

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : MR. PARSONS

DATE: 5/9/60

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FLYER
DOWNED OVER RUSSIA

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

Liaison Supervisor [REDACTED] ascertained that Secretary Herter and Allen Dulles of the Central Intelligence Agency briefed the following Congressional committees this afternoon, on the situation involving the American flyer who was downed in Russia:

Senate and House Foreign Affairs Committee;
Senate and House Armed Services Committee;
Senate and House Foreign Relations Committee.

In addition to these committees, the leadership of both houses was invited to attend.

FRANCIS GARY POWERS

AHB:CSH (5)

cc Mr. Parsons
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Branigan
Mr. Turyn

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-1-83 BY SP-16SK/RBG
230,910

EX 102

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

REC-53

12 MAY 11 1960

Classified by SP-16SK/RBG
Declassify on: OADR

3/1/83

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIAISON

51 MAY 16 1960

~~SECRET~~

Francis Gary Powers

8-1

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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105-87346-NR DATED 5-4-60

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: May 10, 1960

FROM : D. C. Morrell

SUBJECT: COMMENTS RE DIRECTOR IN
"NEW YORK MIRROR"
MAY 10, 1960

| | |
|---------------|---|
| Tolson | / |
| Belmont | / |
| Callahan | / |
| DeLoach | / |
| Malone | / |
| McGuire | / |
| Rosen | / |
| Tamm | / |
| Trotter | / |
| W.C. Sullivan | / |
| Tele. Room | / |
| Ingram | / |
| Gandy | / |

Francis Gary Powers

At the end of an editorial column in the May 10 issue of the "New York Mirror" the occasion of the Director's 36th Anniversary as Head of the FBI is used as a vehicle to make the observation that if the FBI instead of CIA had been conducting the operation involving the flight over Russia of our aircraft, no such error as occurred would have resulted.

To thank the editor for his kind comment concerning Mr. Hoover's 36th Anniversary might tend to lend approval to his comparison of the FBI with CIA.

RECOMMENDATION:

That in this instance no letter of appreciation be sent.

*I disagree - Recommendation
not mentioning CIA -
5/10*

BDA:mid
(3)

105-87346-12
NOT RECORDED
167 MAY 12 1960

12 MAY 12 1960

ADDENDUM: BDA:ec 5-10-60. That if the above recommendation is not approved, the attached letter of appreciation be sent.

Enclosure 5-10-60

CORRESPONDENCE

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: May 10, 1960

FROM : J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Francis Gary Powells

Pages 9077- These pages contain the discussion by various
9084 Senators on the shooting down of the United States
plane over Russia.

Original filed in:
100-1731-1814

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

105-87346-
NOT RECORDED
46 MAY 12 1960

57 MAY 17 1960

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 5-9-60 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that

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

MAY 8 1960
WESTERN UNION

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 _____

BIA003 239P EDT MAY 8 60 PE055

SA146 OA403 O RDA014 PD TDRD MANHATTAN BEACH CALIF 8 916AMP

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHDC

SUPPOSE MR K AND THE PILOT ARE COOPERATING

MANHATTAN BEACH.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-1-83 BY SP-1658/1886

MAY 8 15 23 PM '60

ENCLOSURE

RECEIVED MAY 13 1960

SEC. OF COM. 10082

MAY 8 3 10 PM '60

MAY 8 5 03 PM '60

MAY 10 22 PM '60

CC-MR. BELMONT

ED-101

DECLINING
MAY 10/60

no action
indefinite
WAB, SP-10082

no action
def

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach *very*

DATE: 5/10/60

FROM : D. C. Morrell *DeLoach*SUBJECT: *b7C* [REDACTED] *b7C* [REDACTED]

MANHATTAN BEACH, CALIFORNIA

The attached telegram dated 5/8/60 has been received bearing the names of Mr. and Mrs. [REDACTED] and the senders are, no doubt, captioned individuals who wrote a complimentary note to the Director on 8/28/56 concerning Mr. Hoover's articles on the subject of communism. Bulet 9/7/56 was a short note of thanks. No other pertinent references located. (94-3-4-396-56) The [REDACTED] message, "Suppose Mr. K and the pilot are cooperating" undoubtedly refers to the recent capture of the American flier, Francis G. Powers, on his flight over Russia, and reply does not seem necessary in answering this conjecture.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached wire not be acknowledged.

Enclosure

DCL:njs
(3)

ENCLOSURE

REC- 54

105-87346-4

18 MAY 13 1960

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-1-83 BY SP1 GSK/RBC

50 MAY 18 1960

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

CRIMINAL SEARCH

~~SECRET~~

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-275683)

5/11/60

SAC, NEW YORK (100-59596)

[REDACTED] S

[REDACTED] S

This information should be furnished to the
State Department and CIA.

10/20/82
CLASS. BY SP16SKI DMS

DATE OF REVIEW 01/03
2002,418

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

2-Bureau (100-275683) (Encls. 5) (RM)
1-New York (100-59596)

RPM:vcc
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE
ON 10/20/82 DMS

ENCLOSURE

52 MAY 17 1960

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

105-87346
NOT RECORDED
MAY 17 1960

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-275683-621

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 2 Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); AIR FORCE
_____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
 X FOR THIS PAGE X
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: May 10, 1960

FROM : MR. G. H. SCATTERDAY

SUBJECT: FRANCIS G. POWERS
PILOT DOWNED IN SOVIET UNION

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

Bureau files have been reviewed for any information concerning the captioned individual. No identifiable information could be located.

Records of the Identification Division reveal a service print on an individual who is believed identical with the captioned person. The service print reveals that Francis Gary Powers, born on October 17, 1929, at Jenkins, Kentucky, enlisted in the Air Force on October 6, 1950. His service serial number is indicated on the print to be AF 13321989.

ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Mr. Branigan
 1 - Name Check Section

GHS:fjd
 (4)

REC-59

105-87346-7

13 MAY 17 1960

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 3-7-83 BY SP-1 RBS
 EX-114

64 MAY 19 1960

TRUE COPY

b7C

May 6, 1960

Office of the F. B. I.
Washington D. C.

Gentlemen:

Permit me, please, a plain citizen, to express a suspicion as to the nature of the just recently shutdown of an American Plane over Russian territory.

Mr. Krushchev has a masterly way of presenting to the World shocking surprises at the eve of internationally important moments.

I am inclined to see a similarity between that new Krushchev surprise and the shutdown over Cuban territory of two American fliers.

Whose is the idea? Mr. Krushchev of Mr. Castro's?

Couldn't Mr. Krushchev also find such Americans who for good money or devotion to communism perform such acts of treason?

I am an old, retired physican, taking always great interest in matters concerning my country.

Respectfully

/s/

b7C

def

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-1-93 BY SP1 GSK/EBG

mm
5-13-60
ack
clipped

b7C

[REDACTED]

May 6, 1960

Office of The F.B.I.
Washington D.C.

Francis Gary Powers

Gentlemen:

Permit me, please, as plain citizen, to express a suspicion as to the nature of the just recently shutdown of an American plane over Russian territory.

Mr. Khrushchev has a masterly way of presenting to the world shocking surprises at the eve of internationally important moments.

I am inclined to see a similarity between that new Khrushchev surprise and the shutdown over Cuban territory of two American fliers.

Whose is the idea? Mr. Khrushchev's of Mr. Castro's? Couldn't Mr. Khrushchev also find such Americans who for good money or devotion to Communism perform such acts of treason?

I am an old, retired physician, taking always great interest in matters concerning my Country.

Respectfully

b7C

[REDACTED]

d

rec'd
at 5:13-00
at 5:13-00

MAY 6 5 55 PM '60

REC-8

105-87346-

8

EX-112

11 MAY 17 1960

~~Do Not File - Return to 4236~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/16/86 BY 65K/PB6

May 18, 1960

REC-3

105-87346-8

b7C

[REDACTED]

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

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter dated May 6, 1960, has been received. I appreciate the thought prompting your contacting us, and I was interested in having the benefit of your observations and comments.

Since your communication is of primary concern to another governmental agency, I am taking the liberty of forwarding a copy of it to the Office of Security, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

FBI - JUSTICE
REC'D BY (MOM)

MAY 13 10 02 AM '60

MAY 13 5 08 PM '60

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
FBI

RECEIVED

NOTE: Copy of incoming sent by form to the Office of Security, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C. Only reference on correspondent in Bufiles was mention of his name as being the Dr. of a person who we investigated at one time.

Lee Pr

Tolson _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Belmont _____
Callahan _____
DeLoach _____
Malone _____
McGuire _____

MAILED 30
MAY 13 1960
COMM-FBI

[REDACTED]

b7C

MAY 14 10 10 AM '60

FBI - JUSTICE

W. J. [Signature]

del

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. TROTTER *bls*

DATE: 5-9-60

FROM : J. G. Creighton *for*SUBJECT: (FRANCIS G. POWERS
AMERICAN FLYER
ARRESTED BY SOVIET AUTHORITIES)FRANCIS GARY POWERS
IS-R

Newspaper articles have reported the recent incident wherein Francis G. Powers, an American aviator, was shot down while flying over Russian territory.

As a matter of interest, Jessica Powers, sister of captioned flyer, is married to William E. Hileman who is a brother of L. Mitchel Hileman, Mr. and Mrs. William E. Hileman reside in Glassmanor, Maryland.

ACTION:

For information.

1 - Mr. DeLoach

JGC:jf
(5) *W*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-1-83 BY SP-1658 RBG

EX-100
REC-69105-87316-9
11 MAY 18 1960

62 MAY 23 1960

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

RA

HON.

PRESIDENT

D. EISENHOWER

WASHINGTON

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DO NOT WORRY ABOUT THE PILOT IN RUSSIA,
IT IS SATAN'S WORK.

WATCH N. KRUSHCHEV WHO IS RULED BY SATAN IN HIS
BLACK ROBES, HIS FACE IS ALWAYS COVERED BECAUSE, SATAN IS
BURNT AND IS ASHAMED.

FEAR NOT AT THE SUMMIT MEETING, GOD IS WITH YOU,
LEST YOU SHOW WEAKNESS.

*a man of God
Elijah*

Down from Heaven The Judge

Francis Gary Powers

gm

EX-100

REC-41

105-87346-10

RECEIVED FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-1-83 BY SP-1638/CBG

MAY 18 1968

13 MAY 17 1968

NO. 10452

RESEARCH

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~SECRET~~ 12

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

TO : MR. PARSONS

DATE: 5/12/60

FROM : A. H. Belmont

cc Mr. Parsons
 Mr. Belmont
 Mr. Branigan
 Mr. Turyn

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FLYER DOWNED
OVER RUSSIA

Attention is called to the statements of Khrushchev yesterday during his press conference, wherein he indicates that he was horrified to learn that President Eisenhower had knowledge of the overflights of Russia and raises the question of what type of reception the President will receive if he comes to Russia. Khrushchev makes a statement,

"The people of Russia are open-hearted. Can I urge the Russian people to greet him as a dear guest? The Russian people would say I was mad to welcome a man who sends spy planes over here like that..... Just imagine what would have been the reaction if, on the eve of my visit to America, we had sent a plane over the United States."

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE

this has been
 decided by the
 President

SP-165KRBQ

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

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 105-87346

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b7c

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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BETTER GOVERNMENT FOR
ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA.

807 ARPIEKA AVE.

MAY 13, 1960

11C
HONORABLE DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

IN LIGHT OF THE RECENT TRAGIC PLANE EPISODE, WE PLEAD WITH YOU NOT
TO GO TO THE SUMMIT MEETING.

I REFER TO THE U2 JET PLANE PILOTED BY FRANCIS POWERS THAT WAS SHOT
DOWN BY THE RUSSIANS.

SINCE MR. KRUSCHEV, THE NUMBER ONE MURDERER OF THE UKRAINE AND HUNGARY,
HAS SO BLATANTLY AND SLEEPFULLY TOLD HIS RUBBER STAMP "PARLIAMENT"
IN MOSCOW THAT SOVIET ARMED FORCES HAVE SHOT DOWN WHAT HE TERMED A
MILITARY PLANE, THIS IS AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FOR OUR GOVERNMENT
TO SEIZE THE TRUMP CARD AND CALL MR. KRUSCHEV'S HAND DEMANDING
ABSOLUTE AND UNQUESTIONABLE PROOF THAT THE U.S. PLANE BROUGHT DOWN
WAS MILITARY AND WAS VIOLATING SOVIET TERRITORY. ALSO, UNLESS MR.
KRUSCHEV FULLY AND PROMPTLY APOLOGIZES FOR HIS INSULTS TO YOU, MR.
PRESIDENT, AND MR. NIXON AND TO OUR ALLIES FOR HIS THREATS TO THEM,
THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE IS TORPEDOED SO FAR AS YOU, MR. PRESIDENT,
ARE CONCERNED.

WHEN WILL OUR LEADERS EVER LEARN THAT THEY CANNOT NEGOTIATE WITH THE
DEVIL, AND THE ENEMY HAS ONLY DISGUST FOR WEAK APPEASERS???

MR. PRESIDENT, THE WHOLE FUTURE OF AMERICA MAY HINGE UPON THE COURSE
YOU FOLLOW IN THIS INCIDENT. APPEASEMENT HAS LED US A LONG WAY DOWN
THE ROAD. I PRAY THAT WE WILL STAND FIRM BEFORE WE HAVE REACHED THE
POINT OF NO RETURN.

MR. LOUIS BUDENZ, THE OUTSTANDING AUTHORITY ON COMMUNISM AND EDITOR
OF THE COMMUNIST LINE BULLETIN, HAS THE FOLLOWING TO SAY IN
CONNECTION WITH THE MAY 16TH SUMMIT CONFERENCE:

"THE BOURGEOISIE IS IN THE THROES OF FEAR", DECLARES THE
MARCH INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, FRESH FROM MOSCOW, AS THE KEY
TO WHAT THE KREMLIN WANTS THE COMRADES TO SPREAD THROUGHOUT
THE WESTERN WORLD."

"THE GROUND IS SLIPPING FROM UNDER CAPITALISM", EMPHASIZES
THE APRIL WORLD MARXIST REVIEW WITH THE SAME INTENT IN MIND.
WE ARE TO BE FRIGHTENED OUT OF OUR BOOTS INTO NEW CAPITULATIONS
AT THE COMING SUMMIT CONFERENCE IN PARIS, CAPITULATIONS WHICH
BY NOW CAN GIVE TO THIS PERIOD OF TIME THE TITLE "THE
GREAT AMERICAN RETREAT, 1933-1960".

EXP. PROC.
MAY 17 1960

105-87346-12 No ack
Not addressed
5/19/60
35
19
25 MAY 14 1960

PAGE 2

MAY WE AT THIS TIME PRESUME TO SUGGEST THAT MR. ROGERS, THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL, TURN THE FBI LOOSE IN ALL DEPARTMENTS OF OUR GOVERNMENT AND ALL GOVERNMENT AGENCIES?

ALSO, STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES. A COMMITTEE OF SUCH VITAL IMPORTANCE TO THE SECURITY OF OUR NATION SHOULD NOT BE TREATED IN A PECCADYLLISH MANNER.

AND, WHEN REPORTS ARE RENDERED BY THESE SECURITY GROUPS, GIVE THEM YOUR UTMOST CONSIDERATION.

WE CANNOT HOPE TO WIN THIS BATTLE UNLESS WE ARE WILLING TO BRING THE SKELETONS OUT OF OUR CLOSETS AND PUT OUR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER BY GLEANING OUT THE NESTS OF SPIES AND TRAITORS IN OUR COUNTRY AND IN OUR GOVERNMENT. ON APRIL 29, 1960, IN THE PUBLICATION OF THE AMERICAN STATESMAN, THE FOLLOWING APPEARED IN MR. HARRY T. EVERINGHAM'S COLUMN ENTITLED, "WE THE PEOPLE MUST SAVE OURSELVES: "INVESTIGATORS ESTIMATE THAT THERE ARE AT LEAST THIRTY MORE COMMUNIST CELLS OPERATING FULL BLAST IN THE AGENCIES AND DEPARTMENTS OF OUR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT."

NOW WELL I RECALL, MR. PRESIDENT, IN 1952, THE GLORIOUS CAMPAIGN SPEECHES AND NOW THE AMERICAN PEOPLE LOOKED TO YOU AS A GREAT LEADER AND THE ONLY ONE, WHEN YOU SAID YOU WOULD BALANCE THE BUDGET AND DRIVE THE COMMUNISTS FROM HIGH PLACES IN OUR GOVERNMENT. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ARE STILL LOOKING TO YOU FOR THIS HEROIC LEADERSHIP, BUT IT IS APPARENT THAT THEY ARE BECOMING DISHEARTENED AND DISCOURAGED BECAUSE TIME IS RUNNING OUT AND THEY SEE NO STRONG MEASURES TAKEN WITH THE ENEMY.

EVEN AT THIS LATE DATE, WE URGE YOU TO ENDORSE SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER'S RESOLUTION TO SEVER RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA AS THAT IS OUR ONLY SALVATION. IT WOULD BE MORE HONORABLE TO FALL FROM WITHOUT THAN TO FALL FROM WITHIN.

MANY OF OUR GREAT PATRIOTIC AMERICANS AND TOPMOST AUTHORITIES ON COMMUNISM HAVE REPEATELY OVER THE PAST YEARS ADVISED THE SEVERING OF RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA. HAD THIS ADVICE BEEN HEEDED, RUSSIA WOULD HAVE BEEN STRANGLERED ECONOMICALLY LONG AGO AND EIGHT HUNDRED MILLION PEOPLE WOULD BE FREE TODAY.

WE PRAY, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT YOU WILL HAVE THE COURAGE AND THE STAMINA NOT ONLY TO STAND FIRM, BUT TO DO ALL IN YOUR POWER TO KEEP BEFORE THE WORLD THE FATE OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS AND THE WELFARE OF AMERICA.

YOURS MOST SINCERELY,

71a

b7c

[REDACTED]

By Better Jones

CC: HONORABLE RICHARD NIXON
HONORABLE WILLIAM ROGERS
HONORABLE CHRISTIAN HERTER

HONORABLE GEORGE SMATHERS
HONORABLE FRANK LOUCHE
HONORABLE FRANCIS WALTER

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: May 17, 1960

FROM : MR. G. H. SCATTERDAY

SUBJECT: EDWIN MARTIN JOHN KRETZMANN
(Also known as Kretzman)
INFORMATION CONCERNING

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

The attached column from the "Washington Post and Times Herald" of 5-16-60 (written by Jack Anderson in Drew Pearson's absence) states that the individual in the State Department who prepared "the phony story" regarding the disappearance of the U-2 spy plane was Deputy Assistant Secretary Edwin M. J. Kretzann. Kretzann is undoubtedly identical with the captioned individual.

- Mr. Belmont

enclosure

LS: fib/c

8/11

67

- Mr. Belmont AG. inc.

27. 2001

closure

LS:fjb (4)

814 Lett. 5/19/87

- Mr. Belmont AG - Mr. Branigan MAY 24 1960

7/11/51 - Name Check Section RECORDED

closure

ES:fjb/(4)

Classified by SP7 GSK/NLS

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: EDWIN MARTIN JOHN KRETZMANN

~~SECRET~~

b7C
↓
[REDACTED]

b1
[REDACTED] (S)

In June, 1959, Inspector W. C. Sullivan attended the annual National Strategy Seminar and Kretzmann was one of the speakers. (62-96114-24)

ACTION:

For information.

AB
8/24

d

W

Weyers
5/18

W

~~SECRET~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Hoover

DATE: 5/13/60

FROM : SAC Auerbach

PERSONALSUBJECT: U-2 PILOT AND PLANE
CAPTURED BY THE RUSSIANS

FRANCIS G. Powers

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

Just a note to make the point that without exception the general feeling that we get out here in San Francisco from our usual federal intelligence group and the press, from their many sources, is that this situation came about because of the stupidity of CIA and that when the matter has settled down some, there should and will be a big inquiry as to the operations, efficiency and cloak of secrecy of CIA.

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DATE 3-1-83 BY SP16SK/BBG

101 XG
REC-87

105-87346-14

13 MAY 19 1960

51 MAY 26 1960

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5-7 (Rev. 1-22-60)

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION - FBI
ESPIONAGE SECTION

~~SECRET~~

5-23, 1960

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| Mr. Parsons | Mr. Ferris, 7629 |
| Mr. Belmont | Mail Room, 5531 |
| Mr. D.E. Moore | Translation Sec. |
| Mr. Sizoo | 6228 IB |
| Mr. Baumgardner | Reading Room |
| Mr. Eland | |
| Mr. Branigan | RECORDS BRANCH |
| Mr. Donahoe | Consolidation Unit |
| Mr. Frohbose | Special Mail Room |
| Mr. Scatterday | Send File |
| Mr. W.C. Sullivan | Bring File |
| | up-to-date |
| Mrs. Dean | Place on record |
| Mrs. Henley | and return |
| Miss Martis | Indicate Index |
| Mrs. Pulley | reference |
| Miss Tharrington | Post in File & |
| | Destroy O-1 |
| Handle | Note File # & |
| Correct | return R/S to |
| Please Call Me | |
| Please See Me | |

SUPERVISORS

| | |
|----------------|--------------|
| Mr. Aull | Room |
| Mr. Campbell | Mr. Meehan |
| Mr. Doyle | Mr. O'Neill |
| Mr. Ezell | Mr. Shubatt |
| Mr. Gregg | Mr. Stokes |
| Mr. F.L. Jones | Mr. Tansey |
| Mr. Lee | Mr. Torrillo |
| Mr. Linton | Mr. Turner |
| Mr. Litrento | Mr. Turyn |
| Mr. Martin | Mr. Vizas |
| Mr. McDermott | Mr. Wallace |
| | Mr. Whitson |
| | Mr. Youtz |

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3-3-83

Espionage Sec., Room

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L. Wilson

7-13 (Rev. 3-1-60)

FBI LABORATORY

~~SECRET~~

5/24, 1960

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| Mr. Tamm | 7621 | Mr. Griffith | 7601 |
| Mr. Conrad | 7621 | Mr. Dingle | 7601 |
| Mr. Downing | 6228 IB | Mr. Feehan | 7601 |
| Mr. Millen | 7140 | Mrs. Gusack | 7147 |
| Mr. White | 7133 | Miss Bailey | 7601 |
| | | Miss N. Pfalzgraf | 7603A |
| Mr. Blaine | 7334 | Miss V. Pfalzgraf | 7601 |
| Mr. Bohn | 7615 | Mr. Mortimer | 7616 |
| Mr. Brittain | 7610 | Mr. Oberg | 7616 |
| Mr. Buckley | 7607 | Mr. Shaneyfelt | 7338 |
| Mr. Cadigan | 7330 | Mr. Thompson | 7613 |
| Mr. Casey | 7609 | Mr. Tunstall | 7617 |
| Mr. Collier | 7334 | Mr. Webb | 7338 |
| Mr. Dahlgren | 7605 | Mr. Whitcomb | 7334 |
| Mr. Davis | 7617 | Mr. Williams | 7336 |
| Mr. Delaney | 7609 | | |
| Mr. Devine | 7613 | Mr. Krahling | 7331 |
| Mr. English | 7330 | Mail Room | 5531 |
| Mr. Farrell | 7615 | Reading Room | 5533 |
| Mr. Hegvold | 7615 | Lab Files | 7141 |
| Mr. Holland | 7610 | L.F.P.S. | |
| Mr. Kelleher | 7605 | Records Branch | |
| Mr. Lilja | 7607 | Technical Sec. | 3201 IB |
| Mr. Marshall | 7336 | Assembly Sec. | 2237 IB |
| Mr. Mesnig | 7616 | Outgoing Mail | 7603 |
| Mr. Miller | 7334 | Miss Stiles | 2210 IB |
| Mr. <i>Whitson</i> | | (Stragglers) | |
| Room | <i>710</i> | Correspondence Unit | 6208 IB |

bl

(5) [REDACTED]

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Declassify on: OADR
3-3-83

Please See Me
Please Call Me
Please Handle
Please Initial

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~~SECRET~~

Document Section

File 5-111
Dahlgren

~~SECRET~~

May 20, 1960

Dear Sir:

It is being rumored that there is a possibility of a traitor's act in the U 2 episode.

Unless the pilot was forced to fly lower because of some emergency, there can be no excuse for his being detected, or for being taken alive with important data on his person or left undestroyed on the plane. And why was the risk taken to send a plane over Russia at that most critical time?

We, American-born citizens, (and I speak for many who have expressed the above opinion) hope that there will be an investigation, if it has not already been done, into the pilot's background: his parents, his political views, his financial status (any extensive deposits recently) and whether he has been known to have communistic sympathy, if not, actually a communist.

Be assured that we have absolute confidence in the F.B.I. to clear up this matter for the American public, as well as for the whole world and will relieve our President of this great responsibility.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Yours truly,

Transmitted by
N/R BW. INDICES
ON [redacted] b7C
[redacted] b7C

EX 108
REC-7

No acknowledgement
necessary - no address
given

105-87346-

13 MAY 25 1960

Classified by 2165UR06
Declassify on: OADR

3/1/83

7 JUN 1 1960

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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7-108

5-2
EX-108

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: [REDACTED] (S)

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| 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 | _____ |

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-87346)

FROM: SAC, WFO (105-35630)

FRANCIS GARY POWERS
IS - REnclosed for the Bureau are five copies of a
letterhead memo dated and captioned as above.

(S)

(S)

(S)

(S)

(S)

③ - Bureau (Enc. 5)
1 - WFO

HEF:ac
(4)AIRTEL

ENCLOSURE 5

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OTHERWISE

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Declassify on: OADR

3/3/83

~~SECRET~~

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

JUN 10 1960

JUN 6 1960

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105-87346-17 LHM

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~TOP SECRET~~TO : A. H. Belmont *pb*

DATE: 6/2/60

FROM : W. A. Branigan *WAB*SUBJECT: FRANCIS GARY POWERS
IS - R

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

b1
 [REDACTED] (S) *Va*

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S) *Q*

ACTION:~~(TOP SECRET)~~ *b2*

For your information.

HEC:skn
(7) *skn*

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Branigan
- 1 - Mr. Donahoe
- 1 - Mr. Kuhrtz
- 1 - Mr. Whitson

pb *Q*

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REC-10

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 3/3/83

105-87346-19

12 JUN 7 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

283
 62 JUN 13 1960

Office Memorandum

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI
FROM : Legat, London (105-757)

DATE: May 25, 1960

SUBJECT: DEFENSE PLANS -
INCREASED INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS

Francis Gary Powers
ReBucables May 16 and 17, 1960, and my cable May 21, 1960.

b1 [REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

The above is submitted for the Bureau's information.

P 5 - Bureau
London

EX 104

REC-68 105-87346-20

JUN 15 1960

JUN 1 1960

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

EXP. PROC.

UNCLASSIFIED COPY FILED IN

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 6/1/60

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|-------------------|-------|
| 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 | _____ |

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 GARY POWERS
IS - R

Enclosed herewith are 5 copies for the Bureau of a letterhead memo captioned as above. This information is being furnished to the Bureau for possible dissemination to interested Government agencies.

ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Enc 5)
2 - WFORAW:sks
(5)

AIRTEL

C C - Wick
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SP-1 GSK/RBS

Declassify on: OADR

213183

Approved: _____

Per _____

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE:

June 9, 1960

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page A6884, Congressman Scherer, (R) Ohio, extended his remarks to include the column written by Victor Riesel entitled "Reds Enjoy U. S. Privileges" which appeared in the June 3 issue of the New York Mirror. Mr. Scherer stated "In this column Mr. Riesel vividly and effectively contrasts the treatment of Francis Gary Powers by the Communists with two well-known Russian spies that have been caught in this country." Mr. Riesel comments on the case of Irving Potash, who was deported as an undesirable after being convicted of conspiring against the United States. Mr. Riesel stated "Potash reported to his bureau in Moscow after he was deported. He was assigned to China. He was shifted to Poland, his birthplace. Then he slipped back into the United States. The FBI picked him up. He served 3 years in Atlanta."

Original filed in: 100-1791-1032

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DATE 3-3-83 BY SP-16SKIRBG

1105-87346-
NOT RECORDED
46 JUN 21 1960

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 6-8-60. was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of any of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. McGuire

DATE: 6-14-60

FROM : W. G. Jones

SUBJECT:

Frances Powers

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

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Vol. XLII, No. 1091

May 23, 1960

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THE
OFFICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD
OF
UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

5-11

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLII, No. 1091 • PUBLICATION 6999

May 23, 1960

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Office of Public Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

Mutual Security, Its Principle and Programs

Address by President Eisenhower¹

Before I convey to you the thoughts that I have put down on paper for this purpose this evening, I want to give a word of explanation about my understanding about this meeting.

The invitation that I received requested that I add my voice to those who support the Mutual Security Program of the United States and cooperation among the free nations of the world. There was not a word said about any function honoring me, and I heard no such talk from either the cochairman or any of my staff. So I want to take this moment to thank my friends from so many countries who have paid to me over-generous and possibly undeserved compliments.

I want to say to them something that they already know—and I am sure you do—that the greetings that I received from so many places in Europe and Asia² were simply one thing: The effort of great peoples to tell the people of the United States of their respect for them, their admiration, and their affection. I was the messenger, and if I were a successful messenger in that office, in bringing that feeling from these countries to my own, then I am indeed happy and proud. In any event I thank you all for your compliments.

This gathering heartens every true believer in preparedness, freedom, and peace. That leaders from all across the land would assemble here—

¹Made before the Committee for International Economic Growth and the Committee To Strengthen the Frontiers of Freedom, at Washington, D.C., on May 2 (White House press release; as-delivered text).

²President Eisenhower made an 11-nation trip to Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, and Africa Dec. 3-22, 1959; for background, see *BULLETIN* of Jan. 11, 1960, p. 46.

energetically to reaffirm support of mutual security—is good news indeed. This rededication could not come at a better time. For trends are developing—particularly in Washington—that are profoundly disturbing.

Support and Understanding of Program

Unless an alert citizenry takes effective action to support those in the Congress who champion the cause of mutual security, it could well result:

In jeopardizing an important part of the Nation's defense;

In endangering our worldwide alliance structure;

And in weakening efforts to resist Communist expansion and to forge a just peace.

Two months ago I requested the Congress to continue adequate support of our long-proven Mutual Security Program.³ I asked an appropriation of \$4.175 billion—a sum one-twentieth of our Federal budget and one-tenth of our defense budget. This amount is imperatively required. The Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff all share this conviction.

One bright development is that, in the past few days, the committees of Congress legislatively concerned with our relations with other nations have reasserted the overriding importance of our Mutual Security Program to America's security and free-world progress. Only this evening I have been informed by Senators [J. W.] Fulbright

³For text of the President's message to Congress, together with statements by Secretary Herter and Under Secretary Dillon, see *ibid.*, Mar. 7, 1960, p. 369.

and [Everett M.] Dirksen that the Senate this evening [May 2] acted constructively on this program in the authorizing legislation. The same has of course happened in the House.

But, at the same time, other groups strategically situated in Congress have proclaimed it as their fixed purpose to slash the appropriation for this mainstay of the free world by more than a billion dollars. They cite isolated instances of malfunctioning in operational staffs as an excuse to attack a great program, which for 14 years has been indispensable in protecting America's stake in security, in free-world cooperation, and in global peace. On such grounds and on the erroneous contention that our Mutual Security Program is ineffectual, they would reduce it by 25 percent or more.

Every American citizen needs to understand what this would mean.

It would be, for America and all the free world, a crushing defeat in today's struggle between communistic imperialism and a freedom founded in faith and justice.

It would mean, within a matter of months, new international tensions and new international problems of the utmost gravity for every one of our citizens.

It would mean the virtual abandonment of an effort which has yielded our Nation greater benefits in security, better neighbors, and opportunities for expansion of profitable trade than has been achieved by any comparable expenditures for any other Federal purpose.

An America aroused can prevent these calamitous results, for in this Republic government must respond to the will of the people.

Mutual security has never been, nor is it now, Republican or Democratic. Like our own defense program, of which it is an essential part, it is bipartisan to the core. This program was started 14 years ago by my Democratic predecessor. It was first enacted into law by the Republican 80th Congress. Both political parties, patriotically joined in the national interest, are its parents. And still today both parties are pledged to its support.

Here, specifically, are solemn promises made to the American people in the public document:

First, "... we strongly favor collective defense arrangements. . . ."

Second, "we believe that . . . America must

support the efforts of underdeveloped countries. . . ."

Third, "... we will intensify our cooperation with our neighboring republics. . . ."

Here is another set of pledges:

First, "we shall continue to support the collective security system. . . ."

Second, "where needed, we shall help friendly countries maintain such local forces and economic strength as provide a first bulwark against Communist aggression or subversion."

Third, "we will continue efforts with friends and allies to assist the underdeveloped areas of the free world. . . ."

Now in their meaning, these two sets of pledges are identical. The first three are in the Democratic platform of 1956. The last three are in the Republican platform of the same year. These commitments still stand. America has the right to expect both parties to keep their word.

Achievements of Mutual Security

Indeed, even beyond the call of integrity, both parties have excellent reason to do so. For mutual security has effectively supported freedom everywhere on earth. It has made possible a greater and mutually advantageous trade. No other investment has yielded greater dividends in terms of stability, security, and free-world morale.

This is the program that helped to save Greece from Communist guerrillas. It helped to rescue Turkey from economic collapse, restoring this critical area as a bastion of freedom. It helped to maintain Western Europe as a center of free—rather than Communist—power and production. The importance of these victories is incalculable; every one of our citizens is today the stronger, the more prosperous, the more secure, thanks to mutual security.

In Asia, under SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] and other security treaties, a million soldiers stand as a bulwark of liberty—sustained, again, by mutual security.

As I speak tonight, our economic and military help gives support to the military might of 42 other nations, which stand poised in freedom's cause. For this they—and we—give heartfelt thanks to mutual security.

On five continents our economic and technical programs help struggling millions better their

production and living standards. Only recently I looked into the faces of these many people. I have seen the desperate need of these people; I have felt their spirit. Most of all, I have witnessed their abiding faith in the greatness and goodness of America, and their love and respect for this land of the free. By helping to make their lives more meaningful and more rewarding, we have helped to keep bright their love of liberty and their determination to reject the soulless forces of Communist materialism.

Moreover, America's efforts to help others have evoked a heartening response from other advanced industrial nations. In recent years they have doubled their direct aid to the less developed countries. In addition, in the new International Development Association other countries will put up \$3 for every \$2 put up by the United States. The very moment when other countries are recognizing their responsibilities is no time for us to walk away from our own.

That such a program—its record shining with accomplishment and its continuance solemnly pledged by both of our political parties—should now face a crippling cutback seems incredibly irresponsible. To me it is almost inconceivable.

Let America speak, and this will not be done.

The Unfinished Task

Thus far I have mentioned past achievements. But a great deal more cries out for attention.

Half a world away from us, for example, a great democracy, dedicated to peace, struggles with almost insuperable problems to demonstrate that Asians do not have to sacrifice freedom as payment for economic advance.

To the south our sister Republics need help to unlock the storehouses of their great wealth.

In Africa a seething continent is trying to telescope a thousand years of development into a few decades.

Around the world almost 2 billion people are living in a ferment of privation, misery, resentment, and frustrated hope. They are imbued with an unshakable, even fanatical, determination to break through the spiritual and cultural stagnation imposed upon them by grinding poverty.

Mutual security has done much to help. The hope, confidence, and energetic effort so inspired are slowly making progress in creating conditions in which prosperity, security, and peace in free-

dom can flourish. But for lack of understanding the program has been steadily weakened while the need has grown more obvious and critical. Only the conscience and the down-to-earth commonsense of all Americans, informed and aroused, can meet the need.

Facing us is a test of our resolve to make our Government do the task it has to do to protect the safety of the American people. The amount I have asked the Congress to provide for mutual security is the minimum required to meet the basic necessities of sheer defense and to keep alight a glimmer of hope in hundreds of millions of people arrayed with us on the side of freedom.

America Needs the World

From all these facts we see that the free world needs America! Just as importantly, America needs the world.

This means far more to us than soldiers and tanks and ships and missiles, essential though these are. Important it is that our allies contribute 5 million soldiers, 30,000 airplanes, and 2,200 combatant ships to the common defense of freedom. But our involvement with our neighbors is far more basic than this.

Foreign trade is an example. It is, for America, a \$30 billion a year business. To this trade 4½ million of our people owe their jobs with other nations.

For all of us there is great meaning in this: We export, on the average, a third of our cotton crop, just under a third of our wheat, and a fourth of our tractor production.

But this is only a part of our dependence on foreign trade. The health of our economy depends upon materials owned by others. Manganese, chrome, tin, natural rubber, nickel are examples. As our economy grows, we depend increasingly upon others for such materials. Eight years ago we imported only about a twentieth of our iron ore. Today we have to import over a third of it.

Yes, America needs the world!

And this we must never forget: These needs are more than military and economic. They are technical, cultural, and spiritual as well. Great ideas originating with other peoples have vastly enriched our land.

Fellow Americans, even if we wanted to, we could not shut out the free world. We cannot

escape its troubles. We cannot turn our backs on its hopes. We are an inseparable part of the free-world neighborhood.

We must hold to these truths:

If nations friendly to us are weakened and imperiled, so are we.

If other friendly nations are strong and free, our own strength and freedom are more secure.

If other free nations prosper, so do we.

In these truths we see the fallacy of adding measurably to our own massive and adequate armaments at the expense of allied strength, which is in many instances better located strategically than ours can ever be. No less dangerous is the annual argument that America should stint on strengthening the free world because this would give us more luxury in a comfortable isolation here at home.

This is sheer deadliness—a counsel of defeat and complacency. Logically carried out, it could end only in a militarized America. To the extent that this concept is indulged it gravely menaces the people of the United States.

We can, here at home, arm to the teeth and yet go down in total defeat if we let the rest of the world be swallowed up by an atheistic imperialism. By abandonment of struggling millions to lives of hopeless desperation, rich America might, for a time, live more extravagantly. But not for long! For a just peace, dependable security, and real progress were never bought by destructive weapons and hardhearted selfishness, but rather by education, by training, by constructive works—by cooperation.

Only by thinking of ourselves, and truly conducting ourselves, as brothers under God with those who, with us, want to live and grow in freedom, can we hope to solve problems in which failure will mean disaster for much of humanity. Victory in this effort will mean a shoulder-to-shoulder march to greater security, greater prosperity, and greater happiness for all. There, in those few words, is the very heart of mutual security.

So tonight I restate to you this pledge of the executive branch of your Government. I pledge a continuing and energetic support of the principle and programs of mutual security. And I call upon the leadership and the rank and file of both political parties, as well as upon all other sons and daughters of America, to see that those

parties hold true to their pledges to give this program their support.

Of this I am certain: The path for America must be one of cooperation—cooperation among ourselves and with our friends abroad who are dedicated to human dignity and from whom we draw strength as we impart of our own strength to them. Together we shall confidently carry the burdens and sacrifices of sustaining security against any imperialistic design—as together we continue the search for peace, a search in which we shall persevere without tiring or ceasing until victory, at last, shall belong to all the earth.

Thank you and good night.

Mutual Security Report Emphasizes Problems of Economic Development

Press release 285 dated May 2

The United States will face "new and somewhat different problems in the mutual security area" during the decade of the 1960's, according to President Eisenhower's semiannual report to Congress on the Mutual Security Program, transmitted on May 2.¹

The report declared that the growing realization of hundreds of millions of people in underdeveloped countries that hunger, poverty, and disease need not be their inevitable lot "represents an emerging force which will probably become the most significant single social factor" of the new decade. "This mighty surging movement in the underdeveloped countries seldom makes for headlines and so far rarely for international 'incidents,'" the report added. "Yet its implications for the decade we are now in are tremendous. . . ."

The report stated the problems and opportunities inherent in the beginning of economic development in the emergent countries have been the subject of "searching thought" both in the United States and in Western Europe in recent months. "Our friends and allies in Europe are also aware of this need, and as their ability to provide development assistance grows, we are increasingly consulting with them to determine how the burden

¹ Report to Congress on the Mutual Security Program for the First Half of Fiscal Year 1960; available upon request from the Office of Public Services, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

can most efficiently be shared by all," declared President Eisenhower's letter transmitting the report to Congress.

The report declared it has become increasingly clear that the Western industrial nations must make available to the less developed countries the knowledge, advice, and capital to allow economic development within the framework of a free society. The report added:

If they do not do so, the political and economic influence of the Communist system will be firmly established over whole continents, where the fateful first steps of political and economic development are now being taken. . . .

It behooves the Western democracies to demonstrate by their aid and encouragement that economic advancement can be achieved without putting on the straitjacket of political and economic tyranny.

Reporting on mutual security activities during the semiannual period by areas, the report noted these developments:

Europe. Economic aid virtually terminated, with only Spain, Yugoslavia, Iceland, and Berlin left as recipients. On the military side there was a significant increase in defense expenditures of our NATO partners, reflecting increasing economic stability and prosperity of Europe.

Africa. Most pressing needs of new nations of Africa are, first, administrative, managerial, and technical skills, and, second, capital for development projects. A significant development in this area during the period was an increase in Soviet bloc activity, evidenced by acceptance of a \$110 million line of credit by Ethiopia from the bloc and by a \$35 million U.S.S.R. loan to Guinea.

Near East and South Asia. The Near East enjoyed a period of relative calm. A significant development in South Asia was announcement of agreement in principle between India and Pakistan on a plan to divide the waters of the Indus River system.²

Far East. Largest allocations of fiscal year 1960 appropriations were made, as in the past, to the three divided countries—Korea, Viet-Nam, and the Republic of China—which must maintain large defense forces and are consequently in the greatest need of U.S. assistance. Flood relief programs were undertaken in Taiwan, Korea, and Japan.

Citing other activities of the Mutual Security Program during the period, the report listed De-

² For background, see BULLETIN of Mar. 21, 1960, p. 442.

velopment Loan Fund loans totaling \$172.2 million in 17 countries. In addition DLF negotiated 22 loan agreements in the amount of \$130 million which represented earlier loan approvals. This activity brought the value of loan commitments issued by DLF since its inception to \$908.8 million. All of the loans made for industrial projects were made to private borrowers, including a chemical and pesticide plant in Turkey, pulp and paper and cement plants in the Philippines, and phosphate mines in Jordan.

A total of \$32 million in special assistance funds was allocated for U.S. participation in the worldwide malaria eradication program.

As a part of the Government's overall plan in this field, the International Cooperation Administration continued to encourage private enterprise to participate more fully in economic development programs in Thailand, the Sudan, Jordan, Israel, India, Taiwan, Nepal, Ceylon, Ghana, and Greece.

The report said the Mutual Security Program played no part in increases in the balance-of-payments deficits of 1958 and 1959, pointing out, while there had been some increases in offshore procurement under nonmilitary programs, these increases were offset by decreases in offshore procurement under military programs. Although MSP did not cause the increase in balance-of-payments deficits, the report pointed to a new DLF procurement policy which could contribute to a reduction in the balance-of-payments deficit. The new DLF policy places primary emphasis on financing of goods and services of U.S. origin in procurement for DLF projects.³

Inter-American Advisory Committee Holds Fourth Meeting

The Department of State announced on May 5 (press release 247) that the National Advisory Committee on Inter-American Affairs is meeting at the Department on May 6 and 7. Following his return to Washington Secretary Herter will participate in the meeting of the Committee on May 7.

This will be the fourth meeting of the Committee since its creation by President Eisenhower on November 14, 1959.¹ The purpose of the Commit-

¹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1959, p. 708.

² For background, see BULLETIN of Dec. 7, 1959, p. 823, and Dec. 21, 1959, p. 904.

tee is to consider, on a continuing basis, current and long-range problems of our relations with Latin America and to make recommendations thereon to the Secretary of State. The members of the Committee accompanied President Eisenhower on his trip to South America² earlier this year, and part of the current meeting will be devoted to a review and assessment of the results of that trip.

United States Plane Downed In Soviet Union

Following is a series of statements and the text of a U.S. note on the subject of a U.S. plane alleged to have been shot down over the Soviet Union on May 1.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY HERTER, MAY 9

Press release 254 dated May 9

On May 7 the Department of State spokesman made a statement with respect to the alleged shooting down of an unarmed American civilian aircraft of the U-2 type over the Soviet Union. The following supplements and clarifies this statement as respects the position of the United States Government.

Ever since Marshal Stalin shifted the policy of the Soviet Union from wartime cooperation to postwar conflict in 1946 and particularly since the Berlin blockade, the forceful takeover of Czechoslovakia, and the Communist aggressions in Korea and Viet-Nam the world has lived in a state of apprehension with respect to Soviet intentions. The Soviet leaders have almost complete access to the open societies of the free world and supplement this with vast espionage networks. However, they keep their own society tightly closed and rigorously controlled. With the development of modern weapons carrying tremendously destructive nuclear warheads, the threat of surprise attack and aggression presents a constant danger. This menace is enhanced by the threats of mass destruction frequently voiced by the Soviet leadership.

² *Ibid.*, Mar. 28, 1960, p. 471.

For many years the United States in company with its allies has sought to lessen or even to eliminate this threat from the life of man so that he can go about his peaceful business without fear. Many proposals to this end have been put up to the Soviet Union. The President's open-skies proposal of 1955 was followed in 1957 by the offer of an exchange of ground observers between agreed military installations in the U.S., the U.S.S.R., and other nations that might wish to participate. For several years we have been seeking the mutual abolition of the restrictions on travel imposed by the Soviet Union and those which the United States felt obliged to institute on a reciprocal basis. More recently at the Geneva disarmament conference the United States has proposed far-reaching new measures of controlled disarmament. It is possible that the Soviet leaders have a different version and that, however unjustified, they fear attack from the West. But this is hard to reconcile with their continual rejection of our repeated proposals for effective measures against surprise attack and for effective inspection of disarmament measures.

I will say frankly that it is unacceptable that the Soviet political system should be given an opportunity to make secret preparations to face the free world with the choice of abject surrender or nuclear destruction. The Government of the United States would be derelict to its responsibility not only to the American people but to free peoples everywhere if it did not, in the absence of Soviet cooperation, take such measures as are possible unilaterally to lessen and to overcome this danger of surprise attack. In fact the United States has not and does not shirk this responsibility.

In accordance with the National Security Act of 1947, the President has put into effect since the beginning of his administration directives to gather by every possible means the information required to protect the United States and the free world against surprise attack and to enable them to make effective preparations for their defense. Under these directives programs have been developed and put into operation which have included extensive aerial surveillance by unarmed civilian aircraft, normally of a peripheral character but on occasion by penetration. Specific missions of these unarmed civilian aircraft have

not been subject to Presidential authorization. The fact that such surveillance was taking place has apparently not been a secret to the Soviet leadership, and the question indeed arises as to why at this particular juncture they should seek to exploit the present incident as a propaganda battle in the cold war.

This Government had sincerely hoped and continues to hope that in the coming meeting of the Heads of Government in Paris Chairman Khrushchev would be prepared to cooperate in agreeing to effective measures which would remove this fear of sudden mass destruction from the minds of peoples everywhere. Far from being damaging to the forthcoming meeting in Paris, this incident should serve to underline the importance to the world of an earnest attempt there to achieve agreed and effective safeguards against surprise attack and aggression.

At my request and with the authority of the President, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Honorable Allen W. Dulles, is today briefing Members of the Congress fully along the foregoing lines.

STATEMENTS BY NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION

Statement of May 3¹

A NASA U-2 research airplane, being flown in Turkey on a joint NASA-USAF Air Weather Service mission, apparently went down in the Lake Van, Turkey, area at about 9:00 a.m. (3:00 a.m. e.d.t.) Sunday, May 1.

During the flight in southeast Turkey, the pilot reported over the emergency frequency that he was experiencing oxygen difficulties. The flight originated in Adana with a mission to obtain data on clear air turbulence.

A search is now underway in the Lake Van area.

The pilot is an employee of Lockheed Aircraft under contract to NASA.

The U-2 program was initiated by NASA in 1956 as a method of making high-altitude weather studies.

Statement of May 5²

One of NASA's U-2 research airplanes, in use since 1956 in a continuing program to study gust-meteorological conditions found at high altitude, has been missing since about 9 o'clock Sunday morning (local time) when

its pilot reported he was having oxygen difficulties over the Lake Van, Turkey, area.

The airplane had taken off from Incirlik Air Base, Turkey. The flight plan called for the first check point to be at 37 degrees, 25 minutes, North: 41 degrees, 23 minutes, East, and for a left turn to be made to the Lake Van beacon, thence to the Trabazon beacon, thence to Antalya, and return to Adana. The flight scheduled was estimated at 8 hours, 45 minutes, for a total of 1,400 nautical miles. Takeoff was at 8 a.m. local time.

(The above-given times are the equivalent of 8 a.m. Sunday, and 2 a.m., Eastern Daylight Time.)

About one hour after takeoff, the pilot reported difficulties with his oxygen equipment. Using emergency radio frequency, he reported he was heading for the Lake Van beacon to get his bearings, and that he would return to Adana.

As indicated above, his flight plan called for him to make a left turn at the Lake Van beacon. His last report indicated he was attempting to receive that beacon. It is believed he probably was on a northeasterly course, but there was no further word.

An aerial search was begun soon after receipt of the last communication. The Lake Van area is mountainous and very rugged. No evidence has been sighted of the aircraft having crashed.

If the pilot continued to suffer lack of oxygen, the path of the airplane from the last reported position would be impossible to determine. If the airplane was on automatic pilot, it is likely it would have continued along its north-easterly course.

The pilot, as are all pilots used on NASA's program of upper atmosphere research with the U-2 airplane, is a civilian employed by the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, builders of the airplane.

When the research program was begun in 1956 by the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (Predecessor to NASA), the federal agency did not have a sufficient number of pilots to operate the program, and so a contract was made with Lockheed to provide the pilots.

Overseas logistic support for NASA's continuing use of the U-2 is provided by Air Weather Service units of the USAF.

NASA has procured a total of 10 U-2 airplanes. The airplane was originally built as a private venture by Lockheed to serve as a "flying test bed". It is powered by a single Pratt & Whitney J-57 turbojet engine, and can maintain flight for as long as four hours at altitudes of up to 55,000 feet.

Since inception of the research program in 1956, the U-2 flying weather laboratories have operated from bases in California, New York, Alaska, England, Germany, Turkey, Pakistan, Japan, Okinawa and the Philippines.

The U-2 airplanes are presently being used in California (Edwards AFB, one), Japan (Atsugi, three) and Turkey (Adana, four).

The instrumentation carried by the U-2 permits obtaining more precise information about clear air turbulence, convective clouds, wind shear, the jet stream, and such widespread weather patterns as typhoons. The air-

¹ Made orally in response to press inquiries on May 3.

² Released to the press on May 5.

plane also has been used by NASA to obtain information about cosmic rays, and the concentration of certain elements in the atmosphere, including ozone and water vapor.

Instrumentation carried includes: Angular velocity recorder, to measure the airplane's rate of pitch; modified VGH recorder, to measure and record head-on gust components in flight; flight recorder Model BB, continuous recorder of indicated airspeed, pressure altitude and normal acceleration; airspeed and altitude transducer to measure pressure altitude and indicated airspeed; temperature and humidity measuring set AN/AMQ 7, to measure indicated free air temperature and indicated relative humidity; and vortex thermometer system, to measure true free-air temperature within one-half degree Centigrade at high speeds.

DEPARTMENT STATEMENT, MAY 5¹

The Department has been informed by NASA that, as announced May 3, an unarmed plane, a U-2 weather research plane based at Adana, Turkey, piloted by a civilian has been missing since May 1. During the flight of this plane, the pilot reported difficulty with his oxygen equipment. Mr. Khrushchev has announced that a U.S. plane has been shot down over the U.S.S.R. on that date. It may be that this was the missing plane. It is entirely possible that having failure in the oxygen equipment, which could result in the pilot losing consciousness, the plane continued on automatic pilot for a considerable distance and accidentally violated Soviet airspace. The United States is taking this matter up with the Soviet Government, with particular reference to the fate of the pilot.

U.S. NOTE OF MAY 6²

The Embassy of the United States of America by instruction of its Government has the honor to state the following:

The United States Government has noted the statement of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, N. S. Khrushchev, in his speech before the Supreme Soviet on May 5 that a foreign air-

¹Read to news correspondents on May 5 by Lincoln White, Director of the Office of News.

²Delivered by the American Embassy at Moscow to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 6 (press release 249).

craft crossed the border of the Soviet Union on May 1 and that on orders of the Soviet Government, this aircraft was shot down. In this same statement it was said that investigation showed that it was a United States plane.

As already announced on May 3, a United States National Aeronautical Space Agency unarmed weather research plane based at Adana, Turkey, and piloted by a civilian American has been missing since May 1. The name of the American civilian pilot is Francis Gary Powers, born on August 17, 1929, at Jenkins, Kentucky.

In the light of the above the United States Government requests the Soviet Government to provide it with full facts of the Soviet investigation of this incident and to inform it of the fate of the pilot.

DEPARTMENT STATEMENT, MAY 7¹

The Department has received the text of Mr. Khrushchev's further remarks about the unarmed plane which is reported to have been shot down in the Soviet Union. As previously announced, it was known that a U-2 plane was missing. As a result of the inquiry ordered by the President it has been established that insofar as the authorities in Washington are concerned there was no authorization for any such flight as described by Mr. Khrushchev.

Nevertheless it appears that in endeavoring to obtain information now concealed behind the Iron Curtain a flight over Soviet territory was probably undertaken by an unarmed civilian U-2 plane.

It is certainly no secret that, given the state of the world today, intelligence collection activities are practiced by all countries, and postwar history certainly reveals that the Soviet Union has not been lagging behind in this field.

The necessity for such activities as measures for legitimate national defense is enhanced by the excessive secrecy practiced by the Soviet Union in contrast to the free world.

One of the things creating tension in the world today is apprehension over surprise attack with weapons of mass destruction.

To reduce mutual suspicion and to give a measure of protection against surprise attack the

¹Read to news correspondents on May 7 by Mr. White.

United States in 1955 offered its open-skies proposal—a proposal which was rejected out of hand by the Soviet Union. It is in relation to the danger of surprise attack that planes of the type of unarmed civilian U-2 aircraft have made flights along the frontiers of the free world for the past 4 years.

Research Program To Detect, Identify Underground Nuclear Tests Expanded

White House press release dated May 7

The President on May 7 announced approval of a major expansion of the present research and development directed toward an improved capability to detect and identify underground nuclear explosions. The present U.S. program has evolved from the recommendations set forth by the Panel on Seismic Improvement (Berkner panel).¹ For fiscal year 1960 it has been funded for approximately \$10 million. During fiscal year 1961 it is anticipated that the funds required will be about \$66 million for all aspects of the seismic research and development program.

Known as Project Vela, the program calls for increased basic research in seismology; procurement of instruments for a worldwide seismic research program; development of improved seismic instruments; construction and operation of prototype seismic detection stations; and an experimental program of underground detonations encompassing both high explosive and, where necessary, nuclear explosions. The planned program provides for investigation of all aspects of improvement that are considered to be feasible.

Such nuclear explosions as are essential to a full understanding of both the capabilities of the presently proposed detection system and the potential for improvements in this system would be carried out under fully contained conditions and would

produce no radioactive fallout. In order to develop sufficient reliable data from the program, it is anticipated that it will be necessary to conduct a series of explosions of various sizes in differing types of geological formations.

Recently the Soviet negotiators at Geneva concurred with the proposal that underground nuclear explosions should be conducted to improve the capability of the proposed control network to detect and identify underground explosions.

They have also indicated a willingness to discuss research and development in the seismic detection area with the United States and the United Kingdom. Agreement has been reached to convene a group of U.S.S.R., U.K., and U.S. scientists in Geneva on May 11 to exchange information on the seismic research activities of the three nations as a basis for future determination of the areas in which coordinated or joint research would be most fruitful.

Government agencies including the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Department of Commerce, and the Department of Interior, as well as universities and private organizations, will participate in carrying out the United States program of research and development related to the detection and identification of nuclear detonations.

Documents on Disarmament Talks Made Available for Reference

Press release 238 dated May 2

The Department of State on May 2 made available for reference the verbatims of the Conference of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee for the period from March 15 to 31, 1960. The release was made pursuant to an agreement reached last month by the 10 negotiating parties that verbatims of the conference sessions will be released on a monthly basis 1 month after the sessions take place. Release of verbatims of subsequent sessions will follow this procedure.

¹ For a summary of the conclusions reported by the panel on Mar. 16, 1959, see BULLETIN of July 6, 1959, p. 16.

Disarmament: The Problem and the Prospects

by Francis O. Wilcox

Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs¹

I warmly welcome the opportunity to meet with members of the American Society of International Law, whose signal contributions to scholarship and whose continuing influence on international affairs are recognized throughout the world.

It is a special challenge to address this distinguished group. That is so primarily because your interest and qualifications cover a very wide spectrum, ranging from particular questions of international law and practice to fundamental issues of international peace and order. And it is a high tribute to this organization that this is indeed the case.

Tonight I would like to speak to you about one of these fundamental questions, perhaps the most vital and the most critical of world problems. I refer to the problem of disarmament.

The Urgent Need for Disarmament

The infinitely destructive capabilities of modern warfare have given new focus and urgency to disarmament efforts. I fear that we now take for granted "kilotons" and "megatons" as measures of destructive power. These words, describing nuclear and thermonuclear explosive power in terms of its equivalent in thousands or millions of tons of TNT, have become commonplace. Their impact on the human mind has accordingly tended to diminish. Yet the fact remains that a single plane today can deliver more destructive power than *all* of the planes in *all* of the air forces delivered during the Second World War.

Let us clearly note, moreover, that nuclear weapons technology and capacity may not remain

the exclusive province of those who now possess them. Others can no doubt develop this capability. We thus face clear prospects of the proliferation of nuclear weapons among the states of the world, with all that this would portend in added hazard to international peace.

I do not need to emphasize here other aspects of the problem of peace and security: the rapid development of missiles, the entry of manmade objects—and soon man himself—into outer space, the advances in chemical and biological methods of warfare. Nor do I need to address myself to the tremendous economic burden of armaments in the world.

Yesterday [April 27] in his press conference, President Eisenhower said that he could "see no reason why the sums which now are going into these sterile, negative mechanisms that we call war munitions shouldn't go into something positive." In this connection it is significant that the amount of money spent for national defense in this world in 1 year would pay for all the activities and programs of the United Nations for the next 500 years. For the totality of this problem is such that the search for disarmament has become a prime imperative of our times.

But we must not be maneuvered into disarmament at any price. The disarmament arrangements we see—and must find—are those that through mutual application and safeguarded implementation will enhance our security and not leave us and our free-world associates open and vulnerable to aggressive action.

Tomorrow, in Geneva, the 10-nation disarmament group, which is the focal point of present disarmament efforts, will recess for 6 weeks until after the meeting at the summit.

¹ Address made before the American Society of International Law at Washington, D.C., on Apr. 28 (press release 226).

There are some who have criticized us for agreeing to a disarmament forum based on equal representation with the Communist bloc. However, the reasons for this are clear and, I think, substantial.

The withdrawal of the Soviet Union from the U.N. Disarmament Subcommittee in 1957 left us without an agreed forum for disarmament negotiations. We believed that no avenue should be left unexplored which might offer prospects for progress on this crucial problem. We were convinced that, although detailed disarmament negotiations would take place for the time being outside the U.N. by the establishment of the Committee of Ten,^{*} this would not diminish the United Nations' responsibility for general disarmament. As a matter of fact, if agreement can be achieved among the Ten in Geneva, it will contribute substantially to a fuller realization of the purposes and principles of the charter.

This view was reflected by the General Assembly in a resolution unanimously adopted at its past session.^{*} The resolution expressed the hope that measures leading toward the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control would be worked out in detail and agreed upon in the shortest possible time.

U.S. Objectives at Geneva

We approach the disarmament problem with two basic aims:

First, to try urgently to create a more stable military environment in order to curtail the risk of war.

Second, to reduce national armed forces and armaments and to strengthen international peace-keeping machinery to the point where aggression will be deterred by international rather than national force.

To accomplish the first objective, we believe it is necessary to undertake measures to guard against surprise attack, to halt future nuclear weapons production, to reduce existing nuclear weapons stockpiles, to bring about balanced reductions in conventional arms and armed forces, and to initiate measures to assure the peaceful use of outer space.

^{*} For background, see BULLETIN of Sept. 23, 1959, p. 438.

^{*} For a statement by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge and text of the resolution, see *ibid.*, Nov. 23, 1959, p. 765.

But we would not be satisfied to stop with these achievements. We want to move on toward the elimination of weapons of mass destruction and toward the reduction of national armed forces and armaments to levels required only for internal security purposes and to carry out obligations under the United Nations Charter. At the same time we want to foster universally accepted rules of law, backed by a world court and an international armed force, which would prevent any nation from launching an aggression.

This, in brief, sets the scene for the first round of negotiations which have taken place over the past weeks in Geneva. The Soviets thus far have not been willing to discuss the obvious and specific initial measures I have outlined. Without burdening you with the details, I should like to outline some of the basic differences in approach to the problem of disarmament taken by the Communist bloc and ourselves.

The Mirage of Agreement in Principle

So far the Communist representatives at Geneva have refused to consider any proposals which do not endorse in principle the Soviet version of general and complete disarmament. This Soviet tactic in negotiation is all too familiar. All too often the Communists seem more interested in slogans than in serious negotiations.

We have been exposed before to these tactics. "Ban the bomb," "Stop all nuclear testing"—these are familiar slogans which have a certain superficial appeal.

This time the Communists talk about "general and complete disarmament" as if this were a trademark which they had registered and as if its acceptance constituted the only way to make progress in disarmament. During the first 3 days of negotiations at Geneva, the Communist delegates used the phrase "general and complete disarmament" 135 times. They dodge the question of effective international controls, and thus the slogan is just as misleading and just as superficial as the earlier mirages.

Even the General Assembly resolution, which was cosponsored by all of the members of the United Nations and which expressed the hope for "general and complete disarmament *under effective international control*" becomes in Mr. Zorin's

^{*} V. A. Zorin, chairman of Soviet delegation to the Ten-Nation Disarmament Conference.

speeches, and in his satellites' echoes, United Nations endorsement of the Soviet plan. But when this resolution is cited by the Communists, it is usually rewritten, and the vital provision "under effective international control" conveniently disappears. Even when the Soviets do make reference to controls, they tend to give only lip service to a concept and do not make a serious effort to develop an effective system of verification.

The Soviets seem interested only in what label is put on the disarmament package. In the light of our previous experience with them in the use of slogans, we are interested primarily in the contents. Until agreement is reached on the contents, how can the label mean anything?

What we seek is a secure, free, and peaceful world in which there would be general disarmament under effective international safeguards and agreed procedures for the settlement of disputes in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

To this end we have submitted concrete proposals^{*} on the basis of which the 10-nation group could begin immediately to hammer out specific measures of real disarmament. The Communist side has not been willing to negotiate on specific disarmament measures but has contented itself with urging agreement in principle on abolition of all armies, armaments, and war ministries within 4 years.

The Need for Verification

At Geneva the Soviets have thus far sought to avoid any serious negotiation about the question of control and inspection, although they acknowledge that this is an essential element in any general disarmament agreement. In this approach they are reflecting the historic reluctance of Communist disarmament negotiators to talk about, much less to agree upon, concrete arrangements to assure that disarmament measures are actually observed.

I find it wholly understandable that the Soviet Union, with its phobia for secrecy and with its broad access to information about developments in the free world, should find disarmament control arrangements highly undesirable on the one hand and perhaps even unnecessary on the other. Yet precisely these same factors make it impera-

tive for the free world to insist upon an adequate system of inspection for verifying compliance with disarmament agreements. In this area, which is clearly vital to our own security, we cannot rely on promises alone. Control and inspection procedures must be part and parcel of any agreed disarmament measures.

The Communist group frequently alleges that proposals for a verification system are designed for purposes of espionage. They characterize these proposals as a wish on our part to look into everybody's bedroom and into everybody's garden. Now obviously effective international control machinery will certainly result in the gathering and exchange of information. But this should not go beyond what is necessary to establish and sustain confidence. Equal assurance to both sides that commitments under a disarmament agreement are being carried out is essential. This is the essence of international control.

In my dictionary, "espionage" is defined as the practice of spying on others or the employment of spies and the systematic secret observation of the words and conduct of others. This is by no means the definition of the operations of an internationally agreed organization whose task is to gather and receive information which will assure both sides that the disarmament agreement is being carried out.

In spite of this essentially negative and grudging approach to the central problem of control and inspection, the Soviets must come to realize that we will insist upon adequate control arrangements in any disarmament agreement.

I would like to be quite clear on one point. In this imperfect world we do not expect to see a 100 percent perfect system of controls. Nor are we seeking controls for the sake of controls. Our prime purpose has been, and remains, to work out disarmament agreements that will reduce the prospects of war and the burden of armaments. We attach the utmost importance to our efforts to achieve this goal. As a part of such arrangements, we seek only that degree of control and verification which will permit the world to know that the agreements are being kept by all parties. We ask the Soviets to accept nothing that we will not ourselves accept. If the Soviet Union will approach this question in the same reasonable way, I am confident that significant progress can be made.

^{*}For text, see BULLETIN of Apr. 4, 1960, p. 511.

Measures of Nuclear Disarmament

I now turn to the question of our respective approaches to the problem of nuclear armaments. It is clear that the Soviet attitude on this matter is motivated by both political and strategic considerations. The Soviet Union has attempted to create pressures throughout the world which would inhibit free-world use of nuclear weapons in defense against aggression. In strategic terms, there can be little doubt that the Soviets have regarded nuclear weapons as an important element in Western strength. They have undoubtedly reasoned that, if we could be effectively precluded from the possibility of using nuclear weapons in our own defense, while Soviet strength in conventional armaments was retained, our strategic position would be impaired.

Thus over a period of years the Soviet purpose has been to "ban the bomb." In the present negotiations at Geneva this theme is once again being played. The Soviets have again proposed that each nuclear power should agree not to use nuclear weapons first. They also propose the complete elimination of nuclear weapons but have admitted that this could not be verified by existing techniques.

How does the United States look at this problem?

We have recognized, and continue to recognize, the need to deal effectively with nuclear weapons in any comprehensive disarmament arrangement. We believe, however, that nuclear and conventional disarmament measures must be balanced so that no country or group of countries will obtain, at any stage, a significant military advantage. We proposed that early steps be taken to limit the continuing buildup in nuclear weapons. As an initial step we seek an agreed cutoff, under proper safeguards, in the future production of nuclear materials for weapons purposes. We also propose to begin reduction of existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons materials by siphoning off agreed quantities for peaceful uses.

One of our ultimate goals in a disarmament agreement is the final elimination of nuclear weapons as may be feasible in the light of technical and scientific knowledge. Let me note this important point: At the present time it would not be scientifically possible to establish means of verification to confirm whether nuclear stockpiles had in fact been eliminated. Today a would-be aggres-

sor could conceal nuclear weapons without any fear of detection.

But, as I have noted, there are important steps that can be taken now. We hope that the Soviets will agree to the specific measures in this area which I have already outlined.

Outer Space

Recognizing that the world stands on the threshold of the space age, the United States has again proposed at Geneva, as it has in the United Nations for the past 3 years, that steps be taken toward insuring the use of outer space for peaceful purposes only. We have specifically proposed that there should be a prohibition, with appropriate controls, against placing into orbit or stationing in outer space vehicles carrying weapons of mass destruction. Technological advances in this field have been astounding. Satellites are being sent aloft with increasing frequency. Scientists will no doubt soon discover ways to bring orbiting bodies back to a predetermined point on earth. The military implications of this are profoundly evident.

It is for these reasons that Soviet failure to deal concretely with the problems of preventing weapons of mass destruction from being introduced into outer space is so disquieting. There may be real danger that we will soon reach the point of no return so far as control of vehicles in outer space is concerned.

One could draw an unhappy parallel with the Soviet rejection in 1947 of the United States proposal to forgo the American monopoly of atomic weapons and establish full international control of atomic energy. We know now that the Soviet out-of-hand refusal to consider this extraordinary proposal was a tragic turning point in history.

We hope the present attitude of the Soviet Union with respect to outer space does not portend the same kind of fateful choice. It would be tragic indeed if the nations of the world were to extend to the vast reaches of outer space the military rivalries which plague man here on earth.

Maintaining Peace in a Disarmed World

Another basic difference between the Western and the Communist approach to disarmament is highlighted by our proposal that, as disarmament is achieved, steps must be taken to strengthen and