

Nuclear Weapons Conference, Geneva 1958-61 ; SECCO after Summit Conference ...

HS L 179:91



Dag Hammarskjöld's saml.

Secco after Summit Conference

18-28 May 60

- Statement by A. Gromyko at press conference, 28 May.
- Cable, dat. 19 May, from A. Gromyko (Foreign Minister of USSR) - to the President of Secco
- Cable, dat. 18 May, from A. Gromyko to D. H. and President of Secco
- Statement by H. Cabot Lodge, 18 May.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

680 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

No.18/60

Unofficial translationCHECK AGAINST DELIVERYSTATEMENT BY A.A.GROMYKO AT PRESS CONFERENCE
28 May 1960.

The Security Council has held seven meetings in connection with the question raised by the Soviet Government regarding the aggressive actions of the American Air Force creating a threat to peace. During the consideration of this question we expounded the position of the Soviet Union. Once again - in this case from the rostrum of the Security Council - we called the attention of world public opinion to the fact that the United States Government pursuing a policy of provocations with regard to the Soviet Union by violating its borders is acting as an aggressor.

All that transpired during the consideration of the question raised by us in the Security Council - the statements of the United States representative as well as the speech made by President Eisenhower on May 25 - confirms the fact that the United States Government is acting as an enemy of peace.

A government that demonstratively declares its policy to be military espionage and sabotage against another Power, including the incursion of its aircraft inside the borders of that Power, cannot be an honest partner in negotiations, no matter how often it speaks of its readiness to negotiate and seek agreements.

When one great Power has embarked on the path of perfidy, when its representatives sit around the conference table with the representatives of the Soviet Union while at the same time intrusions are undertaken inside the borders of the Soviet Union by its military aircraft on the authorization of the United States Government and of the President in person, then is such a partner to be trusted in negotiations.

There have not been too many cases of a government of a major Power pursuing a policy of duplicity with regard to another Power, having laid such a policy at the foundation of its relations, while at the same time giving assurances that it wants to negotiate with it. But this is precisely the role that the United States Government has assumed.

The reference of the United States Government to the fact that it has made military espionage, including the method of

incursions by American aircraft inside the borders of the USSR, its state policy because, if you please, the Soviet Union is keeping information on its military and industrial objectives in secret is absurd.

The Soviet Union advances no claims to the United States Government as to information on American military and industrial objectives.

Then

/what right has the United States Government or the American war department to tender any claims to obtain information relating to our army and our economy? Does anyone in Washington really count on the Soviet Union or our people giving information into the hands of the American military that would facilitate their preparation for an aggressive war? One must indeed lose all sense of reality to advance such ridiculous claims!

The sponsors of the aggressive policy of the United States regarding the USSR assert that more extensive information is published in the United States on the military and industrial potential of the country than is done in the Soviet Union. But what business is it of ours what information is or is not published in the United States in this field. The Americans are free to manage their household in any way they want to. But we will not allow alien rules to be established in our house.

The Soviet Union and its armed forces have one reply for those who like to reach into our house for such information. This reply is simple - cut off such hands.

Attempts to justify the policy of international piracy which the United States Government has proclaimed as the credo of its policy by references to the Soviet Union not accepting the so called "open skies" plan are also designed for simpletons. If the Soviet Government referring, for instance, to the non-acceptance by the United States Government of the Soviet proposal on the withdrawal of foreign troops from alien territories were to advance any claims before the United States Government which would prejudice the security of the United States, how would the United States Government react? It would definitely reject such claims.

It is sometimes said: so what, we shall fly over you, and you fly over us, then we shall all be in the same position. But such arguments evade the substance of the issue and shoot wide of the target. The thing is that a country which is not preparing for an aggressive war does not need information on the military secrets of other countries, including information obtained through aerial reconnaissance. Such information is required only by a country that is preparing for an aggressive war and would like to take aim at the military and industrial objectives of another state. This is what the Pentagon wants striving for an "open sky" over the Soviet Union.

The sky over the Soviet Union has always been and will remain closed to all our enemies, as also will be tightly locked our land and maritime frontiers. Naturally, we will thereby continue to displease the American militarists. But nothing can be done about that.

Evidently, it is not only the political leaders who take part in determining the foreign policy of the United States but the American generals as well, who should take a more sober look at matters and reconcile themselves with the fact that there exists a mighty Power that saw the light of day regardless of their desire and even despite their desires, and this power can stand up for itself, for its rights and for its friends by uniting its efforts with them.

Peaceful co-existence the significance of which has been repeatedly emphasized by the Head of the Soviet Government N.S.Khrushchov, notably in his talks with the American President, and which implies strict observance by states of the sovereign rights and territorial integrity of one another is the only way that is in line with the vital interests of both the Soviet and the American people, with the interests of universal peace. The alternative is war with all its disasters.

As was to be expected, during consideration of the question submitted by the Soviet Government there were some states in the Security Council in which the feeling of mutual guarantees based on alliance in military blocs gained the upper hand over their awareness of the responsibility of a member of the Security Council who should safeguard the peace.

First and foremost, it is precisely the participants in the NATO military bloc who made it impossible for the Security Council to take a just decision, i.e. a decision condemning the aggressor.

We are confronting them with the accusation: in actual fact you are accomplices of the aggressor. Perhaps yesterday you were better, perhaps to-morrow you will take a more reasonable stand, having convinced yourselves that servitude to the aggressor will in the final analysis not yield political dividends, but to-day you are his abettors and bear the responsibility for this before the nations.

We have no intention of placing under the same heading all the countries that did not vote for our proposal to condemn the aggressor, some of them did - though with reservations - voice their condemnation or at least their disapproval of the actions of the United States aimed at infringing the sovereignty of other states. They were, of course, guided by an awareness of the fact that the American imperialists might get into the habit of flouting the principle of state sovereignty acting in accordance with the proverb that "the appetite comes in the eating". They are aware of the fact that this could constitute a great danger for themselves, particularly if the matter is one of a wolf's appetite.

We are not surprised, therefore, that the speeches of the representatives of Ceylon, Tunisia and, partly, Ecuador contained clear notes of condemnation of those who attempt in relations with other states to replace law by lawlessness and arbitrariness, respect for sovereignty by its flouting, the United Nations Charter by plans of the NATO Headquarters, where the Pentagon rules the roost, and honest and equitable negotiations by duplicity and perfidy. This position of theirs is of positive significance.

You, representatives of the press, know that the Security Council has adopted a resolution containing an appeal to the great Powers to continue their negotiations. We understand the apprehensions of the smaller countries, the non-permanent members of the Security Council which submitted the draft of this resolution, and of other such countries. We are far from opposing such an appeal since the Soviet Government itself has always upheld the necessity of negotiations and agreements, particularly, on such burning issues as general and complete disarmament, a German peace treaty and the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests.

But for the Security Council to launch such an appeal, without, however, condemning those who make a farce out of negotiations and exploit them to deceive the nations, who torpedoed the Summit Conference before it could start who pursue an aggressive policy, means saying very little.

Incidentally, since the question has arisen of negotiations in the Ten-Nations Committee which met in Geneva to discuss disarmament questions, one and a half months work of this Committee has shown fairly clearly that the NATO countries participating in it do not want the conclusion of a disarmament agreement. And what time have they for disarmament when the NATO military machine including Adenauer's bundeswehr is continuously being inflated, when every American military man - particularly if a general's star appears on his shoulder strap - considers it his duty to shout about the danger of disarmament, to warn against the discontinuance of nuclear bomb tests, to call for the further armaments race.

But the Soviet Union wants genuine disarmament, the destruction of weapons and the disbandment of the armies of all states under international control, so that the menace of war disappears forever. The Soviet Government will strive for the implementation of this goal with all insistence. As the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers N.S. Khrushchov declared recently, if the Western Powers continue the procrastination they indulged in at Geneva in the disarmament question the Soviet Government will probably demand that this question be considered by the United Nations General Assembly.

The adopted resolution contains an important provision on the necessity to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states. Apparently the awareness of responsibility before the nations finally made those governments which would otherwise have objected to any mention of sovereignty, agree to do so. Well, even that is not bad. It doubtless reflects the apprehension of many countries of the habits of the American imperialists.

We must say at the same time that such a position is, of course, insufficient since it delivers but an indirect blow at the aggressor while he should have been mentioned more directly and more frankly.

We submitted amendments to the draft of the four countries with the aim of convincing the majority of the Security Council of the necessity to take up a certain stand against incursions of aircraft inside the borders of other states, i.e. to take a more definite stand on the major question. The representative of the United States, however, together with the representatives of certain other countries impeded such an improvement of the resolution.

Of course, we did not wish to obstruct the adoption of even such an insufficient resolution. It also can serve a useful purpose and become a sort of test of the intentions and policies of the United States Government in connection with the call for negotiations. But it can be said in advance that good intentions with regard to negotiations, respect for the sovereignty of states, confirmation by the Council of the necessity of agreement on general and complete disarmament are incompatible with the policy of dangerous provocations proclaimed by the United States Government. One important conclusion follows from all this, namely, that connivance with the aggressor and the adoption of resolutions that shoot wide of the mark and do not condemn his actions cannot be called a good preparation for negotiations which are advocated by many countries.

The Soviet Union has always sought to have friendly relations with the United States of America. It was precisely with this aim that the Head of the Soviet Government N.S. Khrushchov undertook his visit to the United States last year. The warm welcome accorded him here was a convincing demonstration of the fact that the American people, like other nations, want peace. However, there is a grossly irreconcilable contradiction between this will for peace and the unprecedented policy of the United States Government which has embarked upon the path of dangerous provocations in regard to the Soviet Union.

We consider that the discussion, as such, of the question raised by the Soviet Government in the Security Council on the aggressive actions of the American Air Force against the Soviet Union during which it was not only the Soviet Union and Poland but some other countries also that voiced condemnation of this policy of the United States, was useful. Since the Security Council did not, however, take a decision condemning the aggressor and since the United States Government has proclaimed its intention to continue the policy of dangerous provocations against the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government intends to raise this matter at the United Nations General Assembly as well.

The way in which the international situation develops in the future will depend not only on the Soviet Union but on others as well, and primarily on the United States. The Soviet Union has been and remains a true advocate of friendship among all the nations and a steadfast champion of peace and the relaxation of international tension.

UNITED NATIONS
SECURITY
COUNCIL



Distr.
GENERAL

S/4315
19 May 1960
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: RUSSIAN

CABLE DATED 19 MAY 1960 FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, TRANSMITTING AN EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM IN AMPLIFICATION OF HIS CABLE DATED 18 MAY 1960 (S/4314)

Explanatory memorandum

The Soviet Government is submitting to the United Nations Security Council the question of "Aggressive acts by the Air Force of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, creating a threat to universal peace". The Soviet Government is submitting this question to the Security Council as the organ in which the eighty-two States Members of the United Nations have vested the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Soviet Government has previously drawn the attention of the United Nations to instances of flagrant and deliberate violation of the frontiers of the Soviet Union by the United States Air Force and has warned it of the dangerous character of such acts. During the past few years there have been repeated violations of the Soviet frontiers by United States aircraft. The Government of the USSR herewith formally notifies the Security Council of further instances of provocative incursions into the Soviet Union. These incursions were committed by aircraft of the United States Air Force on 9 April and 1 May 1960, as stated in the report made by Mr. N.S. Khrushchev,

Chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The United States aircraft which violated the Soviet frontier on the morning of 1 May was continuously tracked by USSR anti-aircraft units and after it became obvious that its purposes were aggressive, it was shot down in Soviet territory near the city of Sverdlovsk at a distance of over 2,000 kilometres from the Soviet-Afghan frontier. Examination of the wreckage of the aircraft, its equipment, and special apparatus, together with other intelligence data [sic] and the testimony of the pilot, who escaped by parachute, have made it possible definitely to establish that this United States Lockheed U-2 aircraft was dispatched into the airspace of the USSR for the purpose of carrying out military reconnaissance of Soviet territory and, in particular, for the purpose of collecting information on Soviet industrial and military objectives. The aircraft was fitted with special equipment for these purposes and took photographs of objectives on Soviet territory in the course of its over-flight. The aircraft, which is permanently based at Incirlik, near the city of Adana (Turkey), flew into the Soviet Union on 1 May from an airfield at Peshawar (Pakistan) and the pilot had instructions to cross the territory of the USSR in a north-westerly direction towards the area of Arkhangelsk and Murmansk and to land at a Norwegian airfield near the town of Bodo.

The State Department of the United States at first attempted to deny the fact of the deliberate invasion of USSR airspace by a United States aircraft and claimed that the aircraft in question had been making high-altitude meteorological observations in Turkey, not far from the Soviet frontier. It was compelled by the pressure of irrefutable evidence to admit on 7 May that the aircraft had been dispatched into the Soviet Union for the purpose of collecting military intelligence data in Soviet Territory. Mr. C. Herter, the United States Secretary of State, confirmed this on 9 May and further stated that such espionage and diversionary flights were being carried out under the directives of the President of the United States as well as aerial surveillance "on occasion by penetration" of Soviet airspace. This statement by the Secretary of State was confirmed by President Eisenhower on 11 May. In its note to the Soviet Government on 12 May, the United States Government reiterated that aggressive espionage flights represented a deliberate policy

/...

of the United States. The Government of the United States has thus virtually admitted that purposes of the flight by this aircraft were hostile to the Soviet Union and incompatible with the purposes and principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, of which the United States of America is a signatory. It is obvious that, given the present international situation and the present level of development of military technology, such acts by the United States constitute a danger to peace. At a time when, as is known, United States bombers are continuously making flights with atomic and hydrogen bombs on board, including flights in the direction of the frontiers of the Soviet Union - a fact to which the Soviet Government has already drawn the attention of the Security Council - there can be no guarantee that United States aircraft appearing over the territory of the USSR are not carrying a lethal cargo. In these circumstances, the Soviet Union may naturally find itself faced with the need to take counter-measures to protect its security and repel aggression. In that event, the responsibility for the consequences will lie entirely with the Governments of the States which have committed aggression against other countries.

It is a noteworthy fact that the United States, in undertaking flights inside the frontiers of the USSR for aggressive purposes, is unceremoniously violating the territorial integrity and sovereign rights of small countries which do not have the same possibilities of defending their territory against invasion by United States aircraft as the large States. On 9 April and 1 May 1960, for example, United States aircraft crossed the southern frontier of the USSR after violating the airspace of Afghanistan. It is known that the United States behaved in the same manner towards neutral Austria in 1958, when it transferred its armed forces to the Near East - an act against which the Austrian Government rightly protested. There is thus irrefutable evidence that the United States of America is carrying out premeditated and carefully prepared acts that constitute not only a gross violation of elementary standards of international law and the provisions of the United Nations Charter, but also a grave threat to the cause of maintaining universal peace.

/...

It is clear from the above-mentioned statements by the Department of State and the Government of the United States that the provocative acts by the United States Air Force against the Soviet Union are not merely the result of orders given by the United States military command but represent the deliberate policy of the United States Government. Consequently, the repeated violations of the USSR frontiers by United States military aircraft, which the Soviet Government reported to the United Nations in the past, were premeditated, although the United States Government had previously tried to deny this.

The Soviet Government hoped that, at the meeting of the Heads of State in Paris, the United States would condemn the aggressive acts of its Air Force and renounce that policy, that it would punish the perpetrators of the act of provocation connected with the U-2 aircraft, give an assurance that such acts would not be permitted in the future, publicly erase the insult to our country and thus put an end to the acts which are aggravating the international situation and creating a threat to peace. However, the Soviet Government notes with regret that the United States Government has not taken this course. Instead, it is endeavouring to evade responsibility for the aggressive acts committed against the USSR and, furthermore, is actually justifying the policy of crossing the frontiers of other States and violating their sovereignty, the integrity of which is a universally accepted and immutable principle of international relations. It is perfectly clear from President Eisenhower's statement in Paris that the United States Government does not intend to renounce this policy but was compelled to announce merely a temporary suspension of the provocative flights over Soviet territory after its acts had been resolutely condemned throughout the world. What is involved, therefore, is not a renunciation of the United States policy which is contrary to the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, but merely a tactical step taken by the United States Government with the object of deluding world public opinion. This is the only possible conclusion to be drawn from the United States Government's persistent refusal to condemn the aggressive acts of provocation against the Soviet Union and from President Eisenhower's statement that the United States cannot assume any undertaking not to carry out reconnaissance flights over the territory of

/...

the Soviet Union after January 1961. Thus the threat of incursions by United States aircraft into the territories of other States has not been removed, nor the danger that such acts may lead to grave military clashes and the unleashing of nuclear-rocket war with grievous consequences for all mankind.

The Soviet Government believes that other States also and the United Nations as a whole cannot and must not reconcile themselves to a situation where the United States, under cover of wholly unfounded references to its own security needs, is overtly threatening the security of other States and peace throughout the world. The Soviet Government considers that it is the Security Council's clear duty decisively to condemn the United States acts that are a threat to the cause of peace and to call for the cessation of incursions by aircraft of the United States Air Force into the airspace of other States. The United Nations would fail in its duty to the peoples if the use of arbitrary and provocative methods in international relations were not brought to an end. Failure on the part of the United Nations to act in this instance would not only be greatly detrimental to the Organization's prestige but would be regarded as encouraging acts that undermine international co-operation and create a threat to peace.

In view of the foregoing, the Soviet Government, in the interests of maintaining universal peace, considers it its duty to submit the question of "Aggressive acts by the Air Force of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, creating a threat to universal peace" for urgent consideration by the Security Council and expresses the hope that the Security Council will take steps forthwith to put an end to the United States acts that are a threat to the cause of peace.

A. Gromyko

S

UNITED NATIONS
SECURITY
COUNCIL



Distr.
GENERAL

S/4315
19 May 1960
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: RUSSIAN

CABLE DATED 19 MAY 1960 FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, TRANSMITTING AN EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM IN AMPLIFICATION OF HIS CABLE DATED 18 MAY 1960
(S/4314)

Explanatory memorandum

The Soviet Government is submitting to the United Nations Security Council the question of "Aggressive acts by the Air Force of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, creating a threat to universal peace". The Soviet Government is submitting this question to the Security Council as the organ in which the eighty-two States Members of the United Nations have vested the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Soviet Government has previously drawn the attention of the United Nations to instances of flagrant and deliberate violation of the frontiers of the Soviet Union by the United States Air Force and has warned it of the dangerous character of such acts. During the past few years there have been repeated violations of the Soviet frontiers by United States aircraft. The Government of the USSR herewith formally notifies the Security Council of further instances of provocative incursions into the Soviet Union. These incursions were committed by aircraft of the United States Air Force on 9 April and 1 May 1960, as stated in the report made by Mr. N.S. Khrushchev,

Chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The United States aircraft which violated the Soviet frontier on the morning of 1 May was continuously tracked by USSR anti-aircraft units and after it became obvious that its purposes were aggressive, it was shot down in Soviet territory near the city of Sverdlovsk at a distance of over 2,000 kilometres from the Soviet-Afghan frontier. Examination of the wreckage of the aircraft, its equipment, and special apparatus, together with other intelligence data [sic] and the testimony of the pilot, who escaped by parachute, have made it possible definitely to establish that this United States Lockheed U-2 aircraft was dispatched into the airspace of the USSR for the purpose of carrying out military reconnaissance of Soviet territory and, in particular, for the purpose of collecting information on Soviet industrial and military objectives. The aircraft was fitted with special equipment for these purposes and took photographs of objectives on Soviet territory in the course of its over-flight. The aircraft, which is permanently based at Incirlik, near the city of Adana (Turkey), flew into the Soviet Union on 1 May from an airfield at Peshawar (Pakistan) and the pilot had instructions to cross the territory of the USSR in a north-westerly direction towards the area of Arkhangelsk and Murmansk and to land at a Norwegian airfield near the town of Bodo.

The State Department of the United States at first attempted to deny the fact of the deliberate invasion of USSR airspace by a United States aircraft and claimed that the aircraft in question had been making high-altitude meteorological observations in Turkey, not far from the Soviet frontier. It was compelled by the pressure of irrefutable evidence to admit on 7 May that the aircraft had been dispatched into the Soviet Union for the purpose of collecting military intelligence data in Soviet Territory. Mr. C. Herter, the United States Secretary of State, confirmed this on 9 May and further stated that such espionage and diversionary flights were being carried out under the directives of the President of the United States as well as aerial surveillance "on occasion by penetration" of Soviet airspace. This statement by the Secretary of State was confirmed by President Eisenhower on 11 May. In its note to the Soviet Government on 12 May, the United States Government reiterated that aggressive espionage flights represented a deliberate policy

/...

of the United States. The Government of the United States has thus virtually admitted that purposes of the flight by this aircraft were hostile to the Soviet Union and incompatible with the purposes and principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, of which the United States of America is a signatory. It is obvious that, given the present international situation and the present level of development of military technology, such acts by the United States constitute a danger to peace. At a time when, as is known, United States bombers are continuously making flights with atomic and hydrogen bombs on board, including flights in the direction of the frontiers of the Soviet Union - a fact to which the Soviet Government has already drawn the attention of the Security Council - there can be no guarantee that United States aircraft appearing over the territory of the USSR are not carrying a lethal cargo. In these circumstances, the Soviet Union may naturally find itself faced with the need to take counter-measures to protect its security and repel aggression. In that event, the responsibility for the consequences will lie entirely with the Governments of the States which have committed aggression against other countries.

It is a noteworthy fact that the United States, in undertaking flights inside the frontiers of the USSR for aggressive purposes, is unceremoniously violating the territorial integrity and sovereign rights of small countries which do not have the same possibilities of defending their territory against invasion by United States aircraft as the large States. On 9 April and 1 May 1960, for example, United States aircraft crossed the southern frontier of the USSR after violating the airspace of Afghanistan. It is known that the United States behaved in the same manner towards neutral Austria in 1958, when it transferred its armed forces to the Near East - an act against which the Austrian Government rightly protested. There is thus irrefutable evidence that the United States of America is carrying out premeditated and carefully prepared acts that constitute not only a gross violation of elementary standards of international law and the provisions of the United Nations Charter, but also a grave threat to the cause of maintaining universal peace.

/...

It is clear from the above-mentioned statements by the Department of State and the Government of the United States that the provocative acts by the United States Air Force against the Soviet Union are not merely the result of orders given by the United States military command but represent the deliberate policy of the United States Government. Consequently, the repeated violations of the USSR frontiers by United States military aircraft, which the Soviet Government reported to the United Nations in the past, were premeditated, although the United States Government had previously tried to deny this.

The Soviet Government hoped that, at the meeting of the Heads of State in Paris, the United States would condemn the aggressive acts of its Air Force and renounce that policy, that it would punish the perpetrators of the act of provocation connected with the U-2 aircraft, give an assurance that such acts would not be permitted in the future, publicly erase the insult to our country and thus put an end to the acts which are aggravating the international situation and creating a threat to peace. However, the Soviet Government notes with regret that the United States Government has not taken this course. Instead, it is endeavouring to evade responsibility for the aggressive acts committed against the USSR and, furthermore, is actually justifying the policy of crossing the frontiers of other States and violating their sovereignty, the integrity of which is a universally accepted and immutable principle of international relations. It is perfectly clear from President Eisenhower's statement in Paris that the United States Government does not intend to renounce this policy but was compelled to announce merely a temporary suspension of the provocative flights over Soviet territory after its acts had been resolutely condemned throughout the world. What is involved, therefore, is not a renunciation of the United States policy which is contrary to the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, but merely a tactical step taken by the United States Government with the object of deluding world public opinion. This is the only possible conclusion to be drawn from the United States Government's persistent refusal to condemn the aggressive acts of provocation against the Soviet Union and from President Eisenhower's statement that the United States cannot assume any undertaking not to carry out reconnaissance flights over the territory of

/...

the Soviet Union after January 1961. Thus the threat of incursions by United States aircraft into the territories of other States has not been removed, nor the danger that such acts may lead to grave military clashes and the unleashing of nuclear-rocket war with grievous consequences for all mankind.

The Soviet Government believes that other States also and the United Nations as a whole cannot and must not reconcile themselves to a situation where the United States, under cover of wholly unfounded references to its own security needs, is overtly threatening the security of other States and peace throughout the world. The Soviet Government considers that it is the Security Council's clear duty decisively to condemn the United States acts that are a threat to the cause of peace and to call for the cessation of incursions by aircraft of the United States Air Force into the airspace of other States. The United Nations would fail in its duty to the peoples if the use of arbitrary and provocative methods in international relations were not brought to an end. Failure on the part of the United Nations to act in this instance would not only be greatly detrimental to the Organization's prestige but would be regarded as encouraging acts that undermine international co-operation and create a threat to peace.

In view of the foregoing, the Soviet Government, in the interests of maintaining universal peace, considers it its duty to submit the question of "Aggressive acts by the Air Force of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, creating a threat to universal peace" for urgent consideration by the Security Council and expresses the hope that the Security Council will take steps forthwith to put an end to the United States acts that are a threat to the cause of peace.

A. Gromyko



NATIONS UNIES
 CONSEIL
 DE SECURITE



Distr.
 GENERALE
 S/4315
 19 mai 1960
 FRANCAIS
 ORIGINAL : RUSSE

MEMOIRE EXPLICATIF ADRESSE LE 19 MAI 1960, PAR CABLOGRAMME, AU
 PRESIDENT DU CONSEIL DE SECURITE PAR LE MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES
 ETRANGERES DE L'UNION DES REPUBLIQUES SOCIALISTES SOVIETIQUES
 POUR COMPLETER SON CABLOGRAMME DU 18 MAI 1960 (S/4314)

Mémoire explicatif

Le Gouvernement soviétique saisit le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU de la question intitulée "Actes agressifs de l'aviation militaire des Etats-Unis d'Amérique contre l'Union soviétique, qui constituent une menace pour la paix universelle". Le Gouvernement soviétique porte cette question devant le Conseil de sécurité étant donné que les quatre-vingt-deux Etats Membres de l'ONU ont confié à cet organe la responsabilité principale du maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales.

Le Gouvernement soviétique avait déjà précédemment appelé l'attention de l'Organisation des Nations Unies sur des actes de violation grossière et préméditée des frontières de l'Union soviétique par les forces aériennes des Etats-Unis en soulignant le caractère dangereux de tels actes. Au cours des dernières années, les frontières de l'Union soviétique ont été violées à plusieurs reprises par des avions américains. Le Gouvernement de l'URSS informe officiellement le Conseil de sécurité par le présent mémoire de nouveaux actes d'intrusion à caractère de provocation à l'intérieur du territoire de l'Union soviétique. Ces actes ont été commis par des appareils militaires appartenant aux forces aériennes des Etats-Unis le 9 avril et le 1er mai 1960, et M. N.S. Khrouchtchev, Président du Conseil des ministres, en a fait état dans son rapport à la session du Soviet suprême de l'URSS. L'avion des Etats-Unis qui a violé la frontière soviétique le matin du 1er mai a été pris sous la surveillance constante des unités de défense antiaérienne de l'URSS et, lorsque le caractère agressif de ses intentions est devenu évident, il a été abattu au-dessus du territoire de l'Union soviétique dans la région de la ville de Sverdlovsk à une distance de plus de deux mille kilomètres de la frontière

soviéto-afghane. Une inspection des débris de l'avion et de l'équipement qu'il contenait, de l'appareillage spécial de reconnaissance et d'autres données, ainsi que les dépositions du pilote, qui a sauté en parachute, ont permis d'établir de façon précise que cet avion américain du type Lockheed "U-2" a été envoyé dans l'espace aérien de l'URSS en vue d'une reconnaissance militaire du territoire de l'Union soviétique, et notamment pour recueillir des renseignements sur les installations industrielles et militaires soviétiques. L'avion était doté d'un équipement spécial à ces fins et a photographié des installations situées sur le territoire soviétique pendant le survol de ce territoire. Basé en permanence à Indjirlik, près de la ville d'Adana (Turquie), cet avion a décollé le 1er mai de l'aérodrome de Peshawar (Pakistan) en direction de l'Union soviétique. Le pilote avait pour mission de traverser le territoire de l'URSS en direction du nord-est vers la région d'Arkhangelsk et de Mourmansk et d'atterrir sur un aérodrome norvégien dans la région de la ville de Bodoe.

Le Département d'Etat des Etats-Unis avait d'abord tenté de nier que cet avion avait pénétré de propos délibéré dans l'espace aérien de l'URSS et affirmait qu'il se livrait à des observations météorologiques à haute altitude en Turquie non loin de la frontière soviétique, mais sous la pression de preuves irréfutables il a été contraint de reconnaître le 7 mai que cet avion avait été envoyé au-dessus du territoire de l'Union soviétique pour recueillir des renseignements militaires sur ce territoire. M. C. Herter, Secrétaire d'Etat des Etats-Unis, l'a confirmé le 9 mai et a déclaré en outre que ces vols d'espionnage et de diversion se font selon les instructions du Président des Etats-Unis et conformément à un programme qui comprend une "surveillance aérienne étendue", notamment "par voie de pénétration" dans l'espace aérien soviétique. Le 11 mai, M. D. Eisenhower, Président des Etats-Unis, a confirmé cette déclaration du Secrétaire d'Etat. Le 12 mai, le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, dans sa note au Gouvernement soviétique, a déclaré de nouveau que les vols d'espionnage à caractère agressif faisaient partie de la politique délibérée des Etats-Unis. Par là même, il a reconnu en fait que le vol

/...

en question visait des fins hostiles à l'Union soviétique, incompatibles avec les Buts et Principes de la Charte de l'ONU, qui porte aussi la signature des Etats-Unis. Il n'est pas difficile de comprendre à quel point ces actes ainsi commis par les Etats-Unis menacent la paix, étant donné la situation internationale et le niveau de développement de la technique militaire. Puisque, comme on le sait, des bombardiers des Etats-Unis portant des bombes atomiques et des bombes à hydrogène effectuent constamment des vols, notamment en direction des frontières de l'Union soviétique - fait que le Gouvernement soviétique a déjà signalé aussi en son temps au Conseil de sécurité - rien ne peut garantir que les avions américains apparaissant au-dessus du territoire de l'URSS ne portent pas un tel chargement destructeur. Dans ces conditions, il est évident que l'Union soviétique peut se trouver contrainte de prendre des contre-mesures afin de protéger sa sécurité et de repousser l'agression. Dans ce cas, la responsabilité des conséquences incombera entièrement aux gouvernements des Etats qui commettent une agression contre d'autres pays.

En envoyant leurs avions à l'intérieur du territoire de l'URSS à des fins agressives, les Etats-Unis, il convient de le noter, violent grossièrement l'intégrité territoriale et les droits souverains de petits pays qui ne disposent pas des mêmes moyens que les grands pays pour protéger leur territoire contre l'intrusion de ces avions. C'est ainsi que le 9 avril et le 1er mai 1960, des avions américains ont franchi la frontière méridionale de l'URSS après avoir violé l'espace aérien de l'Afghanistan. On sait qu'en 1958 les Etats-Unis ont agi de même à l'égard d'un pays neutre, l'Autriche, à l'occasion d'un transport de troupes au Proche-Orient, ce qui a provoqué à l'époque une protestation légitime du Gouvernement autrichien. Ainsi, des faits irréfutables montrent que les Etats-Unis d'Amérique se livrent de propos délibéré à des actes soigneusement préparés, qui non seulement constituent la violation la plus flagrante des principes élémentaires du droit international et des dispositions de la Charte de l'ONU, mais encore compromettent gravement la cause du maintien de la paix universelle.

Il ressort des déclarations susmentionnées du Département d'Etat et du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis que les actes provocateurs commis par l'aviation américaine contre l'Union soviétique ne sont pas simplement le résultat d'ordres donnés par le commandement militaire des Etats-Unis, mais traduisent une politique délibérée du Gouvernement américain. Par conséquent, les intrusions répétées des appareils militaires américains sur le territoire de l'URSS, que le Gouvernement soviétique a signalées dans le passé à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, étaient préméditées, bien que le Gouvernement américain ait auparavant tenté de le nier.

Le Gouvernement soviétique espérait que, lors de la réunion des Chefs d'Etat à Paris, les Etats-Unis condamneraient les actes d'agression de leur aviation militaire, renonceraient à poursuivre cette politique, puniraient les coupables du vol provocateur de l'avion U-2, donneraient l'assurance qu'ils ne toléreraient plus de tels actes, répareraient publiquement l'affront fait à notre pays et mettraient ainsi un terme à des actes qui enveniment l'atmosphère internationale et menacent la paix. Or, le Gouvernement soviétique constate avec regret que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, loin d'agir de cette façon, s'efforce d'éluder toute responsabilité pour l'acte d'agression commis contre l'URSS et va jusqu'à justifier en fait une politique d'intrusion à l'intérieur d'autres Etats et de violation de leur souveraineté, dont l'inviolabilité est un principe universellement reconnu et immuable des relations internationales. Il ressort clairement de la déclaration que le président Eisenhower a faite à Paris que le Gouvernement américain n'a pas l'intention de renoncer à cette politique, mais qu'il s'est vu contraint, devant la condamnation catégorique de ces actes par le monde entier, d'annoncer une suspension temporaire des survols provocateurs du territoire soviétique. Ainsi, il ne s'agit pas d'une renonciation des Etats-Unis à une politique contraire aux principes fondamentaux de la Charte de l'ONU, mais d'une mesure tactique du Gouvernement américain visant à égarer l'opinion mondiale. C'est la seule conclusion que l'on puisse tirer du refus obstiné du Gouvernement américain à condamner les actes d'agression et de provocation à l'égard de l'Union soviétique et de la déclaration du président Eisenhower selon laquelle les Etats-Unis ne peuvent prendre aucun engagement de ne pas procéder à des vols de reconnaissance au-dessus du territoire soviétique après janvier 1961. Ainsi, la menace d'une intrusion des appareils américains à l'intérieur des frontières d'autres Etats ne

disparaît pas, de même que subsiste le danger que de tels actes conduisent à de graves conflits armés et au déclenchement d'une guerre nucléaire où l'on utiliserait des fusées, ce qui serait lourd de conséquences pour toute l'humanité.

Le Gouvernement soviétique pense que ni les autres Etats ni l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans son ensemble ne peuvent ni ne doivent accepter que les Etats-Unis, sous le vain prétexte d'assurer leur sécurité, menacent ouvertement la sécurité des autres Etats ainsi que la paix mondiale. Le Gouvernement soviétique estime que le Conseil de sécurité a pour obligation évidente de condamner en termes catégoriques les actes menaçants pour la paix que commettent les Etats-Unis et d'inviter ce pays à mettre fin aux intrusions d'appareils appartenant à leurs forces aériennes militaires dans l'espace aérien d'autres Etats. L'ONU manquerait à ses devoirs envers les peuples s'il n'était mis fin aux mesures d'arbitraire et de provocation dans les relations internationales. Dans le cas présent, l'inaction de l'ONU non seulement porterait sérieusement atteinte à l'autorité de l'Organisation, mais serait considérée comme un encouragement à des actes qui compromettent la coopération internationale et créent une menace pour la paix.

En conséquence, le Gouvernement soviétique, soucieux de préserver la paix universelle, estime de son devoir de demander au Conseil de sécurité d'examiner de toute urgence la question des "actes agressifs de l'aviation militaire des Etats-Unis contre l'Union soviétique, qui constituent une menace pour la paix universelle", et exprime l'espoir que le Conseil de sécurité prendra sans tarder des mesures pour faire cesser les actes des Etats-Unis qui sont un danger pour la paix.

Signé : A. GROMYKO



NATIONS UNIES
CONSEIL
DE SECURITE



Distr.
GENERALE
S/4314
18 mai 1960
FRANCAIS
ORIGINAL : RUSSE

CABLOGRAMME EN DATE DU 18 MAI 1960 ADRESSE PAR LE MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES
ETRANGERES DE L'UNION DES REPUBLIQUES SOCIALISTES SOVIETIQUES AU
PRESIDENT DU CONSEIL DE SECURITE AVEC COPIE AU SECRETAIRE GENERAL DE
L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES

Monsieur le Président,

Le Gouvernement de l'Union des Républiques socialistes soviétiques demande que le Conseil de sécurité se réunisse d'urgence pour examiner la question des actes agressifs commis par les forces aériennes des Etats-Unis d'Amérique contre l'Union soviétique et de la menace que ces actes constituent pour la paix universelle. Si cette question exige un examen immédiat, c'est parce que les aéronefs militaires des Etats-Unis d'Amérique ont violé à plusieurs reprises l'espace aérien de l'URSS et que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique a déclaré que ces actions, qui constituent une violation des frontières d'autres Etats souverains, font partie de sa politique officielle. Conformément à la Charte des Nations Unies, la responsabilité principale du maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationales incombe au Conseil de sécurité. En conséquence, le Gouvernement soviétique espère que le Conseil de sécurité examinera d'urgence la question mentionnée ci-dessus et qu'il prendra les mesures nécessaires pour mettre fin aux agissements des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, qui constituent une provocation sans précédent et une menace contre la cause de la paix. Un mémoire explicatif dans lequel se trouvent de plus amples détails vous est adressé.

Signé : A. GROMYKO

Ministre des affaires étrangères
de l'Union des Républiques
socialistes soviétiques

UNITED NATIONS
SECURITY
COUNCIL



Distr.
GENERAL

S/4315/Corr.1
20 May 1960

ENGLISH ONLY

CABLE DATED 19 MAY 1960 FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, TRANSMITTING AN EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM IN AMPLIFICATION OF HIS CABLE DATED 18 MAY 1960 (S/4314)

Explanatory Memorandum

CORRIGENDUM

1. On page 2, the second sentence from the top should read as follows:
Examination of the wreckage of the aircraft, the equipment on board, special reconnaissance apparatus, and other particulars, together with the testimony of the pilot, who escaped by parachute, have made it possible to establish that this United States Lockheed U-2 aircraft was dispatched into the airspace of the USSR for the purpose of carrying out military reconnaissance of Soviet territory and, in particular, for the purpose of collecting information on Soviet industrial and military objectives.
2. On page 2, the third sentence in the second paragraph should read as follows:
Mr. C. Herter, the United States Secretary of State, confirmed this on 9 May and further stated that such espionage and diversionary flights are being carried out under the directives of the President of the United States and in accordance with a programme which includes "extensive observation from the air" including "by penetration" of Soviet airspace.



UNITED NATIONS
SECURITY
COUNCIL



Distr.
GENERAL

S/4315/Corr.1
20 May 1960

ENGLISH ONLY

CABLE DATED 19 MAY 1960 FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ADDRESSED TO THE
PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, TRANSMITTING AN EXPLANATORY
MEMORANDUM IN AMPLIFICATION OF HIS CABLE DATED 18 MAY 1960
(S/4314)

Explanatory Memorandum

CORRIGENDUM

1. On page 2, the second sentence from the top should read as follows:
Examination of the wreckage of the aircraft, the equipment on board, special reconnaissance apparatus, and other particulars, together with the testimony of the pilot, who escaped by parachute, have made it possible to establish that this United States Lockheed U-2 aircraft was dispatched into the airspace of the USSR for the purpose of carrying out military reconnaissance of Soviet territory and, in particular, for the purpose of collecting information on Soviet industrial and military objectives.

2. On page 2, the third sentence in the second paragraph should read as follows:
Mr. C. Herter, the United States Secretary of State, confirmed this on 9 May and further stated that such espionage and diversionary flights are being carried out under the directives of the President of the United States and in accordance with a programme which includes "extensive observation from the air" including "by penetration" of Soviet airspace.

UNITED NATIONS

Press Services
Office of Public Information
United Nations, N.Y.

(For use of information media -- not an official record)

Press Release PM/3820
18 May 1960

USSR REQUESTS SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING

The President of the Security Council, Sir Claude Corea (Ceylon), received tonight the following cable*from Andrei A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, dated Paris, 18 May 1960:

Mr. President,

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics requests that the Security Council should be convened urgently to examine the question of aggressive acts by the Air Force of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, creating a threat to universal peace. The need for immediate examination of this question arises from the fact that military aircraft of the United States of America have repeatedly encroached upon the air space of the USSR and that the Government of the United States of America has declared these actions on its part which violate the frontiers of other sovereign States to be its State policy. Under the United Nations Charter the Security Council bears the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In view of the foregoing, the Soviet Government expects that the Security Council will urgently consider the question referred to above and will take the necessary measures to halt the unheard-of provocative actions of the United States of America which represent a threat to the cause of peace. An explanatory memorandum is being sent to you in amplification.

* *** *

*Of which a copy was sent to UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold.

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION
18 May 1960

PARIS 18 May 1960

To His Excellency the President of the Security Council
of the United Nations
Mr. Claude ~~Coxea~~

cc: to His Excellency the Secretary-General of the United Nations
Mr. Dag Hammarskjold

Mr. President,

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics requests you to call the Security Council urgently to examine the question regarding aggressive acts of the Air Force of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, creating a menace to general peace. The necessity of considering this question without delay is due to the fact that the military aircraft of the U.S.A. frequently entered the airspace of the USSR and that the Government of the USA has declared these, its actions, infringing the boundaries of other sovereign states as its State policy. Under the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council has the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In connexion with this, the Soviet Government expects that the Security Council will urgently consider the above question and will take the necessary measures for the cessation of the unheard of provocative actions of the U.S.A. which create a threat to peace. An explanatory memorandum is being sent to you.

A. Gromiko
Minister for Foreign Affairs
of the USSR

Dist.
General

S/
18 May 1960

ORIGINALS
ENGLISH
RUSSIAN

Cable

To: His Excellency Sir Claude Coen
President of the Security Council of the United Nations

Copy to: His Excellency Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld
Secretary-General of the United Nations

From: A. Gruziko
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet
Socialist Republics
Paris

Date: 18 May 1960

Mr. President,

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics requests that the Security Council should be convened urgently to examine the question of aggressive acts by the Air Force of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, creating a threat to universal peace. The need for immediate examination of this question arises from the fact that military aircraft of the United States of America have repeatedly encroached upon the airspace of the USSR and that the Government of the United States of America has declared these actions on its part which violate the frontiers of other sovereign States to be its State policy. Under the United Nations Charter the Security Council bears the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In view of the foregoing, the Soviet Government expects that the Security Council will urgently consider the question referred to above and will take the necessary measures to halt

- 2 -

the unheard-of provocative actions of the United States of America which represent a threat to the cause of peace. An explanatory memorandum is being sent to you in amplification.

A. GROMYKO
Minister for Foreign Affairs of
the Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics

60-12230
bg

Translated from Russian

Cable

Date: 19 May 1960
From: Mr. A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Paris
To: His Excellency Sir Claude Corea, President of the United Nations Security Council, New York
Copy to: His Excellency Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General of the United Nations

In amplification of my cable, I send you herewith an explanatory memorandum.

Explanatory memorandum

The Soviet Government is submitting to the United Nations Security Council the question of "Aggressive acts by the Air Force of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, creating a threat to universal peace". The Soviet Government is submitting this question to the Security Council as the organ in which the eighty-two States Members of the United Nations have vested the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Soviet Government has previously drawn the attention of the United Nations to instances of flagrant and deliberate violation of the frontiers of the Soviet Union by the United States Air Force and has warned it of the dangerous character of such acts. During the past few years there have been repeated violations of the Soviet frontiers by United States aircraft. The Government of the USSR herewith formally notifies the Security Council of further instances of provocative incursions into the Soviet Union. These incursions were committed by aircraft of the United States Air Force on 9 April and 1 May 1960, as stated in the report made by Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The United States aircraft which violated the Soviet frontier on the morning of 1 May was continuously tracked by USSR anti-aircraft units and after it became obvious that its purposes were aggressive, it was shot

INFO COPY
MAY 19 1960
FILE NO.
ACTION
TO <i>Jordan</i>
<i>S.G.</i>

/...

down in Soviet territory near the city of Sverdlovsk at a distance of over 2,000 kilometres from the Soviet-Afghan frontier. Examination of the wreckage of the aircraft, its equipment, and special apparatus, together with other intelligence data [sic] and the testimony of the pilot, who escaped by parachute, have made it possible definitely to establish that this United States Lockheed U-2 aircraft was despatched into the airspace of the USSR for the purpose of carrying out military reconnaissance of Soviet territory and, in particular, for the purpose of collecting information on Soviet industrial and military objectives. The aircraft was fitted with special equipment for these purposes and took photographs of objectives on Soviet territory in the course of its over-flight. The aircraft, which is permanently based at Incirlik, near the city of Adana (Turkey), flew into the Soviet Union on 1 May from an airfield at Peshawar (Pakistan) and the pilot had instructions to cross the territory of the USSR in a north-westerly direction towards the area of Arkhangelsk and Murmansk and to land at a Norwegian airfield near the town of Bodø.

The State Department of the United States at first attempted to deny the fact of the deliberate invasion of USSR airspace by a United States aircraft and claimed that the aircraft in question had been making high-altitude meteorological observations in Turkey, not far from the Soviet frontier. It was compelled by the pressure of irrefutable evidence to admit on 7 May that the aircraft had been despatched into the Soviet Union for the purpose of collecting military intelligence data in Soviet territory. Mr. C. Herter, the United States Secretary of State, confirmed this on 9 May and further stated that such espionage and diversionary flights were being carried out under the directives of the President of the United States as well as aerial surveillance "on occasion by penetration" of Soviet airspace. This statement by the Secretary of State was confirmed by President Eisenhower on 11 May. In its note to the Soviet Government on 12 May, the United States Government reiterated that aggressive espionage flights represented a deliberate policy of the United States. The Government of the United States has thus virtually admitted that purposes of the flight by this aircraft were hostile to the Soviet Union and incompatible with the purposes and principles laid down in

the Charter of the United Nations, of which the United States of America is a signatory. It is obvious that, given the present international situation and the present level of development of military technology, such acts by the United States constitute a danger to peace. At a time when, as is known, United States bombers are continuously making flights with atomic and hydrogen bombs on board, including flights in the direction of the frontiers of the Soviet Union - a fact to which the Soviet Government has already drawn the attention of the Security Council - there can be no guarantee that United States aircraft appearing over the territory of the USSR are not carrying a lethal cargo. In these circumstances, the Soviet Union may naturally find itself faced with the need to take counter-measures to protect its security and repel aggression. In that event, the responsibility for the consequences will lie entirely with the Governments of the States which have committed aggression against other countries.

It is a noteworthy fact that the United States, in undertaking flights inside the frontiers of the USSR for aggressive purposes, is unceremoniously violating the territorial integrity and sovereign rights of small countries which do not have the same possibilities of defending their territory against invasion by United States aircraft as the large States. On 9 April and 1 May 1950, for example, United States aircraft crossed the southern frontier of the USSR after violating the airspace of Afghanistan. It is known that the United States behaved in the same manner towards neutral Austria in 1953, when it transferred its armed forces to the Near East - an act against which the Austrian Government rightly protested. There is thus irrefutable evidence that the United States of America is carrying out premeditated and carefully prepared acts that constitute not only a gross violation of elementary standards of international law and the provisions of the United Nations Charter, but also a grave threat to the cause of maintaining universal peace.

the Charter of the United Nations, of which the United States of America is a signatory. It is obvious that, given the present international situation and the present level of development of military technology, such acts by the United States constitute a danger to peace. At a time when, as is known, United States bombers are continuously making flights with atomic and hydrogen bombs on board, including flights in the direction of the frontiers of the Soviet Union - a fact to which the Soviet Government has already drawn the attention of the Security Council - there can be no guarantee that United States aircraft appearing over the territory of the USSR are not carrying a lethal cargo. In these circumstances, the Soviet Union may naturally find itself faced with the need to take counter-measures to protect its security and repel aggression. In that event, the responsibility for the consequences will lie entirely with the Governments of the States which have committed aggression against other countries.

It is a noteworthy fact that the United States, in undertaking flights inside the frontiers of the USSR for aggressive purposes, is unceremoniously violating the territorial integrity and sovereign rights of small countries which do not have the same possibilities of defending their territory against invasion by United States aircraft as the large States. On 9 April and 1 May 1960, for example, United States aircraft crossed the southern frontier of the USSR after violating the airspace of Afghanistan. It is known that the United States behaved in the same manner towards neutral Austria in 1958, when it transferred its armed forces to the Near East - an act against which the Austrian Government rightly protested. There is thus irrefutable evidence that the United States of America is carrying out premeditated and carefully prepared acts that constitute not only a gross violation of elementary standards of international law and the provisions of the United Nations Charter, but also a grave threat to the cause of maintaining universal peace.

It is clear from the above-mentioned statements by the Department of State and the Government of the United States that the provocative acts by the United States Air Force against the Soviet Union are not merely the result of orders given by the United States military command but represent the deliberate policy of the United States Government. Consequently, the repeated violations of the USSR frontiers by United States military aircraft, which the Soviet Government reported to the United Nations in the past, were premeditated, although the United States Government had previously tried to deny this.

The Soviet Government hoped that, at the meeting of the Heads of State in Paris, the United States would condemn the aggressive acts of its Air Force and renounce that policy, that it would punish the perpetrators of the act of provocation connected with the U-2 aircraft, give an assurance that such acts would not be permitted in the future, publicly erase the insult to our country and thus put an end to the acts which are aggravating the international situation and creating a threat to peace. However, the Soviet Government notes with regret that the United States Government has not taken this course. Instead, it is endeavouring to evade responsibility for the aggressive acts committed against the USSR and, furthermore, is actually justifying the policy of crossing the frontiers of other States and violating their sovereignty, the integrity of which is a universally accepted and immutable principle of international relations. It is perfectly clear from President Eisenhower's statement in Paris that the United States Government does not intend to renounce this policy but was compelled to announce merely a temporary suspension of the provocative flights over Soviet territory after its acts had been resolutely condemned throughout the world. What is involved, therefore, is not a renunciation of the United States policy which is contrary to the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, but merely a tactical step taken by the United States Government with the object of deluding world public opinion. This is the only possible conclusion to be drawn from the United States Government's persistent refusal to condemn the aggressive acts of provocation against the Soviet Union and from President Eisenhower's statement that the United States cannot assume any undertaking not to carry out reconnaissance flights over the territory of

the Soviet Union after January 1961. Thus the threat of incursions by United States aircraft into the territories of other States has not been removed, nor the danger that such acts may lead to grave military clashes and the unleashing of nuclear-rocket war with grievous consequences for all mankind.

The Soviet Government believes that other States also and the United Nations as a whole cannot and must not reconcile themselves to a situation where the United States, under cover of wholly unfounded references to its own security needs, is overtly threatening the security of other States and peace throughout the world. The Soviet Government considers that it is the Security Council's clear duty decisively to condemn the United States acts that are a threat to the cause of peace and to call for the cessation of incursions by aircraft of the United States Air Force into the airspace of other States. The United Nations would fail in its duty to the peoples if the use of arbitrary and provocative methods in international relations were not brought to an end. Failure on the part of the United Nations to act in this instance would not only be greatly detrimental to the Organization's prestige but would be regarded as encouraging acts that undermine international co-operation and create a threat to peace.

In view of the foregoing, the Soviet Government, in the interests of maintaining universal peace, considers it its duty to submit the question of "Aggressive acts by the Air Force of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, creating a threat to universal peace" for urgent consideration by the Security Council and expresses the hope that the Security Council will take steps forthwith to put an end to the United States acts that are a threat to the cause of peace.

A. Gromyko

Cardier

60-12333

ak

Translated from Russian

Cable

Date: 19 May 1960
From: Mr. A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Paris
To: His Excellency Sir Claude Corea, President of the United Nations Security Council, New York
Copy to: His Excellency Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General of the United Nations

In amplification of my cable, I send you herewith an explanatory memorandum.

Explanatory memorandum

The Soviet Government is submitting to the United Nations Security Council the question of "Aggressive acts by the Air Force of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, creating a threat to universal peace". The Soviet Government is submitting this question to the Security Council as the organ in which the eighty-two States Members of the United Nations have vested the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Soviet Government has previously drawn the attention of the United Nations to instances of flagrant and deliberate violation of the frontiers of the Soviet Union by the United States Air Force and has warned it of the dangerous character of such acts. During the past few years there have been repeated violations of the Soviet frontiers by United States aircraft. The Government of the USSR herewith formally notifies the Security Council of further instances of provocative incursions into the Soviet Union. These incursions were committed by aircraft of the United States Air Force on 9 April and 1 May 1960, as stated in the report made by Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The United States aircraft which violated the Soviet frontier

/...

on the morning of 1 May was continuously tracked by USSR anti-aircraft units and after it became obvious that its purposes were aggressive, it was shot down in Soviet territory near the city of Sverdlovsk at a distance of over 2,000 kilometres from the Soviet-Afghan frontier. Examination of the wreckage of the aircraft, the equipment on board, the special reconnaissance apparatus and other particulars, together with the testimony of the pilot, who escaped by parachute, have made it possible definitely to establish that this United States Lockheed U-2 aircraft was despatched into the airspace of the USSR for the purpose of carrying out military reconnaissance of Soviet territory and, in particular, for the purpose of collecting information on Soviet industrial and military objectives. The aircraft was fitted with special equipment for these purposes and took photographs of objectives on Soviet territory in the course of its over-flight. The aircraft, which is permanently based at Incirlik, near the city of Adana (Turkey), flew into the Soviet Union on 1 May from an airfield at Peshawar (Pakistan) and the pilot had instructions to cross the territory of the USSR in a north-westerly direction towards the area of Arkhangelsk and Murmansk and to land at a Norwegian airfield near the town of Bodø.

The State Department of the United States at first attempted to deny the fact of the deliberate invasion of USSR airspace by a United States aircraft and claimed that the aircraft in question had been making high-altitude meteorological observations in Turkey, not far from the Soviet frontier. It was compelled by the pressure of irrefutable evidence to admit on 7 May that the aircraft had been despatched into the Soviet Union for the purpose of collecting military intelligence data in Soviet territory. Mr. C. Herter, the United States Secretary of State, confirmed this on 9 May and further stated that such espionage and diversionary flights were being carried out under the directives of the President of the United States and in accordance with a programme which included "extensive observation from the air", including "by penetration", of Soviet airspace. This statement by the Secretary of State was confirmed by President Eisenhower on 11 May. In its note to the Soviet Government on 12 May, the United States Government reiterated that

aggressive espionage flights represented a deliberate policy of the United States. The Government of the United States has thus virtually admitted that purposes of the flight by this aircraft were hostile to the Soviet Union and incompatible with the purposes and principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, of which the United States of America is a signatory. It is obvious that, given the present international situation and the present level of development of military technology, such acts by the United States constitute a danger to peace. At a time when, as is known, United States bombers are continuously making flights with atomic and hydrogen bombs on board, including flights in the direction of the frontiers of the Soviet Union - a fact to which the Soviet Government has already drawn the attention of the Security Council - there can be no guarantee that United States aircraft appearing over the territory of the USSR are not carrying a lethal cargo. In these circumstances, the Soviet Union may naturally find itself faced with the need to take counter-measures to protect its security and repel aggression. In that event, the responsibility for the consequences will lie entirely with the Governments of the States which have committed aggression against other countries.

It is a noteworthy fact that the United States, in undertaking flights inside the frontiers of the USSR for aggressive purposes, is unceremoniously violating the territorial integrity and sovereign rights of small countries which do not have the same possibilities of defending their territory against invasion by United States aircraft as the large States. On 9 April and 1 May 1960, for example, United States aircraft crossed the southern frontier of the USSR after violating the airspace of Afghanistan. It is known that the United States behaved in the same manner towards neutral Austria in 1958, when it transferred its armed forces to the Near East - an act against which the Austrian Government rightly protested. There is thus irrefutable evidence that the United States of America is carrying out premeditated and carefully prepared acts that constitute not only a gross violation of elementary standards of international law and the provisions of the United Nations Charter, but also a grave threat to the cause of maintaining universal peace.

It is clear from the above-mentioned statements by the Department of State and the Government of the United States that the provocative acts by the United States Air Force against the Soviet Union are not merely the result of orders given by the United States military command but represent the deliberate policy of the United States Government. Consequently, the repeated violations of the USSR frontiers by United States military aircraft, which the Soviet Government reported to the United Nations in the past, were premeditated, although the United States Government had previously tried to deny this.

The Soviet Government hoped that, at the meeting of the Heads of State in Paris, the United States would condemn the aggressive acts of its Air Force and renounce that policy, that it would punish the perpetrators of the act of provocation connected with the U-2 aircraft, give an assurance that such acts would not be permitted in the future, publicly erase the insult to our country and thus put an end to the acts which are aggravating the international situation and creating a threat to peace. However, the Soviet Government notes with regret that the United States Government has not taken this course. Instead, it is endeavouring to evade responsibility for the aggressive acts committed against the USSR and, furthermore, is actually justifying the policy of crossing the frontiers of other States and violating their sovereignty, the integrity of which is a universally accepted and immutable principle of international relations. It is perfectly clear from President Eisenhower's statement in Paris that the United States Government does not intend to renounce this policy but was compelled to announce merely a temporary suspension of the provocative flights over Soviet territory after its acts had been resolutely condemned throughout the world. What is involved, therefore, is not a renunciation of the United States policy which is contrary to the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, but merely a tactical step taken by the United States Government with the object of deluding world public opinion. This is the only possible conclusion to be drawn from the United States Government's persistent refusal to condemn the aggressive acts of provocation against the Soviet Union and from

President Eisenhower's statement that the United States cannot assume any undertaking not to carry out reconnaissance flights over the territory of the Soviet Union after January 1961. Thus the threat of incursions by United States aircraft into the territories of other States had not been removed, nor the danger that such acts may lead to grave military clashes and the unleashing of nuclear-rocket war with grievous consequences for all mankind.

The Soviet Government believes that other States also and the United Nations as a whole cannot and must not reconcile themselves to a situation where the United States, under cover of wholly unfounded references to its own security needs, is overtly threatening the security of other States and peace throughout the world. The Soviet Government considers that it is the Security Council's clearly duty decisively to condemn the United States acts that are a threat to the cause of peace and to call for the cessation of incursions by aircraft of the United States Air Force into the airspace of other States. The United Nations would fail in its duty to the peoples if the use of arbitrary and provocative methods in international relations were not brought to an end. Failure on the part of the United Nations to act in this instance would not only be greatly detrimental to the Organization's prestige but would be regarded as encouraging acts that undermine international co-operation and create a threat to peace.

In view of the foregoing, the Soviet Government, in the interests of maintaining universal peace, considers it its duty to submit the question of "Aggressive acts by the Air Force of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, creating a threat to universal peace" for urgent consideration by the Security Council and expresses the hope that the Security Council will take steps forthwith to put an end to the United States acts that are a threat to the cause of peace.

A. Gromyko

UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

2 Park Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

May 18, 1960

STATEMENT BY HENRY CABOT LODGE

There have been no aggressive acts such as the Soviet complaint alleges. Instead of making such charges, we should all look for the causes of the trouble -- which is the danger of sudden death due to surprise attack by nuclear weapons. The United States will at the proper time make proposals to protect humanity against this danger.

* *** *