says that I have the right to pilot a U.S. Air Force plane. It was issued to me in the detachment "10-10" on airbase in Incirlik. The certificate was issued to us in the name of NASA." (Volume 3, page 183.)

On orders of the "10-10" detachment command, Powers made systematic intelligence flights since 1956 in a special high-altitude "Lockheed U-2" plane along the Soviet borders with Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. (Volume 2, pages 8, 177, 178, 237-239.)

Powers stated about these flights: "We would take off from Incirlik air-drome and would fly eastward as far as the town of Van, situated on the lake of the same name. After that we would proceed to Teheran, the capital of Iran, and having passed it would fly eastward, to the south of the Caspian Sea. After that I usually flew to the south of Meshed, crossed the Iranian-Afghani frontier and further along the Afghani-Soviet frontier...not far from the eastern frontier of Pakistan a turn was made and we returned to the Incirlik airdrome taking the same route. Later on we began making a turn earlier, after penetrating into the Afghan territory for about 200 miles." (Volume 3, page 9.)

Powers further pointed out that during his intelligence flights in this area he was told to use as emergency airdromes, in case of a possible landing, the airfields of Meshed and Teheran in the territory of Iran. (Volume 3, page 87.)

The course of Powers' flight over the territory of the Soviet Union on May 1st, 1960 was carefully prepared in advance. This is indicated by the fact that this flight was entrusted precisely to Powers, who familiarized himself with Bodde airport in Norway as early as 1958.

As established by the investigation, on April 27th, 1960 Powers was brought in a transport plane of the United States Air Force from the Incirlik airforce base to Pakistan--the Peshawar airport. Colonel Shelton and a party of 20 people from among the maintenance personnel of the "10-10" detachment arrived simultaneously at Peshawar base to prepare this flight. The specially fitted-out "Lockheed U-2" plane was flown there from Turkey by another pilot of the "10-10" detachment. (Volume 2, pages 179, 197-198, 240-244; volume 3, pages 6-7; volume 4, pages 59-60.)

On the night of May 1st, 1960, two and a half hours before take-off, Powers was ordered by Shelton to fly over the territory of the USSR from south to north at an altitude of 20,000 meters along the following route: Peshawar, the Aral Sea, Sverdlovsk, Kirov, Archangel, Kuznetsk and to land at Bodde in Norway.

In accordance with the orders he received Powers when flying over certain points of the Soviet territory was to switch on the special equipment with which the plane was fitted out for aerial photography and registration of the operation of radar stations of the Soviet Union's anti-aircraft defense system. On Shelton's orders Powers was to give special attention to several places on his course and to 2 points--at one of which a missile-launching site was to be located and at the other an especially important defense ob-

Powers carefully complied with all these instructions. Powers took off in his "Lockheed U-2" plane from Peshawar airport, climbed to an altitude of 20,000 meters, flew over the territory of Afghanistan, intruded in the airspace of the Soviet Union for more than 2,000 kilometers from the frontier. The navigation instruments and the special equipment functioned faultlessly during the flight.

Throughout the flight Powers felt normal and plotted intelligence data on his flight map. In the area of Sverdlovsk Powers' plane was shot down by the Soviet rocket troops. (Volume 2, pages 4, 9, 28, 37-39, 179-181, 198, 199, 239-244, 254-260, 268-271, 273, 274; volume 3, pages 20-23, 60, 61, 132-134, 142-145; volume 6, page 25.)

Asked about the circumstances under which the plane he piloted was shot down, Powers testified: "...quite unexpectedly I heard a kind of hollow explosion and saw an orange flash. The plane suddenly pitched down and, I think, its wings and tail started falling off. Perhaps the plane was not hit directly and the explosion took place near the plane and it was hit by the burst and fragments...I think it happened at the altitude of some 68,000 feet...I was shot down some 25-30 miles south or southeast of Sverdlovsk. At that moment I was keeping to the route indicated on my chart rather accurately...when the plane began to fall down I was pressed to the central panel and could not use the catapult. I opened the canopy, unfastened the straps and got out from the plane through the top. The parachute opened automatically." (Volume 2, page 182; volume 4, pages 256-257.)

The testimony of the accused, material evidence and expert conclusions have shown that the plane piloted by Powers was equipped with a special blasting device permitting the pilot to blow it up in case of a forced landing in Soviet territory. Moreover, there was a blasting machine in the tape recorder designed for registering the signals of Soviet radar stations. (Volume 1, page 228; volume 2, pages 209-210; volume 5, pages 30, 84-91.)

Powers was provided with a special pin with lethal poison from the curare group. This pin was given to him, as Powers declared, to commit suicide in case he was tortured. (Volume 1, page 37; volume 2, pages 10, 93; volume 5, pages 261-262.)

All these plans and the carefully thought-out measures of precaution were intended to avoid the exposure of the United States ruling quarters' aggressive policy and to deceive world public opinion.

Besides the poisoned pin, Powers was provided with: a noiseless pistol and cartridges, a dagger, a pneumatic rubber boat, a set of topographical maps of the European part of the USSR and the adjoining countries, means for kindling a fire, signal cartridges, an electric torchlight, compasses, a saw, fishing tackle and other implements and things, as well as 7,500 Soviet rubles and valuables (gold coins, rings, wrist watches) which, as Powers testified, were given to him by Colonel Shelton when he boarded the plane and were designed to bribe Soviet people in case of a forced landing in Soviet territory.

All this equipment was taken from Powers after he was detained. (Volume 1, pages 21-22, 34-41, 67-72, 81-83, 161-188; volume 2, pages 46-48, 219-220; volume 3, pages 244-250, 257-264; volume 4, pages 1-7, 16-21.)

Witnesses V.P. Surin, a driver, A.F. Cheremisin, a worker, L.A. Chuzhakin, a driver, P.E. Asabin, an invalid, and many others who witnessed how the "Lockheed U-2" plane was hit by a rocket in the area of Sverdlovsk and who detained pilot Powers when he parachuted down, have testified to the following:

V.P. Surin--"On May 1st, 1960, approximately at 11 A.M. local time, when I was at home in my apartment, I heard a sharp noise resembling that of a jet plane, but much shriller. This got me interested and I ran into the street to find out what was up. Then I heard an explosion and also saw...a column of dust...

At the same time I sighted a cloud of smoke in the sky and a white object which was coming down. I followed it with my eyes and when it came lower I saw it to be a descending parachutist. When all this was happening driver Leonid Chuzhakin, whom I know from my work, pulled up next to me in his car...When he got out of the car I pointed to the descending parachutist and we started watching where he would land. Some time later we saw that he was landing...on the shore of a rivulet near the high voltage line. Chuzhakin invited me into his car and we drove to the place where the parachutist landed. Some 50 meters from there, Chuzhakin stopped the car and we ran to the spot where the parachutist came down." (Volume 4, pages 328, 329.)

L.A. Chuzhakin--"When the helmet with the earphones was removed the parachutist said something in a language we did not understand. We asked him who he was, but he gave no reply. Then we saw that he was a foreigner. This put us on the alert and then Cheremisin took away the longbarreled pistol in a leather case that was hanging from his belt. We asked him by gestures whether he was alone. He replied also by gestures that he was. Seeing that the parachutist was a foreigner we decided to detain him." (Volume 4, pages 399 and 400.)

P.E. Asabin--"The parachutist fell while landing. To prevent him from being dragged by the parachute on the ground I held him and helped him to spill the air from the parachute, since I am acquainted with this having served in the airforce in the past. Meanwhile my acquaintances Anatoli Cheremisin, Leonid Chuzhakin and Vladimir Surin came running up and helped the parachutist to get on his feet. I helped him to remove the parachute, while Cheremisin, Chuzhakin and Surin removed the helmet with the earphones and the gloves.

"When the helmet with the earphones was removed the parachutist said something in a language we could not understand. We asked him who he was and what happened but he gave no reply and only shook his head. We understood that he was a foreigner and decided to detain him." (Volume 4, pages 349, 350.)

A.F. Cheremisin--"Supporting the detained parachutist by the arms Asabin and I led him to the passenger car standing close by in which Chuzhakin and Surin had arrived. While putting him into the car Asabin saw that the parachutist had a hunting knife and took it away." (Volume 4, page 387.)

The inspection of the remnants of the downed plane showed that the parts and the instrumentation of the plane were seriously damaged when the plane was hit in the air and when it collided with the earth. Parts of the plane were scattered over an area of about 20 square kilometers. (Volume 1, pages 47-59, 227.)

Defendant Powers, when shown the parts of the downed plane and asked what plane it was, replied: "It is a 'Lockheed U-2' plane in a very damaged condition."

When asked if it was the plane in which he flew over the territory of the Soviet Union on May 1st, 1960, Powers replied: "To my mind this is the same plane which I piloted on May 1st, 1960. In order to tell more exactly I must see the pilot's cockpit if it still exists..."

After that defendant Powers was shown the preserved part of the pilot's cabin. When asked "Are you familiar with this part of the plane?" he replied: "Yes, it is familiar to me. It is a canopy of the pilot's cockpit. I am sure this is the canopy of the cockpit of my plane..." (Volume 3, page 158-160.)

The experts who inspected the remnants of the downed plane concluded that it was a subsonic one-seater reconnaissance plane of the "U-2" type of the American firm "Lockheed" with a single turbojet engine. The plane has no national identification marks. It carried apparatuses for photographic and radio technical reconnaissance including a two-lense acrophoto camera with a focal length of 36 inches and also the apparatuses for detecting radio emissions in the three centimeter, decimeter and meter ranges of wavelength.

Installed in the plane also was a remote controlled blasting block containing 1.4 kilograms* of explosive. The instrumentation and parts of the plane carry trade marks of different American firms; in particular, the turbojet engine was made by the "Pratt-Hitney" firm, the starters and electric batteries were made by the firms "Hamilton Standard," "General Electric," etc. Besides, the instrumentation bears marks which show that it is the property of the United States Defense Department. For instance the apparatuses for radio technical reconnaissance made by the "Hewlett-Packard Company" and Huggins Laboratory bear a special index showing that it belonged to the United States Defense Department.

The absence on the plane of national identification marks and the presence of a set of special apparatuses for photo and radio technical reconnaissance, as well as the blasting device for destroying the plane clearly reveal its intelligence mission. (Volume 1, pages 227-228, 248-253; volume 5, pages 84-91, 111-112, 155-158, 174-185.)

* One kilogram equals 2.2046 pounds.

The expert technical examination has established that the plane carried a special aerial sound recorder connected with the radiowave detector, with a roll of ferromagnetic tape for 8 hours of continuous operation. The sound recorder has the index HP 12,570 and serial number 769. It has a DC tape-feed actuating mechanism made by the American Globe Industries, Inc. in Dayton, Ohio.

The decoding of the impulse signals recorded on the ferromagnetic tape has shown these signals to belong to the ground radar stations of the radar network of the air defenses of the Soviet Union.

These recordings can serve to determine the range of wavelengths on which the reconnoitered radar stations operate, the frequency of impulse repetition, the time of coverage of the plane by a radar station and the area of its dislocation, the number and operating duty of radar stations in service. (Volume 5, pages 29-36.)

The intelligence gathering activity of the "Lockheed U-2" plane on its flight over the territory of the USSR has also been confirmed by the findings of the technical experts who examined the plane's photographic equipment.

The experts established the 73-B aerial camera number 732400, which was found on the "Lockheed U-2", to be a special reconnaissance camera designed for high-altitude photography of 160-200 kilometers-wide strips of land.

The investigation has established that during his flight over the territory of the Soviet Union Powers photographed the territory and industrial, military and other important establishments. Much of the film, removed from the plane, has been found unexposed and was developed.

The examination of the aerial film has established that the locality photographed with long-focus cameras from the plane is Soviet territory stretching from a point west of Tashkent to Sverdlovsk. Photographed on the film are a number of military airfields and civil airports as well as important industrial establishments of the South Urals.

The experts' findings and the rest of the evidence collected show that the air photographs obtained during the flight of the "Lockheed U-2" plane, piloted by Powers, represent a wide range of intelligence on industrial and military establishments within the photographed area applicable both for reconnaissance purposes and for compiling topographic maps and also for determining the coordinates of strategic military establishments. (Volume 5, pages 177-185.)

The intelligence-gathering activity of the "Lockheed U-2" plane has been confirmed also by Powers' testimony during the preliminary investigation and by his own written statement.

Questioned on the substance of the charge preferred against him, Powers pleaded guilty and testified as follows: "I plead guilty to the fact that I have flown over the Soviet territory and over the points indicated on the chart, turned on and off the necessary controls of the special equipment mounted aboard my plane. This, I believe, was done with the aim of collecting intelligence information about the Soviet Union."

And further on: "In accordance with the contract which was signed by me with the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, I was a pilot of this special air detachment of the USA dealing with the collection of information about operational radio stations and radars on the territory of the Soviet Union and, as I suppose, about locations of rockets." (Volume 2, pages 176, 177.)

Powers' liability to the charge preferred against him is confirmed by factual and written evidence, experts' findings and the testimony of the witnesses.

On the basis of the foregoing--

Francis Gary Powers, born in 1929, subject of the United States, citizen of Bourdyne, Kentucky, high school graduate, pilot of the special "10-10" intelligence detachment of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, hereby accused of having, after being recruited by the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States in 1956, conducted intense espionage activity over the Soviet Union which is an expression of the aggressive policy pursued by the Government of the United States.

On 1 May 1960, he, Powers, invaded the airspace of the USSR in a special reconnaissance plane, "Lockheed U-2", with the knowledge of the

United States Government and under instructions from the American intelligence service which is implementing the afore-mentioned aggressive policy, with a view to gathering strategic intelligence on the location of missile bases, airfields, radar facilities and other important defense and industrial establishments of the USSR, that is, information which represents the state and military secret of the Soviet Union, and, having flown over 2,000 kilometers deep into the Soviet Union, photographed with special equipment a number of the above-mentioned installations and tape recorded the signals of radar stations, and collected other information of espionage character.

The crime, committed by the accused Francis Gary Powers, falls within the scope of Article 2 of the Law of the Soviet Union "On Criminal Responsibility For State Crimes."

The indictment was drawn up in the city of Moscow ^{USSR.} on July 7th, 1960.

(signed) A. SHELEPIN.
~~Chairman of the State Security Committee~~
Under the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

* * *

SECRET

11033
8/15/60

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Malone
- Mr. McGuire
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tamm
- Mr. Trotter
- Mr. W.C. Sullivan
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RE: FRANCIS GARY POWERS
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FREELANCE COURT REPORTER
- NOTARY PUBLIC

August 19, 1960

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Mr. Belmont	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Callahan	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. DeLoach	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Malone	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. McGuire	<input type="checkbox"/>
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Mr. Tamm	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Trotter	<input type="checkbox"/>
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DATE 5-14-83 BY SP-165K/RBG

THREE STAR EXTRA
Commonwealth Building
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

On your program tonight, one of the commentators voiced the opinion that Francis Biddle had failed his opportunity to gain his niche in the higher echelons of American heroes by not defending his country.

There was a time when I would have agreed with you -- but that time is past, twelve years past.

There was a time when an American soldier had reason to resist all forms of torture to uphold the principles of American liberty and justice -- because he knew that any reward he might be received by other soldiers who were equally willing to undergo incredible hardships, soldiers sent to his rescue by an American government which would spare no expense and no effort to see that this one soldier was snatched from the hands of his captors.

The American soldier during the past twelve years has had repeated demonstrations that no such help is forthcoming from his government. He knows that regardless of how strong his love for his country or his desire to keep its secrets the Communists will be able to break his will through the unspeakable tortures they have at their resources, such as fanning urine into his throat and then pumping him in the stomach to make him swallow while burning his bound prison body with cigarettes or hanging him by his wrists for three days with only his big toes touching the floor.

The enlightened soldier of today will use an entirely different strategy. He will resist the Communists only long enough to make them think they have won a victory when he capitulates. He knows he has no one to get him out of his situation but himself.

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EX - 102

REC-3

105-87346-155

Mr. Hoover:

Master of Deceit occupies a place of high honor on my book shelf when I am my friend

This is what Francis Powers has done and I salute him for resorting to good old American ingenuity. He hasn't achieved greatness but he has saved his own life and sanity. He simulated the appearance of being brain-washed, but his good physical condition attests to the fact that he has not been. In other words, he capitulated in time to fool the enemy. This is more of an achievement than the United States has attained during the twelve-year period to which I refer. It has fallen head-long into every trap the Communists have laid for it.

The "National Purpose" series run by LIFE recently skirted but never focused on the origin of the illness which has infected America.

And I borrow a phrase from a man who ought to know, for he served in the All Russian Constituent Assembly in October, 1917, when the 37% duly elected Bolsheviks made a shambles of it, my own town's eminent scientist and author of "The White Nights: It is the cancerous "illness of appeasement." The American citizenry have been brainwashed by the appeasement policies and statements issuing from the White House. They feel sick to their stomachs but the illness has been inflicted so gradually, they are unable to trace the symptoms to the original onset of pain -- beginning with the highly touted "Air Lift to Berlin" when American troops should have been used instead, the \$400,000,000 given to Greece to save it from Communism, the billions that have been given to Yugoslavia, Poland, and Hungary, the hills swapped back and forth in Korea, the firing of MacArthur who did not know how to lose a war, the truce talks in Korea every time the Reds were low on supplies or needed to rest, the Yalu River guarding the untouchable Trans-Siberian railroad, the never-ending efforts to convince the world that we were peace-minded with our truths and our dollars while the Reds utilized those dollars to their advantage, blocked out our truths, and printed only their lies.

No, Francis Powers has not failed his country. It is his country that has failed Francis Powers. He risked his life and it was probably the money that made him do it, not the Star-Spangled Banner waving on high --

-- because there is no Old Glory flying high and proud and mighty. It lies in the gutter ... trampled, ragged, streaked with the stains of appeasement.

cc: The Vice President
Mr. Harris L. Sims
Hon. Spessard L. Holland
Hon. George Smathers
Hon. Barry Goldwater
Hon. James A. Haley
← Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

b7c [REDACTED]

FIA

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