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in discharging my responsibility to the United States and the

Nations of this hemisphere, it is necessary for me to order surveillance  
secretly  
of the missile sites you have been ~~secretly~~ installing in Cuba. This I  
announced to the world on last Monday night in a statement with which you  
are familiar. As a result unarmed United States planes have conducted  
regular surveillance flights over Cuba and from them I have learned and  
informed the American public that you were persisting in the construction  
of these missile bases. Today your forces have fired on our planes  
damaging some of them and shooting down one, killing the pilot. This  
shocking further provocation on your part, coming to my attention as I  
was drafting a response to your recent messages, causes me to advise you  
that further attacks on our unarmed reconnaissance planes cannot be tolerated,  
and if such attacks occur again there is no course open to me than to order  
such action as is necessary to insure the safety of United States planes.  
Obviously you cannot expect me, in view of the highly secret nature of  
learn  
your Cuban operation, to do other than to ~~learn~~ by all means available to  
me the nature of the threat against my country you are secretly creating.  
If I am to discharge my responsibility which you so clearly recognize.

Yesterday Secretary General U Thant received one proposal from you, in  
the evening I received another quite different one, and this morning I

*Memo...  
Message to  
H...  
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received, through public channels of communication, and a proposal  
this one introducing a new and wholly unrelated matter. All are worthy of ser-  
ious consideration and discussion, and I am prepared to make such arrange-  
ments from my side. However, I must know that during both the preliminary  
talks and the more extended ones you intimate that the work on your offensive  
bases in Cuba is halted, the ~~with~~ missiles are made inoperable and ultimately  
are to be removed. Until UN or other agreed means of verification are  
established, no course is open to me than airtal surveillance as publicly  
announce, and any action on your part to halt this will necessitate such  
actions by the United States as are deemed necessary.

Message to the North American Council and  
the Governments of all NATO Countries

On October 22, 1962, the President of the United States announced that the presence of offensive weapons in Cuba, which had been secretly placed there by the Soviet Union, made it necessary for the United States, after consultation with the Organization of American States, to take action to protect the security of the Western Hemisphere against the threat posed by these weapons. Accordingly, during the past several days the United States has taken a series of precautionary and protective actions. In the first place, in order to inform itself as to whether the Soviet offensive weapons in Cuba, particularly the medium range ballistic missiles, had reached a stage of operational readiness where they might be launched against the Western Hemisphere, close surveillance was maintained over these missile sites by <sup>unarmed</sup> U. S. military aircraft. Secondly, the United States acted through a limited quarantine to prevent the further shipment of offensive weapons into Cuba. Thirdly, the United States has approached the Soviet Government, both directly and through the good offices of the Acting Secretary General of the United Nations, to suggest that further build-up of the offensive weapons be halted, the weapons already in place be rendered inoperable, and further shipment of such weapons cease, all pending an

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effort to arrive at a peaceful solution of the issues presented. These later proposals have not been responded to by the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the construction on the missile sites has continued, and there is every indication that more of the missiles are becoming operationally ready. Moreover, the <sup>unarmed</sup> U. S. military aircraft which today were conducting publicly announced surveillance over Cuba were exposed to intensive ground fire, and one of such aircraft was shot down.

In these circumstances, the United States Government, both in its own interests and that of its fellow nations in the Western Hemisphere, is constrained to take whatever military action may be necessary to remove the growing threat to the Hemisphere posed by these operationally ready missiles, the status of which cannot safely be assured any longer through close surveillance. The Soviet Union, in one of a series of inconsistent and conflicting messages, has equated the existence of the Jupiter missiles in Turkey, which were placed there in fulfillment of the Turkish Government's commitment for the defense of NATO, with the missiles and other offensive <sup>weapons</sup> ~~missiles~~ which the Soviets have placed in Cuba. Although there is in fact no symmetry between the defense of NATO and peace in the Caribbean, it may be that, if the United States acts in defense of its vital interests and those of its Western Hemisphere

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allies against the threat in Cuba, the Soviet Government will take military action against the Jupiter missiles in Turkey.

Wishing to minimize the possibility of such an attack upon Turkey, and possibly upon other NATO countries, the United States is willing, if the other members of the NATO alliance so desire, to render the Jupiter missiles in Turkey inoperative by removal of their warheads and to notify the Soviet Government to such an effect prior to moving against the Soviet missiles in Cuba. The United States Government is also willing to take steps to insure that the targets now covered by the Jupiter missiles in Turkey will be permanently assigned to other weapons systems capable of striking such targets. Such steps could include, if the NATO alliance so desires, the positioning of Polaris submarines carrying the equivalent numbers of missiles in the Mediterranean.

In view of the urgent nature of the decisions involved in these actions, the members of the NATO alliance are asked to consult immediately and advise the United States of their position with respect to the course of action which appears to them to be in the best interests of the alliance.

B. Scandinavia:

*Swedish protest*

Swedish govt on 26 October formally protested US quarantine on Cuba shipping declaring it "reserves all rights with regard to its own shipping." *This the first W. Eur. protest.*

Reaction in other Scandinavian countries somewhat milder. Norwegian and Danish <sup>officials</sup> ~~governments~~ question legality of quarantine but they have indicated their shipping will submit to challenge and inspection.

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Popular Reaction: There is little new reporting on popular reaction in East Europe. Citizens of the Rumanian capital are reacting to the Cuban crisis with "alarm and fear of war." Many Hungarians reportedly are hoping for a US-Soviet showdown which they ~~expect~~ <sup>hope</sup> would lead to the end of the Soviet occupation of Hungary. [redacted]

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~~Regime fear that their population might become emboldened was reflected on 26 October in Bulgarian orders that TAPSO flights now carry an armed guard and that pilots observe strictly flight regulations.~~ [redacted]

25X1

Panic buying in Bucharest has placed a severe strain on supplies of staples.

Stores are being cleaned out, flour and fats are unavailable, and some stores have been forced to close down. The blackmarket in food has reappeared. The

latest reports from Warsaw indicate that scare buying has abated, and that

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the situation is outwardly calm. [redacted]

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The proposal made by the Soviet broadcast this morning involves a number of countries and complicated issues not directly related to existing threat to peace posed by Soviet offensive missile bases in Cuba. The United States will be glad to discuss these matters with you and others, after consultation with the governments of Turkey, Italy, the United Kingdom and other members of NATO whose interests are directly involved. You will understand, however, that the security of the Western Hemisphere requires the United States to take the position that work on these bases in Cuba must, under effective international verification, preliminary to the cessation of work on halt and the bases themselves must be rendered inoperable ~~any proposals~~ ~~under consideration~~. I therefore request you in the utmost urgency to obtain from the Soviet Union its assurance that work on these bases will halt and the bases themselves will be rendered inoperable, in order that negotiations can then go forward.



Consistent with the ~~fix~~ tone of President Lopez Mateos' message of 24 October ~~sThe Mexican government~~ to President Dorticos of Cuba, the Mexican government ~~is taking steps which provide at least tacit support for the United States.~~ On 26 October the Secretary of the Navy, ~~after consultation with President Lopez Mateos,~~ informed the US Naval Attache that Mexico was solidly behind the US in the present crisis. He stated that Mexican ports have been closed to Cuban traffic but remain available to US quarantine vessels if normal clearance through diplomatic channels is requested. ~~Although~~ He said the president had decided not to seek congressional authorization for Mexican participation in the quarantine forces but unofficial reports from Vera Cruz said that ten ships of the Mexican Navy have been ordered to patrol the <sup>narrow</sup> Yucatan channel between Mexico and Cuba

According to the US Air Attache, all Mexican Air Force jets were being transferred as of 26 October to patrol the coast of Yucatan ~~in~~ against movement to or from Cuba. ~~The Mexican government~~ UPI reports that troops are also being moved toward Yucatan and to petroleum installations all over Mexico to prevent sabotage.

On 25 October a usually reliable source reported that the most influential figures in the Mexican Foreign Ministry favor the policy of the US, feel it is necessary, and will support it.

USIS Mexico <sup>says</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>La Prensa</sup> ~~that~~ a paper it considers close to the government, is following a dubious editorial policy which may provide cover for the Mexican government to revise its apparent support of the US.

B UNITED NATIONS

UN

Considerable fear that the United States will invade Cuba exists throughout ~~###~~ the UN <sup>delegation</sup> Latin America reportedly remains firm in its support of the US and has notified the secretary general that any Cuban settlement must include the removal of the Soviet-Cuban nuclear menace from the hemisphere. The non-aligned group, however, is saying that all bases should be abolished and the Africans, particularly, are afraid that the US is planning to do the same thing in Cuba that the USSR did in Hungary.

The talks between Thant and the chief delegates of the USSR, US, and Cuba are continuing. Thant believes that the basic cause of the whole situation is Cuba's fear of US invasion. Thant clearly putting principal emphasis on the possibility of a US guarantee not to invade Cuba as a short-circuit solution to the whole problem.

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Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have read your letter of October 26 with great care and find in it the indications of a willingness on your part to seek a prompt and peaceful solution to the present crisis.

I would suggest, in the light of your letter, that the elements which might be included in such a solution are the following:

1. You would undertake immediately to cease work on the offensive missile bases in Cuba and would promptly render inoperable all weapons systems in Cuba capable of being used against the soil of any nation of the Western Hemisphere.

2. You would agree to remove such weapons systems from Cuba under appropriate United Nations observation, and supervision.

3. You would

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3. You would undertake, with suitable safeguards, that you would not in the future introduce such weapons systems into Cuba.

4. Upon the establishment of adequate arrangements through the United Nations to ensure the carrying out of these commitments, we, on our part, (a) would undertake promptly to remove the quarantine measures now in effect; and (b) would undertake to give assurances to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of Cuba, and I am confident that other nations of the Western Hemisphere would be prepared to do likewise. However, these assurances could be given only if Cuba, in turn, were to give assurances that it would not seek, through military aggression or subversion, to interfere in the affairs of other American states.

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I have given my representatives in New York instructions that will permit them today to work out an arrangement along these lines with the Acting Secretary General and your representatives. If you will give your representatives similar instructions, there is no reason why we should not be able to complete these arrangements and announce them to the world no later than tomorrow.

As I was preparing this letter I learned of your public message attempting to connect NATO bases and Cuba. I must tell you frankly that this is not a way to get forward with a settlement of the immediate crisis. The immediate crisis is in Cuba, and it is there that very prompt action is necessary. When we get agreement there, I shall be ready to discuss wider issues.

**Proposed Draft of Announcement in the Event of  
Approval of Night Time Cuban Reconnaissance**

In accordance with the resolution <sup>adopted</sup> and ~~refel~~ on October 23, 1962 by the Organ of Consultation of the Inter-American System, the United States has been conducting continuing surveillance of the build-up of offensive weapons in Cuba. This communique called for intensified surveillance of the delivery of arms and implements of war and all other items of strategic importance to the communist regime on Cuba, in order to prevent the secret accumulation in the island of arms that can be used for offensive purposes against the hemisphere. In light of the continued build-up of activity at the offensive weapons installations in Cuba, the United States is forced to step up its daylight surveillance program.

In ~~addition~~ addition, in view of the fact that major activity is also under way during night time hours, future surveillance will also include night time coverage and will involve the use of flash cartridges for illumination. The use of such flash cartridges poses no danger to ground personnel.