

CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS:

U.N. MEDIATED CONFLICT RESOLUTION



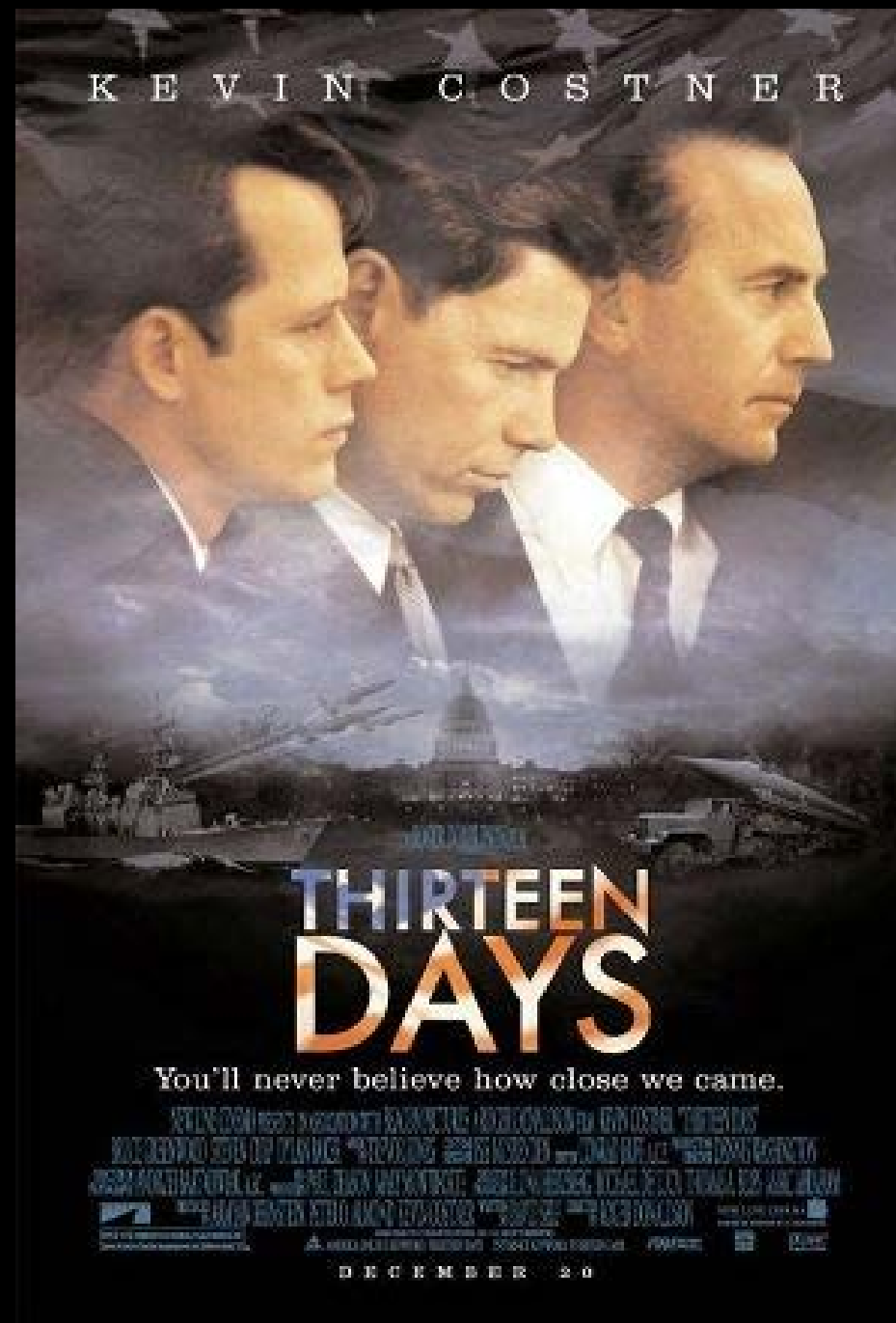
University of Toronto, 24 January 2013



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

Note: image sources are given in the Notes page under the PPT slides



<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M19tgYuWVWc>



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

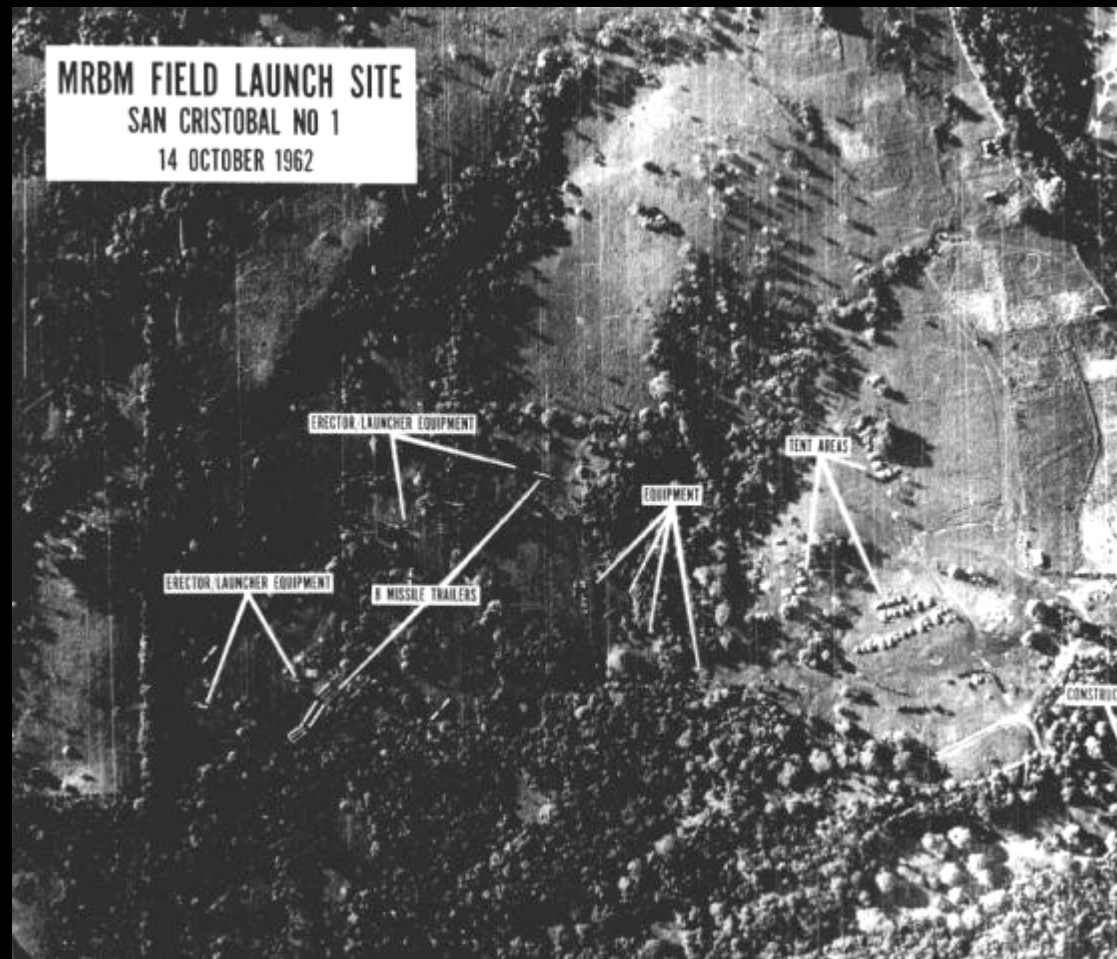


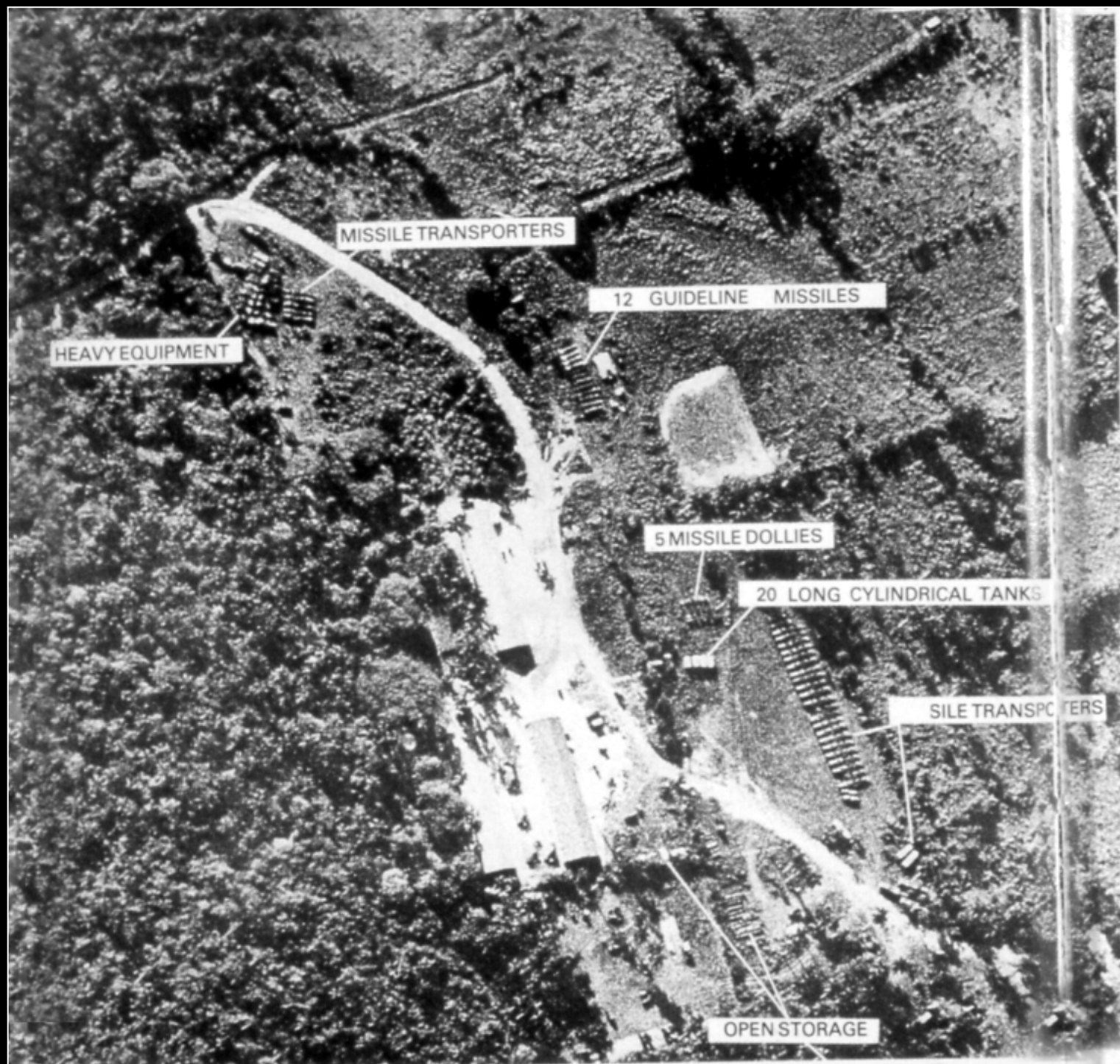
charms and threatens West



gains new friend in Cuba

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





Committee of the National Security Council

ExComm





National Security Adviser

McGeorge Bundy



Secretary of State

Dean Rusk



Secretary of Defense

Robert McNamara

Military Chiefs

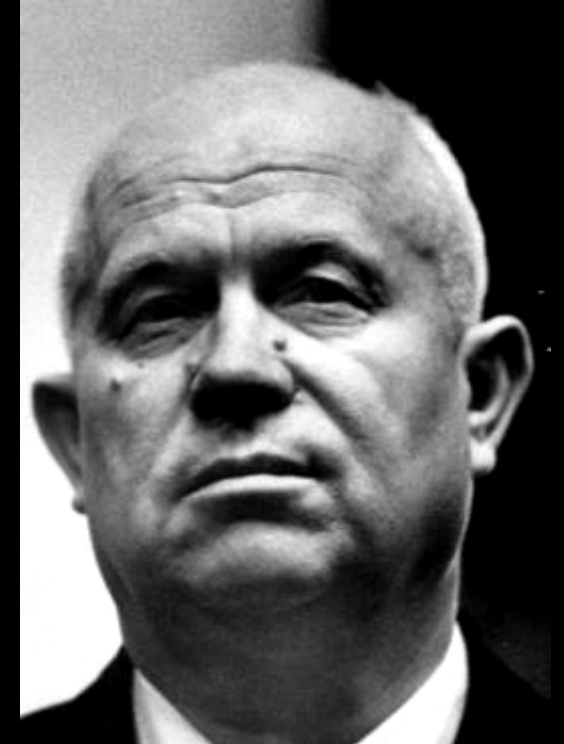




Kennedy



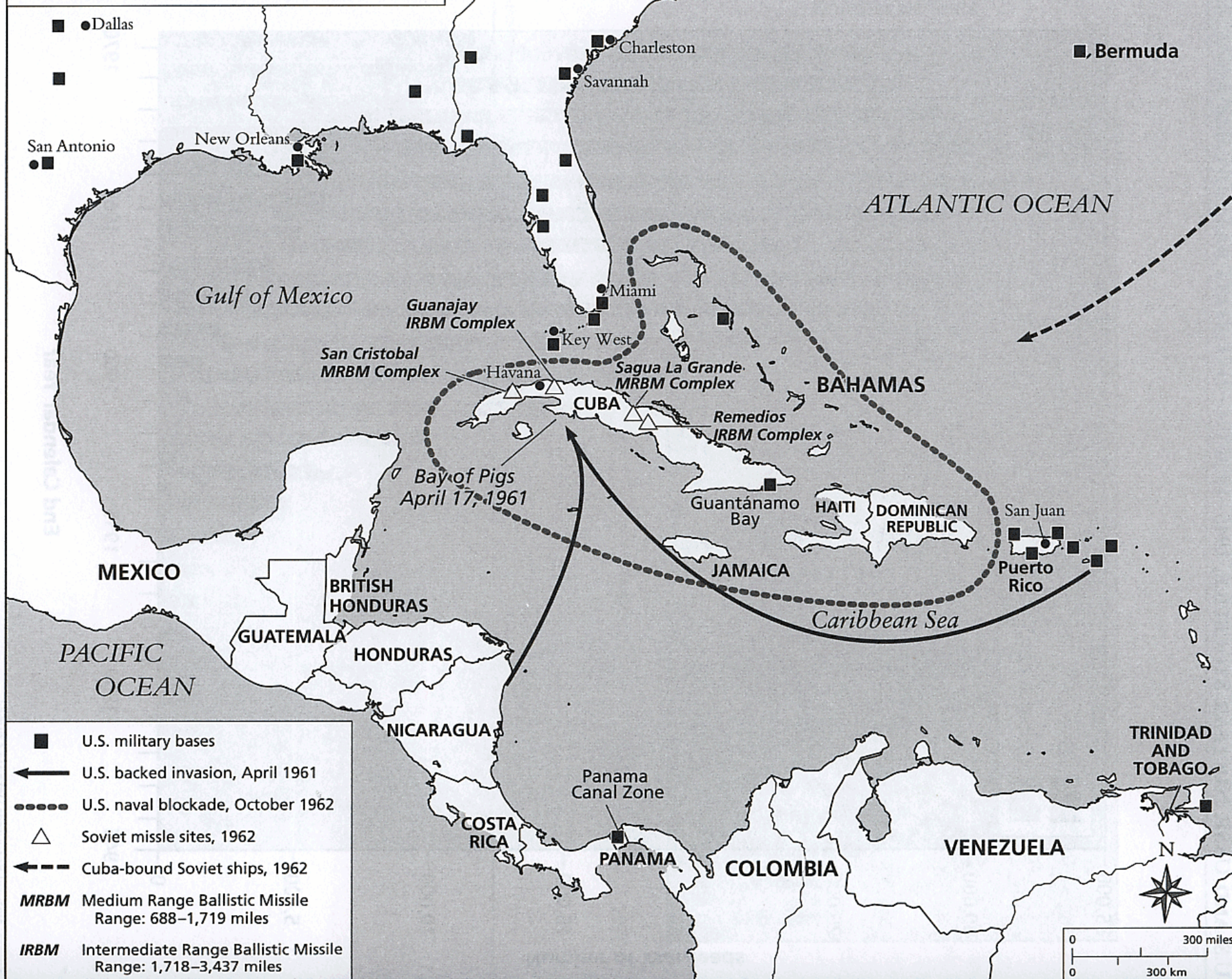
Thant



Khrushchev

Kennedy informs Thant – October 20

UNITED STATES AND CUBA, 1961-1962



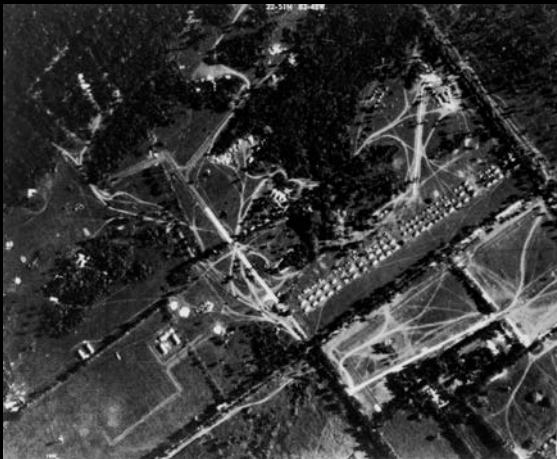


Soviet submarines forced to surface
(US not aware of nuclear-tipped torpedoes)
(October 27)



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

(October 26)



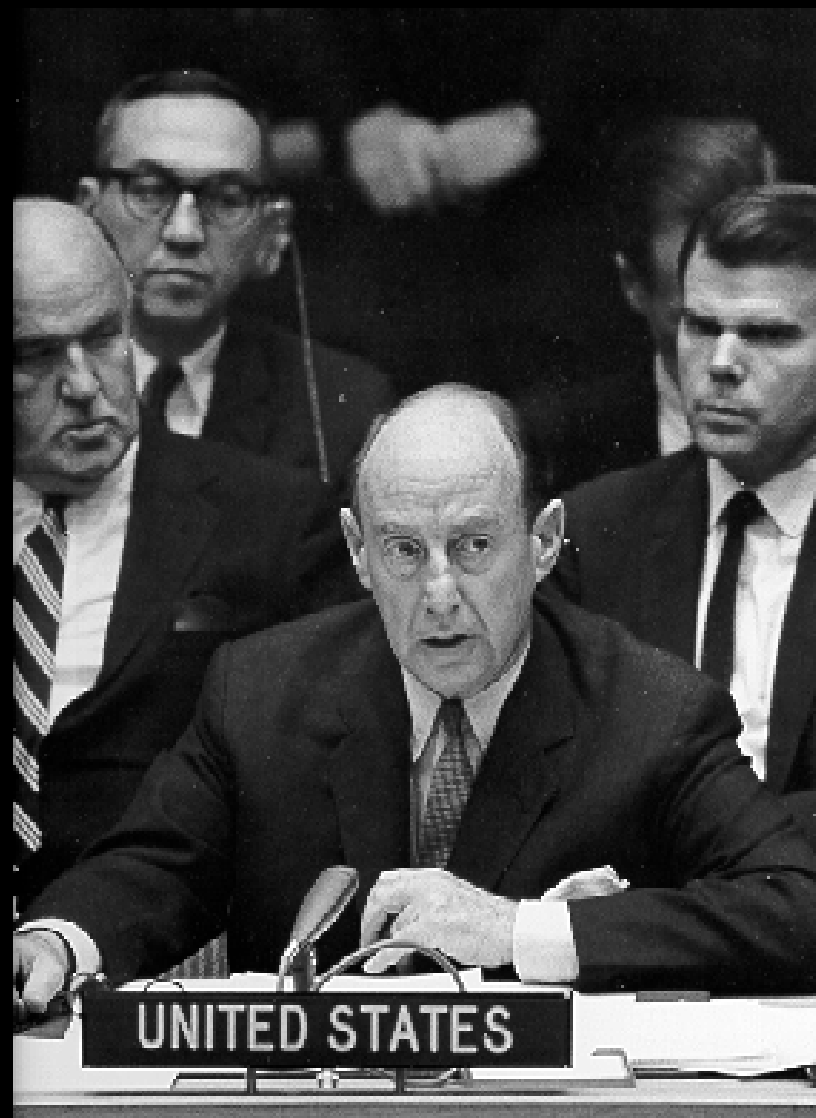
Soviet troop encampment (40,000+)



UN Security Council: Forum for Debate and World Opinion



Valerian Zorin



Adlai Stevenson



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

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.

LATE CITY EDITION

U. S. Weather Bureau Forecast: Fair, then cloudy today. Fair and cold tonight and tomorrow.
Temp. range: 50-60; yesterday: 50-60.

VOL. CXII, No. 38,260.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1962.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1962.

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FIVE CENTS

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

INDIA SAID TO BAR KHRUSHCHEV PLEA FOR A CEASE-FIRE

Nehru Bids Russian Leader
Urge Chinese to Refine
to September Position

Special to The New York Times
NEW DELHI, Thursday, Oct. 25.—Premier Khrushchev was reported today to have urged on Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru a cease-fire between India and Communist China, and talks on their border dispute. Mr. Nehru was said to have rejected the proposal.

Mr. Khrushchev's letter was received two days ago. Mr. Nehru replied immediately through Ambassador I. A. Bredikhin.

Mr. Nehru's reply is understood to have explained India's stand in the conflict and her determination to fight for the recovery of territory newly taken by the Chinese.

The Prime Minister said India would be willing to talk with China once the Chinese returned to the position they held early in September. This was north of the McMahon line.

Students to March In Blockade Protest

By ALBERT C. WICKHAM
Special to The New York Times
CHICAGO, Oct. 24.—The Student Peace Union called on its 15,000 members today to march in Washington Saturday in a demonstration against the United States blockade of Cuba.

The organization, which has its headquarters here, plans to draw students "from the entire East Coast" for a march on the White House, the State Department and the Capitol. More than 1,000 students are expected to take part, the headquarters said.

"Sympathy demonstrations" are planned here, in Columbus, Ohio; Cleveland; Austin, Tex.; Houston; Seattle, Wash.; Berkeley, Calif.; and Miami, and in Hawaii.

Gail Partridge, the national secretary, described the group as an anti-Communist "bird

Continued on Page 24, Column 4

CABINET ORDERED TO QUIT CAMPAIGN

White House Bars Political

U.N. SENDS NOTES

Talks Proposed While
Both Shipments and
Blockade Cease

Excerpts from U.N. debate
appear on Page 25.

By THOMAS A. HAMILTON
Special to The New York Times
UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Oct. 24.—U. N. Secretary General, addressed "urgent" appeals tonight to President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev to agree to a two-week or three-week "suspension" of their actions on Cuba.

On the one hand he urged the President to halt off the American blockade of Cuba. On the other hand, he called on the Soviet Premier to suspend the shipment of Soviet missiles to Cuba.

A reliable source said Mr. Kennedy planned to send a polite rejection to Mr. Thant, thanking him for his efforts.

Mr. Thant also sent a message to Cuba, urging Havana to try to assist in the "impasse."

Negotiations sought
is the identical message to

PREMIER WRITES

Letter to Russell Calls
for Parley to Avert
a Nuclear Clash

Text of Khrushchev letter
to Russell is on Page 25.

By SEYMOUR TOWRING
Special to The New York Times
MOSCOW, Oct. 24.—Premier Khrushchev suggested today a summit meeting to avert the danger of a nuclear war with the United States over the Cuban question.

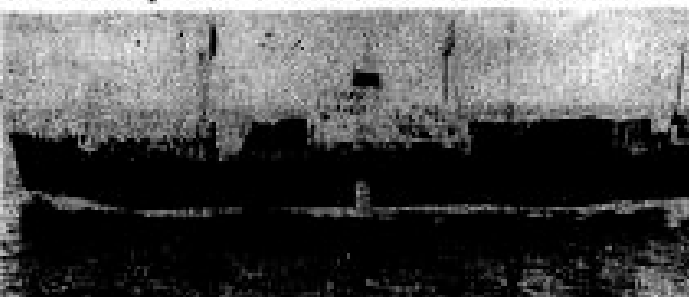
He urged the United States not to carry out its naval quarantine of Cuba and promised that the Soviet Union "will not take any reckless decisions."

Mr. Khrushchev made his declaration in a letter to Bertrand Russell, the British philosopher and pacifist leader. Lord Russell had written to the Soviet Premier, President Kennedy and other statesmen expressing concern over the Cuban crisis.

Moscow broadcast Mr. Khrushchev's reply to Lord Russell just five hours after the United States naval quarantine went into effect.

Propaganda Overtones

Soviet Ships Bound for Cuba Shown in U. S. Photos



BLOCKADE STARTS

Moscow Is Believed
to Be Undecided
on Next Step

By MAX FRANKEL
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Oct. 24.—The Defense Department said today that some of the Soviet ships heading for Cuba had apparently altered course and avoided immediate contact with United States ships blockading the island.

Other Communist bloc vessels, however, were still proceeding on course for Cuba, the department added.

There was speculation here that the Russians were holding back vessels carrying military goods and resuming to make their first approach to the blockade line with a ship carrying wheat or other innocent cargo. Administration sources refused to comment on this.

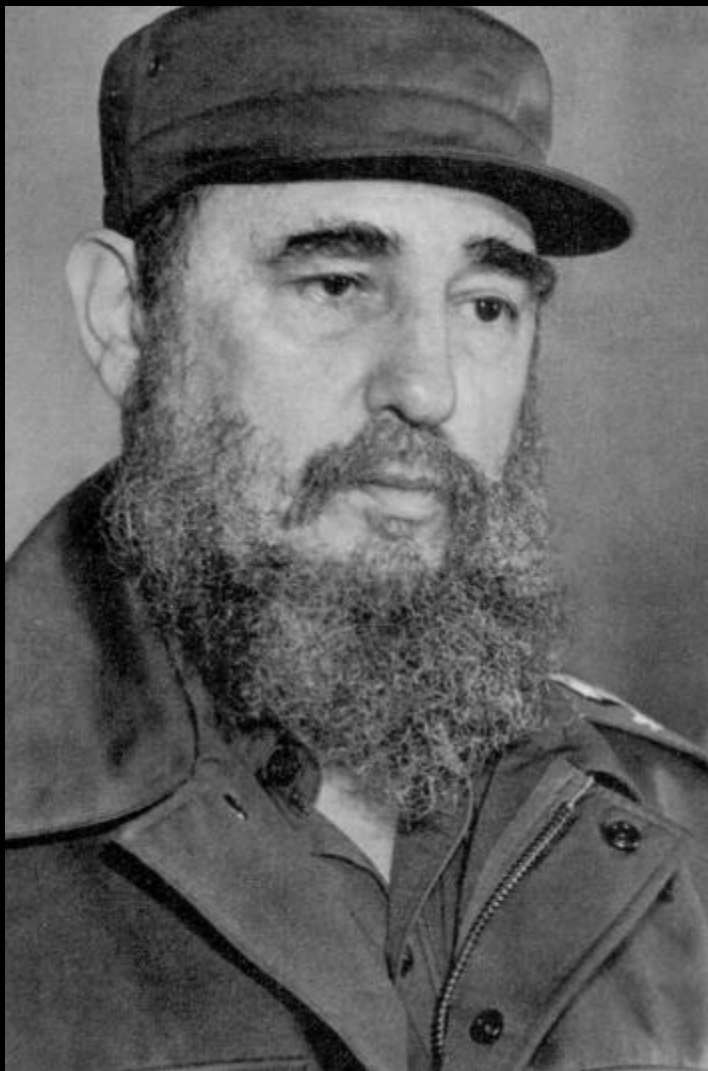
The reported diversion of some ships and an unofficial suggestion by Premier Khrushchev for a meeting with President Kennedy, were taken here as signs that Moscow was still weighing its next step.

Kennedy 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 launch 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 law 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 fraternal with us, as well as our profound 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 concern that Soviet ships might be under instructions to challenge the quarantine and consequently create a confrontation at sea between Soviet ships and Western Hemisphere ships which could lead to an escalation of violence. 25 Oct '62 10.30a

II. An expression of concern that such a confrontation would destroy the possibility 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

✓
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 following 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 ordered the
masters of Soviet
vessels ... to stay out
of the interception
area, as you
recommend.”

— October 26

62-23630
ak

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 avert military conflict.

Indeed, if any conflict should arise on the approaches to Cuba - 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 put 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 warships' 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 temporary 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 Nations - 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, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

N. KHRUSHCHEV

26 October 1962

His Excellency U Thant
Acting Secretary-General
United Nations
New York

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times.

LATE CITY EDITION

U. S. Weather Bureau Report: (Page 43) forecasts
Some clouds, windy and mild today;
bright, some clouds, cold tomorrow;
Temp. range: 44-54; yesterday: 45-58.

VOL. CXII, No. 38,261

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1962

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Advance rates subject to change without notice.

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

By MAX FRANKEL

Special to The New York Times

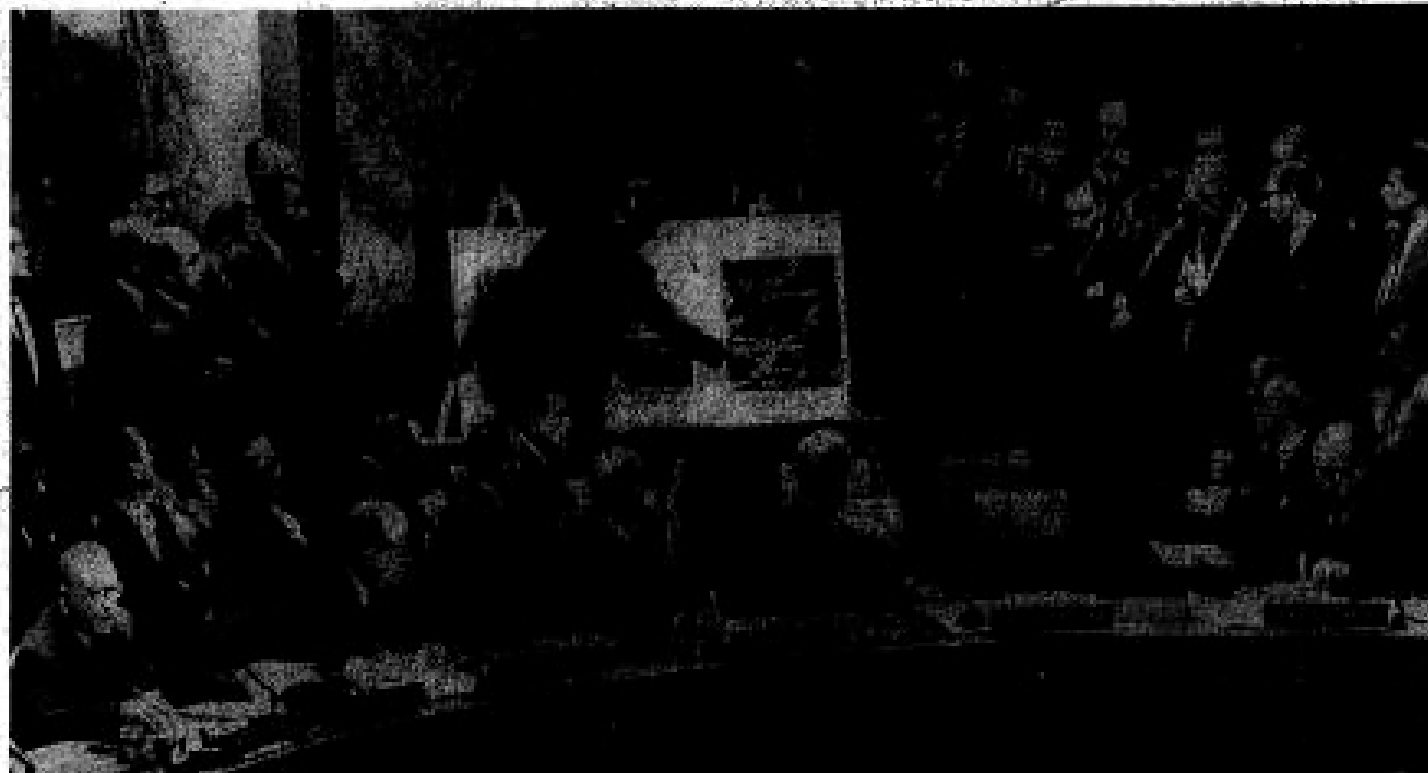
WASHINGTON, Oct. 26.—The United States held firm today to its demand that the Soviet missile threat to Cuba be dispelled before there is any scope for East-West negotiations.

A White House official said it was "self-evident" that as long as Soviet ships continued to sail toward Cuba with unknown cargoes, the blockade by United States naval forces would continue. Other sources said that the East-West challenges set in motion by the blockade could not end until all offensive weapons in Cuba were under international supervision.

White House and intelligence sources agreed today that work on the Soviet blocs in Cuba was continuing. For that reason alone, it was said, the idea of easing the pressure on Cuba at this time was unthinkable.

Further Contacts Expected

The apparently successful passage of one Soviet tanker through the blockade this morning, again, was interpreted as the



STEVENSON SHOWS PHOTOS OF CUBAN BASES: Adlai E. Stevenson, at right, at Security Council table, describes aerial photos of Cuban missile bases as Col. David Faircliff indicates items in one of photos. At table, from left: Valerian A. Zorin of Soviet

Union; Torgony Kiselev, U.N. Under Secretary; Mahmoud Elad of the United Arab Republic, and Sir Patrick Dean of Britain. Mr. Stevenson, chief U.S. delegate, and Mr. Zorin, President of the Council this month, clashed over U.S. charges against the Soviet Union.

U. N. GETS REPLIES

Secretary General to
Start 3 Separate
Parleys Today

U.S. and Soviet statements;
debate excerpts, Page 18.

By THOMAS A. HAMILTON
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Oct. 26.—President Kennedy agreed today to talks between the United States and U Thant, Acting Secretary General, on whether arrangements can be made for negotiations in the Cuban crisis. The blockade of Cuba will continue.

Previously, Khrushchev accepted Mr. Thant's proposal, under which the United States would suspend its blockade for two or three weeks, while the Soviet Union stopped shipping missiles to Cuba.

A spokesman for Mr. Thant said preliminary talks would start tomorrow morning. Mr. Thant, for "the time being," will meet separately with representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union and Cuba.

Answer Sent to U. N.
The President's answer to Mr.

Navy Does Not Board Ship: PENTAGON ISSUES POPE RIDS RULERS Stevenson Dares Russian

1000



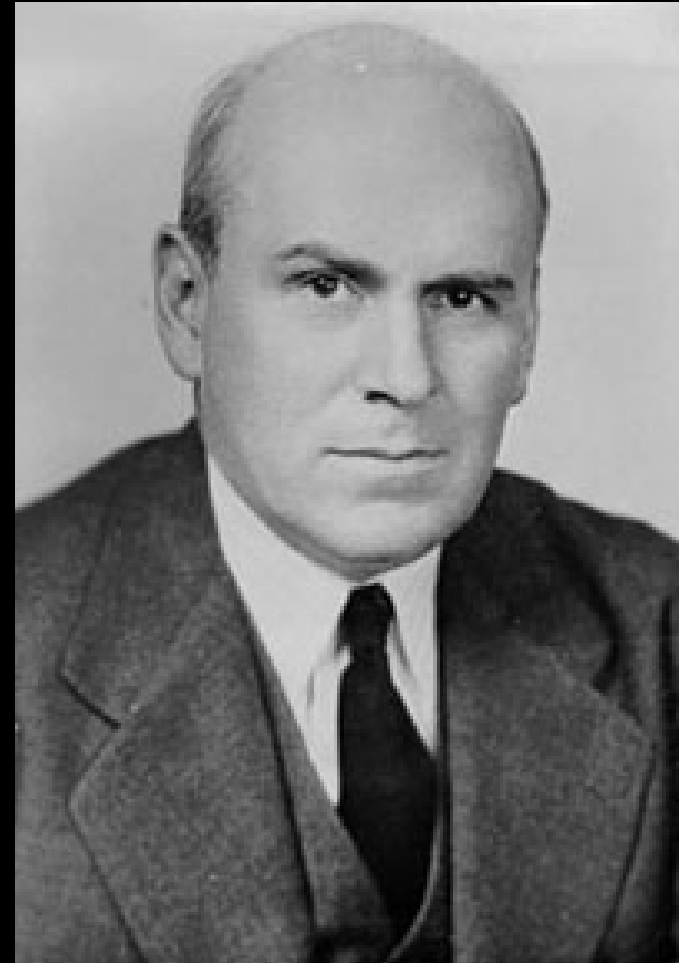
Thant with Zorin (and translator)

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

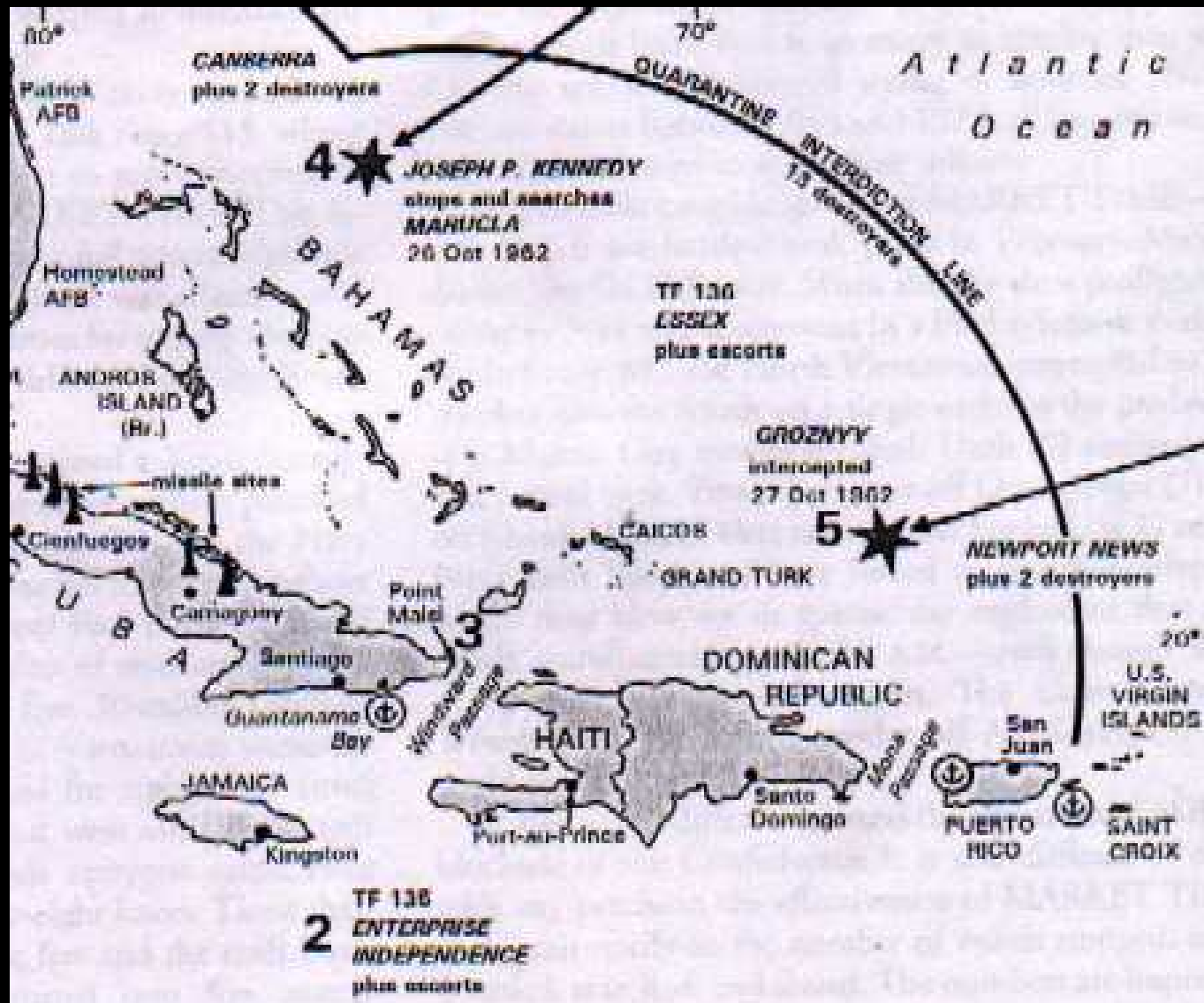


Kennedy & Rusk refer frequently to Thant's initiatives
as reason not to take more offensive measures



October 27 (Black Saturday)

SAC Alert to Defcon 2 (next to war)



US forces Soviet submarine to surface



Soviet submarine armed with nuclear torpedo
Second-in-command Vasili Arkhipov
refused to launch torpedo



(October 27)

A NAVY HELICOPTER HOVERS OVER RUSSIAN SUBMARINE.



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

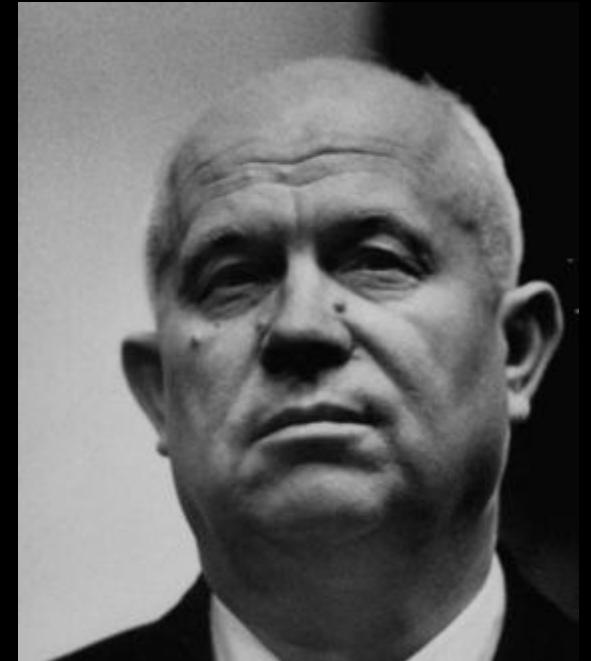
Secret talks with Soviet
ambassador Anatoly
Dobrynin

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

– October 28

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times.

LATE CITY EDITION

U. S. Weather: Breezy, cool (71° tonight).
Chance of rain, then cloudy today.
Tonight. Chance of rain tomorrow.
Temp. tonight: 58-65; yesterday: 62-68.

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Published by The New York Times Company

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12 weeks (except Sundays) are free for the first 10¢
except on Long Island. Higher in the delivery zone.

FIVE CENTS

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; ABSTENTION HIGH

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

By ROBERT C. EBY

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Monday, Oct. 29—President de Gaulle won his referendum battle in nationwide balloting yesterday, but he suffered substantial losses of support in comparison with previous tests.

On the basis of complete unofficial returns early this morning, 61.7% per cent of the valid ballots cast were in favor of the President's proposal to elect his eventual successor by popular vote instead of by the limited college of 60,000 "notables" specified in the present Constitution.

But, with abstentions running at about 24 per cent of the electorate, General de Gaulle had only a minority—about 40 per cent—of the registered voters backing him.

Tally at Voting



Associated Press Wirephoto

DE GAULLE VOTES IN REFERENDUM: President de Gaulle casting ballot in Colombey-les-deux-Églises.

Castro Asks Guantanamo; Strives to Repair Prestige

THANT SETS VISIT

He Will Go to Havana
Tomorrow to Seek
Castro Consent

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

Oct. 28—U Thant, the acting Secretary General, will fly to Cuba Tuesday with his top assistants to discuss arrangements for a United Nations check on the dismantling of Soviet missiles and the halting of the building of bases.

Mr. Thant plans to stay in Cuba only long enough to obtain Premier Fidel Castro's acceptance of the Thant plan to send observer teams to inspect and he says Premier Khrushchev's agreement to dismantle the missiles is coupled with

According to reliable sources, even the Acting Secretary General makes these arrangements he will return to obtain authorization from the Security Council for the inspection program.

Mohammad Rid of the United

RUSSIAN ACCEDES

Tells President Work
on Bases Is Halted
—Invites Talks

By SEYMOUR HOPPING

Special to The New York Times

BRUSSELS, Oct. 28—Premier

Khrushchev agreed today to end the construction of Soviet bases in Cuba and to dismantle Soviet rockets there, both under United Nations supervision.

In a message to President Kennedy, the Soviet leader said that he already had issued instructions for this and for destroying and returning the rockets to the Soviet Union.

This was said to have been done in return for the commitments offered in a letter sent to Mr. Khrushchev yesterday by President Kennedy. The latter requested the United States readiness to lift the naval quarantine of Cuba and join with other nations of the West.

Offer of Talks Withdrawn



United Press International Wirephoto

PRESIDENT ATTENDS MASS: Mr. Kennedy at St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Church in Washington yesterday before receiving Premier Khrushchev's message.

Plane Veers Over Soviet, Kennedy Voices Regrets

CAPITAL HOPEFUL

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

Texts of the Kennedy statement
and message are on Page 15.

By E. M. McWHIRTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 28—

President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev reached apparent agreement today on a formula to end the crisis over Cuba and to begin talks on ending tensions in other areas.

Premier Khrushchev pledged the Soviet Union to stop work on its missile sites in Cuba, to dismantle the weapons and to crate them and take them home. All this would be done under verification of United Nations representatives.

President Kennedy, for his part, pledged the lifting of the Cuban arms blockade when the United Nations had taken the "necessary measures," and that the United States would not invade Cuba.

U. S. Conditions Met
Essentially the formula



(November 20)

Shuttle diplomacy

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

Thant moves between delegations



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

UNIVERSAL-INTERNATIONAL NEWS

CRISIS EASES

Wary U.S. Awaits
Missile Removal

VOICE: ED HERLIHY

"Crisis Eases – Wary U.S. Awaits Missile Removal"

Universal Studios, 29 October 1962

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times.

LATE CITY EDITION

U. S. Weather Bureau Report (Page 76) Forecast:
Cloudy, chance of rain late today
and tonight. Clear, cool tomorrow.
Temp. range: 54-56; yesterday: 58-62.

VOL. CXII..No. 38,265.

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Times Square, New York 20, N. Y.

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1962.

10 cents beyond 10-mile zone from New York City
except on Long Island. Higher in Mr. delivery cities.

FIVE CENTS

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

2,000 MEN LOST 5,000 Square Miles
Taken From India

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 feared that such an appeal might compromise her policy of nonalignment.

Appeal Has Ramifications

Mr. Nehru is not expected to abandon his policy of refusing alliance with blocs of the East or West. But the fact that in her hour of danger from Com-

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 miles of disputed territory in 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 the Indian troops, despite good training, were not conditioned to the mountain terrain of the northern frontier regions. These shortcomings, in turn, were said to be in-

Continued on Page 2, Column 3

GILBERT RETURNS TO FACE CHARGES

Financier Flies Back From
Brazil and Appears in 2

EISENHOWER SAYS 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 act 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 the joint Congressional resolution under which the President was able to act in this latest crisis, forcefully and with the certainty of Congressional approval of his act."

Recalling his own Administration, he declared: "The present military readiness of the nation would not exist were it not for the work of those eight years."

Gave Pledge to Kremlin

As a result, he said: "The Commander in Chief, sure of our ready military strength, proclaimed our determination to protect the nation's security against the immediate threat to it. Thereafter, the man in the Kremlin seemed to have some second thoughts."

Addressing about 6,000 spectators and 1,600 diners at a \$100-a-plate dinner, General Eisenhower gave his "enthusiastic endorsement" to Governor

THANT'S CUBA TALKS 'FRUITFUL'; HE WILL FLY TO HAVANA TODAY; BLOCKADE HALTED DURING TRIP

AIR CHECK GOES ON

Missile Sites Watched
Despite Suspension
of Quarantine

By TAD SZULC
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29—The United States will lift its blockade of Cuba for two days, beginning tomorrow morning, the White House announced tonight.

The announcement said that "the enforcement of the quarantine has been voluntarily suspended" in response to a request by U. Thant, Acting Secretary General of the United Nations, who is flying to Havana tomorrow for two days of talks.

This gesture toward Mr. Thant emphasized the easing of tensions in the eight-day Cuban crisis. The United States kept up its air and naval surveillance of the island and maintained a cautious diplomatic posture.

Blockade Halts At 6 A.M.

A Defense Department spokesman said that the quarantine, imposed last Wednesday to prevent the buildup of Soviet missile bases in Cuba, would be lifted at daylight tomorrow, or about 6 A.M., Eastern standard



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. Indarjit 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. Y., Oct. 29—U. Thant, the Acting Secretary General, conferred today with the Soviet and United States envoys dealing with the Cuban 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 morning.

A United Nations spokesman said later that this discussion and a subsequent meeting between the Acting Secretary General and Adlai E. Stevenson of the United States were both "fruitful."

Premier Sends Greetings
Reliable sources said that Mr.

EUROPEANS HAIL

Air Attack on Cuban Bases

WARRIOR TO HURT

Was Seriously Considered

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 Dorticos^{or}, Premier Fidel Castro and Foreign Minister Roa. On my side I attended the meeting ~~alone~~ *without a*
side.

tes 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 ~~sights~~ 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 soil without the knowledge and consent of the Cuban Government, there was no alternative for him than to denounce the Soviet Government publicly.



October 31

Returning to NY





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WATCH THE CANADA LIFE BEACON
A Few Showers
Toronto High 45
Details on Page 2
FOR OFFICIAL WEATHER CHANGES

Kingston, Strathroy Battle Mobs of Teen-Agers

An angry mob that stormed the police station in Kingston, armed gunmen wearing gas masks in Ottawa, and rampaging teen-agers in Strathroy marked Halloween outbreaks in Ontario last night.

And shortly after the announcement of the resumed U.S. quarantine of Cuba, the air raid siren sounded in Strathroy, bringing a flood of telephone calls to the police station from worried house-holders. The siren had been set off by pranksters.

Police in Kingston fired a tear-gas pellet to disperse a rock-throwing mob of about 300 persons that marched to the police station after the arrest of a soldier for causing a disturbance.

Police arrested nine more persons, six of them soldiers. One was charged with carrying an offensive weapon.

The police stationed themselves in the main entrance of the police headquarters armed with a fire hose while the tear gas pellet was fired from a second-floor window.

The mob dispersed almost immediately. Five windows in the police station were broken. The demonstration lasted for about 20 minutes.

The original incident occurred on Princess St. in the downtown business section, when a group of teen-agers, boys and girls, became involved in a fight with soldiers in front of a restaurant.

Crowds estimated at up to 400 gathered outside the restaurant and police called for assistance from the Provost Corps at Vimy Barracks.

A second fight broke out in front of a nearby hotel and a soldier was arrested. The jeering crowd followed the police cruiser six blocks to the police station. They ripped ornaments off cars as they went. One motorcycle policeman's helmet was smashed by a rock.

In Ottawa, three armed men wearing Second World War surplus gas respirators and coveralls escaped with \$1,500 when they held up the Holy Family Chinese Restaurant in the east end of the city. The two employees in the office first mistook them for Halloween pranksters.

Strathroy, which has been plagued by outbreaks of hoodlums for the past two Halloween weekends watched teen-agers stage the worst spectacle yet.

More than 200 teen-agers lined the main street for more than three hours in a drive called "KAMICOOP, B.C." by ICP—Police officers and juveniles were pelted with eggs and fireworks by a tumbling mob of about 1,500 in a Halloween movie in this central B.C. city tonight.

Reinforcements of police until five youths were arrested. The five were held for an hour at the police station and then allowed to go home.

CUBA QUARANTINE FEWIMPOSED; MISSILES DOWN BY FRIDAY: UN



Demoted from post of Indian defense minister, V. K. Krishna Menon talks with British High Commissioner Sir Paul Gore-Booth at a state dinner last night.

Pressure Ousts Menon; Nehru in Defense Post

From The Times of London Service and Reuters News Agency

New Delhi, Oct. 31—Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru has given way before insistent political and public demand and accepted V. K. Krishna Menon's resignation of the defense ministry. The Prime Minister is taking over the portfolio himself. Mr. Menon remains in cabinet as minister of defense production.

The decision was taken at a cabinet meeting here tonight in which Mr. Menon's opponents marshalled against a reportedly still-rebucant Prime Minister all the arguments deriving from the southern frontiers.

With the support of artillery fire, marked the second day in which Indian forces have taken the offensive.

On the first day of the offensive Indian forces were reported to have launched attacks near

Tawang and on Chinese strongholds near the village of Wang about 15 miles from the Chinese border.

Asked about reports the Chinese were shooting Indian prisoners, the spokesman said he would like to check before giving any information.

He also declined to say

whether an Indian military mission had gone to Egypt to buy arms. "We are approaching all friendly countries from whom we can get arms," he said.

The spokesman said Russia is continuing to send military equipment to India despite the fighting with China. He said the equipment was ordered before the fighting erupted earlier this month and was being delivered on schedule.

But he declined to say if Russia would supply India with MIG fighter planes. India is known to have negotiated with Russia for the planes but no official basis are in dispute.

U Thant went to the UN headquarters building from the airport for late night talks with U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson and Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Vasily Kuznetsov.

Fail to Get Supervision Agreement

By STANLEY WESTALL
Globe and Mail Reporter

Ottawa, Oct. 31—Acting Secretary-General U Thant said tonight he has been reliably informed that the dismantling of Soviet missiles and missile installations in Cuba is already in progress and that the process should be completed by Friday.

He made the statement tonight at 8:48 after stepping from the aircraft which brought him and his entire party back to New York after two days of talks in Havana.

He said that immediately after completion of the dismantling, the missiles would be shipped and returned to the Soviet Union, "arrangements for which are understood to be in hand."

U Thant added that the body of Major Rudolph Anderson Jr., a U.S. reconnaissance pilot shot down over Cuba on a photographic mission, will be returned to the United States.

In Moscow, Premier Nikita Khrushchev instructed First Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan to fly to Cuba.

"Western diplomats believe Mr. Mikoyan will confer with Premier Fidel Castro on the terms the Cuban leader is demanding as the price of his accession to the understanding reached by President John F. Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev."

Havana, a Soviet Government newspaper, indicated that Moscow is hardening its position in sympathy with the Cuban demands.

U Thant said his discussions had been fruitful and that there was agreement that the UN should continue to participate in the peaceful settlement of the problem, but UN sources said tonight that the absence of a UN official in Cuba at this crucial time will mean that the United States will be unable to relax its surveillance methods to verify the assurance that the contraband bases are in dispute.

U Thant went to the UN headquarters building from the airport for late night talks with U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson and Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Vasily Kuznetsov.

U Thant went to the UN headquarters building from the airport for late night talks with U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson and Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Vasily Kuznetsov.

All Found Faulty

Seat Belts Fail to Pass Tests

Vancouver, Oct. 31 (CP)—An expert said today that no automobile seat belts manufactured in Canada up to a few weeks ago met safety tests.

"We tested all the Canadian belts, and, frankly, we found something wrong with all of them," said Desmond Dymond, managing engineer for the certification department of the Canadian Standards Association.

Here on a tour of CSA offices, Mr. Dymond said in an

interview that at least three manufacturers have brought their belts up to standard. He said 18 Canadian companies asked the CSA to test their belts. Tests were conducted in the association's Toronto office for two months.

Faults discovered by engineers include: A belt supposed to be safe at up to 6,000 pounds of stress ripped apart at 3,700 pounds; a buckle re-plated into shrapnel under similar stress; some buckle pins or springs were excessively under stress; webbing snapped; floor hardware bolts

popped out of 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 webbing," he said.

He said the CSA has not tested any U.S.-manufactured belts. He could not say whether they were up to Canadian standards.

The CSA is a non-profit organization that tests materials and equipment for industry.

Gallery Director Alerted To Paintings, House Told

By ROBIN GREEN
Globe and Mail Reporter

Ottawa, Oct. 31—The National Gallery's director, Dr. Charles P. Comfort, was warned ahead of time there was doubt as to the authenticity of some of the paintings contained in the Walter P. Chrysler collection now showing at the gallery, the Commons was told today.

Confirmation of the warning came in a series of answers tabled in the House today, the answers were given in reply to questions asked by Judy LaMarsh (L. Niagara Falls).

At the same time, the House was told the assistant gallery director, Dr. W. S. A. Dale, had expressed doubt about some of the works prior to the exhibition's opening late in September.

Dr. Comfort has denied he was warned some of the 147 paintings in the collection were reputed to be either fakes or of dubious origin.

"Most emphatically not," he said shortly after the opening of the exhibition. "Nothing of this nature has ever been brought to my attention."

The answer tabled in the House today substantiates an allegation that has appeared repeatedly in the New York press—that Dr. Comfort was given ample warning by the director of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Dr. Evan H. Turner, of the doubtful origins of a few of the paintings.

Dr. Comfort received a telephone call at his residence from Dr. Evan H. Turner of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts on the evening of Aug. 22, 1962, read the answer, "during which it was intimated there might be doubt about the authenticity of some of the paintings of the controversial Century exhibition."

Dr. Turner was said to have learned of the questionable authenticity of the paintings from Ralph Collins, legal counsel to the Association of American Art Dealers, a society formed this year in New York to uphold ethical standards in the art market.

Dr. Comfort told The Globe and Mail today that as long as the matter is under discussion in the House, he would issue no statement.

The gallery director quickly quashed rumors that he may resign in the face of the controversy.

"Not a bit of it," he said. "No, definitely not."

An article in Life Magazine yesterday stated that no fewer than half the paintings in the collection are deliberate fakes or of doubtful origin.

When the exhibition opened, Dr. Comfort aided with Mr. Chrysler and stated firmly he believed the paintings under question were genuine.

"We believe," he told reporters, "and still believe the pictures are genuine."

Mr. Stewart said that at least 31 markets, of about 150 in the

"I feel that the fluid milk producers generally recognize the great dangers of the current dairy situation and are questioning the wisdom of a price increase at this time," he said.

Mr. Stewart said that at least 31 markets, of about 150 in the

When the exhibition opened, Dr. Comfort aided with Mr. Chrysler and stated firmly he believed the paintings under question were genuine.

"We believe," he told reporters, "and still believe the pictures are genuine."

Surveillance By Aircraft Begins Again

By GEORGE BAIN
Globe and Mail Correspondent

Washington, Oct. 31—The United States will resume its naval arms blockade and air reconnaissance of Cuba at dawn tomorrow.

This was announced tonight by Pierre Salinger, President John F. Kennedy's press secretary, after the President had met for half an hour with the executive committee of the National Security Council which he created at the time the Cuba crisis began.

It is difficult to say what significance is to be attached to the blockade, which began a week ago, was suspended for two days while Acting UN Secretary-General U Thant was in Havana for talks with Premier Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders. U Thant returned to New York tonight.

However, Mr. Salinger indicated that the apparent failure of U Thant to obtain the cooperation of the Cuban Govern-

ment in the matter of providing inspection for the removal of Russian medium-range (1,200-mile) and intermediate-range (2,400-mile) missile facilities was a factor in the decision.

In any case, a curious situation is created. The blockade was not a general one and was instituted for the specific purpose for preventing offensive weapons and related materials from being shipped to Cuba by the Soviet Union.

All evidence indicates that Soviet troops or technicians on the island actually have been carrying out Premier Nikita Khrushchev's instruction to dismantle the missile facilities preparatory to their removal.

The resumed air reconnaissance will assure that this continues to be done but, barring a Soviet breach of faith, the sea blockade will no longer have a function to perform.

The President met the executive committee of the National Security Council at the White House between 6 and 6:30 p.m. The announcement was made two hours after the meeting ended. In the interval it is presumed that other governments

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TORONTO, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1962



Crew members roll back part of heavy canvas from missile-like object aboard Soviet freighter *Amosov*. U.S. destroyer *Barry* came alongside to inspect the ship in the Atlantic Ocean during the weekend.

Repeated Strike Katana Raid

Nehru Hopes MIG Plant To Be Built

New Delhi, Nov. 11—Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru today admitted that Russia 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 promise would be kept.

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

Mr. Nehru, addressing a rally estimated at 100,000 persons,

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

repudiated elements he said were taking advantage of the border war to attack India's policies of socialism and non-alignment.

"Today, there is a need for India's sticking to these policies more steadfastly than ever before," he said. "Giving up non-alignment today would only weaken us and injure our prestige."

Kennedy Calls 3 Chief Negotiators To Give Reports on Cuba Situation

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON
© New York Times Service

United Nations, Nov. 11—The three principal U.S. negotiators in the Cuban crisis will report to President John F. Kennedy at the White House tomorrow.

had any contacts with Soviet representatives today. Negotiations were suspended yesterday because Mr. Stevenson and Mr. McNamara were attending the funeral of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Meanwhile, in Washington, Representative Roswell L. Gilpatrick, the U.S. deputy secretary of defense, said today that U.S. authorities had counted 42 Soviet medium-range missiles on their way out of Cuba during the past few

Speaking on a television program, Mr. Gilpatrick left in abeyance the question of whether the United States will continue to insist on inspection of the Cuban missile sites by an international authority.



Verification measures agreed



US ships & planes to observe close up;
Missiles to be exposed



“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)

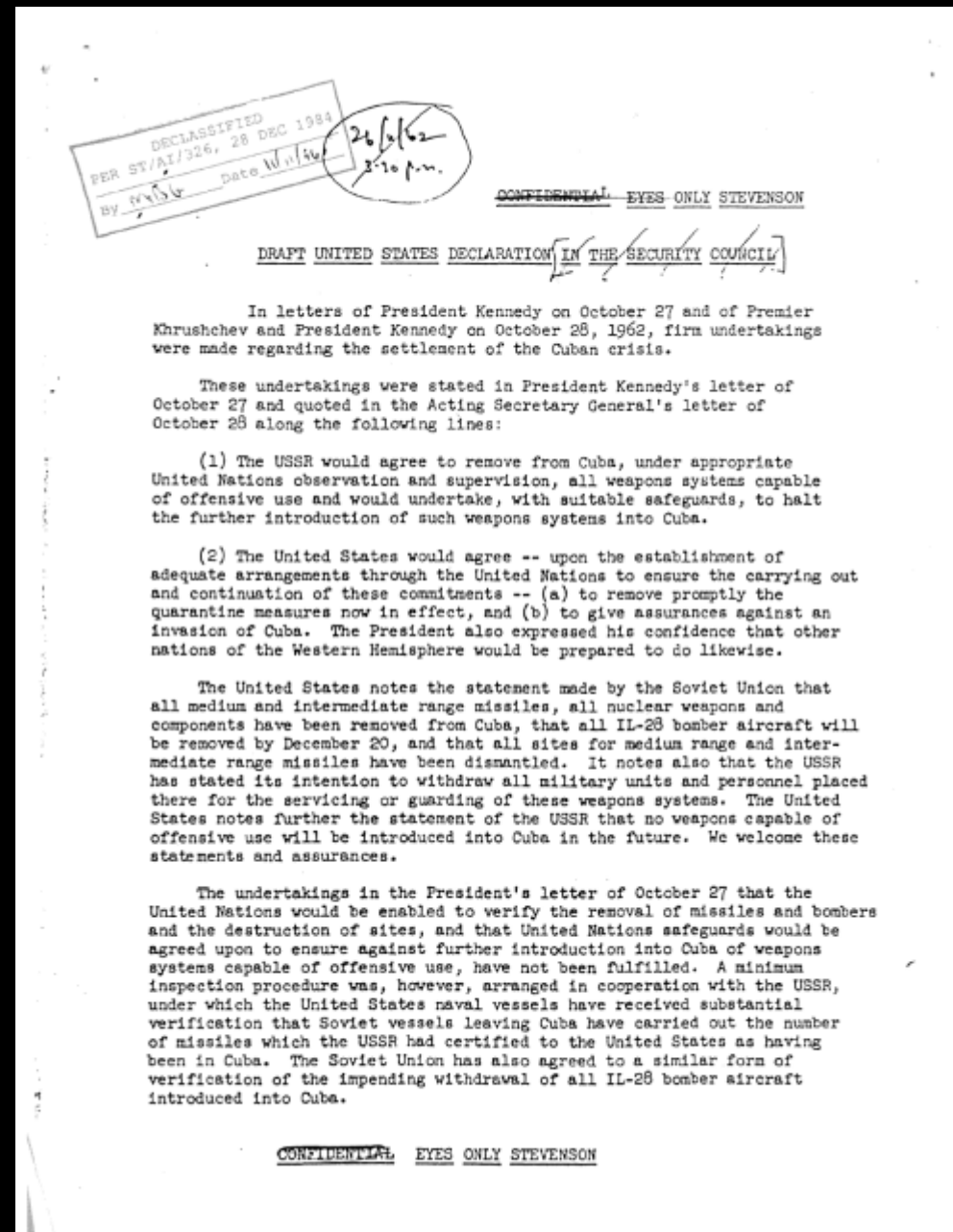


Soviet ship *Kasimov* with IL-28 bomber fuselages in crates

Draft Protocols

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

– November 26



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





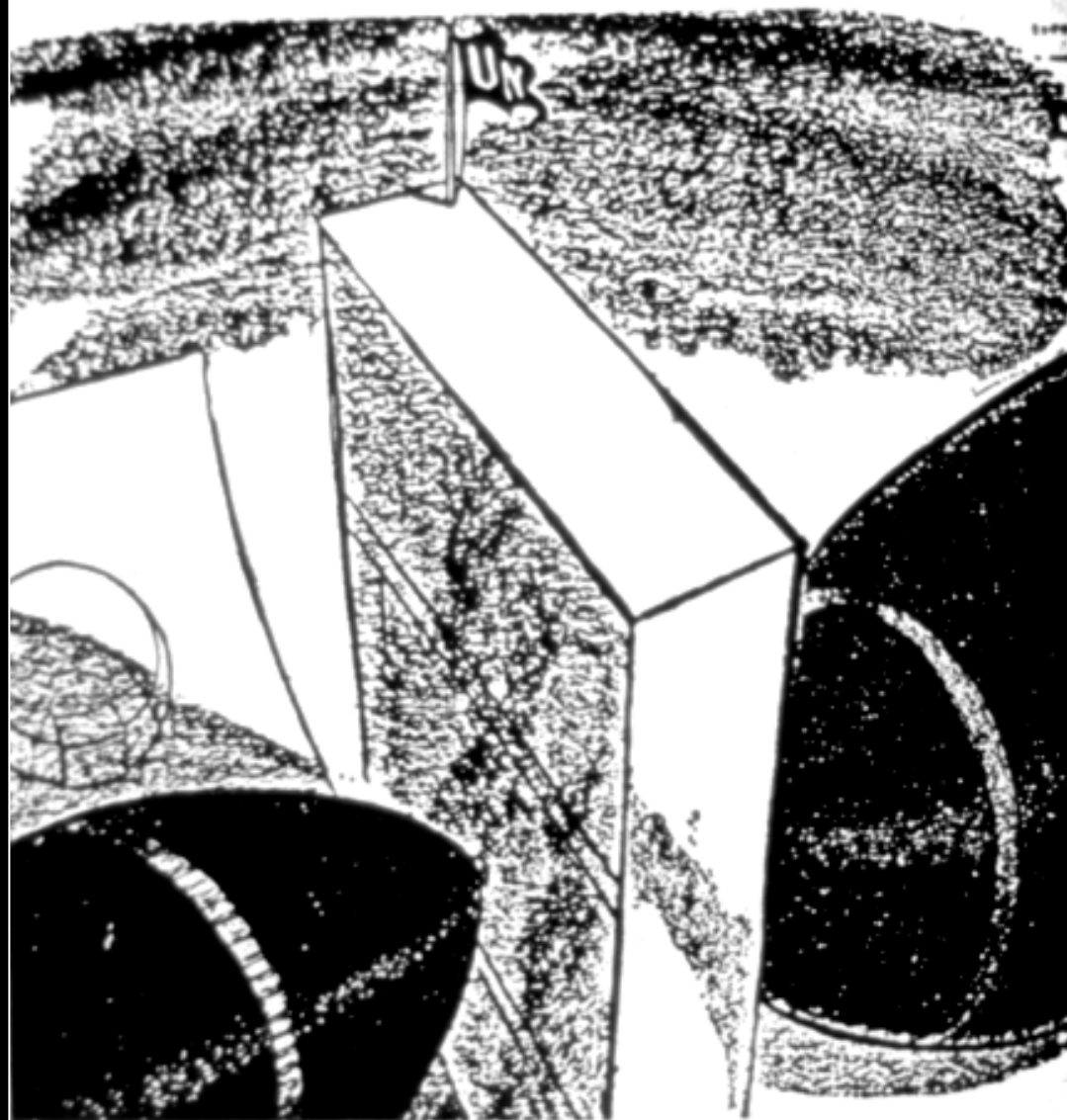
Stevenson:

“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

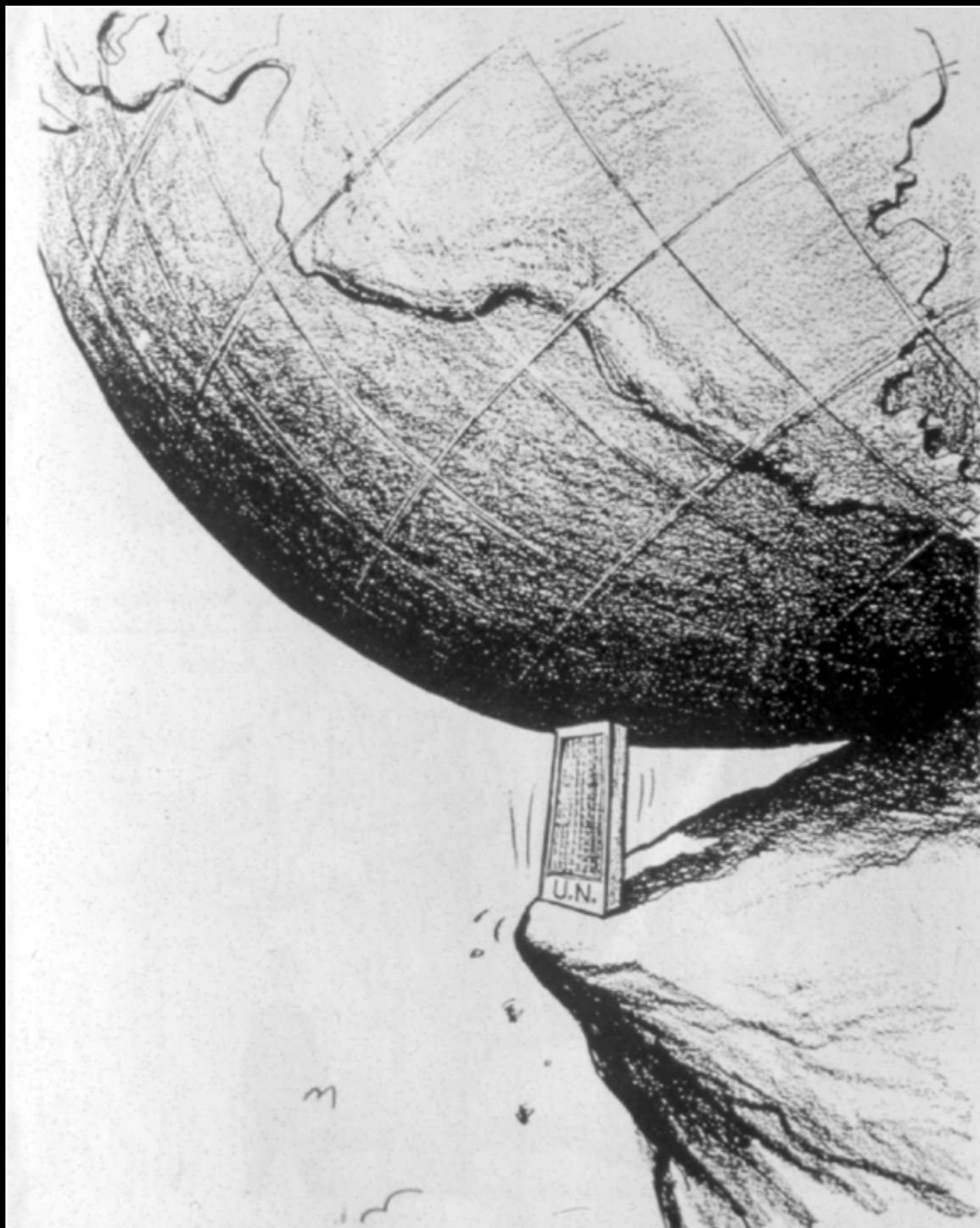
Joint US-Soviet letter from negotiating teams:

“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-Dispatch

FIREWALL



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









Acknowledgements

- UN Studies at Yale University – research grant
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- Indar Jit Rikhye (Military Advisor to U Thant) – interviews
- Eric Mullerbeck, Robert Pauk – Research assistants
- Bryan Eelhart – PPT development

Assistance much appreciated!

Additional materials

- Primary Sources used

See <http://walterdorn.org>

- Publications

[How a UN Secretary-General averted doomsday](#)

(*Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 2012, full piece; pdf);

[50 years ago: The Cuban Missile Crisis and its underappreciated hero](#)

(*Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 2012, [online](#) op-ed)

[Unsung Mediator: U Thant and the Cuban Missile Crisis \(html\)](#) ([pdf](#))

(*J. Diplomatic History*, 2009)