

... Principal Attempt at Falsification: The "Decision Not to Suspend" Flights

whole policy of so-called peaceful co-existence, the whole detente policy, that Mr. Khrushchov seemed to have been following, that they may well have had a considerable influence.

Long's Embarrassing Question

SENATOR LONG: When we plead guilty to espionage in this case, how can we plead guilty on the one hand and contend that there is no punishment in order, when we plead guilty to violating international law?

SECRETARY HERTER: We have said that we pleaded guilty to it entirely on the ground that for ourselves and for the free world it was essential for us to get information with regard to dangers of surprise attack or aggression.

SENATOR LONG: The thought that occurs to me is that, and I am not sure that we are in position to be completely self-righteous about passing judgment on ourselves in our own case. . . . I don't very well see how we are going to plead guilty in the matter and then take the attitude that no apology is forthcoming. . . .

Future Flights of U-2?

SENATOR CARLSON: Will that [the breakdown of the summit] influence our course of action in getting information that is essential for our security?

SECRETARY HERTER: I think we will do whatever we feel is essential for our security. I am not saying in that respect that we are going to deliberately utilize the U-2 again. I have never said that. . . .

That Decision Nobody Ever Made

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Secretary [you say in your prepared statement] "The decision not to suspend this program of flights, as the summit meeting approached, was a sound decision." Can you tell us who made that decision and when and of the circumstances?

SECRETARY HERTER: That is a decision that I think has been a decision that has carried over the whole 4-year period.

THE CHAIRMAN: I don't think I make myself clear . . . this statement seems to leave the implication that a specific decision was taken not to suspend them in view of the conference approaching. Was such a decision taken?

SECRETARY HERTER: That I can't tell you. I was not a party to it. . . . May I read what the President said on that subject? He said, "As to the timing, the question was really whether to halt the program and thus forego the gathering of important information that was essential and that was likely to be unavailable at a later date. The program went forward." [Actually, though this last sentence was in the prepared advance text, in the speech as the President delivered it, he substituted the sentence "The decision was that the program should not be halted". The original sentence was truthful, for it implied that the program continued without decision. The substituted sentence seems to have

Abusing Security Censorship

The U-2 hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are made public only in censored form. Such censorship is supposed to be for security reasons only but is often abused to withhold embarrassing information. We give a rather transparent example from the first day's hearing May 27:

Secretary HERTER: All espionage is a violation of sovereignty, all forms of espionage.

Senator LONG: [Question deleted by censor].

Secretary HERTER: [One word deleted]. However, the Chicago convention which is the principal convention dealing with this, has never been accepted by the Russians nor have they accepted any bilateral agreement with regard to air space over their country.

Senator LONG: [Question deleted].

Secretary HERTER: Yes.

The Chicago civil aviation convention negotiated in the 40's made it a violation of international law to invade another nation's air space without permission. The U. S. ratified but the Russians didn't. It is obvious that Senator Long was asking whether aerial reconnaissance was not a violation of this treaty to which we are a party. The questions and answers bear no relation to any kind of security, except security from public criticism. We hope some member of the committee, who attended the hearings, will study the deletions when the hearings are over and report on any abuses of censorship—IFS.

been untruthful, in implying a definite decision—IFS.]

[Whole page deleted by censor.]

THE CHAIRMAN: Then that decision was made by the President?

SECRETARY HERTER: Oh, he was certainly consulted with regard to the continuation of the program. . . .

SENATOR GORE: Did you participate in a conference or were you aware of a decision? Did you make a decision? What is the full extent of your knowledge of a decision that the flights would not be discontinued?

SECRETARY HERTER: I know of no conference at which the matter was discussed. . . .

Flippant Finale

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Secretary, one last thing. Do you think we have learned, not just we but all of us, including you and the Administration, anything from the U-2 incident?

SECRETARY HERTER: Not to have accidents.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is that all we have learned?

SENATOR GORE: Not what?

MR. MACOMBER [State Dept.]: Not to have accidents.

Herter Disingenuous on The Key Question in the Breakdown of the Summit

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Secretary, what were the considerations which led to the decision, not only to assume responsibility for the flight, but to imply that the flights would continue in the future?

Secretary HERTER: I have to take responsibility for the statement that was [so] interpreted . . . and it seems to me it was pretty far-fetched interpretation.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then do you mean . . . that you did not intend to convey the view or the possibility that the flights would be continued? Is that correct?

Secretary HERTER: No, what I was saying there is just what I have testified to today; that from the point of view of our own interests and that of the whole free world, it is

essential for us to do whatever we properly can in order to acquire information to avoid surprise attack or to be prepared for it.

THE CHAIRMAN: But in view of that statement, do you think that Mr. Khrushchov could accept it and continue the conference?

Secretary HERTER: Yes, I certainly do if he had wanted to.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you think our President would accept such a statement from any other power?

Secretary HERTER: If he wanted to go to a conference? Certainly.

—Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May 27

The Secretary of State Was Second Only to the President in Unawareness

Were They Going to Continue U-2 Flights While Ike Was in Russia?

(Continued from Page One)

to evade responsibility for almost everything else which has gone wrong in his Administration, decided to march up and shoulder this one. Unfortunately the Senate Foreign Relations Committee can question Cabinet officers but not Presidential aides. The result was to leave Secretary Herter holding the bag for Hagerty, and the Secretary of State proved second only to the President in unawareness of what has been going on.

Flights Stopped During Suez Crisis

There is evidence that at moments when somebody was minding store, official Washington was aware that U-2 flights were in a dangerous special category. Chalmers Roberts in a special account in the *Washington Post* May 27, the day the hearings began, said U-2 flights were suspended during the Suez crisis negotiations with the Russians in September, 1956. John Foster Dulles was then Secretary of State. Somebody seems to have realized that a strange plane suddenly appearing over Russia in that tense situation might have triggered trouble. According to a *New York Times* story May 30 by Hanson Baldwin, U-2 flights were "temporarily suspended just prior to, during and after Premier Khrushchov's visit to the United States" last September but resumed "with the subsequent delay of the summit meeting and of President Eisenhower's scheduled visit to the Soviet Union." If true, on that occasion, too, somebody realized that a U-2 flight would risk upsetting negotiations. Mr. Roberts, in his account, also reported, "CIA officials contend that there was to be a cut-off of U-2 flights before the Summit", the only question being "how much time constituted a margin of safety"

Was the May 1 Flight to Be The Last?

It is hard to believe that even in this capital officials would be idiotic enough to continue the U-2 flights at the very time

On the Public's Right to Know

"It has been the policy of each Secretary of State under whom I have been honored to serve, going back to Cordell Hull, that, not only are the American people entitled to know the facts—within the limits of essential and legitimate security requirements—but it is essential that they have an understanding of the alternatives that face this Nation . . . there is not only a right to know—there is an obligation on the part of the good citizen to seek out the facts. . . ."

—The News Division of the Dept. of State, by Lincoln White, press officer since 1939, Dept. Pub. 6859.

Senator GORE: You say now that on the 5th you received this information that the pilot was probably alive and yet, on the afternoon of the 6th, this Mr. Lincoln White, official spokesman for the department, said this: "There was absolutely no deliberate attempt to violate the Soviet Air Space and there never has been." Did you authorize that statement?

Under Secretary DILLON: No, not specifically.

—Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May 27

the President was conferring in Paris or would send them overhead when he was visiting Russia. When Senator Fulbright asked Secretary Herter "Was any moratorium agreed upon prior to May 1, to be effective at any time after May 1," the Secretary gave the curious answer "I have heard reports to that effect, but of my own knowledge I do not know." When Fulbright asked him at another point whether there had been any moratorium during the Camp David talks, Herter replied that so far as he knew there was no such moratorium. But it is evident from the record that the Secretary of State knew little and could do less. When Senator Humphrey asked whether he could not have vetoed the flights, he answered "I could only have given my advice to the President."

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