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

Explanatory memorandum

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. Gromyko

