

USSR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Aug. 22, 1950

REPORT ON CONCLUSION OF POWERS TRIAL

Rudenko Speech

Moscow, Soviet Home Service, Aug. 19, 1950, 0922 GMT--L

(Speech for the prosecution by USSR Procurator General Rudenko, at the trial of Francis Powers, read by announcer)

(Text) Comrade judges: I come to make the speech for the prosecution at this trial in full consciousness of its immense significance. The present trial of the American spy-pilot, Powers, exposes a crime perpetrated not only personally by the accused Powers. It also fully reveals the criminal, aggressive actions of ruling circles of the United States, the true inspirers and organizers of monstrous crimes directed against the peace and the security of the peoples.

It has been shown once more at this trial that the reactionary forces of the United States, in the struggle against the forces of peace, have not shrunk from using any methods and have criminally violated the elementary norms of international law and the national sovereignty of other states in order to pursue the bankrupt policy of balancing on the brink of war.

But the peoples of the world remember very well the horrors of World War II. The Soviet people took the main weight of the Hitlerite aggression on themselves. On fields of battle that were of an unprecedented scale and ferocity, they defended and succeeded in defending, with perseverance and courage, the honor, freedom, and independence of the homeland and saved the freedom-loving people from the dread peril of fascist enslavement. The world followed the course of this struggle of the Soviet people and its armed forces with admiration. History will never forget it.

We will remember forever the towns and villages razed, the tears of the wives, children, and mothers, and the unheard-of sufferings of millions and tens of millions of people who fell victim to the fascist barbarism. We remember all this so as never to allow a repetition of the horrors of a world war. The firm determination of the Soviet people, the Soviet Government, and its head, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev to prevent a new war, expresses the will of all progressive mankind, of all the common people of the globe.

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The peace-loving peoples of all countries follow with deep satisfaction and unabated attention the measures of the Soviet Government for an easing of international tension and the prevention of the threat of a new war, and creation of conditions for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The Soviet Union is unwaveringly defending the cause of peace and has submitted to the United Nations a plan for universal and complete disarmament which includes the destruction of all means for pursuit of a rocket or nuclear war.

Consistently pursuing a peace-loving policy, the Soviet Government has unilaterally reduced the armed forces of the Soviet Union one-third. In the Soviet country, the great seven-year plan of peaceful construction is being successfully fulfilled. The Soviet people, who are building a communist society, are engaged in peaceful creative work and hate war.

The ruling circles of the United States are pursuing a completely different policy. These reactionary, aggressive circles have set up their military bases on the territories of many countries who are participants in NATO. They constantly keep planes in the air with loads of atom and hydrogen bombs and declare their intention to resume underground tests of nuclear weapons. They have entered into a conspiracy with the Adenauer revanchist government about arming the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons, and stubbornly oppose measures on universal disarmament and the destruction of rocket and nuclear weapons.

Striving to maintain their policy of war brinkmanship, the leading circles of the United States are walking the road of dangerous provocations. The piratical, aggressive raid of defendant Powers on May 1, 1960, was just such a provocation.

Comrade judges, when from the rostrum of the USSR Supreme Soviet session the head of the Soviet Government announced the aggressive intrusion of the American military Lockheed U-2 plane into the airspace of the Soviet Union, the whole world was shaken by the treachery of leading U.S. statesmen. The peoples of the world branded with shame these provocative, insidious actions of the American ruling circles. It is common knowledge that after the aggressive intrusion of the plane into the confines of the Soviet Union was announced there came a whole series of mendacious, cynical, and contradictory statements and assertions from the leading statesmen of the United States.

In the beginning, they tried to present all sorts of camouflaging and covering up veils to conceal their true aims from the world and avoid responsibility. Exposed before the whole world in their deliberate aggressive actions, U.S. President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, and U.S. State Secretary Harter made official statements of a kind unprecedented in the history of international relations to the effect that the violation of the sovereignty of the USSR and the aggressive espionage flights of U.S. aircraft over the Soviet territory were carried out on direct instructions of the U.S. Government and the President himself and that they are the calculated state policy of the United States.

Thus was the mask of innocence, behind which the government of the United States vainly tried to avoid responsibility before American and world public opinion, torn off. Striving to avert the breakdown of the summit conference, the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, speaking at a preliminary conference of the heads of governments of the four powers in Paris on May 16 this year, stated that in spite of the provocative actions of the government of the United States, the Soviet Union considered it possible to take part in this conference on condition that the government of the United States condemn the unheard-of provocation that had been permitted against the Soviet Union, apologize, and punish the culprits.

President Eisenhower rejected these fair and legitimate demands of the Soviet Union. By this very fact, the government of the United States demonstrated to the whole world its real intention of using the provocative intrusion of the U-2 aircraft into the confines of the Soviet Union as a pretext for sabotaging the summit conference, of throwing the world once again into a state of cold war, of exacerbating tension in international relations, and of freezing the great powers' negotiations on disarmament.

Thus was the summit conference torpedoed by the government of the United States. This was so obvious that even certain eminent U.S. statesmen were forced to admit that the summit conference had been sabotaged by the government of the United States. Here I am referring to the very well-known speech by the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, Fulbright, on the results of the investigation into the events that led to the breakdown of the summit conference.

It is quite clear that the U-2 incident and our attitude toward it were the direct reasons for the failure of the conference. In this connection, it is quite out of place to argue that when Khrushchev arrived in Paris he had decided to prevent the holding of the conference. A decisive factor in the determination of this position was the U-2 incident which took place two weeks before the conference.

Subsequent events have shown what dangerous and aggressive course the U.S. Government is pursuing in not discontinuing its provocative actions against the Soviet Union and remaining true to its policy of war brinkmanship. A vast wave of indignation swept the whole world when the insidious actions of U.S. leaders, who on July 1 sent the military bomber and reconnaissance RB-47 airplane on a criminal, provocative flight into the confines of the Soviet Union, became known. This happened, as is known, after the U.S. President, Eisenhower, gave, last May, assurances of the discontinuance of U.S. spy planes flights into the confines of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Judges, the present trial has attracted the attention of millions of people the world over. The case of the exposed American spy pilot, Francis Gary Powers, has produced such a sharp and angry reaction from the Soviet people and all peaceable peoples because the exposure of one of the agents of U.S. intelligence, caught red-handed and brought down during an aggressive espionage flight on May 1 in the area of Sverdlovsk, was, at the same time, an exposure of the reactionary governing circles of the United States who have made the state policy of their country a calculated policy of treachery, provocation, and espionage, a policy of war brinkmanship for the sake of the interests of the capitalist monopolies.

These reactionary political circles who have proclaimed a policy of intimidation, a position of strength policy among the highest political principles of the United States, and who organized the criminal aggressive intrusion of the military plane into the Soviet Union, have shown everybody the criminal methods to which they resort, methods which constitute a direct threat to all mankind.

The criminal actions of the accused Powers, by reason of their own significance and by reason of the dire consequences which they have already brought and, moreover, could have brought, go far beyond the framework of the usual criminal offense. It is not only the Soviet Union, against which the criminal encroachments were directly aimed, but all mankind that is interested in a correct appraisal of these actions and the adoption of all possible measures to avert them in the future.

The circumstances of this case, thoroughly examined in the preliminary investigation and at the open trial, the whole course of the bandit flight of Powers' plane over the territory of the Soviet Union, cannot but bring every man of common sense, who strives to preserve peace on earth, to conclusions on the aggressive aims of the policy of the United States, on the violation by the American brasshats of all the commonly recognized norms of international law, and on the criminal violation of the national sovereignty of other states.

This is why, as we see it, the task of the court in this case cannot be restricted merely to establishing facts relevant to the acts with which the accused Powers is directly charged and which were carried out by him personally. Of course, as in every criminal case, you, comrade judges, in precise accordance with the law, are obliged to make an all-around, full, and objective evaluation of all available evidence with a view to establishing the truth and obtaining an answer to the question of what crime is contained in the actions of the accused Powers.

But a verdict in this case will be of significance not only for the personal fate of the accused Powers. A verdict of the court, based on material provided in the preliminary and court investigations, will once again convincingly expose to the whole world the criminal and aggressive policy of ruling circles of the United States. There is no doubt that your verdict will play its part in the struggle of the forces of peace against the forces of aggression, in the struggle which is extending more and more throughout our planet and on the issue on which the future of mankind depends.

Permit me now to pass on to the actual circumstances of the case with an analysis of the extensive evidence which, put together, not only exposes the accused and the crimes committed by him but also exposes the organizers and inspirers of these crimes. The criminal actions committed by Powers have been fully established by evidence which it is impossible either to refute or to shake. The fact alone that the American military spy plane was brought down on May 1 by Soviet rocket troops in the area of Sverdlovsk and the very presence in the dock of the spy pilot of this shot-down U.S. aircraft, Powers, here in Moscow, is irrefutable and convincing proof. The charges against the defendant are now fully founded on extensive and objective evidence. Defendant Powers himself understands this. He has, therefore, made no attempt to dispute his guilt of the crimes he has committed.

Comrade judges, you know of the evidence given by Powers at the preliminary examination and at the court examination when explaining the marks made on the route maps. He spoke in detail about the tasks which were put to him by the commander of espionage detachment 10-10, U.S. Air Force. Colonel Shelton, in pointing out the places to which he had to pay particular attention to obtain information about rocket bases and other especially important defense objects of the Soviet Union. It has been established that this detachment was based at the Incirlik Airbase in Turkey, and it was in that detachment that the accused Powers served in his capacity as spy.

The piratical aggressive flight on May 1, 1960, was the last in Powers' espionage career, which he began as far back as 1958 when he signed a secret contract in the U.S. capital, Washington, with the U.S. CIA and sold himself to American intelligence for 2,500 dollars a month.

It was explained to Powers that his duties would include that of making reconnaissance flights along the frontiers of the Soviet Union and also the performance of other special missions. It was from precisely this moment that Powers became a regular spy pilot, prepared to commit any crime in the name of the interests of the American brass hats who are in the service of monopolist capital.

You remember, comrade judges, the deposition of the accused Powers which he gave in the preliminary investigation and here in court on the preparation for flights in U-2 aircraft at the Las Vegas atomic firing range (polygon) in the Nevada desert and the training in the use of special reconnaissance apparatus. In charge of this training was Colonel (Perry?) who headed (word indistinct) the 10-10 subunit. Colonel Perkins?), Major (Kodja?), and the recruited spy pilots were trained in flying the U-2 spy planes by representatives of the Lockheed company, which produced these aircraft, and also by military pilots.

Here is a vivid example of the criminal conspiracy of a major American capitalist company, of an espionage and reconnaissance center, and of the military of America. During their training all recruited pilots were given false surnames for purposes of concealment. Powers was known by the name of Palmer.

In the autumn of 1956 the personnel of the 10-10 unit were moved to the American Turkish air force base in Incirlik, near the town of Adana in Turkey, where the formation of this unit took place and from where it had to engage in direct espionage activity. It was from here that Powers and other pilots of the 10-10 unit started to make systematic flights for reconnaissance purposes along the frontiers of the Soviet Union with Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan, and also in the area of the Black Sea, using special reconnaissance equipment for this purpose. Powers said in evidence that Colonel (Perry?) told pilots of the 10-10 unit that they would also make flights over the territory of the Soviet Union.

Then Powers testified that since 1956 a large number of flights have been carried out along the borders of the Soviet Union for reconnaissance purposes. I consider, Powers stated, that that constituted the principal work of our unit.

Annually I flew several times along the borders between the USSR and Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan. During 1956 and 1957 from 3 to 4 flights were carried out over the Black Sea; I carried out 1 to 2 flights. In 1957 there were 6 to 8 of these flights, in 1958 10 to 15, in 1959 10 to 15, and during four months in 1960 1 or 2. All these flights I carried out along the southern borders of the Soviet Union. Other pilots of the 10-10 unit also flew for the same purposes.

We took off from Incirlik airfield and flew to the town of Van on the shore of the lake with the same name, then we set our course for Teheran, the capital of Iran, and after flying over Teheran we flew in an easterly direction, south of the Caspian Sea. Then I usually flew south of the town of Meshad, crossed the Iranian-Afghan border and then flew along the Afghan-Soviet border. Not far from the eastern border of Pakistan a turn was made and the same route was used to return to the Incirlik airfield. Later we turned earlier after penetrating roughly 200 miles into the territory of Afghanistan.

Such is the testimony of the defendant Powers on his espionage activities prior to the flight on May 1, 1960. During this interrogation as defendant, Powers confessed that in accordance with the contract which he signed with the U.S. CIA, he was a pilot of a special aerial unit whose work it was to collect information about radio stations and radar installations in operation on the territory of the Soviet Union and also about rocket sites.

In his testimony Powers spoke in detail about the method with which the spy-pilots were trained for the possibility of suddenly receiving a special espionage mission. For this they were trained under the so-called special flight schedule alert.

There is no doubt that the aggressive intrusion into the depth of the territory of the Soviet Union on May 1, 1960, was planned by U.S. intelligence a long time ago. As far back as in August 1958 Powers received the assignment to take a U-2 aircraft from the Incirlik base to Bodoe, the very same airbase in Norway where he was to have ended his May 1 flight. On his way there Powers flew over the route Athens-Brindisi (Italy)-Rome-Frankfurt-Stavanger (Norway)-Bodoe. Here he was expected by Colonel (Birley?), the new commander of the 10-10 detachment who occupied this post till 1959, and a large group of servicing personnel.

From the Bodoe airbase the pilots of the 10-10 detachment carried out several flights in U-2 aircraft. Powers stated that he flew from the Kvitfjell airbase to the American airbase in the area of Wiesbaden, West Germany, from where he took a U-2 aircraft to the U.S. Air Force base in Plattsburg, New York.

This confirmed once more that the U.S. espionage U-2 aircraft were based on West German territory and carried out flights from there. Adenauer's revanchist government, however, did not even find it necessary, as did other states who are participants of NATO, to file a protest on this matter to the U.S. Government. Moreover, Chancellor Adenauer hastened to be the first to express his approval of the criminal aggressive spy flights of the U-2 aircraft. Of course, no other statements could have been expected from this follower of Hitler.

Carrying out espionage flights, Powers and his masters unceremoniously violated the sovereignty of other countries. U-2 aircraft flew over various countries dragged by the United States into their aggressive expansionist policy, who permitted their airbases to be used for U.S. military aircraft to land and take off. With even greater insolence Powers and other spy pilots violated the sovereignty of neutral countries, in particular Afghanistan, using their technical superiority for this purpose.

Such was the development of Powers' espionage career: up to April 27, 1960, when the commander of the reconnaissance unit, Colonel Shelton called a briefing of the personnel and ordered Powers and another pilot and a large party of servicing personnel to fly on the same day to the base at Peshawar in Pakistan, where they arrived in a military transport aircraft, the U-2 aircraft being delivered somewhat later. A detailed testimony was given on this by defendant Powers during the preliminary investigation.

On May 1, 1960, early in the morning Powers was awakened as he had been many times before during training under the "flights schedule alert." This time, however, Powers was given a special mission, for which he had been trained for several years. This mission provided for carrying out a reconnaissance flight over the territory of the Soviet Union for the purpose of collecting important information about military and industrial objects. The route of the flight was from the Peshawar base in Pakistan, over the territory of Afghanistan, a considerable part of the territory of the USSR, and ended at the Bodoe base in Norway.

Permit me to turn directly to Powers testimony. This is what he himself testified concerning the mission which he had been given by Colonel Shelton: After a few minutes the colonel brought the maps and showed them to me. He told me that the route of my flight had been marked on the maps.

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These were the route maps which were subsequently found in my aircraft. The colonel told me that he had some information about several airfields and that if I so desired I could mark them on my map. I expressed the desire to do so and marked several airfields. He also knew a place, as he said: "Where I could see a pad for launching guided missiles." I also marked that place on my map. In addition the Colonel showed me a place where in his opinion "there should be something," but what exactly he did not know. I also marked that place. I was, testifies Powers, to follow a route which was marked on the map with a red and blue pencil and at points indicated on the map I was to switch on and off the required switches for the equipment.

This is Powers' own description of the espionage targets for the collection of information about particularly important defense and industrial objects in the Soviet Union which he had been given before the flight of May 1. But the instructions received by Powers and the means put at his disposal to fulfill the espionage mission were not confined to this.

Powers testified further: The colonel told me that he had prepared bundles of Soviet money and gold coins in case something happened to me. The bundles were put into the pockets of my flying suit. He also showed me a silver dollar which held a pin. The colonel told me that there was no danger of any kind, for the USSR did not have aircraft or rockets which could reach the altitude of my flight. If, however, something happened and I was arrested and tortured and could not stand up to it, I would have the opportunity of committing suicide with the aid of this pin which contained poison.

Thus having bought Francis Powers for dollars, and having made him an accomplice of dirty crimes, the U.S. intelligence service had envisaged beforehand the possibility of its agents' failure, and, striving to keep from being exposed, suggested to him the inevitability of suicide should he find himself alive on Soviet territory.

Here it is, the beastly misanthropic morality of Mr. Dulles and company--to count the life of a man serving the dollar, that green devil--as nothing. It should be mentioned that the U.S. intelligence service intended to cover up the traces of the crime not only by supplying such a pin to Powers. Powers' testimony, material evidence, the conclusions of the experts show that the Lockheed U-2 in which Powers left on his espionage flight was a special military reconnaissance plane and was equipped with a special device for the pilot to blow up the plane in case of a forced landing on the territory of the USSR.

An explosive device was also installed in the tape recorder intended for the recording of signals of Soviet radar stations.

After Powers received his last orders and instructions, he took off from Peshawar airfield, gained an altitude of 20,000 meters, flew over Afghanistan, and intruded into the airspace of the Soviet Union. Powers pleaded guilty to having flown over Soviet territory and to switching on and off, according to the places marked on his flight route, the appropriate levers of the special equipment installed in his airplane. There were in all five such switches. All the reconnaissance equipment on board the plane worked normally and smoothly; in addition, Powers engaged during the flight in visual observations, entering the results on the flight map.

As is known, Powers' plane crossed the state frontiers of the USSR at 0536 Moscow time to the southeast of Kirovabad, Tadzhik SSR, and from that moment until he was shot down by Soviet rocket troops in the Sverdlovsk area he was under constant observation by antiaircraft units of the USSR. The whole nature of Powers' flight pointed to its provocative and aggressive aims. The pilot flew the plane at an altitude of 20,000 meters, an altitude at which no civil airplane flies. The route of the plane lay over large industrial centers and important defense objects of the Soviet Union. Since this was an intentional intrusion into Soviet airspace with hostile aggressive aims, the Soviet Government issued the order to shoot down the plane and at 0855 (as received) Powers' plane was shot down with the very first rocket at a height of 20,000 meters in the Sverdlovsk area, more than 2,000 kilometers from the point where he crossed the frontier of the Soviet Union.

Powers testified that while in flight at a height of 68,000 feet in the Sverdlovsk area, that is at a height exceeding 20,000 meters, he saw an orange flare, after which his plane began to fall. During his fall he was pressed against the instruments panel and could not make use of the ejecting device. He released the canopy of the cabin, unhitched his harness, and climbed out of the plane through the top. The parachute opened automatically. Many people were direct witnesses of the explosion which took place at a great height, after which remnants of a plane fell to earth and a parachute appeared in the sky.

Comrade judges, the participants in the capture of the American spy were examined in court and their evidence is still fresh in your memory. Soviet people, boundlessly loyal to their motherland, having this time, as always, shown inherent vigilance, detained the spy pilot Powers after his landing by parachute, took his noiseless pistol specially built for villainous murders, and rendered the spy harmless.

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Here, in court, you were told about this in detail by the following witnesses: ex-serviceman of the Soviet Air Force Petr Yefremovich Sabin, drivers Vladimir Pavlovich Surin and Leonid Alekseyevich Chuchashkin, and the Soviet worker Anatoliy Fedorovich Cherenisin. The government rewarded them for their bravery and valor. This was truly an object lesson, which has shown Powers and his masters that in the Soviet Union money and gold cannot save any spy from retribution, and this goes for (spies?) from the country where the dollar is all important.

Comrades judges, you recall that in official statements made by the State Department and by official spokesmen in the United States it was strongly emphasized that the shot-down, U-2 aircraft was a civil aircraft and that Powers was a hired employee of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. These statements are mendacious. The testimony of the defendant Powers about the circumstances of his enrollment for intelligence service demonstrates that the organizing and carrying out of aggressive espionage flights into the confines of the Soviet Union were carried out directly under the leadership of the U.S. CIA with the knowledge and consent of the government and President of the United States, Eisenhower.

As is known, the U.S. CIA, led by chief spy Allen Dulles is directly subordinated to the U.S. President and is a body of political and military intelligence which is at the head of the so-called "intelligence community," a kind of espionage combine which includes all branch intelligence bodies of the United States, including military air intelligence. Individual components and units of the U-2 aircraft had markings indicating that they were the property of the U.S. Department of Defense. All U-2 flights were carried out from bases of the Air Force and under the leadership of officers of the U.S. Air Force.

The defendant, Powers, testified that the 10-10 unit was created jointly by the CIA and the U.S. Air Force and constituted a combination of these two organs. Powers himself was given the identity certificate number AF 1/288/368 having emblem of the U.S. Department of Defense with the words "U.S. Department of Defense," by the unit 10-10. Among the documents belonging to Powers, a certificate was also found which was issued by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). This document stated that Powers was suitable for service as a pilot of NASA planes. The certificate envisaged the possibility of Powers using military planes under the special instructions of the USAF and gave him permission to land and take off from bases of the U.S. Air Force. Regarding this document, Powers testified: Insofar as I had no personal relationship to NASA, I believe that this document was given me as a cover to conceal the real aims of the 10-10 reconnaissance unit.

You, comrade judges, have seen these documents, and they were shown to the defendant, Powers, here.

It is also known from the testimony of Powers that the 10-10 unit in April 1960 inspected by none other than the chief of staff of the U.S. Air Force, General Thomas White, in whose honor a special reception was arranged. The 10-10 unit was inspected twice by the commander of the U.S. Air Force in Europe, General Everett. Incidentally, the 10-10 unit at Incirlik Base was visited not only by the highest ranks of the U.S. Air Force, but also by some congressmen who evidently had special access to such spying organs. Even Cardinal Spellman did not neglect to pay attention to the base at Incirlik. He also visited the 10-10 unit.

To what conclusion then do I arrive on the basis of the analysis of the data already given? The material of the present trial convincingly shows that despite all the attempts of the U.S. military to put a quick changing act in Allen Dulles' vaudeville show, the real character of the 10-10 unit, in which the defendant Powers served, and other similar units, is sufficiently clear. Regarding the special task of its activities, this unit was nothing but an organ of military intelligence.

There is also no doubt that Powers' plane was a military plane especially equipped and sent with aggressive espionage aims over the airspace of the USSR, while Powers continued to remain, regarding the character of his activities, a military pilot fulfilling the duties of a military intelligence agent and spy. Powers himself admits that he was a civilian pilot in the service of the U.S. Air Force. In actual fact, this is nothing else than a spy-hybrid, the child of the CIA and the military intelligence of the U.S. Air Force, disguised by the figleaf of NASA.

The espionage aims of Powers' flight over Soviet territory are confirmed by all circumstances of the case, including the testimony of the defendant and extensive material evidence. I must especially emphasize that the statements I mentioned earlier made by leading U.S. statesmen, in which they admitted before the whole world that espionage and violation of the sovereignty of other countries is state policy of the United States, in the light of Powers' criminal case at present under examination, attain a procedural significance and are a part of the legal evidence. By this evidence, that is by statements made by the above-mentioned statesmen themselves, it is fully established that the U.S. Government was the inspirer and organizer of the crimes committed by the defendant Powers, and others like him. There is every reason to consider the above-mentioned statements as indisputable evidence in the present case.

The material evidence.

Comrade Judges, in fulfilling my duty as state prosecutor I consider it necessary to give a description of the extensive material evidence in this case. As a result of the examination of this material evidence and its detailed investigation by experts in a variety of fields, unbiased and irrefutable data was placed at the disposal of the state prosecution which can with renewed force confirm the indictment put forward against defendant Powers and the intentional aggressive nature and the espionage aims of Powers' criminal mission. The material evidence was exhibited for public viewing: 320,000 Soviet people and over 20,000 foreigners were given the opportunity to personally examine this visual proof unmasking the aggressive policy of the U.S. ruling circles who organized Powers' piratic flight.

At the place where the Lockheed U-2 aircraft crashed, parts of the aircraft and its equipment were found scattered over an area of roughly 20 square kilometers. Among them were: The front part of the fuselage with (bulkhead?) and the pilot's cabin with equipment, a turbojet engine, the plane's tail, and other (parts). These items were parts of a single-seat, high altitude subsonic, U-2 type reconnaissance aircraft of the American Lockheed firm. The result of an inspection carried out on individual parts have shown that numerous firms in the United States took a hand in developing the U-2 spy plane and that some of the parts are the property of the U.S. Government. The aircraft's turbojet engine was made (several words indistinct). The radio-technical reconnaissance apparatus was made by the Hewlett-Packard Company and Huggins Laboratory in the town of Menlo Park, California. This apparatus, like several other items, have identification marks showing that it belongs to the U.S. Department of Defense. This is particularly important as the refutation of the mendacious assertion that the U-2 aircraft is a military aircraft. The instruments, communication and radar equipment were also made by various American firms as confirmed by appropriate plaques and labels. The aircraft was fitted out with a special remote control explosive charge, model (name of firm indistinct), manufactured by the (name of firm indistinct).

The inspection of the special maps, photographic films, and other material and conclusions of experts testify to a deliberate and previously prepared flight of the U-2 aircraft for reconnaissance-espionage purposes. This is confirmed by a special codified map bearing the flight route of the aircraft which has been recovered: From the Pakistan area, Peshawar airfield, in a northwesterly direction, over the Tadzhik, Uzbek, Kazakh SSR's, south Urals to Sverdlovsk with a turn toward Kirov, then in the White Sea area, crossing the eastern part of Kola Peninsula and along its north coast into Norwegian territory.

The analysis of the flight map indicates that from the Peshawar area to the Sverdlovsk area the aircraft followed the prescribed route. This is confirmed by the films taken of certain localities, and the markings of the course and the actual place of the aircraft with indications of time made on the map by hand with red and blue pencils. There are markings on the map made beforehand, indicating places to switch on and off the aircraft equipment during its flight over the territory of the Soviet Union.

Material evidence establishes beyond a doubt that the flight of the U.S. aircraft over USSR territory was premeditated. As emerges from the conclusion of the experts, the map of the flight and calculations of navigation data were prepared on the ground before the take off. During the flight, the pilot knew where he was. He systematically controlled the flight by pinpointing positions and strictly conducted his flight according to the previously given route.

During the flight over USSR territory, the pilot entered information of an intelligence nature on the map. Of particular interest as proof exposing the espionage purpose of the U-2 aircraft flight is the photographic equipment of the aircraft, and the immediate results of the photographic reconnaissance carried out by defendant Powers during the flight over the territory of the Soviet Union. Technical experts established that the aerial camera, model 73-B, installed on the U-2 aircraft is a special reconnaissance aerial camera intended for photographing a strip of territory from great heights. The film used in the aerial camera is a special kind of photographic material intended for purposes of aerial photographic reconnaissance of military and photographic objects while flying at great heights.

The pilot photographed the territory of the Soviet Union for intelligence purposes. The examination of the developed film and identification prints from it helped establish that the photographed locality is a territory of the Soviet Union. The aerial photographs contain intelligence information regarding industrial and military objects of the USSR. The magnetophone and magnetic tape discovered in the area of the aircraft crash were submitted to expert investigation; so was an optic instrument; all in their turn important material evidence of the espionage purposes of the U-2 aircraft flight.

An examination of the tape recorder showed that it had a special explosive device for its destruction. It was established during the examination by the experts that part of the tape was in a good condition and completely preserved. After the decoding of the recording, it was found that the recorded signals belonged to radar stations on the ground within the radar system of the Soviet Union's anti-aircraft defense.

The tape recorder is part of the radio-technical reconnaissance apparatus on board the U-2 aircraft. Experts have established that the U-2 aircraft was equipped with a special radar scrambler to create interference for radar stations intercepting and directing fighter aircraft. There is no doubt that such equipment is installed in an enemy aircraft intruding into the confines of another country with aggressive aims.

The radio receiver and transmitter, which is an American serial command station for radio communications over short distances with ground stations and between aircraft, was subjected to expert scrutiny. The absence of long-distance radio equipment on the U-2 aircraft is another piece of evidence indicating that the organizers of the aggressive intrusion took measures to conceal the piratical flight of the U-2 plane and to avert the possibility of its discovery over USSR territory.

Comrade Judges, I have already mentioned that the U-2 aircraft was equipped with a special explosive device to insure the destruction of the plane in the event of a forced landing on USSR territory. It was established during the investigation that remote control over the explosives charge was set up in the pilot's cabin. Among several other inscriptions on the instrument panel is the inscription "explosion" (vzryv). Thus, the pilot was fully informed of the presence on the plane of a special explosive device and the ways to use it. The explosive charge found in the wreckage of the U-2 is important material proof of the aggressive espionage aims of the flight.

I have already mentioned in my speech the poison needle taken from the accused Powers. If the mission given to Powers had not been criminal, Powers' bosses would not have equipped him with a lethal needle. It has been established by examination and the toxicological investigation of the needle taken from the accused Powers that there was a substance, on the point of the needle which, judging from its effect on animals, in toxic amounts and physical qualities, can be put in the curara group, the strongest and fastest of all known poisons.

Taking into consideration its high degree of toxicity the experts came to the conclusion that a man would suffer instantaneous death if pricked by this needle. The examination of the noiseless pistol taken from Powers established that it is a semiautomatic 10-round pistol of the newest type, intended for shooting at live targets. Together with the pistol 205 rounds of ammunition for it were found.

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Comrade judges, analyzing all this data, I come to the conclusion that this case has such an aggregate of material evidence--mute testimony which fully, immutably, and objectively establishes completely the crime committed by the defendant Powers--it fully unmask the inspirers and organizers of these crimes and places in the hands of justice evidence of great force.

The act of aggression against the Soviet Union.

Comrade judges, evaluating the gravity of the crimes committed by Powers we cannot for one minute forget that he directly fulfilled such specially dangerous and criminal tasks which were an immediate threat to general peace and could result in a terrible catastrophe for mankind. The aggressive, intentional nature of the flight of the plane piloted by Powers was completely obvious from the moment he crossed the frontiers of the Soviet Union and began to penetrate into the depths of Soviet territory, flying at a tremendous height over important defense and industrial objects. And, obviously, nobody could determine from the ground whether this enemy plane was or not carrying a lethal load, having unceremoniously and insolently intruded into Soviet airspace. Thus, it is quite obvious that in circumstances when some states have nuclear weapons and the means of delivery to the target with near lightning speed, the aggressive act perpetrated by the United States on May 1, 1960, against the Soviet Union belongs to crimes jeopardizing the security of all mankind and could result in most serious consequences for the entire world.

The present case uncovers the criminal violation by the U.S. ruling circles of the generally recognized standards of international law. In this connection, I consider it essential to consider in the prosecuting speech some questions of international law which have a direct relationship to the crime of the defendant Powers and his masters.

An indisputable principle of international law, which has never been contested by anyone, is the principle of complete and exclusive sovereignty of a state over its own territory, including all the airspace over it. This proposition has been laid down both in a number of international conventions and in the internal legislation of practically all states, including the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government has more than once made protests concerning the illegal violation of Soviet airspace by U.S. planes, and it has warned the U.S. Government of its responsibility for the gravest consequences which may follow upon such violations. However, the U.S. Government did not react to these protests, and true to character, has continued its cold war policy and the gross violation of the sovereignty of other states.

It is known that the Soviet Government in its note of July 10, 1960, to the U.S. Government made a protest concerning the violation of USSR airspace by U.S. military planes. The Soviet Union's Permanent representative at the United Nations in a letter of July 12 this year acquainted the Security Council with these facts. In its reply of July 19, 1960, the U.S. Government hypocritically denied the facts of the violation of USSR airspace by U.S. military planes, saying that the statement of the Soviet Government was mistaken.

Such a two-faced policy was adopted by U.S. leaders in all such cases until on May 1, 1960, they were caught redhanded and were forced to admit the facts of the criminal incursion into USSR airspace, which they had formerly blatantly denied.

Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, in appraising the criminal aggressive intrusion of the American U-2 plane into the boundaries of the USSR states with every reason: The principle of sovereignty is a sacred and unshakable principle in international relations. And the actions aimed against the sovereignty of the Soviet state are unheard of and unprecedented.

This principle was expressed in the convention on the regulation of air traffic, signed in Paris on Oct. 13, 1909. Art. 9 of this convention states as follows: Each power has full and exclusive sovereignty over the airspace above its territory. A confirmation of this same principle is contained in the international Pan-American Convention on air freight traffic, signed in Havana on Feb. 20, 1928, in the International Civil Aviation Convention signed in Chicago on Dec. 7, 1944, and in a series of bilateral agreements between states.

The above principle has been fully adopted in the internal legislation of nearly all states; in particular, Para. 176 of an act of the U.S. Congress in 1926 on commercial airflights states: The United States possesses and exercises complete and exclusive sovereignty over the airspace above the United States. This same precept is laid down by the American law on civil aviation of 1938. The air code (vozdukhovyy kodeks) of the USSR of 1935 lays down in Art. 1 that the USSR has full and exclusive sovereignty over the airspace of the USSR.

It is, however, not unknown that in the United States this is not the first case of unceremonious treatment of international law. American theoreticians have even established a special (brief passage indistinct).

But the principle of complete and exclusive sovereignty of a state over the (airspace?) above its territory is so indisputable that it has even been unreservedly recognized by American international law. This is what the above-mentioned (Hyde?) wrote when summing up an examination of all conventions and laws having a bearing on the question: We have so much evidence showing that states are unanimous in asserting their right of control over the airspace above their territories that it is enough to conclude that it can be looked upon as a recognized principle of international law--Par. 191, page 366.

The American (head of?) state personifies the sovereignty and dignity of his country. It is quite inadmissible for one head of state to encroach upon the sovereignty of another state, and it is even less admissible for him to assert his right to do so. It is not possible to imagine a different solution of this question. It is clear to all reasonable minded people, and not only to specialists in international law, that the principle of national sovereignty and a state's control of the airspace over its territory, like the principle of national sovereignty in general, is the basis for normal relations between states in peacetime. There can be no doubts on the matter. The way the practice of international law solves the question of the conduct of guilty states in cases similar to the aggressive intrusion of the U-2 airplane is equally not devoid of interest.

The British professor Oppenheim, in his treatise on international law, published in 1948 by the Moscow Publishing House for Foreign Literature, points out that if persons in official positions or military and naval armed forces of a state commit actions illegal from an international point of view, that state must, first of all, refuse to recognize such acts and must repudiate them, expressing its regret or even apologizing to the government of the state which has suffered. Second, losses must be indemnified if a demand for indemnification is lodged. And finally, the violators of the law must be punished in accordance with the circumstances of the case--pages 335, 333.

It is understandable, however, that he who raises crime to the status of calculated state policy consciously runs the risk of being caught redhanded during the time that the crime is being committed. He also recognizes the position of strength policy as the highest principle of state policy. He, without a twinge of conscience, does not reckon with the generally accepted international practice, which has found its expression in the high principles of international law, and substitutes arbitrariness and lawlessness for law.

In its note of May 10, 1960 to the U.S. Government the Soviet Government stated with the utmost clarity and distinctness that the brazen intrusion into the confines of another state, whether on land, on the sea, or in the air, cannot be considered otherwise than as an act of aggression, and the attempt to justify and legalize these actions is merely nothing other than the preaching of aggression, a policy of throwing aside the elementary norms of international law and order and the principles of the U.N. Charter.

The planned American reconnaissance on the orders of the U.S. Government, the illegal intrusion of American military aircraft into USSR airspace, and particularly the intrusion of the Lockheed U-2 aircraft piloted by Powers on May 1 of this year, were not only criminal violations of the sovereignty of the USSR but acts of aggression.

These bandit actions reflect the old established policy of the United States of balancing on the brink of war, which was carried on for many years by the former secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, and which has been tirelessly warmed up by the Pentagon champions of war. In his book "War or Peace," Dulles wrote: "If ever in the near future it appears that the danger of war has passed, that will be the period of the very greatest danger"--American edition, 1950, page 267. This concept of Dulles apparently continues to form the foundation of U.S. foreign policy.

It seems to me necessary to examine the question of whether the intrusion of even one airplane into the boundaries of another country is an act of aggression. There is every reason to come to the conclusion that the intrusion of a foreign plane, like the intrusion of the U-2 spy plane, is undoubtedly an act of aggression. Without a doubt, in contemporary circumstances the intrusion into the airspace of any state by even one plane threatens catastrophic consequences.

The experience of World War II shows that flights of reconnaissance planes usually preceded an air attack. If this was the case during World War II, then under present conditions the appearance of similar reconnaissance planes is a considerably greater danger. Everyone knows--and responsible military leaders of the United States have more than once stated it for all to hear--that the United States always keep airborne squadrons of bombers on duty carrying atomic and hydrogen bombs. Thus the appearance over Soviet territory of even one reconnaissance plane can always be the forerunner of an air attack. But even when squadrons of bomber planes are not following the reconnaissance plane immediately, the flight of such a plane and the aerial photograph and reconnaissance of the radar system of the antiaircraft defense of the USSR carried out by it are integral elements of an air attack.

The American newspaper Des Moines REGISTER justly wrote: Let us assume that a Russian in charge of the detection system (sistema obnaruzhivaniya) interpreted pilot Powers' flight as an attack and pressed the button for a retaliatory blow. In a few hours, those who had survived would have found themselves in Hell. When will we at last understand that espionage, counterespionage, and other idiotic things of this type are part and parcel of the dead past.

Leading statesmen of the United States would not be loath to cover up their criminal aggressive actions by allegedly peaceful intentions. However, all know the price of the sincerity of such statements. As is known, the road to Hell is paved with such good intentions. The words uttered by President Eisenhower at the concluding session of the conference of heads of government of the four powers in Geneva five years ago, on July 23, 1955, now sound blasphemous.

He said then: I have come to Geneva because I think that mankind is thirsting to be rid of war and the rumors of war. I have come here because I have always believed in the decent feelings and commonsense of the people that inhabit our world. Tonight I am returning home with an unswerving confidence in this, and with a prayer that the hopes of mankind will in time be realized. These solemn words were pronounced at a time when the program of military espionage and criminal violation of the sovereignty of other states confirmed by him was in operation, right from the start of the work of the government of President Eisenhower.

Comrade judges, the statements by the President, Vice President, and secretary of state of the United States, mentioned by me, emphasized that the flight of the U-2 plane on May 1, 1960, and other instances of the intrusion of American planes into USSR airspace, which took place previously, did not pursue aggressive aims, but, it was alleged, were defensive measures.

The American aggressors, these new imitators of Hitler, tried to justify their provocative policy by saying that they are pursuing it, allegedly, with a view to averting the so-called danger of the threat of communism, but this is not a new argument, if you will pardon the expression. It bears a striking resemblance to the armaments in the arsenal of the Hitlerites and the Japanese militarists. It is known that at the Tokyo trial the Japanese war criminals tried to cover up their criminal activities by defense measures. The international military tribunal in Tokyo, trying the major Japanese war criminals, pointed out in its sentence that the leaders of Japan always tried to justify their aggressive military adventures by declaring that they were defensive. "The International Trial of the Main Japanese War Criminals," USSR Academy of Sciences Publishing House, 1950, page 236.

It is known that the attempts of the Hitlerites to justify their aggressive policy against the USSR by referring to the danger of the menace of communism were completely exposed by the international military tribunal in Nuremberg. The U.S. prosecutor, Jackson, in his concluding speech at the trial of the main German war criminals said: Certain of the accused declare that the wars were not aggressive and their aim was to protect Germany against the possible danger of the menace of communism, which was a peculiar obsession of many Nazis. This argument of self-defense falls right from the start--Collected Materials on the Nuremberg Trial, Volume 2, page 450.

Now U.S. statesmen are trying to resuscitate the obsession of the menace of communism that has been refuted by many years of history and suffered a complete failure.

Comrade judges, I think that it is necessary to dwell on another important question that is of interest from the viewpoint of international criminal law. In the case of Powers that you are examining there are peculiar instances of international complicity present. As was established in the preliminary and court investigation the aggressive, espionage flights by U.S. aircraft over the territory of the USSR, and specifically the flight made by Powers in the U-2, could not have taken place if states lying close to the USSR, in this case Turkey, Pakistan, and Norway, had not made their territory available to the American brasshats. The maximum long-distance capacity of the U-2 would not have permitted it to operate directly from U.S. territory. This plane, like all 10-10 espionage units, was based at the Incirlik Air Base, in Turkey. Powers' plane set out on its piratical flight from Peshawar in Pakistan. The plane was to finish its flight and land at the Norwegian base at Bodoe. The accused, Powers, testified that when the U-2 planes were making their reconnaissance flights along the frontiers of the Soviet Union, the air bases at Meshkhet and Tehran in Iran were indicated as emergency air bases. During the May 1 flight, Powers could have used any air base in Norway, Pakistan, and Iran as emergency landing places. He could also have landed at the airbase at Sodankylae in Finland. Colonel Shelton, however, warned him that this was a poor airbase and that he should use it only in the event of an extreme emergency, since that would still be better than landing somewhere in Soviet territory.

Shelton added that Sweden or Norway were best, but Norway the more desirable.

If one is to appraise all these circumstances, in accordance with the teaching on complicity, then one ought to view as accomplices in the crime of Powers those who organized and inspired this crime and also those who as accessories obviously contributed to the commission of a crime by the provision of means and the removal of hindrances.

The Soviet Government has on more than one occasion warned the governments of countries linked by military blocs with the United States about the danger created for these countries by the setting up of U.S. military bases on their territory. The present trial clearly shows how well-founded these warnings of the Soviet Government were.

The present trial reveals the aggressive man-hating policy of the U.S. ruling and military circles, who do not disdain trampling underfoot the sacred principles of international law in the name of their dirty aims, in order to continue the dangerous practice of brinkmanship.

However, peace-loving peoples throughout the whole world at present have no other more acute and burning problem than the problem of preserving peace on earth and averting the threat of a new catastrophic war. At present the correlation of forces in the world is such that peace partisans, all people of good will, all peace-loving mankind, can restrain the aggressors and, acting as one man, inflict a powerful rebuff to the black forces of aggression.

The legal qualification of the crime.

Comrade judges, I am now going over to the legal evaluation of the actions incriminating the defendant Powers. According to the indictment, defendant Powers is accused of the following: Having been recruited in 1956 by the U.S. CIA, he carried on active espionage activity against the Soviet Union, which is an expression of the aggressive policy pursued by the U.S. Government. On May 1, 1960, he, Powers, with the knowledge of the U.S. Government and on the instructions of American intelligence, which puts into effect the above-mentioned aggressive policy, intruded in a specially equipped Lockheed U-2 reconnaissance plane into the airspace of the Soviet Union with the aim of collecting data of a strategic nature concerning rocket bases, airbases, the radar network, and other very important defense and industrial objects of the USSR, data which is a state and military secret of the Soviet Union. He flew over 2,000 kilometers into Soviet territory. He photographed a number of above-mentioned objects with the help of special equipment, as well as recorded signals of radar stations, and also collected other data of an espionage nature. These actions by the defendant, Powers, are envisaged in article two of the law of the USSR on criminal responsibility for a state crime. Each point in this formulation of the charge is fully established by all existing evidence in the case.

According to article two of the above-mentioned law, espionage is considered as the theft or collection with the aim of handing over to a foreign state or foreign intelligence or their agency data which is a state or military secret, as well as the handing over or collection at the instructions of foreign intelligence of other data to be used for purposes harmful to the interests of the USSR.

As a state prosecutor, I have no doubt that every sign of this crime is present in the actions of defendant Powers. The fact that Powers has been stealing or collecting information constituting state or military secrets has been established beyond doubt. There is no need to dwell upon the question as to whether the information concerning military and economic installations of the Soviet Union, its airfields, radio location network, and others, which Powers collected during his aggressive flight on May 1, 1960 over the territory of the Soviet Union, constitutes a state or military secret. Information of this kind is regarded in any country as a guarded state and military secret.

There is also no doubt that the aim of collecting this information by Powers was to hand it over to a foreign state. All the circumstances were established with utmost completeness and clarity at the preliminary and court hearings, and the defendant, Powers himself does not deny that he collected that information on direct orders from the American intelligence service acting in conformity with the program sanctioned by the U.S. Government.

There is also in evidence another element of the crime covered by article two of the above-mentioned law: That is the fact that the crime has been carried out by a foreigner.

From the point of view of Soviet criminal law, Power's espionage guilt has been proved beyond a doubt, but I would like to stress that under the legislation of the United States as well had the actions of defendant Powers taken place in the United States and had they been directed against the United States, they would also have been regarded as espionage and would have entailed severe punishment. I am referring to the legal code of the United States issued in 1958 and published in Washington in 1959, volume 4, section 18, chapter 37, under the heading "Espionage and Censorship."

The law of the United States states that every person who enters, penetrates, flies over, or by any other means receives defense information which may be used to the detriment of the United States or to the advantage of any foreign state is to be held responsible for the crime of espionage. This law established a vast list of espionage objectives.

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Among them are mentioned, for instance, docks, canals, railways, factories, mines, buildings, offices, research laboratories, and so on. Any sketches, photographs, negatives, drawings, plans, maps, models, or notes or anything that is connected with national defense are also listed among the objectives of espionage.

Thus, the law of the United States, with the utmost thoroughness, provides for criminal responsibility for the slightest infringement of the security of the United States.

Why, if they have so strict a procedure in their own country, are U.S. ruling circles unwilling to take into account similar procedures set up in their own countries by other states? Why do they intentionally, insolently, and grossly trample underfoot laws issued by other states in the interests of their security?

Defendant Powers has committed a grave crime against our country. He must be tried with all the severity of the law of the Soviet state, just as any other country would do.

Comrade judges, in winding up the speech for the prosecution I must again revert to the question of the very serious consequences which Powers' criminal action could entail for peace and mankind. While Powers' aircraft was crossing the USSR state border and intruding deep into the airspace of our territory, nobody could know what further aggressive actions he could herald and what lethal freight he was carrying.

Defendant Powers, whose crime was so generously paid for by the U.S. intelligence, is not a simple spy, but a special and carefully drilled criminal. All the actions taken by Powers show that he is far from being a passive and blind weapon, a robot in the hands of U.S. intelligence and the Pentagon, used by them for espionage, subversion, and aggression. He is a dangerous criminal. He cannot claim that he was forced to carry out an order. It was of his own free will that he sold his honor, his conscience, and all of himself for dollars and promised to carry out any criminal actions--that is, acted from selfish and low motives.

He committed his crimes not just in "a way which is generally dangerous," as the law defines the circumstances of heaviest responsibility, but in a way which is fraught with danger for millions and millions of people. He consciously decided to commit a crime the severity of whose consequences cannot be measured in the dimensions we are accustomed to use in defining the severity of a crime.

Such is the true face of defendant Powers. If his bosses had tried to start a new world war, it would be Powers', nurtured and educated in the so-called "free world," who would be ready to be the first to drop atom and hydrogen bombs on peaceful soil, as was done by similar Powers' who dropped the first atom bombs on the peaceful inhabitants of the defenseless cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Comrade judges, the aggressive spy flight which defendant Francis Gary Powers embarked on at the direction of U.S. ruling circles, in a U-2 aircraft on the early morning of May 1, 1960, from the Peshawar Airbase was interrupted by an accurate hit of a Soviet rocket. The hour is drawing nearer when the criminal will hear the court's sentence. May your sentence be a serious warning to all those who pursue an aggressive policy, criminally trample underfoot the generally recognized norms of international law and the sovereignty of states, and who proclaim that the cold war and espionage policy is their state policy. May this sentence also be a serious warning to the other Powers' who, at the directive of their bosses, would try to undermine the cause of peace and would attack the honor, dignity, and inviolability of the great USSR.

Comrade judges, in affirming to the full the state indictment in the Powers case in accordance with article two of the USSR Law on Criminal Responsibility for Crimes Against the State, I have every right to ask the court to apply to defendant Powers an exceptional measure of punishment. But, taking the sincere repentance for his crime which Powers displayed before the Soviet court into account, I do not insist on the death sentence and ask the court to sentence defendant Powers to 15 years imprisonment.

Relatives Visit

Moscow, TASS, Radioteletype in Russian to Europe, Aug. 19, 1960, 1720 GMT--L

(Text) Moscow--Soon after the pronouncement of the sentence, the father, mother, sister, wife, and mother-in-law of Francis Powers had a meeting with him in the building where the trial took place. The meeting lasted one hour and 15 minutes.

Powers' Sentence

Moscow, Soviet Home Service, Aug. 19, 1960, 1745 GMT--L

(Text) We transmit the sentence of the military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court in the criminal case of the U.S. spy-pilot Francis Gary Powers.

In the name of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court, consisting of the presiding judge, chairman of the military collegium, Lieutenant General of Justice Borisoglebskiy, and people's assessors. Major General of Artillery Vorobyev and Major General of Aviation Zakharov; in the presence of the secretary, Major of Administrative Service Afanasyev; with the participation of the state prosecutor, prosecutor general of the USSR, active State Councilor of Justice Rudenko; and of the defense, member of the Moscow city collegium of lawyers, Grinev, in an open court session in the city of Moscow on Aug. 17 to 19, 1960, studied the case for the charge against citizen of the United States of America, Powers, Francis Gary, born 1929, native of the town of Bourdyne, Kentucky state, of higher education, pilot of the special reconnaissance 10-10 unit of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States of America, according to article 2 of the law of the USSR concerning criminal responsibility for state crimes.

It is established by the materials of the case studied by the court session that on May 1, 1960, at 0536 Moscow time, a military unit of antiaircraft defense of the Soviet Union in the area of Kirovabad, Tadzhik SSR, detected at a height of 20,000 meters, not accessible to an aircraft of civil aviation, an unknown aircraft which had violated the state frontiers of the USSR. Military units of antiaircraft defense of the country vigilantly followed the movements of the aircraft, which flew over major industrial centers and important defense objectives, and only when the violating aircraft had penetrated into the confines of the Soviet Union by 2,000 kilometers and when the ill-intentioned nature of this flight, fraught with the (threat?) of thermonuclear weapons with disastrous consequences to the cause of universal peace, became quite obvious, at the order of the Soviet Government, a battery of antiaircraft rockets at 0855 hours shot down the aggressor aircraft in the area of the city of Sverdlovsk.

The pilot of the aircraft ejected himself with a parachute and at the moment of landing was detained. On questioning, he named himself as Powers, Francis Gary, citizen of the United States of America. By an inspection of the fragments of the fallen aircraft it was established that an aircraft of U.S. production, especially designed for flight at great heights and fitted with various apparatus to fulfill spy-reconnaissance assignments, had been shot down.

In this connection, pilot Powers was arrested and was brought to criminal responsibility, accused of espionage against the Soviet Union.

In the court session defendant Powers gave detailed evidence of his espionage activities and the circumstances linked with his incursion into the airspace of the USSR on May 1, 1960.

In 1950 Powers entered the U.S. Army as a volunteer, graduated from the air force school, served as a pilot at various U.S. Air Force bases with the military rank of first lieutenant. In April 1960, Powers was recruited by the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States to carry out particular reconnaissance assignments in high-altitude aircraft.

After concluding a secret two-year contract with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, Powers was given a high salary, 2,500 dollars a month, for espionage-spy activities. He underwent special training and was sent to an intelligence aviation unit under the code name 10-10 stationed at the U.S. Turkish base Incirlik near the town of Adana, Turkey.

The court has established that the 10-10 unit represented a special combination of military and civilian intelligence services of the United States and its purpose was spying on the USSR with the aid of reconnaissance planes sent into Soviet airspace. Since 1956, Powers on orders from the commander of the 10-10 unit, has systematically carried out spy flights along the USSR borders with Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan. In May, 1958, Powers extended his secret contact with the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States for two years, and in January 1960 for another year. It has been established from the documents of the case and from the testimony by the defendant that the criminal intrusion into the Soviet Union's airspace carried out by Powers on May 1, 1960 was carefully prepared well in advance.

On Apr. 27, 1960 Powers, with the commander of the 10-10 unit, U.S. Colonel Shelton, and a group of technicians appointed to prepare the U-2 plane for flight, flew on a U.S. Air Force transport plane from Incirlik base to Peshawar airfield in Pakistan. On Apr. 30 another pilot brought the U-2 plane from Turkey to this airfield; in this plane Powers was to invade USSR airspace.

During the night of May 1, 1960, Colonel Shelton ordered Powers to fly over Soviet Union territory at a height of 20,000 meters along the route Peshawar - the Aral Sea-Sverdlovsk-Kirov-Arkhangelsk-Murmansk, and to land in Norway at Bodoe airfield, which Powers became acquainted with as far back as 1950. Flying over Soviet land, Powers, on Shelton's orders, at certain points was to switch on special instruments taking aerial photographs and registering the signals of radio location stations of the USSR air defenses. Powers was to pay special attention to two points--at one of them the U.S. intelligence service expected to find launching sites for rockets; and at the second, a particularly important defense object (obyekta).

Material evidence has established that Powers carried out the task entrusted to him. Having taken off from Peshawar in Pakistan, Powers flew over Afghanistan territory and over the Soviet Union along the ordered route. Apart from this is confirmed by the U.S. flight chart with the route by the navigator of the 10-10 unit, Major (Dulac?) and the plane and submitted to the court, and notes by Powers on a number of important USSR defense sites seen by him.

During the entire flight up to the moment the aircraft was shot down, Powers operated special intelligence apparatus, took photographs of important defense objects and recordings of the signals and installations of the country's antiaircraft defenses. As a result of the development of the aerial photo film, which had been established that the accused Powers photographed from the air industrial and military objects in the USSR, works, stores, communication roads, railway bridges and stations, power lines, airfields, troop areas and military equipment-stored numerous photographs of USSR territory, taken by the defense at a height of 20,000 meters, and now at the disposal of the USSR Supreme Court, make it possible to define the location of industrial enterprises, the design of railway bridges, the location of aircraft on the airfields, the peculiarities and purpose of equipment. Powers recorded on a tape recorder the signals and location stations in the USSR, with the aim to discover the antiaircraft defense system.

In the experts' opinion, the information gathered by Powers during his flight on May 1, 1960 inside Soviet airspace was military secret of the Soviet Union specially protected by law. Powers testified before the court that the U-2 plane was equipped with devices designed to destroy the plane in the event of a forced landing in Soviet territory, and that before the flight on May 1, 1960 Colonel Shelton implanted the idea that it was essential to commit suicide if he was captured by the Soviet authorities and then be tortured.

In conclusion, Colonel Shelton gave him a special poisoned pin. Apart from the poisoned pin, Powers had taken from him when captured a silent pistol with cartridges, a knife, fishing net, inflatable rubber boat, a topographical map of the Soviet Union for lighting a fire and signalling, and flashlight, compasses, food concentrates, medicines, 7,500 rubles in Soviet money and following valuables: gold coins, rings, and wrist watches which Powers testified, were to bribe Soviet people in the event of landing by the U-2 on USSR territory.

The session of the military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court studied other evidence which confirmed that the plane shot down on May 1, 1960 by a Soviet rocket unit belonged to the U.S. Air Force, despite the fact that national identification marks were absent, the experts, on the basis of a study of the remnants of the plane and the equipment in it, concluded that this plane was a (sonic) reconnaissance airplane of the U-2 type produced by the U.S. Lockheed firm, with a single turbojet engine. On the equipment and parts of the airplane were discovered trademarks of various U.S. firms, from which it was determined in particular that the turbojet engine was manufactured by Pratt and Whitney, and the machinery for operating the electrical equipment by Hamilton-Standard and General Electric. Moreover, there were identification marks showing that the equipment belonged to the Defense Department of the United States. The material evidence was shown to the defendant, and Powers acknowledged it as belonging to the U-2 plane, in which he, Powers, on May 1, 1960 intruded into the airspace of the Soviet Union.

On the identity paper taken from the accused and presented in the case, bearing the number AF 1283069 in the name of Powers, Francis Gary, there is the emblem of the U.S. Defense Department and the inscription "Department of Defense of the United States." Thus, the fact that the U-2 Lockheed reconnaissance plane of the United States, and defendant Powers was a secret agent of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, has been quite definitely established during the court's sitting.

Powers was the docile executor of the perfidious designs of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, carried out with the consent of the U.S. Government. By his own admission Powers was aware of the fact that, by intruding upon the airspace of the USSR, he was infringing on the state sovereignty of the Soviet Union and was flying over the latter's territory for the purpose of espionage, the main aim of which was to discover and record the location of rocket launching sites.

The witnesses interrogated by the court, Surin, Cheremisin, Chuzhakin, Asabin, said in testimony that they observed the fall of an airplane in the area of the town of Sverdlovsk and the moment of landing of a parachutist whom they detained and disarmed. The man detained proved to be Powers.

In examining the case against Powers, the military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court has remembered the fact that the intrusion of the U.S. reconnaissance plane represents a criminal violation of the generally admitted principle of international law which establishes the exclusive sovereignty of each state over the airspace extending above the territory of that state.

This principle, confirmed by the Paris convention on air navigation of Oct. 13, 1919, and by several other, later international agreements, has been proclaimed in the national legislation of various states, including the USSR and the United States.

The violation of this sacred and immutable international principle creates, under current conditions a direct threat to universal peace and the security of the peoples. With the present day development of military techniques, when certain states, having atomic and hydrogen weapons, at their disposal, have the opportunity to deliver them rapidly to the target, the flight of a military reconnaissance plane could have directly preceded a military attack. That danger was the more real in a situation in which the United States, as U.S. generals have stated, constantly maintains patrolling airborne bombers with hydrogen bombs on board, always ready to drop a bomb on predetermined targets in the Soviet Union.

Under these conditions, the aggressive act of the United States, carried out on May 1, 1960 by defendant Powers, was a threat to universal peace. The evidence at the disposal of the military collegium of the Supreme Court does not leave any doubt that through the aggressive intrusion of the reconnaissance airplane into the airspace of the Soviet Union, defendant Powers was carrying out far-reaching designs of the reactionary ruling circles of the United States, aimed at increasing international tension.

After Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, the head of the Soviet Government, at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of May 5, reported that a U.S. aircraft had been shot down over USSR territory, the U.S. State Department admitted that it was quite possible that a U.S. plane had violated the USSR border, yet it tried to deceive world public opinion. For this end the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the State Department issued a muddled statement about an accidental departure of the U-2 plane, which had allegedly been engaged in research, from its course.

In his final speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet session of May 7 Comrade Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, unmasked the mendacious nature of these claims. Then U.S. leaders, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon and State Secretary Rusk, admitted that espionage flights of U.S. aircraft over Soviet territory are part of the calculated policy of the United States. Thus, the U.S. leaders proclaimed that violations of the sovereignty of other states and espionage against them were the official state policy of the United States.

Subsequent events confirmed that the aggressive intrusion of the U-2 espionage plane into USSR airspace on May 1 was premeditatedly prepared by U.S. reactionary circles to wreck the Paris summit conference, prevent a relaxation of international tension, and revive the policy of cold war, hated by all peoples.

The military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court states that Powers' fulfillment of the espionage tasks he was set would have been impossible without the use, by the United States and for aggressive ends, of military bases and airfields on territories of states neighboring on the USSR, including the territory of Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and Norway. Powers' flight has proved that the U.S. Government having bound Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Norway, and other states by bilateral military agreements, has set up military bases for dangerous provocative actions on their territory and has turned these states into accomplices in aggression against the USSR.

After examining the evidence of the case, material and other evidence and the conclusions of the experts and hearing the statements of the defendant and witnesses, the speeches made by the state prosecutor and counsel for the defence as well as the final statement of the defendant, the military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court considers it established that defendant Powers has, for a long time, been an active secret agent of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and has carried out espionage tasks for that agency directed against the USSR; and that on May 1, 1960, intruded, with the knowledge of the U.S. Government and in a specially equipped U.S. military U-2 espionage airplane, into USSR airspace and, with the help of special radio, technical, and photographic equipment gathered information of strategic importance constituting state and military secrets of the Soviet state, thereby committing a serious crime as defined in article 2 of the USSR law of criminal responsibility for crimes against the state.

At the same time, having assessed all the circumstances of the case in hand in accordance with their mutual relationship, and considering the sincere admission of guilt made by Powers and his sincere repentance over his actions, and proceeding from the principles of socialist humanism and guided by articles 319 and 320 of the RSFSR criminal code, the military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court has sentenced Francis Gary Powers, on the basis of article 2 of the USSR law on criminal responsibility for crimes against the state, to deprivation of freedom for 10 years, with imprisonment during the first 3 years.

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The sentence takes account of the preliminary detention, and runs from May 1, 1960. The material evidence will be kept on file (pri dele). The money and valuables taken from Powers are to be considered state revenue. In accordance with article 44 of the fundamentals of criminal procedure in the USSR and union republics, the sentence is final and not subject to complaint or appeal.

Borisoglebskiy, presiding judge; Vorobayev and Zakharov, assessors.

U.S. GOVERNMENT REACTION TO SENTENCE

White House Statement Unconvincing

Moscow, TASS, Radioteletype in Russian to Europe, Aug. 19, 1960, 1830 GMT--L

(Text) Washington--The White House has published a special statement concerning the sentence passed by the military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court on American spy pilot Powers.

There is not a word in this statement about the responsibility of the U.S. Government and the President personally, with whose knowledge and approval such operations as the espionage flights of U-2 aircraft were carried out, for Powers' fate. But there is no shortage in the statement of expressions of regret at the "severity" of the sentence passed on Powers, although, in consideration of the severity of the crime committed by Powers, the sentence is being justly assessed everywhere as very lenient.

There is an unconvincing ring to the White House statement's expressions of sympathy for members of Powers' family since they come from those directly responsible for the lot that has befallen the American spy.

President Eisenhower Hypocritical

Moscow, Soviet North American Service in English, Aug. 20, 1960, 2300 GMT--L

(Anatoliy Gan Comment)

(Text) White House Press Secretary James Hagerty gathered newsmen on Aug. 22 to read them a special statement by President Eisenhower on the spy trial in Moscow. The President regretted the severe sentence and expressed his sympathy with the family of Francis Powers, the condemned spy pilot.

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Now, such monstrous hypocrisy is rare. The President knew about it when Powers was sent on his unfortunate flight. The U.S. authorities furnished his plane with an explosive device and the pilot himself with a poison pin, with orders, in case his espionage mission failed, to destroy both the plane and himself too. Where were the President's regrets then? Why didn't he sympathize then with Powers and his family?

Now when the U-2 flight has fallen through, the U.S. leaders have begun to masquerade as humanitarians, shedding tears over the fate of the man who carried out their sordid work for them. Neither President Eisenhower, however, nor anyone else can sling mud at the equity or the humanness of Soviet justice. The rest of the world can see if the sentence meted out to Powers is really humane.

British member of parliament Konni Zilliacus, who attended the Moscow trial, told us that anyone under similar charges in the United States would have been sentenced to comparably more severe punishment. President Eisenhower knows that, though he sheds crocodile tears over Powers, whose life isn't worth a cent either to the President or to anyone else in his administration.

U.S. Rulers Pilloried

Moscow, Soviet Home Service, Aug. 19, 1960. 1930 GMT--L

(Text) President Eisenhower even put aside his golf clubs in order to wave his arms better and cry out about the sentence of the Soviet court. The President of the United States did not take it hard when he gave the order for the infamous intrusion across the Soviet border, when he sent his spy pilot into the peaceful skies of the Soviet land. He had no regrets in giving his provocative order and creating a threat to peace and the lives of millions of people.

Did President Eisenhower want regrets when he was caught red-handed while causing the failure of the conference of heads of government? He is sorry about the severity of the sentence of the Soviet court. What hypocrisy! Did the bigwigs in Washington think that the Soviet people would slap the backs of those who scoff at the security of their homeland? A vain hope.

The Powers trial exposed the rulers of the United States as the enemies of peace. These have been the days of their shame. The White House regrets. We also regret that those who sent Powers were not in the dock with him. Well, they were not there, but even in absentia they have been pilloried in front of the whole world.

State Department Forbids Comment

Moscow, CASS, Dictation in Russian to Provincial Press, Aug. 19, 1960,
1118 GMT--L (UNCLASSIFIED)

(Text) Washington--After the clumsy attempt by the U.S. Air Force command to once more distribute the asked version concealing the true activity of the American 10-10 detachment in which Powers served, official Washington has decided to keep strictly silent about Powers' evidence indicating the aggressive schemes of his masters.

UPI reports that the U.S. State Department has forbidden officials of all government bodies and departments to comment publicly on Power's trial.

The organizers of the aggressive provocations against the Soviet Union are obviously displeased at the fact that Powers did not take the poison with which they provided him. There may be some people, significantly writes correspondent (Taylor?) of the Washington DAILY NEWS, who would have liked it if Powers would have preferred not to live and to have taken his place in the Soviet court and have told the whole world the story of the U-2 aircraft.

Power's masters continue to assert the absurd fabrication that Powers was conditioned and that therefore his evidence is not valid. In this matter, they are not even deterred by the fact that President Eisenhower has virtually refused to support this fabrication. UPI says that certain anonymous officials, though put out by the President's statement, nevertheless, go on saying that there is alleged evidence to disprove the view that Powers was not subjected to conditioning.

OTHER COMMENT ON TRIAL AND SENTENCE

U.S. Spy Advocates Learn Nothing

Moscow, Soviet European Service in English, Aug. 20, 1960, 1315 GMT--L (UNCLASSIFIED)

(Boris Stolpovskiy Commentary)

(Text) The Powers trial in Moscow has ended. President Eisenhower has already had cause to regret its outcome and with reason too. An unbiased court not only established the guilt of the spy pilot. Powers, who received the punishment he rightly deserved, but documentary proof was provided of the criminal policy of the United States, a policy of total espionage and aggression, of which Powers was the tool.

Another black page has been inscribed in the history of American policy. It will serve to remind everyone for a long time that aggressive actions against the Soviet Union end in exposure and inevitable failure.

Yet, despite this lesson, the U.S. advocates of espionage and aggression seem to have learned nothing. The Paris paper LIBERATION reported yesterday that it was learned from an American source that the Pentagon, with the approval of the White House, is preparing new espionage plans. These provide for the resumption of the spy flights over Soviet territory on a new basis. A special joint group, which includes the chiefs of staff and the leaders of the intelligence services, has already been set up to handle the matter.

What is this new basis for criminal action against the USSR? It seems to be as follows. In the future, according to the Pentagon's plans, spy flights will be carried out from U.S. aircraft carriers operating in neutral waters. In addition, the Pentagon and Allen Dulles' agency have asked certain civil aircraft companies which have permission to make ordinary flights to the USSR to take on board special equipment for photographing certain objectives. The Pentagon and Dulles' agency have also considered the question of drawing into their aggressive affairs the governments of the United States allies in the various military blocs. This is not only for the purpose of global espionage, but also, according to the WALL STREET JOURNAL, to force these countries to share the responsibility.

The U.S. plans for spying, as you see, are very big, and both the Pentagon and the Allen Dulles' agency have lost all sense of reality. They seem to have learned nothing from the failure of the Powers mission and the RB-47 flight; or perhaps they think that if a spy plane takes off from an aircraft carrier operating in neutral waters the criminal will evade retaliation; or perhaps they harbor the illusion that the civil camouflage will save the air pirates and Washington from exposure.

Any aggressive acts against the USSR, camouflaged or uncamouflaged, are hopeless. One can say without hesitation that the USSR will reply to any aggressive actions in the same way as in the Powers case. It will shoot down the aggressors and put the spotlight on them.

Washington Readers Reckless

Moscow, Soviet North American Service in English, Aug. 20, 1960.
2300 GMT--L

(Nikolay Andreyev commentary on the Powers Trial)

(Text) The three-day trial of airman Powers was conducted with scrupulous observance of the official procedure. Interpreters and witnesses were warned that they were liable to prosecution under criminal law for giving false witness. The interpreters translated every Russian word about the responsibility they would bear for knowingly rendering a false translation into the accused's mother tongue.

As the cross-examination and expert evidence established more and more of the circumstances of Francis Powers' crime, it became increasingly evident that the accused deserved the supreme punishment. This impression was shared by all present in the hall. The opinion that Powers might be condemned to death for his acts of espionage was expressed in the United States itself. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, for instance, in her newspaper article of Aug. 18, recognized such a possibility. However, even the prosecutor, taking into consideration Powers' sincere regret, did not insist on applying the death penalty but asked that he should be sentenced to 15 years' deprivation of liberty. The court, however, from humanitarian considerations, sentenced the accused to only 10 years' deprivation of liberty.

In my opinion, the fact that such a mild sentence was given was largely due to Powers' defending counsel, Mikhail Grinev. In his questions to Powers and in his persuasive speech for the defense, the advocate was able to present facts to the advantage of the accused. Ten years' deprivation of liberty is merely the minimum sentence laid down by the relevant clauses of the Soviet law on criminal responsibility for crimes against the state.

Nevertheless, people were to be found in the United States who had the temerity to declare that the court had given Powers a very harsh sentence. President Eisenhower was one of them and Vice President Nixon another. President Eisenhower declared that the United States would do all it could to secure a reduction of Francis Powers' sentence. The U.S. President would seem to take this position on humanitarian grounds, but such humanitarianism is very far from sincere.

It was no other than the President himself who declared that espionage was U.S. national policy. It was not Colonel Shelton, the notorious commander of the LC-10 espionage detachment, nor even Shelton's immediate chief who sent Powers on his flight over the USSR. The flight was undertaken on the express instructions of the chief of the Central Intelligence Agency, Allen Dulles, with the knowledge and approval of the U.S. Government. In sending Powers on this flight over the USSR, the higher authorities in Washington knew quite well that they were sending him to possible death. Nevertheless, they sent him, and they even provided him with a pin with a deadly poison for his own suicide.

Moreover, I am absolutely convinced that Powers' chiefs made the assumption that in the event of a crash or of the plane being brought down by a Soviet rocket, both the plane and the pilot would have been destroyed without leaving a trace. Just such a conviction that there were no clues would explain the initial false accounts of the U-2 given by Washington in which they said that the flight over Soviet territory was accidental and that the pilot had lost consciousness.

Realizing the probability of a fatal outcome, they nevertheless unhesitatingly sent Powers on his espionage mission. So when they are now publicly expressing their sorrow at the sad fate of poor Francis Powers this sorrow is mere hypocrisy. The Washington bosses would have experienced absolutely no sorrow but would have been extremely pleased if the Soviet rocket had sent the plane and Powers with it up in smoke. It would certainly have been much more convenient for them.

But the fate of the airman is, after all, the fate of an individual human being, whereas his crime was an act which affected not only his own fate. As the prosecutor, Roman Rudenko, pointed out at the trial in his speech for the prosecution, in Power's criminal acts, danger was involved for millions and millions of people. During the cross examination, the prosecutor pointed out that when Powers pressed the levers of the espionage instruments he might just as easily have pressed a lever releasing an atomic bomb over the USSR. Yes, I might, Powers agreed, but he added, in an attempt to justify himself, that the U-2 plane was not suitable for carrying atom bombs.

However, it is difficult to say what type of a plane which is flying at a height of 68,000 feet is and what load it has on board. Consequently, the incursion of a war plane into our airspace might be taken as a military attack and the necessary means put into action to deliver a counterblow. That the USSR possesses such means no one in the world now doubts. The leaders of the United States were quite aware in what manner the Soviet military authorities might react to the incursion of a U.S. plane into the USSR. Still they sent Powers with instructions to cross over our country in the U-2.

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The leaders of the United States, in full knowledge of what they were doing thus gambled with the lives of millions of people, those millions who would be condemned to death in the event of the catastrophe of a war in the age in which we live. They deliberately planned and carried out Powers' flight and brought the world to the brink of war. Consequently, the present calls for humaneness on the part of the Washington authorities are hypocrisy from beginning to end. Humanitarianism demands rejection of war as a means of settling disputes, a refusal to carry out aggressive acts against other countries.

Powers was a pawn. It may be that he did not think about the dangerous consequences of his acts, but the recklessness of those people in Washington who sent Powers on his espionage flight was of a monstrous nature.

Powers Treated Fairly

Moscow, Soviet European Service in Norwegian, Aug. 20, 1960, 1830 GMT--L
(UNCLASSIFIED)

(Summary) Editor Finn Gustavsen of the paper ORIENTERING attended the Powers trial. In an interview, he expressed surprise at the similarity between Norwegian trials and the Russian one. He felt Powers had been fairly treated. Asked his opinion about the fact that Powers had instructions to land if necessary on an airfield in Finland or Sweden and had intended to land at the airfield in Bodoe, Gustavsen replied that this matter was very recent, and he had not really studied it.

Gustavsen said: "What is pretty obvious is that if he had landed in Sweden or Finland he would not have been met by representatives of the espionage section to which Powers belonged. Sweden and Finland run their airfields completely independently, not like Norway, where unfortunately the Americans are allowed to have a certain control over the airfields. If he had landed in Sweden or Finland, it would have come to light that he had been over the Soviet Union on an espionage assignment and the whole world would have known about the matter.

"If, on the other hand, he had landed at Bodoe, this would have taken place in the greatest secrecy. The Americans would have met him at the Bodoe airfield. The aircraft would have been placed in a special hangar--as was done in 1958 when Powers was at Bodoe Airfield--and the world and the Norwegian people would not have known anything about the way in which the Americans misuse the rights they have on Norwegian airfields. The difference between Norway's position and that of Sweden and Finland is that Sweden and Finland decide about their airfields and are in full control of what happens there, while the Norwegian authorities, as we have realized, are not in complete control of their airfields. This is a most regrettable fact."