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Shadows over the Summit, 1960.

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SHADOWS over the SUMMIT

The shadows which are cast over the Summit Conference, which is scheduled to meet in Paris this week, are those of a spy plane of the United States which was shot down deep in Soviet territory on May first. There are, of course, other shadows but this, at the moment, is the darkest. This plane - the "U-2" - may well have wrecked the Summit Conference before it even opened. The purpose of this conference was, of course, to ease world tensions, to try to arrive at some basic arrangements which would make possible a peaceful co-existence between the communist and non-communist power blocs. The success of such a conference depended upon the amount of good-will and confidence and forbearance which the leaders of these blocs would bring to it, and from the earnestness and sincerity of their intentions to put an end to the Cold War; upon their desires to make a fresh start toward friendlier contacts, exchanges and communications, to build a bridge - a stronger bridge, a two-way bridge - between the East and the West. In order to create such a climate of greater friendliness and rapprochement, the heads of these governments - the four major powers involved - have been visiting one another during the past months. They held preliminary exploratory meetings and presumably arrived at some tentative understanding.

The major theme of all these meetings and public utterances was peace and co-existence, and people everywhere throughout the world tensed and troubled as they are by more than fifteen years of Cold War, of mounting and back-breaking

armaments and the frightful spector of Atomic War and global destruction - the peoples of the world eagerly hailed their words and acclaimed their messages of hope and good tidings. It seemed for a time as if the Cold War were actually being liquidated, and as if nations were returning at last to a temperate and decorous, if not cordial, way of international life. And men had begun to look hopefully toward this approaching Summit Conference where they hoped this new attitude would be concretized - would be expressed in some formal agreement by the heads of the governments which would lead to a general relaxation of international tensions, and to a spirit of greater hopefulness in the world everywhere. Unfortunately, on the very eve of this Conference, with so much at stake, upon which so much depended and for which so many preliminary conciliatory steps had been taken and hostile propoganda had been muted or suspended -- at this very moment, our government chose to send a plane over Soviet territory on a mission of espionage - a mission which it at first denied, then acknowledged, and finally attempted to justify. Now, the original denial was false and no good can come when a great government like ours makes public assertions that are false - it not only hurts our prestige in the world, it will not only cast doubt upon future assertions upon the part of our government, but it is not good for the morale of our own people and for the morals of our own people. The denial was false, our belated acknowledgement humiliating, and our final attempt at justification of what we had done absolutely untenable and dangerously provocative, and the results of all that has transpired - the results have been something approaching a disaster. The Cold War is back again with us in all its vulgar, menacing stridency - international tensions have again mounted to a fever point, threats are being hurled by both sides - one on the part of one to bomb the bases from where those flights are made on missions of espionage, and on the other side threats of instant retaliation. As far as the prospects of the

Summit Conference are concerned, at the moment they lie in shambles.

Now, espionage is a dirty business any which way you look at it. A member of the British Parliament, himself a former spy, recently characterized espionage as the second oldest profession in the world! It is a dirty business because war itself is dirty. Espionage is an essential part of the war machine of every country. As long as nations are compelled to be ready, to be prepared for war at any time, espionage and intelligence are essential to them in order to provide them with the information which they require for their defensive and offensive plans for preparedness and attack. Mr. Khrushchev knows this as well as any one else, and his country has perhaps as extensive a system of global espionage as exists anywhere in the world today. Mr. Khrushchev boasted the other day that he read the very same confidential reports which secret agents supply our own Department of Justice, and the number of Soviet spies who have been arrested in the countries of the free world in recent years and the nature of their confessions testify not only to the extent of this vast net-work of Soviet esponiage, but also to its cunning, its ruthless and unscrupulous methods which it employs.

When our Secretary of State Herter attempts to justify the invasion of Soviet skies for purposes of spying, on the ground that such spying is for purely defensive purposes, and when he indicates that our country intends to continue this practice in the future, he is, of course, on very slippery and on very dangerous ground. That the United States would like to have access to Soviet military secrets is quite understandable - that we, therefore, have a sort of a moral or legal right to them is quite another matter - unless we find ourselves actually at war with the Soviet Union. We, ourselves, would bitterly resent it if the reverse were true and if Soviet planes flew over our military installations to gain information, of course, for purely defensive purposes. What is bad for the goose, also is bad for the gander, and nobody will buy Secretary Herter's amazing declaration - not even our closest

friends - not even our own people. What cannot be justified should really be passed over in silence.

Mr. Khrushchev will, of course, make the maximum capitol of our spy-plane fiasco, but when he is through, I for one suspect that he will have over-played his hand, that he will have over-reached himself. He will defeat his own purposes - if his purpose in asking for the Summit Conference and in pressing for it - if his purpose was really to end the Cold War and to pave the way for co-existence. At the moment Mr. Khrushchev is contributing as much, if not more, to the wrecking of the Summit Conference by his unbridled criticisms, his fulminations and his threats than we, in our blundering despatch of the "U-2" have done.

For if the Summit Conference fails, Khrushchev fails, and his new policy of co-existence which he has tried to sell to the people in the Soviet Union and upon which he has banked his entire political career, will fail and will come crushing over his head, and even if he succeeds in pinning the responsibility for the failure of the Summit Conference on the United States, it will not avail him much in the long run, because there are powerful forces in Russia, backed by their powerful neighbor, Red China, which will not forgive him his flirting, his coexistence with the capitalist West which they regard as dangerous communism.

Now, it may well be that Mr. Khrushchev's high voltage expressions of legal moral indignations against the United States is a cover up for the failure of his country which he has failed to anticipate - it may well be. He has come to expect now for some time that the Summit Conference will not succeed. If that is true, it is especially regretable that we have given him at the moment this spy plane as an excuse and a way out - "You see," he will be able to say - and he will impress parts of the world - "You see, the very time that I was trying so hard to turn over a new page in our relations with the West, to usher in a new era of friendship and

Mr. Khrushchev, thanks to our collosal blunder, has succeeded in putting us in the wrong in the eyes of the world and in inflicting a major diplomatic defeat upon our government.

I am sure that if President Eisenhower had been apprized of the contemplated flight of the spy-plane over the Soviet Union at this time, he would most promptly have called it off - yet he himself stated that he knew nothing about it until after the event. This raises a very grave and almost inescapable question in the minds of the American people. Why was not the President of the United States, on the eve of a most delicate and important mission, where he was to negotiate with the heads of the Soviet Union on issues most vital to the people of the world - why was not the President of the United States fully informed about the proposed flight of the "U-2"? Why was he kept in the dark? Were the military or public officials of our government who gave the "go" sign to the "U-2" so politically obtuse as not to have foreseen the possible dangers such an espionage adventure at this time may involve? and the possible consequences and repercussions which failure and detection would involve?

The next grave and inescapable question which arises in the minds of our people is why has the President of the United States himself permitted himself to be kept in the dark on such tremendously crucial and cardinal matters which, as events have demonstrated, are far from routine and trivial matters? Where is the co-ordination without which government becomes chaos? Where is the source of ultimate authority and responsibility in matters of decision which come so close to war and peace and to all the stations in between? On how many other vital matters is the President kept in the dark?

We are likely to suffer other diplomatic embarrassment and worse in the future, unless the closest coordination is established in all the branches of our government - the State Department - the Pentagon - the Intelligence Services - and unless these are trained to check and to re-check every critical activity with the supreme policy-making authority under our system of government, who is the President of the United States in the White House.

What has happened raises serious doubts as to the advisability of

President Eisenhower's planned visit to the Soviet Union next month. The invitation,
of course, stands and the decision is the President's. The resentful mood of the
Russian people which has so deliberately been enflamed by Mr. Khruschev's propoganda would suggest that President Eisenhower's visit of good-will at this time
would be self-defeating. I know that the Soviet Chief, Air Marshal Vershimin,
has cancelled his visit to this country because, as he put it, the conditions are
not propitious. President Eisenhower's visit, I am afraid, would at this time be
an occasion for a mass demonstration of the Russian people against the United States,
unless Mr. Khruschev in the next few days makes a complete turn-about-face and
decides to let the "U-2" episode rest, and sets about re-créating an atmosphere
of cordiality, almost difficult to expect, which alone would make sense of a visit
of the President of the United States to the Soviet Union.

What of the Summit Conference itself which is scheduled to open tomorrow?

One would have to be an inveterate optimist to expect much good, if any, to come out of it. It will be well if no evil results from it - I mean evil in the sense of increased estrangement and hardened ill-will. This indeed would be a calamity for the hopes of mankind. Our position at the Conference has been seriously hurt.

Mr. Khrushchev may feel himself justified in being tough and uncompromising, especially on the issue of Berlin. We too seem to have committed ourselves to a

very hard and firm line on Berlin, agreeable to Mr. Adenauer if we are to judge from the recent speeches of Mr. Dillon and Herter and Nixon - a line which seems to differ sharply from the one agreed on at Camp David. If bad tempers and acerbated feelings dominate the Conference, it will fail utterly - not only in finding any approach to a solution to the problem of Berlin and Germany, but what is far more important, the problem of disarmament and a ban on nuclear tests. If the Conference fails, the Soviet may then proceed to recognize the sovereignity and independence of an East German Communist State and then the most dangerous situation since the Second World War will confront the world.

Perhaps Prime-Minister MacMillan of Great Britain and Charles DeGaule of France, perhaps they may unite to dissipate the atmosphere of crisis and to restore sanity and sound judgment. Perhaps Mr. Khrushchev, himself, is really more anxious to have the Conference succeed than to exploit his propoganda advantage. Khrushchev is not the kind of a man who loses sight of the main goal, of the main objective which he seeks. The next few days will tell the story. Perhaps, like Samson's riddle:- "Out of the eater may yet come something to eat, and out of the strong may yet come something sweet". Certainly we pray for the success of the Conference. We pray that our Hemvenly Father may bestow in full measure the wisdom and counsel and judgment upon the President of the United States who represents this great country and this great people, and in a sense the hopes of the world at this Conference. We pray for him for our country and for the whole of mankind.

I hope that the crisis will pass, but after the crisis has passed I wonder whether we should not take stock of ourselves - restudy our foreign policy of recent years, our numerous political set-backs in the world, and try to find a reason for them, - Suez and our failures in the Middle East - Cuba and our unfriendly neighbors to the south of us - Korea and the collapse in blood and revolution of the

United States as the ugly American in so many parts of the Far East and of the non-communist and uncommitted world. Why? Where have we failed the free world, in spite of our Marshal plans, our generous bounties, our imperial and colonial disinterestedness - in spite of our sincere desire to be helpful and to advance the cause of peace and freedom in the world? Why have we failed so often and why have we made so few friends and why have these friends deserted us? Have we, perhaps, been trying to do the right thing the wrong way? Have we, perhaps, lost the larger vision of our national destiny by seeking strange allies who are alien to our beliefs and our convictions and our ways of life -- seeking them as allies, building them up, financing them in order to contain the explosive economic revolutions of our day which seemingly must run their course? I think the time has come for the responsible leaders of our government, for the responsible makers of public opinion in our country frankly, straight-forwardly, to reexamine the position which we took in international relations in the last ten or fifteen years, which have not at all yielded what we had hoped it would yield, achieve what we had prayerfully hoped it would achieve. The American people has a blessed gift of self-criticism and self-examination, and I must say that the reaction of the American press and the American public opinion to what has happened in the past few days has to me been most encouraging. The American people has a gift for examining itself and if it finds itself to be on the wrong road, to try to find the right one. I believe we have been, to a large degree -- unintentionally perhaps and with the best intentions in the world perhaps -- on the wrong road which is leading us from one defeat to another and which is hurting our prestige in the world and merely defeating our purposes to help the world toward peace and freedom. We ought to re-capture the vision which was ours, which made America the glorious hope of mankind. Perhaps we ought to disentangle ourselves of the unfortunate commitments and entanglements and alliances which we have made and re-discover our own freedom of action in a world which was never afraid of America but which, unfortunately, has come to be afraid of us as the reaction of the world has been to what has happened in the last few days. I hope that the shadows will lift from over the Summit Conference. I hope that nothing but positive gain will come from it - nothing of hurt will eventuate and I hope that we will be strong enough and wise enough to begin to re-study and re-examine our course of action for tomorrow.



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