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Congressional Record re: Summit Meeting

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

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COUNT THREE

The grand jury further charges:

1. That from in or about 1948 and up to and including the date of the filing of this indictment, the defendant and his co-conspirators, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, through its representatives, agents, and employees, maintained within the United States as a system and organization for the purpose of obtaining, collecting, receiving, transmitting, and utilizing information relating to the national defense of the United States, a means or system of obtaining, collecting, receiving, transmitting, and utilizing material, messages and instructions on behalf and for the use of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2. That from in or about 1948 and continuing to the time of filing this indictment, the defendant and his co-conspirators would use short-wave radio to communicate, deliver, and transmit material, messages and instructions relating to the national defense of the United States, to other Republics, and to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

3. That from in or about 1948 and continuing to the time of filing this indictment, the defendant and his co-conspirators would, within the United States as a system and organization for the purpose of obtaining, collecting, receiving, transmitting, and utilizing material, messages and instructions relating to the national defense of the United States, and with agents, officers, and employees of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, would communicate, deliver, and transmit material, messages and instructions to each other and to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

4. That from in or about 1948 and continuing to the time of filing this indictment, the defendant and his co-conspirators would, within the United States as a system and organization for the purpose of obtaining, collecting, receiving, transmitting, and utilizing material, messages and instructions relating to the national defense of the United States, and with agents, officers, and employees of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, would communicate, deliver, and transmit material, messages and instructions to each other and to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

5. That from in or about 1948 and continuing to the time of filing this indictment, the defendant and his co-conspirators would, within the United States as a system and organization for the purpose of obtaining, collecting, receiving, transmitting, and utilizing material, messages and instructions relating to the national defense of the United States, and with agents, officers, and employees of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, would communicate, deliver, and transmit material, messages and instructions to each other and to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

6. That from in or about 1948 and continuing to the time of filing this indictment, the defendant and his co-conspirators would, within the United States as a system and organization for the purpose of obtaining, collecting, receiving, transmitting, and utilizing material, messages and instructions relating to the national defense of the United States, and with agents, officers, and employees of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, would communicate, deliver, and transmit material, messages and instructions to each other and to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Overt acts

In pursuance and furtherance of said conspiracy and to effect the object thereof, the defendant and his co-conspirators did commit, among others, within the eastern district of New York and elsewhere, the overt acts as alleged and set forth under count I of this indictment, all of which overt acts are hereby realleged by the grand jury.

Mr. Mansfield. Mr. President, at this point it appears unlikely that the summit meeting will continue. The need to save face may well prevail over the need to save civilization. There is still a possibility, however, that Mr. Macmillan and President de Gaulle will be able to impress upon Mr. Khrushchev the need for these meetings to go on to the end that a greater measure of stability may be brought about in the international situation, before the little stability that is left disappears entirely.

The problem at Paris is not the U-2 incident; it is world peace. The blunders involved in that incident and—let us use the correct word in all honesty; let us call a spade a spade—that we can see the blunders in that incident and its handling are for this Nation to face. Responsibility for dealing with them rests, not with Mr. Khrushchev, but with the politically responsible President, with the politically responsible Congress, and with the American people who hold both accountable.

At the proper time, we shall trace the chain of command, or lack of it, which set in motion the U-2 flight, which has undercut the deep-seated confidence of the people and policies of the United States for peace.

At the proper time, we shall find out what lies beneath the confusing signs of official pronouncements of the past fortnight. We shall find out why, on one day, the Congress and the people of the United States were informed by the Secretary of State that, in effect, it is the policy of the United States to sanction the discontinuance of reconnaissance flights over the borders of another nation and why the Vice President's TV appearance last Sunday, confirmed this policy. We shall find out why this
SENATE

I repeat: At the appropriate time, these questions and others will be asked. They must be asked. The people of the United States will demand that they be asked and answered, for they go to the heart of our system of responsible popular Government. They go to the heart of the question of our survival as a free Nation. But I repeat: It is for us, not for Mr. Khrushchev, to ask and answer them.

It is for Mr. Khrushchev and the other participants at Paris to get down to negotiation, to serious negotiation, on the critical differences which divide mankind.

It is to be hoped that President de Gaulle will assume leadership in bringing about these negotiations. He stands outside the immediate crisis between the United States and the Soviet Union. As host to the conference, as a man with a profound depth of understanding of the great need for peace in an anxious Europe and a troubled world, he may yet bring a measure of sanity, a measure of reason to this conference which is otherwise destined to be stillborn.

May I say, further, that it is to be hoped that if these talks do go on, all administration will seriously consider inviting the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee to Paris to join the American delegation. We are all together, Democrats and Republicans. We are all bound by a common responsibility for what may transpire at this crucial time. I would respectfully suggest, in this connection, that the able and distinguished Senator from Arkansas, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations (Mr. Fulbright) who is now in the Middle East, be summoned forthwith to serve in an advisory capacity to the President in Paris.

Mr. President, I recognize that responsibility for the conduct of foreign policy rests with the President of the United States. In making these remarks, I do not speak for any other Member of this body on either side of the aisle. I speak only as a Senator from Montana, responsible to the people of Montana, to the Nation, and to my own conscience.

I make these remarks with the greatest reluctance and in full realization that the hour is desperately late. I make them, however, believing it is in anticipation of a game of renewed cold war which will ensue if this conference fails. It is more likely, in my opinion, to be the beginning of a deepening of the crisis in Germany and elsewhere which sooner or later must bring this Nation, the Soviet Union, all the peoples to the point of no return in war. That may be inevitable and if it is we must face it together. But I would not be keeping faith with my State, with the people of Montana, or with the people of the Nation and the continuity of peace born between them.

I repeat: At the appropriate time, these questions and others will be asked. They must be asked.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senate yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. Although I join with the Senator from Montana in expressing our deep regret at the apparent failure of the summit conference in Paris, I would, however, be willing to leave it to history and future revelation to fix the responsibility for this failure. At some time perhaps we may get to the bottom of some of these things that have surrounded the circumstances of the last 2 weeks.

I join the Senator from Montana in expressing the hope that General de Gaulle, President of France, and host to the conference, will be able to exert enough leadership to pull the Western allies back into unity, if there is a lack of such unanimity at the present time, and also to get the summit conference under way again, so that we may salvage some results from the great effort which has already been put into preparation for this conference.

Mr. Khrushchev has apparently made complications with some impossible conditions a condition to the resumption of the conference in Paris. I would not expect the President of the United States to apologize to Russia for the U-2 incident unless Mr. Khrushchev is willing to apologize to the world, to every other country in the world, for maintaining the most poisonous language system the world has ever known.

There is a question in our minds—perhaps not so much of a question—as to whether he ever desired the Paris conference to produce any degree of satisfactory results; but what I think we ought to make clear at the present time, and make clear to the people of Russia, the people of Western Europe, and the people of all the world, is that the people of the United States are still very earnestly desirous of making such agreements on an international scale as will lessen the danger of a terrible conflict such as could conceivably result, although I will not agree that it is imminent; and we ought to continue our efforts toward securing agreements on disarmament, as well as on other matters which relate to the relationships between the different countries of the world.

We must have world peace, and we must let the people of the world know of our desire for peace. Khrushchev may have believed it was a game of renewed cold war which will ensue if this conference fails. It is more likely, in my opinion, to be the beginning of a deepening of the crisis in Germany and elsewhere which sooner or later must bring this Nation, the Soviet Union, all the peoples to the point of no return in war. That may be inevitable and if it is we must face it together. But I would not be keeping faith with my State, with the people of Montana, or with the people of the Nation and the continuity of peace born between them.

I join with the Senator from Montana in expressing the opinion that we should not give up that hope that President de Gaulle and his associates will exert every effort possible to secure a renewal of the Paris conference, or the summit conference, as it is called.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for an additional minute, so that I may comment on what the distinguished senior Senator from Vermont has said.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Vermont? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, as always the distinguished Senator from Vermont (Mr. AIKEN) shows the hallmarks of statesmanship and commonsense. I agree with every word he has said.

The Senator from Vermont has mentioned the resumption of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva. I should like to see it resumed, as well as the Conference on Nuclear Test Ban. We are moving on to the Conference on Surprise Attack, which I understand is technically still in existence even though no meetings have been held. If my understanding is correct, since December of 1958.

I will say to the Senator also that if the summit meeting at Paris fails, we will all know whom to blame for the debacle, and we will know how to pinpoint it, because of events up to the present time.

I sincerely hope, in the interest of mankind as a whole, that these statesmen on whom the world depends will forget anything which might affect them personally, and think of the people all over the world, and do what they can to bring about a degree of stabilization and, if at all possible, a modicum of peace, as well.

I thank the Senator from Vermont, who has said in fewer words than I what the present situation is, what our hopes are, and what we devoutly pray shall be accomplished.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, will the Senate yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I wish to place in the Record at this point a bit of information which I am sure the Senator from Montana, Mr. Adenauer, when he was in this Chamber, or Mr. Pearson got in Sweden during the negotiations on disarmament, which he did consider important.

I asked the vigorous Chancellor of West Germany if the so-called spy incident had played into Khrushchev's hands and got the agreement to a surprise attack. He brushed it aside, saying, "It's not remotely comparable to the spying in Russia which has been done for years, but which is now a conscious policy for Germany all the time. The Communist bloc countries have 1,000 agents in Germany alone." He then went on to say that the other side was exaggerating the incident out of all proportion.

I should like to make a comment in relation to that matter. I think Chancellor Adenauer has really brought to