29 October 1962

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

- 1. You will recall that in my memorandum to you of 18 October, I stated that if the United States decided to take action (against Castro and the missiles in Cuba) in the limited time available, then its objective must surely be the total destruction of the Castro regime and the installation of a government in Cuba favorable to Western ideology. Further, we must make clear at that time that we will not tolerate direct overt Soviet intervention into the affairs of the states of the Western Hemisphere. A corollary must also establish the principle that even if a Western Hemisphere state goes Communist, we will tolerate it only so long as it does not accept Soviet satellite status or military assistance leading toward the establishment of a Soviet base, or the acquisition of a long-range military strike capability.
- 2. The United States was building up to just this sort of definitive, firm action when the Soviets, apparently realizing this, proposed their "trade, " i.e., removal of offensive missile bases in return for guarantees of Castro/Communist/Cuban non-invasion. It appears to manythat this is quite a victory for the United States --I personally view it as a bitter defeat, if in fact the United States gets sucked into establishing a sanctuary in the Western Hemisphere for Castro, for Communism, or for the Soviet Union. Some people say that we are reverting to the situation which existed on September lst, with purely defensive missiles in Cuba. On the other hand, with the Armed Forces available to Castro and a possible guarantee of complete freedom of action for Castro, we are much worse off than the situation as of September 1st. If we are so naive as to give Castro or the Soviets these assurances, then we have in fact sold ourselves down the river and we must be prepared to live with and accept increasing overt encroachments by the Soviet Union in the Western Hemisphere.

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3. Ray Cline's shop is preparing a background memorandum as well as an Estimate as to just what the Castro/Communist/Soviet influences have been, are now, and will probably be in the future in the Western Hemisphere.



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