CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS: U.N. MEDIATED CONFLICT RESOLUTION



University of Toronto, 24 January 2013

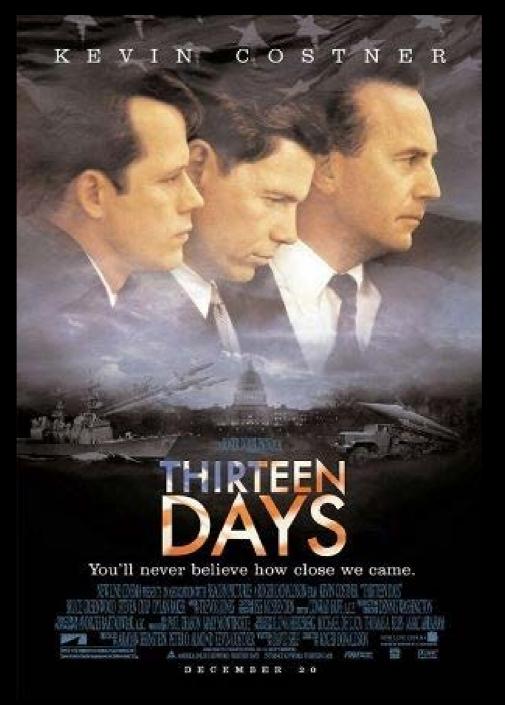


Conceptions and Misconceptions

Most dangerous point

- Not just "13 Days" but over a month
- Not just "eyeball to eyeball" but ...
- Negotiated (teams in NY)
- Mediated by UN Secretary-General
 - Proposals, shuttle diplomacy, forum for agreement





http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DSA7Evcy7i











Background

- Cold War
- Space race
- Berlin Blockade / Berlin Wall
- Arms race, Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD)
- US Jupiter IRBMs in Italy & Turkey in striking range of Moscow
- Electioneering: "missile gap"
- Bay of Pigs (April 1961)
- Operation Mongoose (spring to 30 October 1962)

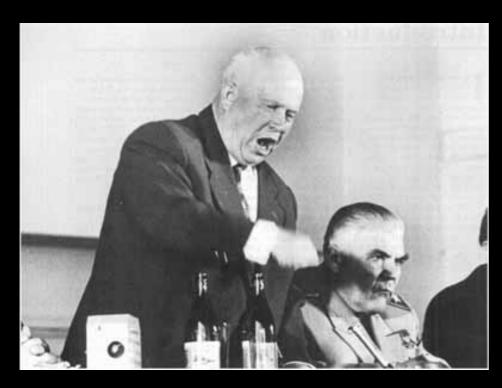








Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev



charms and threatens West



gains new friend in Cuba



Kennedy informed of nuclear missile base construction in Cuba – October 16

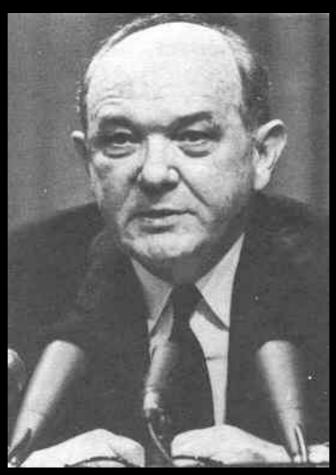


20 LONG CYLINDRICAL TANKS SILE TRANSPC TERS

Committee of the National Security Council









National Security Adviser

McGeorge Bundy

Secretary of State

Dean Rusk

Secretary of Defense

Robert McNamara

Military Chiefs











Kennedy informs Thant – October 20





Address to the Nation October 22

The New York Times.

U.S. IMPOSES ARMS BLOCKADE ON CUBA ON FINDING OFFENSIVE-MISSILE SITES; KENNEDY READY FOR SOVIET SHOWDOWN

U.S. JUDGES GIVEN Chinese Open New Front; SHIPS MUST STOP POWER TO RECURE Use Tanks Against Indians

WITE FOR NEIROES Natura Warns of Paril to Independence It Big Rockets Are -Reds Attack Near Burmese Border and Press Two Other Drives

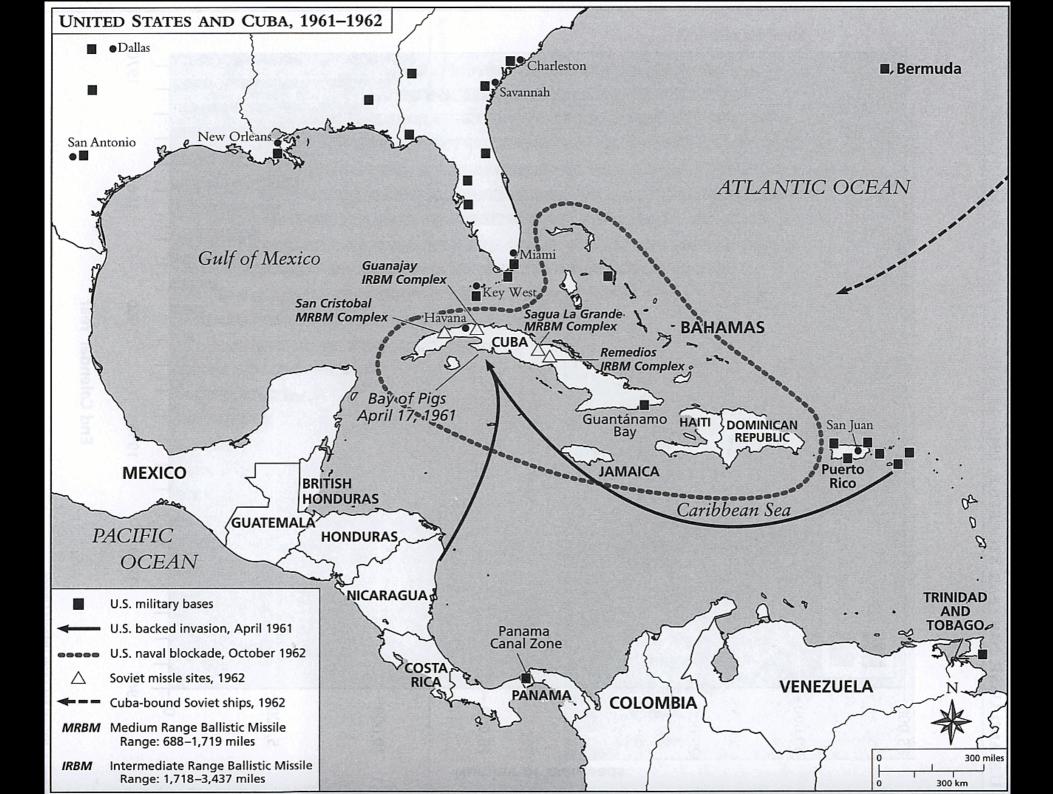
U.S. Bids U.N. Bar China; Denounces Attack on India

The law printer and a second of the second o

Moutes and the second s

TRAFFIC DELAYED Moscow Says U.S. Holds 'Armed Fist' Over Cuba

CMC_Newsreel-Kennedy_3-08min_22Oct1962.mp4







Soviet submarines forced to surface (US not aware of nuclear-tipped torpedoes)



US destroyer Joseph P. Kennedy stops & boards and inspects Marucla (dry-cargo ship of Lebanese registry under Soviet charter)

(October 26)



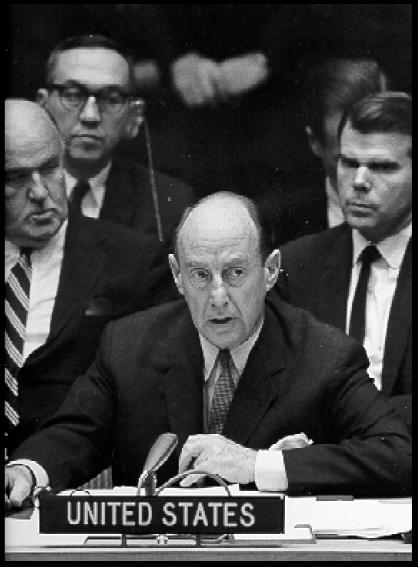
Soviet troop encampment (40,000+)



UN Security Council: Forum for Debate and World Opinion







Valerian Zorin

Adlai Stevenson





U Thant, Amb. Zorin (Soviet rep. chairing Security Council)

Chinese Step Up Offensive, Drive On Indian Town

LATIN AMERICANS BACK U.S.; **NEUTRALS ASK UN INTERVE**

Delegation Prepares Plea to U Thant

Remove Cuban Missiles, Stevenson Asks UN

Be Ready to Fight, Castro's Dare to U.S.



The property of the property o

The Consider of Code Land No System Designed The state of the s

...U.S. Reacts Instinctively

Russia Tries to Tip Scales... Khrushchev Misjudged Spirit of America, Character of Kennedy

10 a.m. Start Ordered On Search of Ships

Kennedy Risking War, Russian Reply Says

Guilty of Deception,

Britain Says of Russia





Thant's First Appeal (October 24)

- Khrushchev: Soviet vessels to stay away from the interception area
- Kennedy: withdraw quarantine



Begin talks

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times.

VOL. CXII. No. 38280.

O 1800 to The New York Times Company

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1962.

FIVE CENTS

SOME SOVIET SHIPS SAID TO VEER FROM CUBA; KHRUSHCHEV SUGGESTS A SUMMIT MEETING; THANT BIDS U.S. AND RUSSIA DESIST 2 WEEKS

KHRUSHCHEV PLEA FOR A CEASE-FIRE

Nature Bids Russian Leader Seturday to a demonstration. Unge Chinese to Retire to September Position

Special to The little Wink Dising

MEW DELHI, Thursday, Oct. 25 Prenter Khrushshiw was reported taday to have arged the Capital. More than 1,000on Prime Minister Invaharial Notice a conse-fire between Indis and Communist Chies and laffes on their border dupote. Mr. Nettra was said to have rejected the proposal.

neceived two days ago. Mr. replied immediately torough Andonsunder I. A. Ben-

Mr. Nebru's reply is under-Constant on Page 24, Column 4 Cubs. stond to have explained believe termination to sight for the se- [AD current of territory newly taken UABIN

The Prime Minister said Indiawould be willing to take with China more the Chinese returned. to the pecition they held early in September. This was north. the McMadage Line.

BY AUSTIN C. WENDERIN Spend to the Nor You Time.

CHECAGO, Oct. 14-The Stindent Peace Union called es Hz 15,000 members today to much in Washington against the United States. ModRade of Cuba.

The organisation, which has He headquarters have plans to draw studenty Trees the entire Engl Coast" for a march on the White House, the State Department and students are expected to take part, the headquarters said.

"Sympathy demonstrations" are planted here, in Colombus, Obto: Cleveland: Austin, Tex.: Houston: Sentthe, Wash, : Berkelen, Calif., and Miscel, and in Bawell.

Gall Paradise, the national scirciary, described the groupas an anti-Communist "third

White House Bars Political

INDIA SAID TO BAR Students to March U.N. SENDS NOTES PREMIER WRITES

Blockade Cease

Macorphy Joons U.M. disbate appear on Page 15.

BY THOMAS & HAMILTON Seeded to The Past York Tilber.

com bluckade of Cubs. On the take any reciding decisions. other hand, he called on the

Negotiations Sought.

Talks Proposed While Letter to Russell Calls Both Shipments and | for Parley to Avert a Nuclear Clash

> Total of Shruthches better to Russell is an Page 21.

BY SECONDER TOPPING Residud to The Blood York Winner.

Oct. 24-U Thank, Arting See Manushotsev suggested today a retary General, addressed "to" separate mosting to great the ment" appeals towicht in Pritti danger of a thermomeology was dent. Konnedy and Premier with the United States over the

He arged the United States not to carry out its navel ouer-On the one hand he unjed the entire of Cubs, and premised Prosident to hold old the Amer-that the Soviet Union "will not

Mr. Khryshebev made his de-Service Premise to suspend the larging in a letter to Sertland shipment at Soviet creation to present, the British philosophic and pacified beader. Lord But-A reliable source said Mr. Ken-sell had written to the Soviet. tody planted to send a politic Prenties. President Remedy rejection to Mr. Thank, thank- and other statemen expressing conserts over the Cubas crists.

Mr. Thant also sent a men- Muscow broadcast Mr. Hhrerage to Cuba, origing Havens shahav's roply to Lord Ressell in try to seek in the "les-just fee hours after the United States moved quarantine went Section of Contr.

Freezgunda Overtones

Soviet Ships Bound for Cuba Shown in U. S. Photos | BLOCKADE STARTS







Moscow Is Believed to Be Undecided on Next Step

> By MAX PRANKEL Special to The New York Times

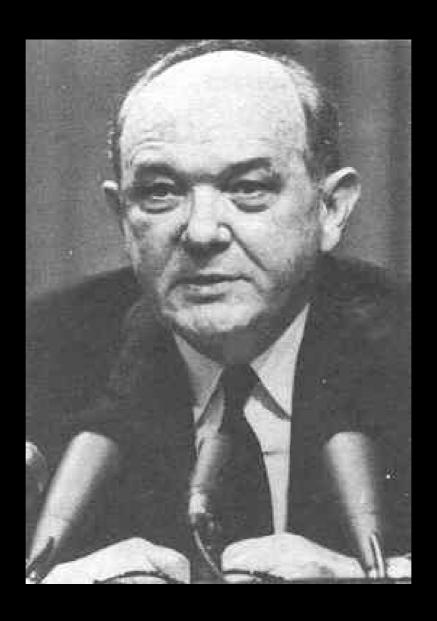
WARRENGTON, Oct. 24 the Defense Department said today that some of the Savietblog ables heading for Caba had apparently effered ocurse and avoided immediate contact with Unified States ships blockacting the Island.

Other Communist-blec wer sels, baserous, wrote still processing on course for Cube, the

that the Russians were holding back vessels corrying military pools and resnessering to make Chair first approach to the blockade line with a ship carrying wheat or other impored. campo. Administration acurocu refused to comment on this.

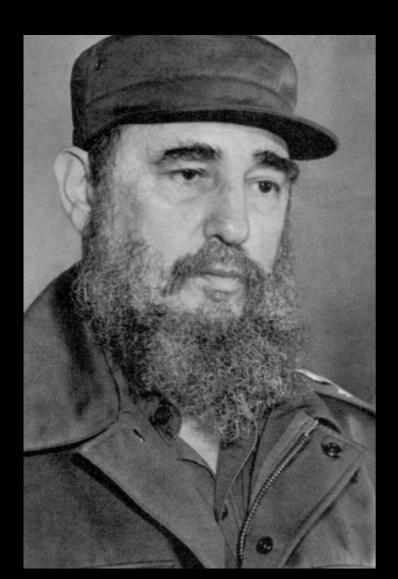
The reported diversion of some ships and an unattical augmention by Premier Ehrusteher for a meeting with Provident Kennesty, were taken here as stone that Moscow was still weighing the ment step.

Respectly Gets Letter



"We're eyeball to eyeball, and I think the other fellow just blinked." — Secretary of State Dean Rusk

Castro calls on the Soviets to launch a pre-emptive nuclear strike on the United States



Havana, October 26, 1962

Dear Comrade Khrushchev:

From an analysis of the situation and the reports in our possession, I consider that the aggression is almost imminent within the next 24 or 72 hours.

There are two possible variants; the first and likeliest one is an air attack against certain targets with the limited objective of destroying them; the second, less probable although possible, is invasion. I understand that this variant would call for a large number of forces and it is, in addition, the most repulsive form of aggression, which might inhibit them.

You can rest assured that we will firmly and resolutely resist attack, whatever it may be.

The morale of the Cuban people is extremely high and the aggressor will be confronted heroically.

At this time I want to convey to you briefly my personal opinion.

If the second variant is Implemented and the imperialists invade Cuba with the goal of occupying it, the danger that that aggressive policy poses for humanity is so great that following that event the Soviet Union must never allow the circumstances in which the imperialists could faunch the first nuclear strike against it.

I tell you this because I believe that the imperialists' aggressiveness is extremely dangerous and if they actually carry out the brutal act of invading Cuba in violation of international faw and morality, that would be the moment to eliminate such danger forever through an act of clear legitimate defense, however harsh and terrible the solution would be, for there is no other.

It has influenced my opinion to see how this aggressive policy is developing, how the imperialists, disregarding world public opinion and ignoring principles and the law, are blockading the seas, violating our airspace and preparing an invasion, while at the same time frustrating every possibility for talks, even though they are aware of the seriousness of the problem.

You have been and continue to be a tireless defender of peace and I realize how bitter these hours must be, when the outcome of your superhuman efforts is so seriously threatened. However, up to the last moment we will maintain the hope that peace will be safeguarded and we are willing to contribute to this as much as we can. But at the same time, we are ready to calmly confront a situation which we view as quite real and quite close.

Once more I convey to you the infinite gratitude and recognition of our people to the Soviet people who have been so generous and traternal with us, as well as our prolound gratitude and admiration for you, and wish you success in the huge task and serious responsibilities ahead of you.

Fraternally,

Fidel Castro

"The Soviet Union must never allow ... Imperialists [to] launch the first nuclear strike ..."

Kennedy Requests Second Appeal

- I. An expression of <u>concern</u> that Soviet ships <u>250ef</u> 63 might be under instructions to <u>challenge</u> the quarantine 10.30 a and consequently <u>create a confrontation</u> at sea between Soviet ships and Western Hemisphere ships which could lead to an escalation of violence.
- II. An expression of concern that such a confrontation would destroy the possiblity of the talks such as you have suggested as a prelude to a political settlement.
- III. An expression of hope that Soviet ships will be held out of the interception area for a limited time in order to permit discussions of the modalities of an agreement.
- IV. An expression of your confidence, on the basis of Soviet ships not proceeding to Cuba, that the United States will avoid a direct confrontation with them during the same period in order to minimize chances of an untoward incident.



Thant's Second Appeal (October 25)

- Khrushchev:
 Soviet vessels to
 stay away from the
 interception area
- Kennedy: US
 vessels to do
 everything possible
 to avoid direct
 confrontation



Khrushchev replies to first appeal:

"I agree with your proposal which meets the interests of peace."

- October 25

æ^

PRESS-RELEASE

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

680 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Unofficial translation

N.S.Khrushchov's Reply on U Thant's Appeal

On October 25, 1962 N.S. Khrushchov made the fellewing telegraph reply on U Thant's proposal:

"Esteemed U Thant,

I have received your appeal, and carefully studied the proposals it contains. I welcome your initiative. I understand your concern about the situation obtained in the Caribbean since the Soviet Government also considers this situation as highly dangerous and requiring an immediate interference by the United Nations.

I am informing you that I agree with your proposal which meets the interests of peace.

Respectfully,

N. Khrushchov

October 25, 1962 "





Stephenson & Zorin, Security Council debate – October 25

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MSV9_J8Csts (go to 4:00 minutes)



Khrushchev response to second appeal:

"We therefore accept your proposal and have <u>ordered</u> the masters of Soviet vessels ... to stay out of the interception area, as you recommend."

October 26

62-23630

Translated from Russian



Confidential

Dear U Thant,

I have received and studied your telegram of 25 October. I understand your anxiety for the preservation of peace, and I appreciate highly your efforts to evert military conflict.

Indeed, if any conflict should arise on the approaches to Cube - and this may become unavoidable as a result of the piratical measures taken by the United States - this would beyond question seriously complicate the endeavours to initiate contacts in order to gut an end, on a basis of negotiation, to the critical situation that has now been thrust on the world by the aggressive actions of the United States.

We therefore accept your proposal, and have ordered the masters of Soviet vessels bound for Cuba but not yet within the area of the American varships' piratical activities to stay out of the interception area, as you recommend.

But we have given this order in the hope that the other side will understand that such a situation, in which we keep vessels immobilized on the high seas, must be a purely temperary one; the period cannot under any circumstances be of long duration.

I thank you for your efforts and wish you success in your noble task. Your efforts to ensure world peace will always meet with understanding and support on our part.

The Soviet Government has consistently striven, and is striving, to strengthen the United Mations - that international Organization which constitutes a forum for all countries of the world, regardless of their socio-political structure, in order that disputes arising may be settled not through war but through negotiations.

Accept, Bir, the assurences of my highest consideration.

N. KHRUSHCHEV

26 October 1962

His Excellency U Thant Acting Secretary-General United Nations New York That's Fit to Print"

Sono, segue 44-34, personalere 46-36

VOIL CXII .. No. 38361

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1962.

FIVE CENTS

KENNEDY AGREES TO TALKS ON THANT PLAN, KHRUSHCHEV ACCEPTS IT; BLOCKADE GOES ON; RUSSIAN TANKER INTERCEPTED AND CLEARED

WASHINGTON FIRM

Insists on Continuing Quarantine Until the Menace Is Ended

WASHINGTON, Oct. 16-The United States held firm today to its demand that the Sewist. shoule threat in Cuba be dispolice before there is any respits for Bost-West negotiations.

A. White Blome official said it was "sold-evident" that as long as Bovist ships continued to sail toward Caba with upknown carmous, the blockade by United States navel forces would continue. Other sources and that the Bast-West challangua sat in motion, by the Mackada could not and until all.

at this time was inthinhable.

Further Contacts Expected The apparently unerestful

phonege of one South tanker through the blockade this morn-



Name Does Not Roard Ship-PENTACON ISSUES POPE RING RILLERS Stevenson Dares Russian

STEVENSON SHOWS PROTOS OF CUBAN BASES: Adul E. Stevenson, at right ut Scentity Council table, describes serial plutus of Cuban missile bases as Col. Bavid Parker indicates items in one of plutus. At table, from left: Valerian A. Zorin et Soviet

Union; Yevgeny Kiseley, U.S. Under Secretary; Mahmond End of the United Arab Republic, and Sir Patrick Dean of Britain. Mr. Stovenson, chief U.S. delegate, and Mr. Sorie. Provident of the Council this month, elached over U.S. charges against the Soviet Unive.

Secretary General to Start 3 Separate Parleys Today

U.A. and Reviet eleterateds: debate encurpts, Page 16.

By THOOLIA & HAMILUON

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y. Oct. 15 - President Kennedy agreed today to talks between the United States and U Thant, Asting Secretary General, enwhether accompensate can be made for negotiations in the Cuban crisis. The blocksde of Oobs will continue.

Prenticy Elementative assepted. Mr. Thant's propossis, underwhich the United States would suspend its blocksda for two or three within while the Soviet's Union stapped shipping missiles

A spokenman for Mr. Thank said preliminary talks would start temorrow morning, Mr. Thank, for "the time being," will meet asparately with repracontactions of the United Status, the Soviet Union and Cuba.

Assurer Stand in U. N. The President's answer to lift. manufacture and the state of th

Conferences Will Open Today

SOVIET, U.S. AGREE TO HOLD PRELIMINARY TALKS ON CUBA

Monastery Town PM Reports Falls to Chinese All Forces In Bitter Battle Put on Alert

Won't Agree To Inquiry, Leftist Goes

Likens Banks To Gangsters

> Firm Short \$350,000: Brockville Police Hunt Runaway Blonde, 36





Cabinet Shuffle Stresses Youth: Cass Appointed Attorney-General

Fort dates 1888 Island Parking Meters Considered for Yachts By Metro Parks Chief

Reds Planned Bases as Berlin Lever, U.S. View

Kennedy-Khrushchev Conference Now Thought Unlikely

High Drama in UN As Stevenson, Zorin Clash at Meeting

U.S. Stops Tanker, Lets It Carry On

Canada's Stand on Cuba Criticized by Truman

Ottawa Wishy-Washy, Young PCs Charge





Thant with Zorin (and translator)

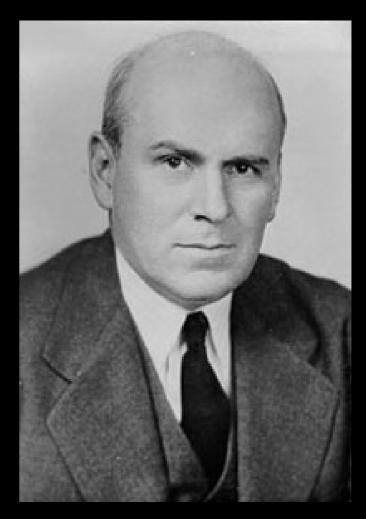


High level negotiators sent to New York



Vasily Kuznetsov

Soviet First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs



John J. McCloy

Assistant Secretary of War (1941-45)

Thant quotes Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos:

"'If the United States could give us assurances, by word and deed, that it would not commit acts of aggression against our country, we solemnly declare that there would be no need for our weapons and our armies"



"Here again I feel that on the basis of discussion some common ground may be found through which way may be traced our of the present impasse."

Thant, in UN Security Council,
 October 24

Thant converted communist propaganda into practical solution to crisis (basis of final settlement)



Thant suggests:

standstill on missile site construction in exchange for US pledge to not invade Cuba

interim solution to give parties time to negotiate final settlement

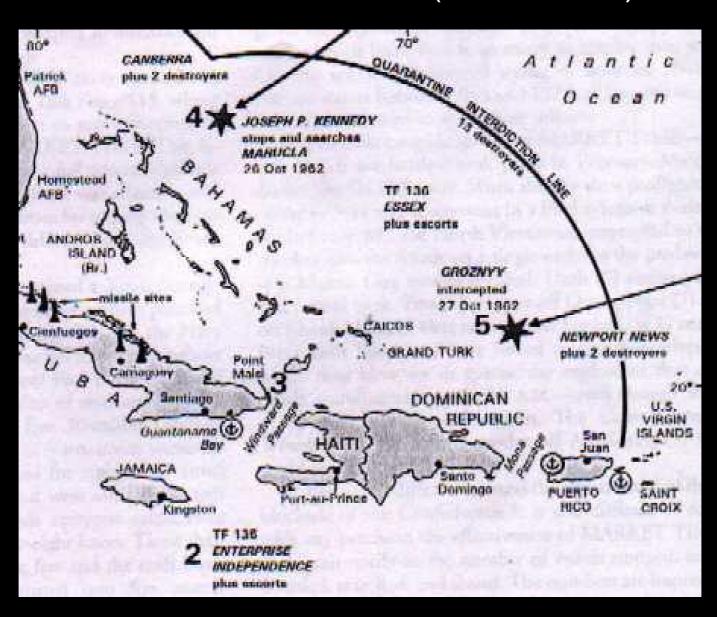


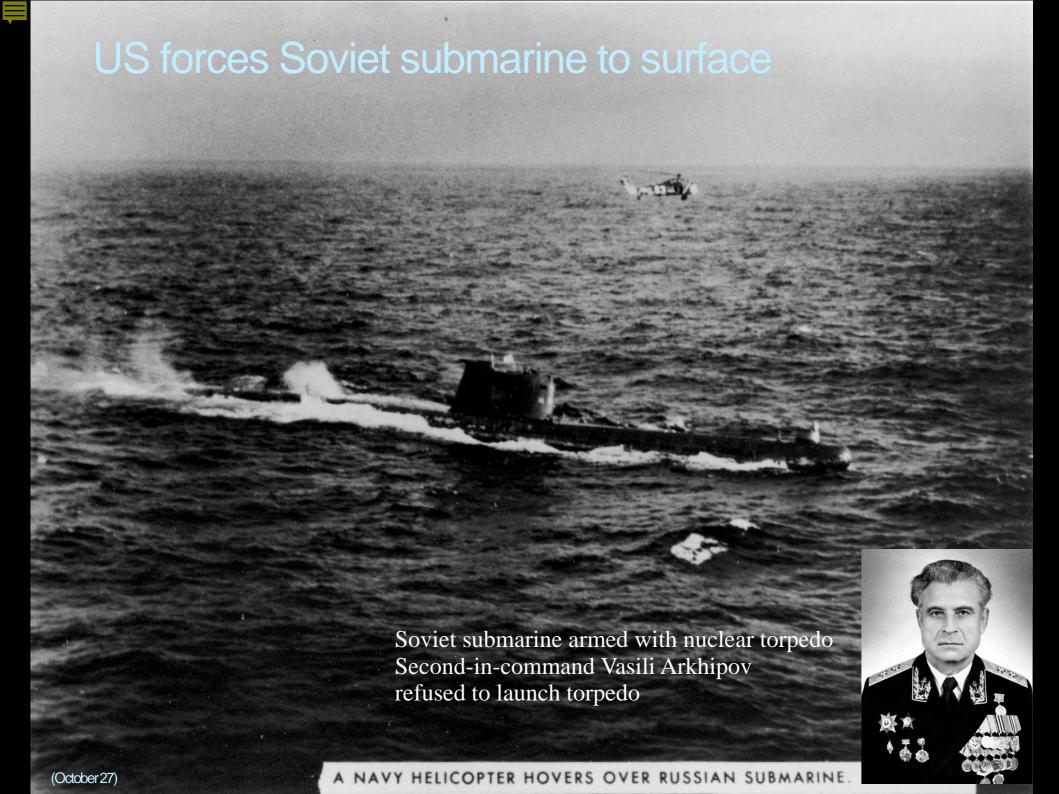
Kennedy & Rusk refer frequently to Thant's initiatives as reason not to take more offensive measures



October 27 (Black Saturday)

SAC Alert to Defcon 2 (next to war)









Soviet SAM downs U-2

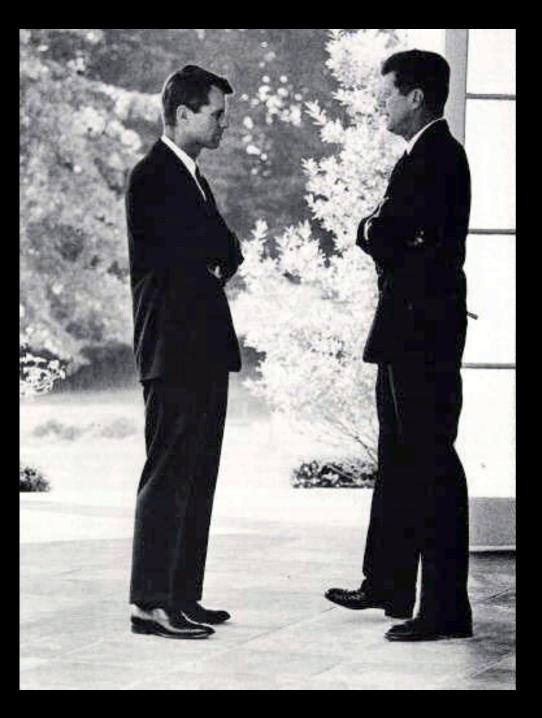
killing pilot, Maj. Rudolf Anderson (Oct 27)



U-2 from Alaska strays into Soviet airspace; MiGs scrambled but do not catch it (Oct 27)

Kennedy learns of unauthorized US military nuclear test (Oct 26)





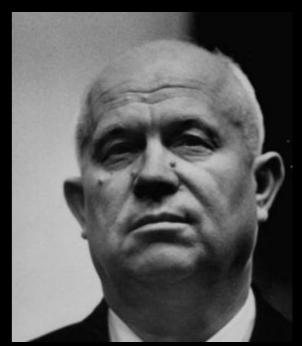
Robert Kennedy

Secret talks with Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin

Offers removal of US Jupiter missiles from Turkey (secret deal) "[We are] face to face with the danger of war and of nuclear catastrophe, with the possible result of destroying the human race . . . to save the world, we must retreat."

- Khrushchev, October 28

Washington receives the news of Khrushchev's acceptance of the US proposal



Thant announces trip to Havana to seek Castro's consent for UN mission to verify the dismantling of missile sites

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times.

on, mayor Shortly participes Gloriff.

VOL. CXII., No. 18264.

NEW YORK, MONDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1962.

U.S. AND SOVIET REACH ACCORD ON CUBA; KENNEDY ACCEPTS KHRUSHCHEV PLEDGE TO REMOVE MISSILES UNDER U.N. WATCH

DE GAULLE WINS 61% OF BALLOTS; ABSTENTIONSHIGH

46% of the Eligible Voters Support President's Plan on Choosing Successor

> By ROBBERT C. DOTY. Switch in The Over Stein Times.

PARIS, Monday, Gel. 28: Promitors de Gasile was him pelestadura battle la nationwide ballating pesterday, but he pullered unbeloated bears of support in comparison with pre-

afficial returns each this working, \$1.76 per cent of the balls. builds gust mere in favor of the President's proposal to deck tile eventual encourage for pormay ente material of by the lim-Red sollege or 90,000 "netables possified to the persent Cor-

Dist. with abstentions revning at about 24 per cent of the electorate, General de distalls had only a introvityabout 45 per cent - of the regtakered veters backing him.

Tally of Voting



DE GAULLE VOUES EN REFERENDUM: President de Ganille casting ballot in Columbes des dens-Eglass.

Castro Asks Guantanamo; Connect for the Impaction pro-assurances against an invador Stringe to Renair Practical Manual Red of the United Office of Table When

THANT SETS VISIT RUSSIAN ACCEDES

Tomorrow to Seek Castro Consent

First of Phase note to Centro. in printed on Page 18.

By THOMAS A. HAMILTON Model to No. how York Times.

UMPTED NATIONS, N.Y. Oct. 28-57 Thert, the acting Ehratheliev agoved today to Secretary Deserval, will fly to end the construction at Review Outs Tuesday with his top us-Dates in Outs, and to distributed sistants to discuss arrange Street rackets there, both under ments for a United Nations/Velled Nations supervision. shock on the districtling of Novy Ix a message to President One houlding of bases.

Cuba only long smouth to ob-scrating and returning the ten Fremier Fidel Chatre's no recitets to the Societ Union. replicate of the Thank plan in. This was said to have been and he name Promise Mary ments affered in a letter sent shahar's agreement to dismantial to Mr. Khrushcher yesterday by

He Will Go to Havana Tells President Work on Bases Is Halted -Invites Talks

> Toxic of Elevatiches ester to Removing and Phone, Page 18.

> By SESTMOUR TOPPING Special by The Stev Step Timb Times. SECURODAY, Oct. 26-Promise

clet missiles and the halting of Krenedy, the dicriet leader said Blad he already had bound in-Mr. Theret plans to usay instructions for thes and for

the retailer is complied with President Renardy. The latter Algorithm to reliable sources, expressed the United States seer the Acting Secretary Gen-readings: to lift the cavalold makes these arrangements scanneline of Cube and Join he will return to obtain an with other nations of the West-



PRESIDENT ATTENDS MASS: Mr. Kennedy at 84. Stophen's Roman Catholic Church in Washington yesterday before receiving Premier Khrusheller's passage.

therefore the transition of the Security era. Strategiers in providing Plane Veers Over Soviet, Konnedy Voices Pagesto

Plans to End Blockade as Soon as Moscow Lives Up to Yow

Note of the Bounds statement and manage are on Page 18,

By R. W. KRYWOODSTON

Appeals to The New York Three WASHINGTON, Oct. 28-Vesident Kennedy and Premier Rivebalov reached apparent agreement today on a formula. to end the eriots over Cobs and to hogin talks on casing tentime to other areas.

Pressure Khrushcher pledged the Soriet Union to step work on its minute sites in Cala, tadiscussion the weapons and tocrists them and take them bone. All this would be done under vertheation of United Nations. Brusseta Dane.

Provident Hannedy, for his part, pledged the litting of the Culven arms blockade when the Dozed Mallery had taken the economy numbers," and that the United States wester not Myside College

W. S. Conditions Met. Resentially this formula



Shuttle diplomacy

(US and Soviet teams in separate rooms on 38th floor of Secretariat maintaining contact with their capitals)

Thant moves between delegations



(Rikhye on left, Thant centre and Soviets on right)



UNIVERSAL-INTERNATIONAL NEWS

CRISIS EASES

Wary U.S. Awaits Missile Removal

VOICE ED HERLIHY

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times.

Cloudy, chance of rain late today

Temp. range: 54—36; yesterday: 58—42

VOL. CXII.. No. 38,265.

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1962.

U.S. ARMS SPED AT NEHRU PLEA AS CHINA GAINS

2,000 MEN LOST 5,000 Square Miles

Casualties Are Listed by New Delhi—Two Ladakh Posts Fall

> By A. M. ROSENTHAL Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, Oct. 29-Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru made an urgent request to the United States today for military assistance against the Chinese Communists. He received an immediate pledge that weapons would be rushed to India.

United States air transports loaded with guns and ammunition are expected to arrive by the end of this week. They will open a vital supply line to India in time of crisis and begin a historic new chapter in relations between the countries.

This was the first time in India's 15 troubled years of independence that she had made a direct appeal for military help. New Delhi had always GLBERT RETURNS might compromise her policy of monalignment.

Appeal Has Ramifications

Mr. Nehru is not expected to abandon his policy of refusing

Taken From India

By DAVID BINDER

Special to The New York Times. WASHINGTON, Oct. 29-Diplomatic sources said here today that Chinese Communist troops had conquered or occupied at least 5,000 square border fighting with India since Sept. 8.

They said 2,000 square miles had been seized in Ladakh, where the Chinese already held an estimated total of 12,500 square miles. Three thousand square miles have been taken in hard fighting in the North East Frontier Agency.

The sources, who were well qualified, also indicated that Indian troops, despite regions. These shortcomings, years." in turn, were laid to the In-

Continued on Page 2, Column 3

Brazil and Appears in

EISENHOWERSAYS G.O.P. FURNISHED IMPETUS ON CUBA

Asserts at Campaign Rally in Syracuse That Party Prodded the President

By WARREN WEAVER Jr. Special to The New York Times

SYRACUSE, Oct. 29 former President Dwight D. Eisenhower declared tonight that Republican preparedness and Republican prodding had enabled President Kennedy to miles of disputed territory in set forcefully in the Cuban crisis.

> "I was proud indeed," he said in a speech at a campaign dinner, "that it was a recommendation of the Republican leaders of the Congress that first inspired blockade of Cuba for two days. tion under which the President beginning tomorrow morning. was able to act in this latest the White House announced to crisis, forcefully and with the pertainty of Congressional apcoval of his act."

tion, he declared: "The present pended" in response to a request the Indian troops, despite good training, were not conditioned to the mountain terrain of the northern frontier for the work of those eight who is flying to Havana tomorrow for two days of talks.

protect the nation's security cautious diplomatic posture. against the immediate threat to it. Thereafter, the man in the Kremlin seemed to have some man said that the quarantine,

or West. But the fact that in Financier Flies Back From \$100-a-plate dinner, General lifted at daylight tomorrow, or let the fact that in Rear and Appears in 2 Bisenhower gave his "enthust-Eisenhower gave his "enthusi-about 6 A.M., Eastern standard

AIR CHECK GOES ON

Missile Sites Watched Despite Suspension of Quarantine ·

By TAD SZULC Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29-

The announcement said that "the enforcement of the quarantine has been voluntarily sus by U Thant, Acting Secretary

This gesture toward Mr Thant emphasized the easing of As a result, he said: "The tensions in the eight-day Cuban Commander in Chief, sure of crisis. The United States kept our ready military strength, up its air and naval surveillance proclaimed our determination to of the island and maintained a

Blockade Halts At 6 A.M.

A Defense Department spokes-Addressing about 6,000 spec-tators and 1,600 diners at a sile bases in Cuba, would be



THANT'S CUBA TALKS 'FRUITFUL';

HE WILL FLY TO HAVANA TODAY;

BLOCKADE HALTED DURING TRIP

MEET AT U.N.: U Thant, Acting Secretary General of the United Nations, with Vasily V. Kuznetsov, beside him, Premier Khrushchev's special representative for the Cuban negotiations; Valerian A. Zorin, Soviet delegate to U.N., and Brig. Indar Jit Rikhye, military adviser to Mr. Thant. Mr. Kuznetsov arrived on Sunday for talks about Cuba.

U.N. CHIEF CONFERS

Sees Soviet and U.S. Envoys—30 Aides to Accompany Him

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. T. Oct. 29-U Thant, the Acting Secretary General, conferred today with the Soviet and United States envoys dealing with the Cuhan crisis.

Mr. Thant will fly to Cuba tomorrow with his principal' assistants. He will discuss with the Castro Government arrangements for verification by the United Nations of the dismantling of Soviet missile bases and the return of missiles to the Soviet Union.

Vasily V. Kuznetsov, Premier Khrushchev's special representative, met with U Thant, Acting Secretary General, in the morn-

A United Nations spokesmark said later that this discussion' and a subsequent meeting beween the Acting Secretary Seneral and Adlai E. Stevenson of the United States were both

Premier Sends Greetings Reliable sources said that Mr.



Thant travels to Cuba

US lifts quarantine during trip





Soviet general explains dismantling

Thant asks when missiles completely dismantled? In three days (Nov. 2)

CONFIDENTIAL.

Second

Notes on my meeting with Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba in Havana on the 31st of October, 1962.

Present:

President Dorticles, Premier Fidel Castro and Foreign Minister Roa. On my side I attended the meeting alone with

Castro was in a bitter mood. He was angry both with Premier Khrushchev and President Kennedy. He started the meeting with a long statement denouncing Premier Khrushchev for having given a pledge to President Kennedy to demolish the missile eights in Cuba and their withdrawal from Cuban soil without getting prior agreement from the Government of Cuba. He stressed the fact that Cuba is an independent sovereign state and anything involving Cuban territory belonged legitimately to the Cuban Government. Since Khrushchev had already made a commitment to Kennedy to demolish and withdraw the missiles already installed on Cuban Government, there was no alternative for him than to denounce the Soviet Government publicly.

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FOR OFFICIAL WEATHER CHANGES

119th Year, No. 35,223

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42 PAGES

Kingston, Strathroy Battle Mobs of Teen-Agers

CUBA QUARANTINE REIMPOSED; and in Kingston in Kingston



One motorcycle policeman's helmic was smaked by a rock. In Ottawn, three armed men warring Second World War surplus gas respirators and coveralis exaged with \$1,300 when they held up the Hoty Town of the surplus gas respirators and coveralis exaged with \$1,300 when they held up the Hoty Town of the surplus gas respirators and coveralis exaged with \$1,300 when they held up the Hoty Town of the surplus gas respirators and surplus gas respirators and surplus gas respirators and surplus gas respirators and surplus gas respirators. The surplus gas respirators are surplus gas respirators and surplus gas respirators a

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one motorcycle policeman's climpt was smashed by a rock.

Fail to Get Supervision Agreement

By STANLEY WESTALL

By STANLEY WESTALL
Gishe and Muli Reporter
United, Nations, Oct. 31—
Acting Secretary - General U
Thank said tonight he has been
reliably informed that the dismanting of Soviet missiles and
missile installations in Cuba in

ment newspaper, indicated that Moscow is hardening its position in sympathy with the Castro demands.

was agreement that the UN should continue to participate in the peaceful settlement of the paceful settlement of the paceful settlement of the profess of the peaceful settlement of the paceful settlement of the profess of the profess of the paceful settlement of the paceful set

All Found Faulty

Seat Belts Fail to Pass Tests By Aircraft

An expert said today that no automobile seat belts manufectured in Canada up to a few weeks ago met safety

"We tested all the Canadian belts and, frankly, we found semething wrong with all of them," said Desmond Dy-mond, managing engineer for the certification department of the Canadian Standards

interview that at least three manufacturers have brought their belts up to standard. He had been to be the belts up to standard. He had been to be the belts. Tests were conducted in the association's Toronto office for two months. Faults discovered by engineers include: A belt supperson the standard belts of the belt supperson the standard belts and the standard be

pounds of stress ripped apart at 3,700 pounds; a buekle ex-ploided into shraped under estellar stress; some buckle pins or springs were exces-sively under tests; webbing

poorped out or anchor points; webbing were in abrasion tests or was cut by anchor plates.

"There are other belts now being approved, and the consumer will be able to tell by CSA labels found on the belt webbine." he and

CSA labels found on the belt wrbbing. "he said. He said the CSA "has not lesied any U.S.-manufactured belta. He could not say wheth-er they were up to Canadian standards. The CSA is a non-profit organisation that tests mat-crish and equipment for

missile installations in Cuba its abready in progress and that the process should be completed by Friday. He made the statement to shift and this entire party bods to New York after two days of talks in Havana. To Paintings, House Told To Paintings, House Told By Robin Green a four of CSA is a non-profit plan that tests and equipment for shift and that the statement to shape of the shipped and returned to the dismantling, the missions would be called that immediately after completion of the dismantling the missions would be shipped and returned to the Shorist Union. "By Robin Green and the shift of the shift

Saviet Union, "arrangements for which are understood to be in hand."

Which are understood to be in hand."

By ROBIN GREEN
Glabs and Mail Reporter
3 U.5. reconnaissance pilot abot down over Caba on a photographic mission, will be returned to the United States.

In Moscow, Fremier Militar
Deputy Premier Anatam Milisepara to fly to Cuba.

(Western diplomats believe
Mr. Mikoyan will confer with
Premier Pidet Castro on the
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Confermation of the warsing
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Surveillance Begins Again

Globa and Mail Corresponds

tomorraw.
This was announced tonight by Pierre Sallinger, President John F. Kennedys press secretary, after the President had met for half an hour with the executive committe of the National Security Council which

the matter is under discussion in the flower, he would issue no intermed.

The gallery director quickly quashed runders that he may quashed runders that he may carrying out Premier Nikita resign in the face of the commantle the missile facilities premiumers.

Where to Find It

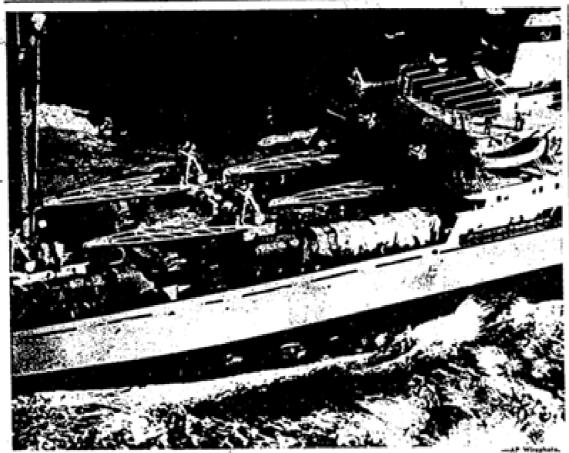
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119th Year, No. 35,232

Final Edition

TORONTO, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1962



Crew members roll back part of heavy convas from missile-like object abourd Soviet freighter Anasov. U.S. destroyer Borry came alongside to inspect the ship in the Atlantic Ocean during the weekend.

Kennedy Calls 3 Chief Negotiators To Give Reports on Cuba Situation

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON | had any contacts with Soviet Meanwhile. In Washington. | Speaking on a television peo- alignment. D New York Times Service representatives today. Negotia- Roswell L. Gilpatric, the U.S. cram, Mr. Gilpatric left in India's sticking to these policies United Nations, Nov. 11-The tions were suspended yesterday deputy secretary of defense, abeyance the question of more steadfastly than ever bethree principal U.S. negotiators because Mr. Stevenson and Mr. said today that U.S. authorities whether the United States will fore," he said, "Giving up non-In the Cuban crisis will report McCley were attending the had counted 42 Seviet medium-continue to insist on inspection alignment today would only to President John F. Kennedy funeral of Mrs. Franklin D. range missiles on their way out of the Cuban missile sites by weaken us and injure our presof Cuba during the past few an international authority.

Repeated Strike

Katan Raid

Nehru Hopes MIG Plant To Be Built

New Belhi, Nov. 11-Prime day admitted that Bussia had planned to build a factory in India for the production of MIG planes before the outbreak of the border war with China, and said he hoped the Soviet promhe would be kept.

As the border war full continged, it was also learned teday that the Prime Minister had offered the defense ministry to Y. B. Chavan, chief minister of Maharashtra.

Mr. Nehru, addressing a rully cutimated at 100,000 persons.

From The New York Times. The Times of London, Revers News Agency and The Associated Press.

repudiated elements he said were taking advantage of the border war to attack India's polities of socialism and not

"Today, there is a need for







"Bombers of November"

Ilyushin 28 jet bombers (nuclear capable)



Kennedy "instructed the US negotiating team in New York not to let the deal get hung up on the issue" (D. Coleman, *The Fourteenth Day*)

After extensive negotiations, on November 19, Castro finally told Thant that he would agree to removal of IL-28 bombers

Kennedy withdraws quarantine on November 20

(Crisis not "13 days" but two months)



Soviet ship *Kasimov* with IL-28 bomber fuselages in crates

Draft Protocols

- US does not intend to invade Cuba
- <u>provided</u> no nuclear weapons or other offensive weapons are reintroduced into Cuba
- and <u>provided</u> Cuba does not take action to threaten the peace of Western Hemisphere



CONFIDENTIAL EYES ONLY STEVENSON

DRAFT UNITED STATES DECLARATION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

In letters of President Kennedy on October 27 and of Premier Khrushchev and President Kennedy on October 28, 1962, firm undertakings were made regarding the settlement of the Cuban crisis.

These undertakings were stated in President Kennedy's letter of October 27 and quoted in the Acting Secretary General's letter of October 28 along the following lines:

- (1) The USSR would agree to remove from Cuba, under appropriate United Nations observation and supervision, all weapons systems capable of offensive use and would undertake, with suitable safeguards, to halt the further introduction of such weapons systems into Cuba.
- (2) The United States would agree -- upon the establishment of adequate arrangements through the United Nations to ensure the carrying out and continuation of these commitments -- (a) to remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect, and (b) to give assurances against an invasion of Cuba. The President also expressed his confidence that other nations of the Western Hemisphere would be prepared to do likewise.

The United States notes the statement made by the Soviet Union that all medium and intermediate range missiles, all nuclear weapons and components have been removed from Cubs, that all II-28 bomber aircraft will be removed by December 20, and that all sites for medium range and intermediate range missiles have been dissanatled. It notes also that the USSR has stated its intention to withdraw all military units and personnel placed there for the servicing or gwarding of these weapons systems. The United States notes further the statement of the USSR that no weapons capable of offensive use will be introduced into Cuba in the future. We welcome these statements and assurances.

The undertakings in the President's letter of October 27 that the United Nations would be enabled to verify the removal of missiles and bombers and the destruction of sites, and that United Nations safeguards would be agreed upon to ensure against further introduction into Cuba of weapons systems capable of offensive use, have not been fulfilled. A minimum inspection procedure was, however, arranged in cooperation with the USSR, under which the United States naval vessels have received substantial verification that Soviet vessels leaving Cuba have carried out the number of missiles which the USSR had certified to the United States as having been in Cuba. The Soviet Union has also agreed to a similar form of verification of the impending withdrawal of all IL-28 bomber sircraft introduced into Cuba.

CONFIDENTIAL EYES ONLY STEVENSON

Draft Declaration - Cuba

Unofficial translation

Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations

> DRAFT DECLARATION BY THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF CUBA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

In making this declaration the Revolutionary Government of Cuba takes into account the exchange of messages between Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Mr. J.F. Kennedy, President of the United States, on 27 and 28 October 1962 and, more particularly, the statements made by the Cuban Government regarding the so-called Caribbean crisis, namely, the declaration of Prime Minister Fidel Castro of 28 October 1962 containing the five measures or points essential for a stable solution of this crisis and the joint declaration of the National Directorate of the ORI and the Council of Ministers, of 25 November 1962. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba also takes into account the negotiations carried out through the mediation of U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, and the fact that as a result of all this an agreement has been reached whereby the parties assume the following obligations:

The United States of America:

- a) The United States has lifted the "quarantine" which it imposed with effect from 23 October 1962 on ships proceeding towards the Republic of Cuba.
- b) The United States Armed Forces which were concentrated in the South-eastern area of the United States in connection with the so-called



Conclusions

- Thant's initiative gave Khrushchev way out
- Kennedy's saw importance of honorable alternative and using skilled intermediary
- Thant formula saw the missile sites dismantled in mere days
- Thant received first-hand reports of dismantling
- Negotiated and *MEDIATED* conflict resolution
- UN served as critical instrument between superpowers







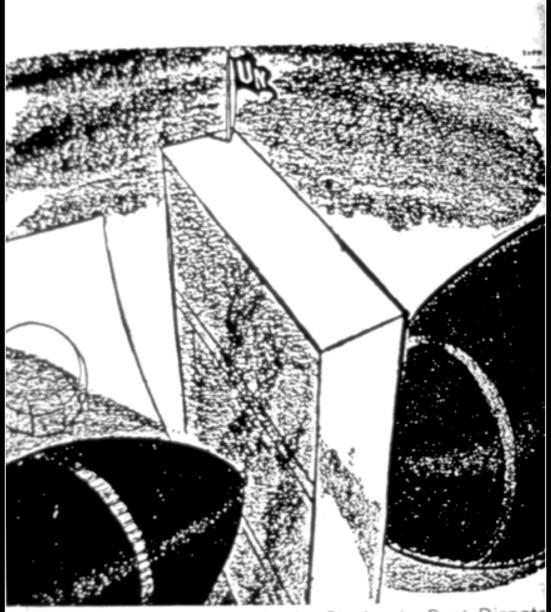
Stevenson:

"the Secretary General's intervention led to the diversion of the Soviet ships headed for Cuba and interception by our Navy. This was the indispensable first step in the peaceful resolution of the Cuban crisis."

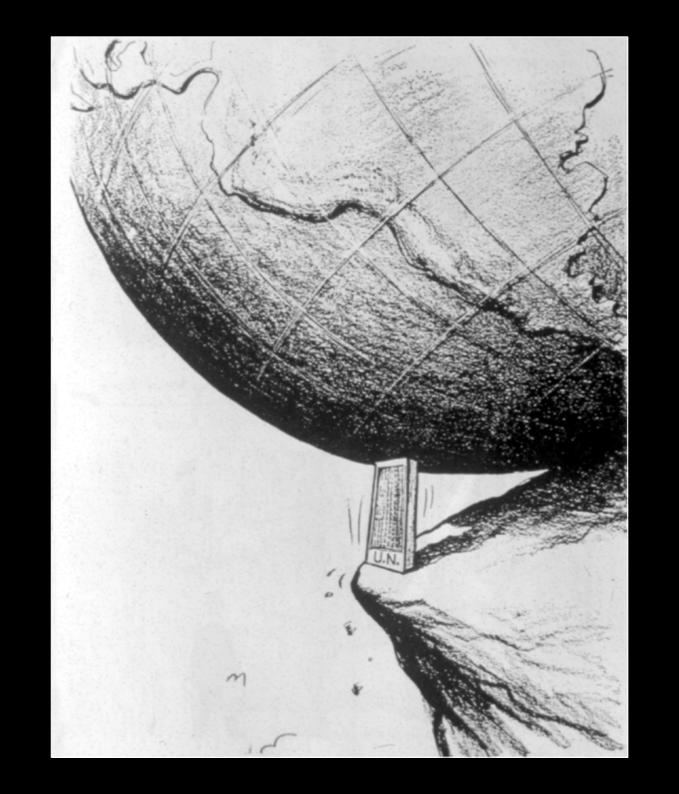
U Thant unanimously elected to extended term November 30

Joint US-Soviet letter from negotiating teams:

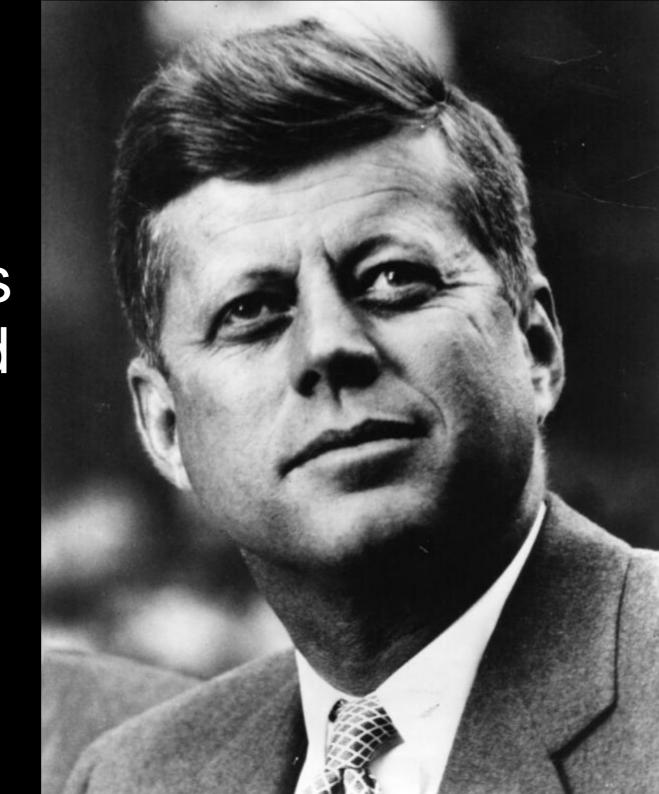
"appreciation for your efforts in assisting our Governments to avert the serious threat to peace which recently arose in the Caribbean area." (January 7, 1963)



—Engelhardt, in St. Louis Post-Dispato
FIREWALL



Kennedy:
"U Thant has put the world deeply in his debt"









Acknowledgements

- UN Studies at Yale University research grant
- Abram Chayes, David Welch feedback on draft papers
- Indar Jit Rikhye (Military Advisor to U Thant) interviews
- Eric Mullerbeck, Robert Pauk Research assistants
- Bryan Eelhart PPT development

Additional materials

Primary Sources used

See http://www.walterdorn.org

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(Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 2012, full piece; pdf);
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(J. Diplomatic History, 2009)