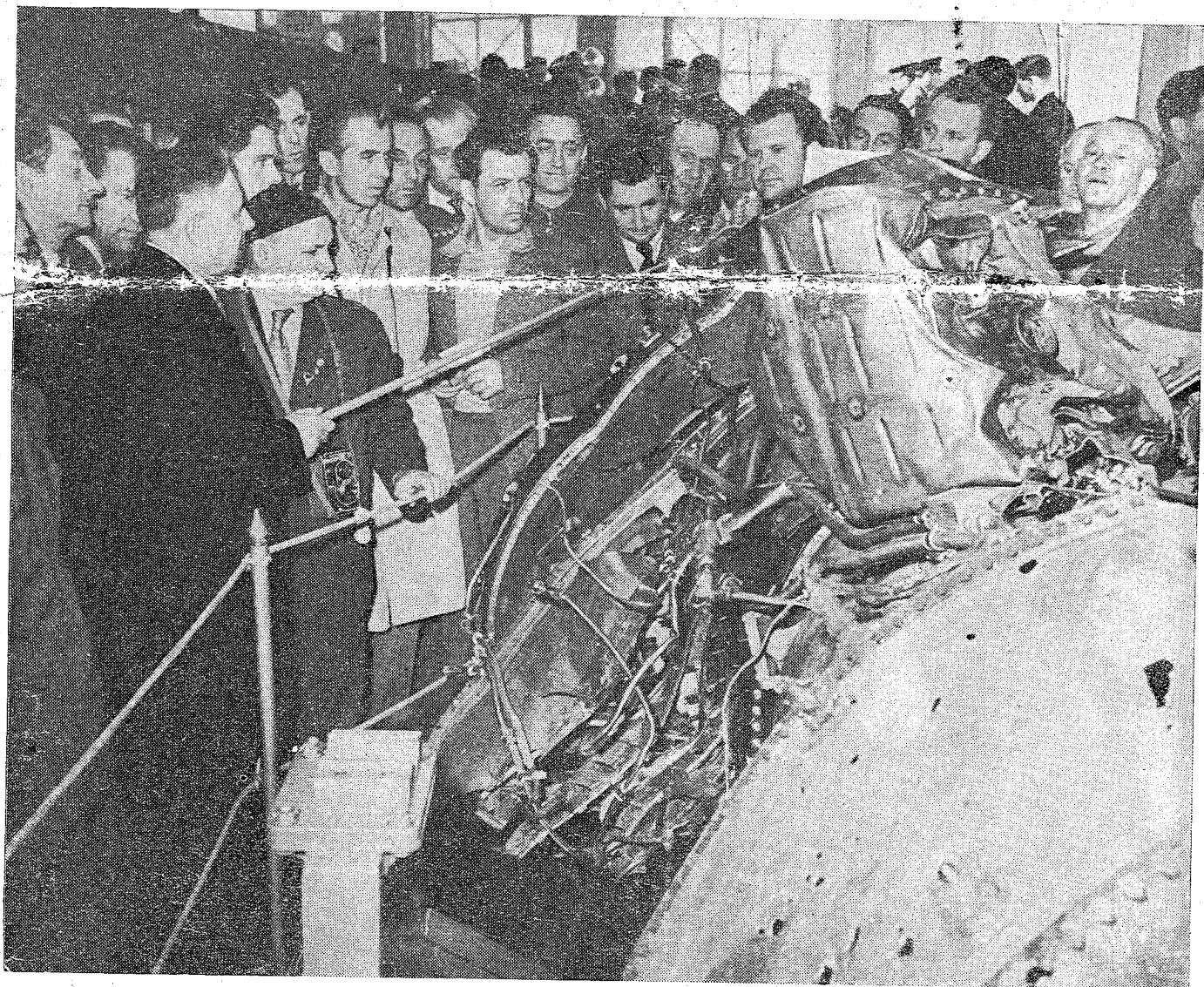


AMERICAN SPY PLANE ON EXHIBITION IN MOSCOW

132



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American Spy Plane on Exhibition in Moscow

The wreckage of the American Lockheed U-2 spy plane and other material and documentary evidence about its espionage mission were shown to diplomats and journalists at a special exhibition in the hall of a club in the Gorky Central Park.

A considerable part of the hall was taken up by the wings and wrecked fuselage of the shot-down plane.

Also on view was the plane's Pratt and Whitney engine, the explosive charge, the ejector seat, the tail part of the fuselage, oxygen containers, the pilot's high altitude suit, and his various equipment, including the poisoned needle, the pilot's stock of Soviet roubles and other foreign currency.

Other stands showed photographs of Powers, various documents proving that he belonged to the American Intelligence Service, and excerpts from his depositions.

All these exhibits proved irrefutably that the

American plane sent over the U.S.S.R. by United States authorities was engaged in espionage work.

Also on view were various radio parts and instruments, a camera and a roll of film clearly showing airfields with Soviet fighters, railway junctions with rolling stock and industrial establishments.

A tape recording of the signals of Soviet stations made by Powers was played back.

Some of the instruments and equipment bore inscriptions saying that they were the property of the United States government or Defence Department.

A press conference held at the exhibition was attended by some 500 correspondents.

Here we publish the statement made at the conference by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, and the subsequent remarks of Nikita Khrushchov, Soviet Prime Minister, when he visited the exhibition.

Gromyko's Statement

COMRADES, Ladies and Gentlemen, in his statement at the session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet on May 7, Nikita Khrushchov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, said that he thought it would be expedient to hold a special press conference to show the equipment of the American military aircraft which had intruded more than 2,000 kilometres [about 1,250 miles—Ed.] into Soviet air space on May 1, on a diversionary reconnaissance flight, and was shot down by Soviet rocket forces in the area of Sverdlovsk.

We have invited you all here so that you should see all this for yourselves, and also the wreckage of the plane, and so that you may see what gangsterlike methods the United States is using to provoke the Soviet Union.

Accomplices

It will be recalled that this provocation was made by a plane based permanently on an airfield on the territory of our neighbour, Turkey. Other accomplices in this aggressive act by the American Air Force, besides Turkey, were Pakistan, from which the intruder plane penetrated Soviet air space, and also Norway, where it was to land after fulfilling its mission.

The evidence in the possession of the Soviet government leaves no doubt that the responsible American agencies which sent the plane across our frontiers were acting in the interests of aggression, for purposes hostile to the cause of peace.

You know that the organisers of this act of diversion, committed on the eve of the four-power heads of government meeting,

were literally cornered by the irrefutable facts produced by the Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers. The U.S. State Department had publicly recanted its earlier, hastily concocted version that the agency which had sent the military plane shot down in the Urals was only interested in the state of the weather in the area of the Soviet-Turkish frontier, in the Caucasus. This spurious version lasted for less than two days and brought its inventors nothing but acute, worldwide embarrassment.

Admission

As a result, the State Department had to issue another statement, on May 7, in which it admitted that the plane had been sent to the U.S.S.R. on an intelligence mission.

But having actually admitted that the flight of the American plane pursued aggressive purposes, and having even claimed cynically that such actions were perfectly normal, the State Department still tried to shift responsibility from the United States government, claiming that Washington had not given "authorisation" for this flight. This statement of the State Department has been duly assessed in today's Soviet government Note to the United States government.

Now a third official statement of the United States on this subject has been issued—the statement of Secretary of State Herter. Even the word "cynical" would probably be too mild to describe this statement by the leader of the United States diplomatic service.

Indeed, look what Herter has to say.

Declaring that the Soviet Union had its frontiers "tightly closed and rigorously controlled" and that it did not accept the American "open skies" plan, and other similar proposals which serve the interests of the American Intelligence Service, Herter tried to whitewash the provocative actions

of the American armed forces against the Soviet Union.

So you see, it is "unacceptable" to Herter that Soviet defence secrets should remain out of the Pentagon's reach. Hence the amazing, unscrupulous conclusion for American policy—violate the frontiers of other countries without compunction, fly over the territories of other countries, multiply the number of aggressive acts! And if other countries do not like that, explain away such actions by the "national defence needs of the United States!"

Free hand

And Secretary of State Herter even found it necessary to explain that from the very beginning of his term of administration the United States President had given directives for collecting military intelligence about other countries "by all possible means," including "by penetration"—I repeat, "by penetration"—of aircraft into the air space of other states.

It should be noted that, as is evident from Herter's statement, special permission from the President is not necessary for every specific flight, such as the May 1 invasion of Soviet air space—sufficient for that purpose is the directive given several years ago. The United States government has actually given the Pentagon and the intelligence agencies of the United States a free hand on questions on which the issue of peace or war depends.

Herter's statement once more demonstrates that violations of the sovereignty and inviolability of the frontiers of other states, espionage and acts of diversion have been proclaimed the national policy of the United States.

But only a few days ago, Lyndon Johnson, the leader of the Democratic Party, which has a majority in the United States Senate, said that if there was the slightest possibility that the plane's flight was a deliberate intrusion on the United States' part, "we should have been brought to account for allowing

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Khrushchov talks with Press Correspondents

While touring the exhibition, after Gromyko's press conference, correspondents encountered Nikita Khrushchov and had the following impromptu conversation with him:

KHRUSHCHOV: I see you are satisfied with the press conference. You must have got answers to all your questions. I have already said that we intend to take to the Security Council the question of the aggressive intrusion of an American plane within the frontiers of our country.

If the Security Council—on which pressure will evidently be exerted by the United States—does not take the right decision, we shall raise the matter in the United Nations General Assembly. Such aggressive actions by the United States of America are a very dangerous thing.



Nikita Khrushchov surrounded by an eager group of correspondents at the spy-plane exhibition



This picture, showing a Soviet military aerodrome, was taken by the camera aboard the American aircraft

This danger is increased by the fact that in his statement of May 10, the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Herter, not only sought to justify this act of aggression, but also said that the United States government intended to continue such flights. This is an open threat to peace. We shall shoot down such planes, and we shall strike at the bases from which these planes will be sent to our country. You realise that if such aggressive actions continue, it might lead to war.

CORRESPONDENT: May I ask you a question?

KHRUSHCHOV: Even two if you like (laughter).

QUESTION: You have probably noticed a placard among the fragments of the plane urging that the pilot be given assistance? What do you think its authors meant?

KHRUSHCHOV: We assisted the pilot when he flew into our territory and gave him a proper welcome. If there are other uninvited guests of that kind, we shall receive them just as "hospitably" as this one. We shall try him, try him with severity as a spy.

QUESTION: What effect might all this have on the summit meeting?

KHRUSHCHOV: Let those who sent this spy plane think over this question. They should have thought about the consequences beforehand, though. After all, aggression has been committed against our country. And we shall continue to rout all aggressors who dare to raise a hand against us. You see how accurately our rocket men shot down the plane, without setting it on fire! The pilot is alive, the instrumentation intact—in other words, the material evidence is here for everyone to see. These are very skilful actions on the part of our rocket

men. We are grateful to them for this (applause).

QUESTION: Will this plane incident influence Soviet public opinion when Mr. Eisenhower comes to Moscow?

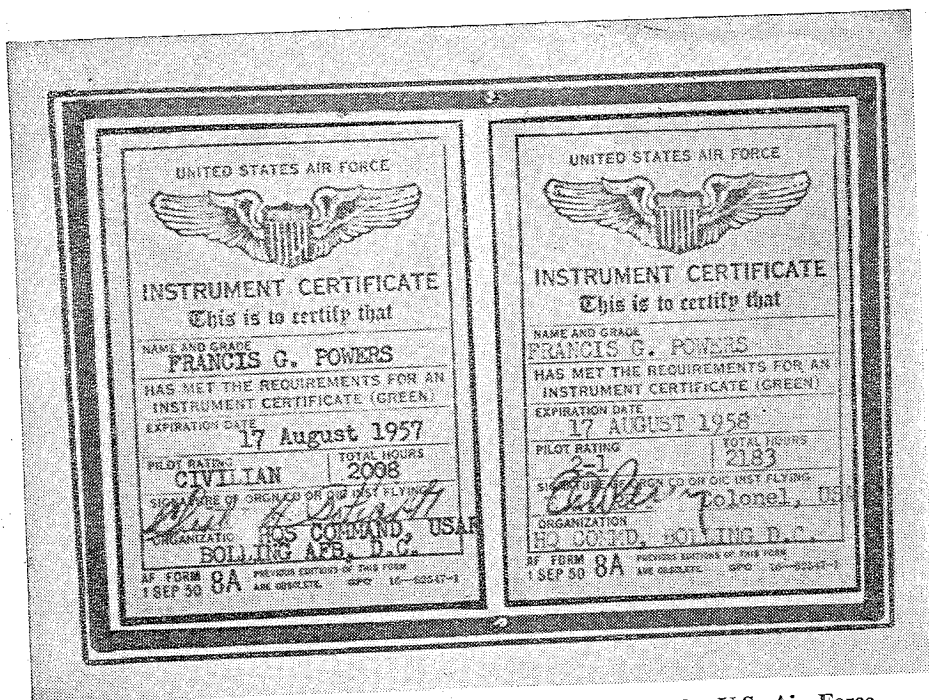
KHRUSHCHOV: I would not like to be in Mr. Eisenhower's place. I would not like to be asked the questions which might be put to him when he comes to the Soviet Union! I can only say: The Soviet people and our public are very polite, so there will be no excesses, but questions will be asked, of course (a stir among the correspondents). I would put it this way: One person, namely Mr. Herter, has helped the President particularly in this respect.

At his press conference Herter made an outrageous statement. Far from feeling guilty or ashamed of aggressive actions, he justifies them and says that this will continue in the future. Only countries which are in a state of war can act in this way. We are not in a state of war with America. These aggressive actions and Herter's statement are impudence, sheer impudence.

Herter's statement has made us doubt the correctness of our earlier conclusions that the President, the American government, did not know about the flights. Herter's statement says that this intelligence plan was endorsed by the government.

Compelled

The Americans, obviously, were compelled to say this because otherwise they would have had to call Allen Dulles to account. Dulles, in turn, would have exposed the government by saying that he had carried out a plan approved by it, and, consequently, endorsed by the head of the government. I proceed on the basis of the statement that was made by Herter.



The American pilot carried these certificates, issued by the U.S. Air Force



Francis Gary Powers, pilot of the shot-down U-2

There was a time—I remember it from my young days—when many criminals and other shady elements roamed the world. Those persons resorted to the following trick:

A bandit with a small boy would hide under a bridge and wait for someone to go over it.

Then the bandit would send the boy to the passerby and the boy would say: "Hello, Mister, give me back my watch." The natural answer would be: "What's this all about? Run along now!" Then the boy would insist: "But look, Mister, that watch is mine. Why don't you give me back my watch?" Then the armed bandit would appear, as though attracted by the noise of the argument, and would say to the passerby: "Why are you bullying the boy? Give him back his watch and hand over your coat as well!" (laughter).

The United States wants to live according to this law. But we are not defenceless passersby. Our country is a strong and mighty state which can stand up to the U.S.A. If the United States has not experienced a real war on its territory, has not experienced air raids, and if it wants to unleash a war, we shall be compelled to fire rockets which will explode on the aggressor's territory in the very first minutes of the war (applause).

I say this because I have read Herter's statement saying: We are compelled to fly; it is the fault of the Soviet Union itself, because it doesn't give us access to its secrets, which we simply must know. That is why, if you please, we are undertaking such flights. After all, the President has said that the skies should be open—that is why we are flying and shall go on flying, shall go on opening the skies.

Gravity

How can an official representative of a state speak in this way about another country? We do not live according to the laws of the United States. We have our own laws and that is why we shall make everyone on our territory respect those laws—and those who break them will be thrashed (applause).

I liked an article in a British newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, the theme of which was as follows: If we accept the philosophy which some people in the United States want to instil into the public, it will be something

like this—it isn't the burglar who is guilty, but the owner of the house he broke into, because the owner locked it up, thereby compelling the burglar to break in.

But that is a philosophy of thieves and bandits.

I think that if world public opinion correctly understands the full gravity of the situation and approaches this aggressive act of United States policy with a due sense of responsibility, if everyone unanimously condemns this act, and if the United States government no longer uses such methods with regard to other states, that will be a good, refreshing and, so to speak, "ozonizing" tendency in international relations.

Reading American press reports these days, I see that with the exception of a few gangsters of the pen who are whitewashing this action, the absolute majority of people writing in the American press, including people who are notorious for their lack of objectivity in the past, are indignant about this incident and regard it as a case of perfidy in relation to the Soviet Union.

This is a good sign. If you newsmen inform the public correctly, this incident, like every other incident, will eventually be "digested." After all, gentlemen, we must live in peace, and not only in peace but also in friendship (applause).

QUESTION: Can one remain optimistic about the United States' policy?

KHRUSHCHOV: I consider myself to be an incorrigible optimist. I regard the provocative flight of the American intelligence plane over our country, not as preparation for war, but as probing. They have now "probed" us and we have punched the "probers" on the nose.

Some United States officials are now making a big noise. Let them! The Soviet Union is not Guatemala. They cannot send troops here. We have means to cool down bandits, should they wish to use their brazen methods against us. If they behave in this way, they will get this tranquilliser.

QUESTION: Mr. Khrushchov, has your estimate of President Eisenhower, which you gave on your return from the United States, changed?

KHRUSHCHOV: Well, the statement issued by the U.S. State Department in connection with the intelligence plane naturally alters my belief that the United States

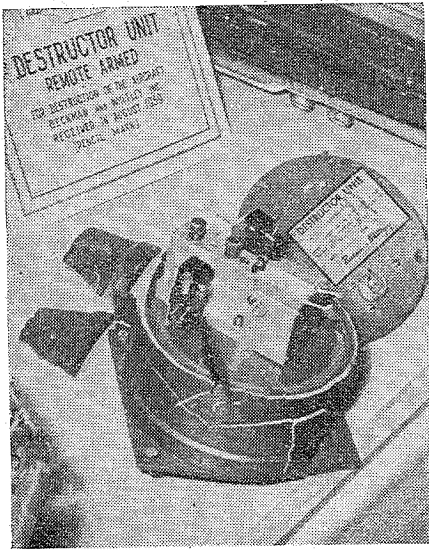
President had nothing to do with this affair. I did not know that such an intelligence plan existed in the United States and that it included a programme of reconnoitring flights over Soviet territory. It follows from the pronouncement of the State Department, which was approved by the President, that flights of American intelligence planes over our country are not a whim on the part of some irresponsible officer, but the realisation of a plan prepared by Allen Dulles, leader of the Central Intelligence Agency, a department within the jurisdiction of the United States President.

Mr. Herter admitted that the United States President had issued directives to collect intelligence information of various kinds by all possible means.

These directives have served as the basis for working out and carrying through programmes which have included, so Herter says, extensive aerial surveillance, both peripheral and by penetration.

I ask you to note this—by penetration, that is to say, by reconnaissance, spying flights over the territory of a state with which normal relations are maintained. And this plan was approved by the President. Incredible! Should I say after this: "What nice people you are!" To do that would be to have no self-respect. I would say that Mr. Herter has taken off all the veils and removed all the paint which was used to camouflage, embellish and "make up," as it were, the policy of the United States imperialists.

Now, by his statement, he has revealed



The "destructor unit," which would have destroyed the aircraft if Powers had used his ejector seat. Powers wisely decided to leave the plane by a more difficult but safer method!

the bestial, fear-inspiring face of imperialism. So what? It turns out that this face no longer inspires any fear. Such actions by the United States militarists are prompted, not by the heroism of their master minds, but by cowardice. Danger does not come from someone who has his nerves under control and relies on his powers and possibilities, but from a coward who fears everything.

I often read something like this: "Khrushchov claims that capitalism will die. Isn't this the reason why reconnaissance flights are made over the Soviet Union?" But it was not I who said that. It was Marx who explained it a hundred years ago (applause). If Messrs. Capitalists consider that Marx is wrong, then this should console them, then surely there is nothing to lose one's head about or show the white feather?

QUESTION: Did the Turkish, Pakistani and Norwegian authorities know about the provocative flight of the American plane?

KHRUSHCHOV: It is difficult for me to speak for those governments, but I do grant

that they didn't know—the Americans are not accountable to them. I do not think that even the Prime Ministers of the countries on whose territories American military bases are situated are allowed inside those bases. The fault of such countries as Turkey or Pakistan is that they have joined aggressive blocs. A popular saying on this subject is: "You sell your soul to the devil; before you have done so, you can be your own master, but afterwards it is the devil who will have your soul at his disposal." This is just what is happening to Turkey, Pakistan and Norway.

I warn you, Messrs. Foreign Journalists, don't sell your souls to the devil (laughter). Keep them to yourselves. You would do better by applying your energies to promoting the progress of society. Communist ideas shape the most progressive and the most correct trend in the development of society. The best of Americans, such as John Reed, the author of *Ten Days that Shook the World*, have grasped the great meaning of these ideas. John Reed was a very clever man. Yet he was not born a communist, but came to accept communism during the October Revolution, and he died a communist.

Some of you scribble stories against communism through lack of wisdom and under-

standing. May God forgive you for it! (Applause.)

When I read bourgeois journalists' stories slandering Soviet realities and communism, I sometimes get angry but, on second thoughts, I say to myself: Not all journalists are John Reeds. Indeed, they are ordinary men, hired by such publishers as Hearst, for instance, who, like spiders, get hold of a man and entangle him in their web. And if such a journalist fails to supply slanders against communism, what, then, will Hearst, or any other publishing concern, need him for? Hearst will not keep such a correspondent for a single day.

Misrepresentation

I have talked with Hearst on two occasions. During our second conversation, I said to him: "How is it that you told me one thing and wrote another?" and he replied: "Did I sum up the interview wrongly?"

I must do him justice: he summed up the essence of the talk more or less accurately, but his commentary on it misrepresented the whole meaning of it. I told him this, but he replied: "But I'm a capitalist; it is my own commentary that I give." Indeed, he is a capitalist, but most of you are not capitalists, nor will you ever be. So why have you got to serve capitalism? What is the point of being capitalism's flunkies (applause)? My conviction is that all roads lead to communism. Where else can they lead?

That is just what the American imperialists fear. That is why they get nervous and fling themselves into reckless adventures. This shows they are not sure of their own system. The U.S. State Department says that all countries engage in spying.

But the Soviet Union has never sent its planes into the United States or any other countries for reconnaissance purposes, nor is it doing so. If there have been any individual instances of our planes inadvertently violating the air space of other countries, this has happened on our frontiers with Turkey and Iran, and we have apologised to those countries and punished those responsible for such violations.

We want to warn those who may try to send their spies into this country to think carefully about the consequences.

QUESTION: Do you still want President Eisenhower to come to the Soviet Union?

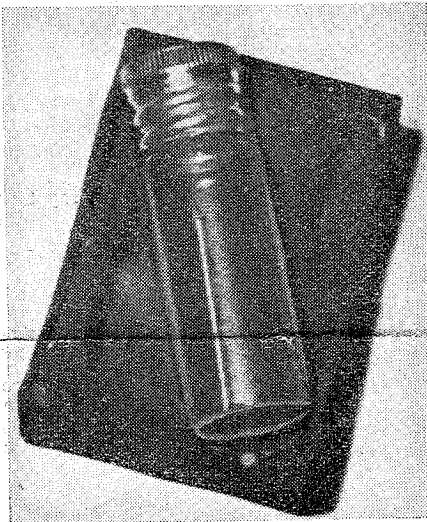
KHRUSHCHOV: What shall I say? Take my place and say it for me (laughter).

You see for yourselves what difficulties are cropping up. I am frank with you. You know my attitude to the President of the United States. I have often spoken about it. But my hopes have been somewhat disappointed. I am a man, and I have human feelings. I am responsible for the direction of the Soviet government. You must understand that we Russians, the Soviet people, always go the whole hog—when we play, we play, and when we fight, we fight. So how can I now call on our people to turn out and welcome the dear guest who is coming to us. The people will say: "Are you crazy? What kind of dear guest is a man who lets a plane fly to us in order to spy?" The American militarists who sent the plane on a spying mission to this country have put me, as one responsible for the arrangements for the United States President's arrival in the U.S.S.R., in a very difficult position.

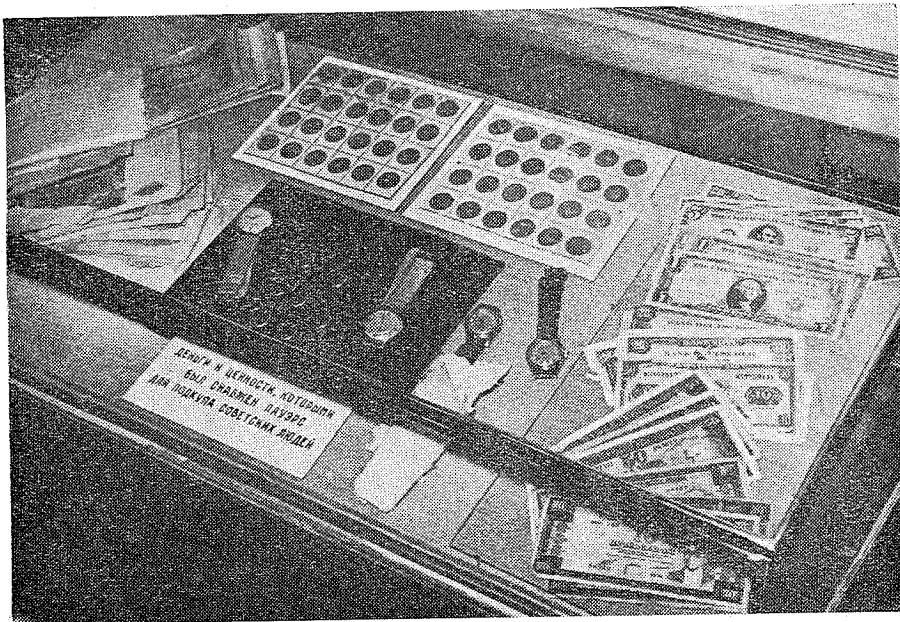
Frankly speaking, I think the United States President realises this himself.

Supposing that, before my visit to the United States, we had sent such a plane over there and they had shot it down. You can imagine the kind of welcome I would have received from Americans. They would have met me according to my deserts. I think everybody understands that.

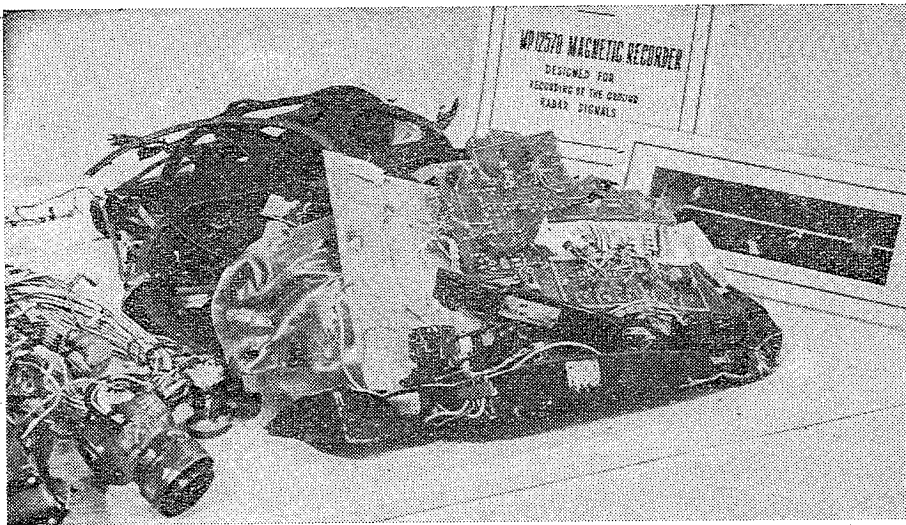
One can guarantee, however, that during



This tiny bottle contained the poisoned needle which Powers carried



Russian and other currency carried by Powers, and valuables of various kinds



This tape recorder was not in very good condition when recovered—but the recordings it made were clear enough, and they were played over to visitors to the exhibition. They were recordings of ground radar station signals

the President's visit there will be no excesses. Ours are courteous people; they let off steam in words and will leave it to the government to act; they will not indulge in any insulting actions. I think that American journalists and tourists are now aware of the restraint and discipline of Soviet people. I have not heard of anyone making any insulting remark to an American. This is commendable. This is an indication of the strong spirit of our people.

QUESTION: Will the flight of this plane come up at the summit?

KHRUSHCHOV: It is already the subject of worldwide discussion. Therefore I believe there is no need to put it on the discussion schedule at the summit conference. We are allowing for the fact that I alone will be representing the socialist countries at the conference, while the western powers will have three representatives there. But I do not think that two of those three approve of this aggressive, dangerous act of American brasshats.

Apparently you would like to know when I intend to fly to Paris. I intend to arrive in Paris on May 14—a day or even two days before the conference starts—in order to get acclimatised a little. I liked Paris; it's a nice city. Well, and if others don't come—I mention this because some people are threatening that the conference may not take place—then it will be clear that it is not our fault that the conference has not taken place. So we shall go to Paris! And if the conference doesn't take place? Well, we have lived without it for many years and we shall live for another hundred (laughter and applause).

It is not our country alone that is interested in the conference. The whole world is interested in it. The peoples of the whole world want international tensions to be eased, want a normalisation of international relations. I believe our partners in the negotiations are as interested in the conference as the Soviet Union. Therefore the conference will depend on our partners. We are ready. I repeat, I intend to take the plane for Paris on Saturday, May 14.

What do you expect?

Some diplomats take offence and say that Khrushchov is indulging in too harsh expressions. I should like to have heard their reactions had a similar aggressive invasion been committed against their own country. What do you expect of me, after all—that I should take off my hat and welcome this invasion? No, we shall meet gangsters in the way they deserve. And this was a gangster, bandit raid (applause).

Have you seen here the "air-sampling instruments?" (laughter). How can the authors of this lie look us in the eye after it has been exposed? True, we know what kind of eyes imperialists have. As the saying goes: "Spit in their eye and they would keep on saying: 'God's dew'" (laughter and applause).

Now you see, I deliberately did not tell the whole story at the Supreme Soviet session, because we knew whom we are dealing with. We did not at first say that the pilot was alive, that the instruments were intact, that the plane had not exploded. They believed that the pilot had committed suicide, and now that he is alive, the American press is seriously reprimanding the pilot for a breach of his instructions, for failing to commit suicide and for surrendering instead.

Some persons in the United States are saying that the pilot must be brought to trial for disobeying the instructions and failing to destroy himself. Well, that is bestial talk. That is the ideology of imperialism. You, gentlemen, American journalists, you read your newspapers, don't you? This is a horrible thing.

QUESTION: Didn't the American Chargé d'Affaires ask for an interview with Powers?

KHRUSHCHOV: The Americans have sent us a Note on this question and asked to be allowed to have an interview with him. But they themselves realise that this is too much. The pilot is now under investigation. He is a spy, isn't he? So how can one talk

about an interview with him? He must answer before our Soviet court.

QUESTION: Does this mean that neither the Ambassador, nor the Chargé d'Affaires will be allowed to see Powers?

KHRUSHCHOV: I have not said that. Maybe they will, maybe they won't. We shall see about it later. I cannot reply to this question now because the investigation is going on.

QUESTION: Will you regard as aggressive actions flights by the aircraft of western powers to Berlin after the signing of a peace treaty with Eastern Germany?

KHRUSHCHOV: We have already made a statement in this connection. I repeat: After the signing of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, the status determined by the terms ensuing from the military surrender for this territory will change.

From that moment the occupation of West Berlin will be over and all access to Berlin, which has been based on the surrender of Germany will cease from that moment. Then the German Democratic Republic will exercise full control on its territory and will also control access to West Berlin, which is situated on its territory. If the German Democratic Republic comes to terms with the countries concerned and allows them to use the air space, the waterways, the railways and highways, that will no longer be our business, that will be the business of the German Democratic Republic. That is its sovereign right.

Some people say that the western powers will force their way into West Berlin.

I want to make this clear. If anyone tries to force his way, our military units stationed in the German Democratic Republic to safeguard peace will counter the force of violators of peace with their own force, and let some hotheads in the West ponder over what would come out of that for them.

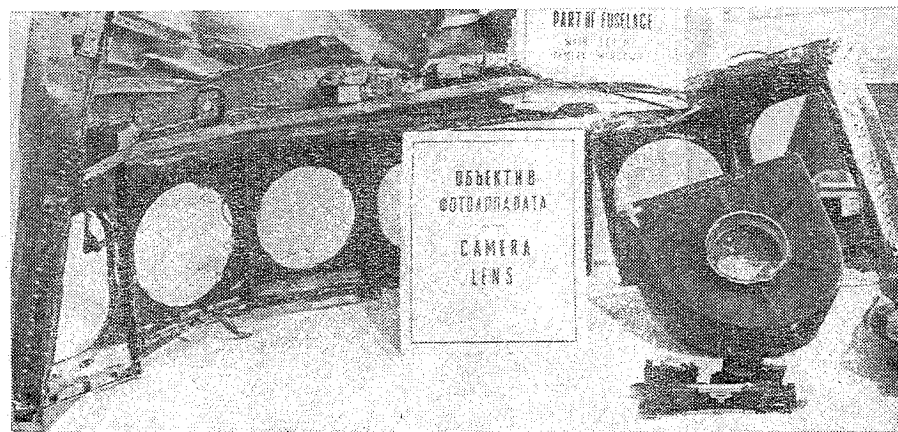
QUESTION: Considering this aircraft incident and your attitude to President Eisenhower, wouldn't you prefer Eisenhower's visit to be put off?

KHRUSHCHOV: We shall exchange views with the President on this question when we meet in Paris. We still want to find ways to improve relations with America; we want to have normal relations with the United States. And we believe that with time, Soviet-American relations must grow into friendly relations between the peoples of our countries.

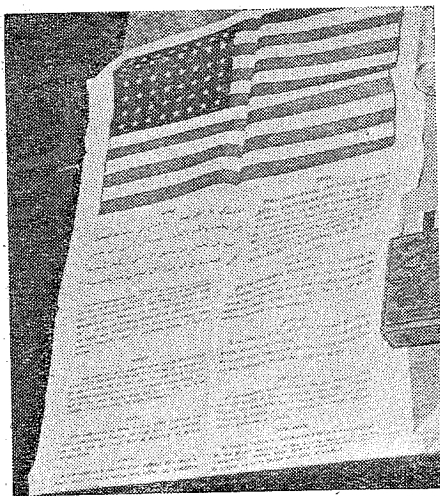
That would be normal and that is what all normal people are striving for and will continue to strive for.

Any more questions?

VOICES: No, thank you (hearty applause).



This camera was loaded with enough film to record a strip of territory nearly 2,200 miles long. The lens could be directed through seven different windows in the fuselage, enabling a very wide strip of territory to be covered



This document contained announcements in a number of languages, offering to reward the recipient for helping the pilot

KHRUSHCHOV: In conclusion I have this to say: We deal harshly with those who invade the borders of our homeland, who violate our sovereignty. But we want to live in peace and friendship with all nations. I hope you will understand our attitude when we angrily condemn such aggressive actions. But we take a sober view of things and realise that even the sharpest polemics are better than war.

That is why we shall do everything in order to have this strain relieved and shall do everything to normalise the international situation and to restore good relations with the United States if, of course, the United States also contributes to this. I would ask you to take into account and not to write anything that could increase tension still further. What do you need it for? After all, you too will be in for trouble if a war breaks out (*applause*). A war doesn't bring happiness to anyone.

During the past few days I have read many statements by American Senators, Congressmen, businessmen, and I believe it is a good sign that many of them deplore this action of their government.

I believe it is a good sign that people are not taking leave of their senses, that not everyone explains the matters as Herter does.

QUESTION: What would you like to wish the French people in connection with your visit to Paris?

KHRUSHCHOV: The French people have given me a good welcome, just as the American people have, but, of course, I do not want to set one people off against another. However, my visit to France was undertaken later and the impressions are therefore fresher. I was very much pleased, not only with the welcome given to me by the French people, but also with the talks I had with President de Gaulle. As for the people, well, all the peoples want peace. Wars are started by governments, while the peoples' lot is to give their own blood. That is why they all want peace.

The French people also want peace. We fought together with France against militarist Germany. If war breaks out, Frenchmen will remember that they had a good ally in the past—the Soviet Union. This ally may come in handy again. But it is best that we should prevent war and be allies in the struggle for peace.

I think it is time to end this impromptu press conference. Let me thank you, dear comrades and gentlemen, and let me wish you success. Uphold the truth, the noble cause of peace, and you will earn the respect of your peoples (*hearty applause and shouts of "Thank you!"*).

GROMYKO

● from page 2

this to happen on the eve of the summit meeting, or in general, irrespective of that."

And now the United States Secretary of State openly declares that such criminal actions are the policy of the United States, and is trying to justify them by the fact, you see, that the frontiers of the Soviet Union are "tightly closed." What will Senator Johnson and those who share his views in the United States say now?

Fundamental

Does not this behaviour in the international arena resemble that of a burglar who, caught in the house he has broken into, tries to justify his actions by the fact that the house was locked and there was no other way of getting into it but burglary?

It is well known that the inviolability of a country, of its territorial waters and the air space over its territory is a fundamental principle of modern international law. This principle has been reaffirmed in a number of well-known international treaties to which the United States has subscribed. These treaties establish that a plane of one country may not fly over the territory of another country or land there without a special permit.

The same principle is embodied in the national legislation of all countries, including the United States. The U.S. Congress, on two occasions—in 1928 and 1938—proclaimed that the United States had complete and exclusive sovereignty over the air space over the territory of the United States.

Similar clauses are contained in the Soviet air code, which says that the Soviet Union enjoys full and complete sovereignty over the air space of the U.S.S.R. In other words, this is a generally accepted international law, a law of every state.

So the point in question is one of a deliberate violation of Soviet territorial integrity by United States Air Force planes, which is an act of aggression from the point of view of international law.

Aggression

It is appropriate to ask: On what grounds does the government of the United States think it is permissible to encroach upon the integrity of the air space of other countries? How can this policy be reconciled with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, which call for the development of peaceful and good-neighbourly relations between states? If the countries took the road now recommended by Washington, law in international relations would be replaced by lawlessness, and order and legality—by arbitrariness and banditry.

Acting in this way, the United States tramples underfoot the Charter of the United Nations, which it solemnly signed together with the other states 15 years ago.

What is the difference between the policy of violating the sovereignty of other states, which is now being proclaimed in the capital of the United States, and the policy which was professed by certain states on the eve of the Second World War, states which regarded the territory of other countries as an object for aggression under the pretext of the needs of their own national security?

If there was nothing else in the United States policy contradicting the interests of peace, even if the policy aimed at deliberately provoking conflicts by way of committing aggressive actions by the American Air Force had alone come to light, this in

itself would show the Soviet people, would show the whole world, including the Americans themselves, that this policy is in flagrant contradiction with the peoples' irresistible desire for peace.

Brinkmanship

The American *Wall Street Journal* rightly noted that such a policy was fraught with great dangers and that it was not only espionage that mattered. A spy, the paper wrote, could hardly cause rockets to be used as a measure of retaliation. A plane, even an unarmed one, might cause such actions.

Indeed, provocative violations of the territorial integrity of other countries represent playing with fire, a most dangerous kind of brinkmanship.

We shall meet such unwanted visitors as the Soviet people have always met aggressors, and nothing but wreckage—such as that you will see here today—will be left of planes which again dare to make sorties across our frontiers. As for those who are leasing bases on their territories for planes violating our frontiers, they should know that in the event of a repetition of such provocations the Soviet Union will be able to neutralise these bases.

Hard as it may be to believe, it is a fact that the United States Secretary of State contends that provocative incursions by American aircraft across the frontiers of the Soviet Union, far from injuring the forthcoming summit conference, will almost help the conference to reach decisions aimed at the strengthening of peace. Most surprising logic, indeed! One is led to think that the task of the summit meeting, as seen by United States statesmen, is not to settle international problems urgently awaiting solution, but to discuss the most efficient intelligence methods to be used by the states represented at the conference against each other, and in general the most effective means of quarrelling and heating up the international climate to a still greater extent.

The task

One must say that not only in the Soviet Union, but also in France, Britain and even in the United States, there exists quite a different view with regard to the tasks of the summit conference. And if some people in Washington have become entangled politically, it would seem that a way out should be sought not in increasing the tangle. If one is guided by a sincere desire to end the cold war, the task, obviously, is to clear the road for honest negotiations.

As for the Soviet Union, the head of the Soviet government, N. S. Khrushchov, has already stated that the Soviet Union is going to the Paris conference with an open heart and good intentions and will spare no efforts to attain a mutually acceptable agreement.

The Soviet government is conducting a clear-cut and consistent policy of peace and for its part will spare nothing to find possibilities for a negotiated settlement of outstanding international issues. Naturally, however, the success of the conference depends not upon the Soviet Union alone.

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AFTERWARDS. Gromyko answered questions put by the correspondents.

Asked what action was intended to safeguard the Soviet Union from espionage flights by planes based on Turkey, Pakistan, and certain other countries linked with the U.S.A. by military alliances, the Soviet Foreign Minister replied:

"The Soviet government has already warned those countries which are accom-

plices in these aggressive acts of the United States.

"We hope that this warning will serve as a lesson to those hotheads who, entertaining hostile feelings towards the Soviet Union, don't want to take into account either common sense, the actual balance of forces or the peoples' desire for peace."

"The Soviet Union does not want to aggravate matters still more, but there is one condition—provocations of this kind must cease."

Warning

"In the event, however, of such provocative actions continuing, then, as Comrade Khrushchov has already pointed out, we shall strike at the bases from which the aggressors make their flights. There is no need to point out that the Soviet Union possesses all the necessary resources for this."

An American correspondent asked Gromyko when and where the pilot would be brought to trial and whether it would be a civil or a military trial.

"The investigation is now being carried out and it is not yet completed," replied Gromyko.

"When the investigation is completed, the appropriate decisions will be taken on all these questions—I repeat, when the investigation is completed."

A Moscow Radio correspondent asked whether the whole truth about the incident was known to the American people.

"The basic facts, of course, could not remain unknown to the American people, and it is not surprising that they have aroused such disquiet and concern in American public circles," Gromyko said.

"It is clear even from bourgeois press reports, how widespread are the feelings of indignation in the United States at the actions by the American authorities."

Confusion

"At the same time, the propaganda machine in the United States is doing its utmost to confuse public opinion and direct it along a false path."

"Cynical arguments are being put forward—for instance, the allegation that the American aircraft's invasion of Soviet air space does not in itself constitute anything wrong—the only bad thing is that the plane was shot down and the pilot captured."

"How can you describe such arguments? Clearly they can only be described as appeals to continue the dangerous provocative acts, as open incitement to enmity and hatred between peoples."

A *New York Times* correspondent asked if the U.S.S.R. had ever carried out unauthorised flights over the territory of the United States or its allies.

"The answer to that question is very simple," was the reply. "The very idea of the possibility of such actions is contrary to the Soviet Union's policy."

Questioned about American public reactions in view of the summit conference, Gromyko said: "As you know, broad sections of the American people condemn such actions, for they have realised that they worsen the situation on the eve of the conference and, consequently, are harmful to the task of solving the corresponding international problems."

"However, we do find arguments—and incidentally in quite important organs of the press—to the effect that after all, espionage is not in itself such a bad thing, but that it was probably unwise to carry out a flight over Soviet territory on the eve of the summit conference."

"This is a strange way of looking at things! How can it be forgotten that such

provocations can at any time, and not only just before the summit conference, have very dangerous consequences for the cause of peace and may involve entire states in tragedy?"

'Humanism'

An *Izvestia* correspondent drew attention to the view expressed in the *New York Times* that the one bad thing about the whole affair was the fact that the pilot had not killed himself. He asked how such statements could be reconciled with humanism.

"Yes, it is quite true that such views are being expressed in the United States," Gromyko replied.

"For instance, there are voices which reproach the pilot—the spy Powers, who was caught red-handed—for not having used the poisoned needle he had to kill himself, so as to enable the American military to hide behind a smokescreen of lying inventions and continue their criminal actions against the U.S.S.R."

"Here you have a clear example of how, for some people in the United States, all moral and ethical considerations give way to the interests of the Pentagon and Allen Dulles' intelligence organisation."

"If you like, this, too, is in its way a morality, an ethics of a kind—but it is bestial ethics."

"The very best thing for these people would have been for Powers to become a silent and lifeless corpse."

"There you have the answer to the question of what are the morals of the imperialists: no writings by bourgeois ideologists can wash the shame from the faces of those who have made such morals an integral part of their policy, including international relations."

Yardstick

A correspondent of the *Baltimore Sun* said that Mr. Herter had stated that every country was conducting intelligence activities, and the correspondent asked Gromyko if he could say whether the Soviet Union, too, had an intelligence apparatus.

"Apparently Mr. Herter approaches other states with a yardstick made in Washington," Gromyko replied. "That is a very bad mistake."

Gromyko was asked how long the Soviet Union had known that such flights were being made over its territory, and he replied: "I can answer that question in this way. It is well known—and there have been reports about this in the Press—that the Soviet government has made the appropriate representations to the United States in connection with the violation of Soviet state frontiers by American aircraft. -We have made such representations on a number of occasions."

"Nikita Khrushchov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, mentioned only two instances in his speeches at the session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, dwelling particularly on the latest instance, which took place on May 1. This is the most striking and most flagrant instance of its kind."

"As we know, the United States' government, in replying to these representations by the Soviet Union, contented itself with evasions."

"It became clear to the Soviet government that, notwithstanding the totally irrefutable facts and proofs, the government of the United States was simply refusing to recognise them."

'Sincerity'

A correspondent of the Soviet journal *New Times* put the question: "Many people in the United States are seriously concerned

that as a result of the actions of the American authorities, belief has been undermined in the world today in the sincerity of American foreign policy. How are such fears to be assessed?"

"Judge for yourself how this is to be assessed," said Gromyko. "The facts speak for themselves."

A correspondent of the Soviet newspaper *Red Star* then asked why the United States government, including Mr. Herter, was so insistently defending the so-called "open skies" proposal.

"The answer is very simple," Gromyko replied. "The 'open skies' plan is a plan for military reconnaissance by the United States."

"As Comrade Khrushchov has said many times, the object of this plan is for the Soviet Union to open its skies to the American air force and put at the disposal of the American military authorities every opportunity for gathering information about its military and industrial objectives."

"Though until now there might still have been naïve people in other countries who believed that the 'open skies' proposal had other aims, today the number of such people has apparently greatly diminished."

"The provocative actions of the American air force are a striking illustration of what the 'open skies' proposal is."

Beyond Doubt

"The U-2 plane was built four years ago," said a correspondent of the Yugoslav newspaper *Borba*. "Have you any grounds for believing that it was made specially for intelligence purposes, and that it is also intended for conducting military intelligence over the territory of the Soviet Union?"

Gromyko said that in view of the special character of that question, it would be answered by G. F. Demura, whom he described as a "reliable expert."

"We have not the slightest doubt that this U-2 plane was carrying out a special intelligence flight."

"In the first place, the plane was without markings to show what country it belonged to. The navigational and silhouette lights, necessary for recognising one's own plane, were also absent."

"Intelligence radio and photographic apparatus, magnetic tape and photographic documents were found among the wreckage of the plane showing that the information recorded and photographed was information of a clearly military nature."

"As this plane is a special purpose aircraft of a diversionary type, it carried a special explosive mechanism for destroying both the aircraft and its espionage apparatus in the event of its flight coming to an unpremeditated end."

"And lastly, the testimony of the pilot, and also the documents he had on him, bear witness to the fact that this flight was being made for purposes of espionage and subversion. These documents and also the statements by the pilot are displayed in the exhibition."

A correspondent of *Moscow News* referred to a rumour which he said was current among correspondents in Moscow, to the effect that a "big shake-up" was taking place among the top men of the American intelligence service because of the fiasco of Powers' flight. He asked if Gromyko had any information about this.

"Perhaps it is so," said Gromyko. "It may be that because of that scandalous flight, a shake-up of the leading intelligence personnel is really taking place in Washington."

"But the question, of course, is not one of replacing certain persons in the intelligence services by others—it is a question of policy."