Minutes # 60^a of 22 October 1962

Present: Brezhnev, Kozlov, Kosygin, Mikoyan, Polyansky, Suslov, Khrushchev, Shvernik, Grishin, Demichev, Ilyichev, Ponomarev, Shelepin.

I^a. Regarding the defining of positions with regard to further steps concerning Cuba and Berlin.

Khrushchev, Malinovksky, Ivanov, Mikoyan^b, Kozlov, Brezhnev, Kosygin, Ponomarev, Suslov^b. Comrade Malinovksky. I don't think that the USA will be able to undertake any lightning-fast measures. They are not this sort of country (with regard to Cuba). Apparently, the speech over the radio is a trick making up a part of the election campaign. If an encroachment upon Cuba is declared, we will still have time to get prepared. I think that we are not in a position

Comrade Ivanov. Reports about the situation with regard to the delivery of munitions {equipment} to Cuba.

Comrade Khrushchev. I agree with Comrade Malinovsky's conclusions.

that requires putting our rockets on full alert.

Gromyko responded to Rask mostly from the moral point of view.

bThe matter is that we do not want to unleash a war, we only wanted to threaten them, to restrain the USA with regards to Cuba.

The difficulty is that we didn't concentrate everything that we had planned to and did not publish the agreement. The tragic aspect is that they might attack and we will repulse it. It might turn into a big war^b.

One variant: they will start acting against Cuba. One variant is to announce on the radio that there is already an agreement with regard to Cuba.

They might declare a blockade, or they might undertake nothing.

Another variant: in the case of aggression all the resources belong to Cuba and the Cubans declare that they will repulse {the attack}; and one more thing: in the meantime do not use strategic weapons, use tactical weapons.

Instruct Pliyev to embattle the troops.

At first avoid using the atomic [weapons] by any possible means.

In the case of a landing operation – tactical atomic weapons, as for the strategic weapons – not before the instruction is given (excluding the usage of Stetsenko's means).

The conclusion (is made):

an attack on Cuba is being organized.

a Written in pencil. b Red ink.	Comrade Malinovsky says: wait until 1 o'clock at night, otherwise they will be given a cause to use the atomic weapon.
Ia. Regarding the draft declaration of the USSR's government concerning Cuba. (Kuznetsov, Khrushchev, Mikoyan, Kosygin, Polyansky, Ilyichev, Grechko).	The USSR's gov[ernmen]t addresses the nations of the USSR – the providing of information. Working hard. Taking measures to avoid being taken by surprise. Accept.
I. Regarding the directives to Comrade Zorin. (Comrade Kuznetsov)	Appr[ove].
Draft resolution by the Security Council.	Appr[ove].
I ^a . Regarding F.Castro's information regarding our further steps with regard to the events in the region of Cuba.	We should say to our friends what course we taking. It was halfway successful, halfway not. A positive aspect – the whole world is absorbed with Cuba. Now. It is not essential for Cuba, but it is essential for the USA. Some time will pass and, if necessary, it will be possible to send {what?} again.
I ^a . Regarding the letter to Kennedy.	Regardless of the weapons' class, it has been delivered. It has been delivered for the purpose of defence against aggression. The ships that are taking a course to the Mediterranean Sea should be returned to the Black Sea. Armament and forces should not be sent for the time being, return them. Submarines should be held in the approaches {of Cuba}.
	Regarding the measures of improving military preparedness. The Minister of Defence was given instructions in accordance with the gov[ernmen]t's decision.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs should inform Ambassadors representing the countries in the Warsaw Pact. Invite the Commander of the Warsaw Pact, representatives. Exchange opinions. Regarding the agreement – should not be declared (a unanimous opinion). Give a command to have ships returned (the ships that did not arrive yet). (Every one says that this is correct). Draw up a declaration from the USSR's government – a protest. The USA is taking a course for the preparation and the unleashing of the third world war. America[n] imperialism has taken it upon itself to dictate its will to others, we protest against it. All countries have the right to defence and to enter into alliances. ^a Written in pencil. We warn the gov[ernmen]t- it takes a serious responsibility upon itself. The USSR also possesses armament, we are protesting against piratical action[s]^a. Demanding the rendering of an account from another government - it is lawlessness, unprecedented treachery. Directives to Zorin – in the same light. Nations of all countries should raise their voice. {Aimed} at the preserving the UN. The UN regulations are being violated. All points at issue – by means of negotiations. The glovernmen to of the USSR brings up the question to the attention of the Security Council. Let four boats go. Alexandrov should head for the nearest port. Send a telegram to Castro. We received Kennedy's letter. Brutal interference into Cuba's affairs. We should bring up the issue with regard to opposing the USA's treachery at the Security Council, and Cuba should join the Security Council. IV^b. Comrade Demichev's

information regarding the trip to

Regarding the Ambassador: we should rather have another

the GDR.	one, who we would be confident with. Approve. The information that is being provided is wrong. The response to Ulbricht regarding the planned reorganization of the economy management, regarding the Councils {Soviets?} – say that we do not share their ideas, we don't have any expectations with this regard.
F.Z. Op.16. D.947. L.36-41. From the end of page 36 – red ink.	The desired any emperations with this regard.