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4. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the defendant and certain of his coconspirators would activate and attempt to activate as agents within the United States certain members of the United States Armed Forces who were in a position to acquire information relating to the national defense of the United States, and would communicate, deliver and transmit, and would aid and induce each other and divers other persons to the grand jury unknown, to communicate, deliver, and transmit information relating to the national defense of the United States to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

5. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the defendant and certain of his coconspirators would use short-wave radios to receive instructions issued by said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to send information to the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

6. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the defendant and certain of his coconspirators would fashion containers from bolts, nails, coins, batteries, pencils, cuff links, earrings, and the like, by hollowing out concealed chambers in such devices suitable to secret therein microfilm, microdot, and other secret messages.

7. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the said defendant and his coconspirators would communicate with each other by enclosing messages in said containers and depositing said containers in prearranged drop points in Prospect Park in Brooklyn, N.Y., in Fort Tryon Park in New York City, and at other places in the eastern district of New York and elsewhere.

8. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the said defendant and certain of his coconspirators would receive from the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its agents, officers, and employees large sums of money with which to carry on their illegal activities within the United States, some of which money would thereupon be stored for future use by burying it in the ground in certain places in the eastern district of New York and elsewhere.

9. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the defendant and certain of his coconspirators, including Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," would assume, on instruction of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the identities of certain U.S. citizens, both living and deceased, and would use birth certificates and passports in the name of such U.S. citizens, and would communicate with each other and other agents, officers, and employees of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics through the use of numerical and other types of secret codes, and would adopt other and further means to conceal the existence of said conspiracy.

10. It was further a part of said conspiracy that defendant and certain of his coconspirators would, in the event of war between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, set up clandestine radio transmitting and receiving posts for the purpose of continuing to furnish the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with information relating to the national defense of the United States, and would engage in acts of sabotage against the United States.

Overt acts

In pursuance and furtherance of said conspiracy and to effect the object thereof, the defendant and his coconspirators did commit, among others, within the eastern district of New York and elsewhere, the overt acts as alleged and set forth under count one of this indictment, all of which overt acts are hereby realleged by the grand jury (section 793, title 18, United States Code).

COUNT THREE

The grand jury further charges:

1. That throughout the entire period from in or about 1948 and up to and including the date of the filing of this indictment, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, through its representatives, agents, and employees, maintained within the United States and other parts of the world a system and organization for the purpose of obtaining, collecting, and receiving information and material from the United States of a military, commercial, industrial, and political nature, and in connection therewith recruited, induced, engaged, and maintained the defendants and coconspirators hereinafter named and divers other persons to the grand jury unknown as agents, representatives, and employees to obtain, collect, and receive such information and material for the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2. That from in or about 1948 and continuously thereafter up to and including the date of the filing of this indictment in the eastern district of New York; in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and elsewhere, Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, also known as "Mark" and also known as Martin Collins and Emil R. Goldfus, the defendant herein, unlawfully, willfully, and knowingly did conspire and agree with the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and with agents, officers, and employees of the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, including Aleksandr Mikhailovich Korotkov, Vitali G. Pavlov, Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," coconspirators but not defendants herein, and with divers other persons to the grand jury unknown, to commit an offense against the United States of America, to wit, to violate section 951, title 18, United States Code, in the manner and by the means hereinafter set forth.

3. It was a part of said conspiracy that the defendant and Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," and other coconspirators to the grand jury unknown, none of whom were included among the accredited diplomatic or consular officers or attachés of the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or of any foreign government, would, within the United States, and without prior notification to the Secretary of State, act as agents of the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and would, as such agents, obtain, collect, and receive information and material of a military, industrial and political nature, and as such agents would communicate and deliver said information and material to other coconspirators for transmission to the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was also a part of the said conspiracy that coconspirators residing outside the United States would direct, aid and assist the defendant and certain coconspirators as aforesaid to act as such agents within the United States and would receive and transmit the said information and material to the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

4. It was further a part of the said conspiracy that the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its officers, agents and employees would employ, supervise and maintain the defendant and Reino Hayhanen, also known as "Vic," within the United States as such agents of the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the purpose of obtaining, collecting, receiving, transmitting and communicating information and material of a military, commercial, industrial and political nature.

5. It was further a part of the said conspiracy that the defendant and certain of his coconspirators would receive sums of

money and other valuable considerations from the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, its officers, agents and employees, in return for acting as said agents of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics within the United States for the purpose of obtaining, collecting, receiving, transmitting and communicating information, material, messages and instructions on behalf and for the use and advantage of the said Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

6. It was further a part of said conspiracy that the said defendant and his coconspirators would use false and fictitious names, coded communications, and would resort to other means to the grand jury unknown to conceal the existence and purpose of said conspiracy.

Overt acts

In pursuance and furtherance of said conspiracy and to effect the object thereof, the defendant and his coconspirators 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. (In violation of sec. 371, title 18, United States Code.)

WILLIAM F. TOMPKINS,
Assistant Attorney General.
LEONARD P. MOORE,
U.S. Attorney.

THE NEEDS AT THE PARIS CONFERENCE

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—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-12 flight, which has undercut the deep-seated desire of the people and policies of the United States for peace.

At the proper time, we shall find out what lies beneath the confusing zigzags of official pronouncements of the past fortnight. We shall find out why, on one day, the Congress and the people of the United States are told by the Secretary of State that, in effect, it is the policy of the United States to sanction the continuance of reconnaissance flights across the borders of another nation and why the Vice President, on a TV appearance last Sunday, confirmed this policy. We shall find out why this

happens at one time, and then, subsequently, in Paris, the President tells Mr. Khrushchev and the world that such flights had already been halted last Thursday by his order and are not to be resumed. Why these conflicting statements? Why the delay in making clear that in official policy the United States sustains international law, and that this policy is established by the President, and the President alone speaks for this Nation?

These are grave questions, for they suggest that there is not one administration, but two, not one official policy but two, with the stature and safety of the Nation and the continuance of peace torn between them.

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, the administration will seriously consider inviting the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee to Paris to join the American delegation. We are all in this together, Democrats and Republicans. We are all bound by a common responsibility for what may transpire at this critical moment. 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 because I do not believe it is simply 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 peoples to the edge of catastrophe. That may be inevitable and if it is we must all face it together. But I would not be keeping faith with my State, with the Nation, and with my conscience if I did not now state my feelings as plainly and bluntly as I am able, if I did not urge the four statesmen in Paris once more to recognize, before the long night begins to close in upon us, that they are in every sense the principal guardians of humanity's highest hopes, perhaps of the human species itself and to act in accord with that sacred trust.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator 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 the mysteries 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 unanimity, 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 compliance 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 elaborate espionage system the world has ever known.

There is a question in our minds—perhaps not so much of a question—as to whether Mr. Khrushchev 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 world peace.

There is some question now as to whether the people of Russia are fully informed by their own Government as to

what the situation is. It is believed that whatever they are told, they are given in a prejudicial manner, and one which would reflect against the people of the Western World.

I join with the Senator from Montana in expressing the opinion that we should not give up hope, and 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 Montana? 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 Testing and also 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, will think of the people all over the world, and will 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 will be accomplished.

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

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. WILEY. I wish to place in the Record at this point a bit of information which Drew Pearson got the other day from Mr. Adenauer, when he was in Bonn. Mr. Pearson spoke to Chancellor Adenauer about the situation, and I quote from what he has said:

I asked the vigorous Chancellor of West Germany if the so-called spy incident had't played into Khrushchev's hands and got the summit conference off to a bad start. He brushed it aside with, "It isn't remotely comparable to the spying Russia has been doing against the West. Russian planes fly over Germany all the time. The Communist bloc countries have 1,000 agents in Germany alone. Khrushchev has exaggerated 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