Humanity on the Brink: The Cuban Missile Crisis

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### Introduction

By 1960, the island of Cuba, only 90 nautical miles off of the southern coast of Florida<sup>1</sup>, had been through a revolution, led by the July 26th Movement, that had instituted communism as the official type of government and a unitary one-party state as the official type of political landscape. A third-world country, Cuba was not to be a threat to any major powers of the world in the mid-Twentieth Century. However, the existing foreign policy of the United States of massive retaliation, derived from the Domino Theory that if a state whose government lay in fragility fell to communism, other similarly circumstanced states in the region would follow, stated that it would be the responsibility of the United States' armed forces to prevent thirdworld nations from collapsing into communism. This massive retaliation, from President Eisenhower's Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, would require military action and a magnificent display of arms to squander any communist forces.

In March 1960, Cuban revolutionary Fidel Castro began to nationalize the oil refineries on the island (that had been controlled by the United States). President Eisenhower responded by giving the Central Intelligence Agency the authority to begin training Cuban political refugees, residing in southern Florida, to fight in a guerilla manner, as a resurgence of anti-communism in the island of Cuba. During the United States presidential election of 1960, Senator John F. Kennedy would denounce the weaknesses of the Eisenhower administration in their failure to prevent Cuba from falling to communism and to allow the Soviet Union to get ahead in the nuclear arms race (a statement that was false but never corrected by the incumbent president). These arguments contributed to the election of Senator Kennedy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Nyad, Diana. "Cuba: So Close You Could Almost Swim There." Huffington Post. Accessed December 14, 2017. https://www.huffingtonpost.com/diana-nyad/cuba-so-close-you-could-a\_b\_6571342.html.

Early into his term in 1961, President Kennedy was briefed on the C.I.A.'s existing plan to topple the communist Castro regime. However, the plan that President Kennedy was given was not the one that he wanted: a large scale invasion on a populated beach in Trinidad, Cuba. President Kennedy wanted the Cuban government, the United States population, and the rest of the world to think that this invasion was believably led by Cuban rebels<sup>2</sup>. Thus, President Kennedy demanded a different invasion plan of the C.I.A.'s design. On April 4, he would approve a plan on a less crowded beach with a more easily defendable cover-up that the United States was not involved. This plan would be known as Operation Zapata, or more commonly known as the Bay of Pigs. This incident would fail, and result in the capture or deaths of every member of Brigade 2506. The success of this invasion relied upon the indigenous Cuban people rising up in support of the invading anti-Castro Cubans. This, as well as a perceived air support from the U.S. Air Force did not happen and the ill-conceived coup d'etat failed miserably. Premier Khrushchev's impression of Kennedy as a weak-willed child would be solidified after this military blunder of the United States. The incident would also not only encourage Khrushchev's thought that the Soviet Union could become dominant over the United States, but also confirmed the fears of Cubans, that the United States government was hell bent on wrecking havoc on the defenseless third world country that had just overthrown a dictatorship.

Following the Bay of Pigs fiasco, Premier Khrushchev began in mid 1962 to covertly send materials to construct nuclear arms to Cuba. From the Soviet viewpoint, there were two reasons: deter nuclear war instigated by the United States, and to bully President Kennedy into allowing West Berlin to shift to communism. Premier Khrushchev's reasoning behind the latter was that if he could intimidate President Kennedy in Cuba long enough, the distraction would be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Sixties. "The World on the Brink." Episode 2, season 1. CNN. First broadcast June 5, 2014.

set, allowing Khrushchev to remove the capitalistic enclave within his satellite state, East Germany. Berlin was, strategically, more vital to the Soviet Union than a sole communist island in the Caribbean. By placing emphasis on Cuba, Khrushchev effectively halted any United States action in East Germany during the Kennedy Administration, following the Berlin Crisis of 1961.

By the summer of 1962, the Soviet Union was sending what appeared to be transportation ships to Latin America. In actuality, through Operation Anadyr, the Soviets were sending infantry to assist the Cubans in construction of nuclear missile launch sites. An undercover army of 40,000 Soviets began constructing launch sites for medium range ballistic missiles (MRBMs) and intermediate range ballistic missiles (IRBMs). According to Sergei Khrushchev, Premier Khrushchev's brother, the Soviets learned that their missiles would be severely inferior to the Jupiter missiles the U.S. possessed in Turkey<sup>3</sup>. This fact only served as fuel for the Soviet cause to have insurance against what was, in their eyes, an imminent U.S. attack. Deception played a significant part of the operation, even on the Soviet soldiers themselves (the soldiers were given winter gear to lead the infantry to believe they were a part of a training exercise.) Soviet military and missile construction specialists accompanied agricultural delegates to Havana as part of the red herring that allowed the Soviets to physically step foot on the island without U.S. detection. This massive cover up was called "maskirovka" by the Soviets, and entailed the use of denial and deceit to serve as a means to an end.

During the same summer, the United States announced, through legislation in Congress, that PHIBRIGLEX-62, a major military exercise, would be conducted in the Caribbean. Castro was outraged, and believed this to be the early stages of a second U.S. invasion of Cuba. The reason for the military exercise on the part of the United States, was in effect, to prove or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Frankel, Max. *High Noon in the Cold War: Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Cuban Missile Crisis*. p. 7-9.: Ballantine Books, 2004.

disprove the theory of C.I.A. Director John McCone; a theory that Director McCone himself briefed President Kennedy on--that the Soviets might be constructing missiles with nuclear capabilities on Cuba's northern shores.

On September 15, the first Soviet missiles reached Cuba at the port of Mariel<sup>4</sup>. MRBMs were installed to the east and west of Havana, with plans for IRBMs to also be installed to the west<sup>5</sup>.

On October 7, Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado spoke at a United Nations General Assembly, in which, among other things, President Torrado stated that Cuba was in the possession of "inevitable weapons", a threat that the United States largely ignored<sup>6</sup>.

The Cuban Missile Crisis was the closest the world had ever come to full-scale nuclear war. Through a conflict was the result of a breakdown in communication between world powers and the mutual paranoia that each country would destroy one another; to a compromise that led to a reestablishment of communication between the United States and Soviet Union, the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962 scarred the world of the Twentieth Century and reminded its inhabitants of the fragility of U.S.-Soviet relations.

#### The Discovery of Arms

On October 15, 1962, eight cans of film, taken by U-2 spy planes by the U.S. military in the Caribbean, were sent to the National Photographic Interpretation Center in Washington. The cans of film revealed two nuclear missile launch sites on the island of Cuba, with the possibility

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Frankel, Max. *High Noon in the Cold War: Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Cuban Missile Crisis*. p. 36.: Ballantine Books, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> O'Reilly, Bill, and Martin DuGard. Killing Kennedy: The End of Camelot. p.123.: Henry Holt, 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Frankel, Max. *High Noon in the Cold War: Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Cuban Missile Crisis.* p. 39-41.: Ballantine Books, 2004.

of a third. The following day, National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy informed President Kennedy of the presence of nuclear arms aimed at the United States from the island of Cuba<sup>7</sup>.

President Kennedy's immediate reaction was to keep the impending crisis quiet, for two reasons. Firstly, he had to act not as that of a president, but as that of a father. In private, he told his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, that the two of them had enjoyed a good life. But what of their children? What would happen of them in a nuclear war?<sup>8</sup>. President Kennedy made the decision to not brief the American public until a viable plan was in place, as not to arouse certain panic. The other reason was deeply political: President Kennedy had assured the American public that "he would not allow the Soviets to install offensive weapons in Cuba"<sup>9</sup>. President Kennedy wanted to regain the upper hand in the cold war against Nikita Khrushchev, and the premier calling the president's bluff did nothing to aid Kennedy's cause.

Additionally, 1962 was a year of midterm elections for the United States. The president, acting as the party leader for the Democratic Party, wanted to ensure that Democrats would fill more seats in Congress. If President Kennedy could not entertain the American public with his abilities to effectively handle the Soviets, candidates like his own brother, Ted Kennedy, of the same party, would not be elected.

Most notably, President Kennedy recognized that if he called out Premier Khrushchev's efforts in Cuba, the Soviet Union's efforts would be revealed. If that happened, the events that followed would be out of Kennedy's control.

With the fate of his party, and more importantly, the country, in his hands, it was President Kennedy's call as to how to handle the inevitable conflict.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Figure 1 in Appendix A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The Sixties. "The World on the Brink." Episode 2, season 1. CNN. First broadcast June 5, 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> O'Reilly, Bill, and Martin DuGard. *Killing Kennedy: The End of Camelot*. p.109.: Henry Holt, 2012.

During a meeting in the Situation Room on October 16, with the Executive Committee of the National Security Council (ExComm), talks shifted from air strikes to a potential naval blockade. Attorney General Robert Kennedy suggested a full-scale invasion of Cuba once more. A second invasion was, in fact, in the planning stages of the U.S. military, under the name of Operation Ortsac. President Kennedy, however, wished not to have another blunder involving the island of Cuba, especially when the fate of the world could be in his hands. Instead, Kennedy wanted to slow the crisis down, allowing himself and his cabinet time to think. Thus, the idea of a blockade was turned into a reality<sup>10</sup>. In a way, the decision to implement the blockade, which he called a "quarantine" to soften the wording to be less militaristic, was actually the first move towards a compromise with the Soviet Union.

#### **The Notification**

It was October 22--six days after President Kennedy had been briefed on the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba--that he notified the American people of the threat that both Castro's and Khrushchev's regimes were placing, not only on the United States, but on the world as a whole<sup>11</sup>.

President Kennedy makes his address. "...a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation...the purpose...can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the West...I have directed that the following initial steps be taken immediately."<sup>12</sup>. The effects are immediate. After President Kennedy promised to "quarantine" Cuba (promising that no Soviet ships bound for Cuba would be allowed through a U.S. Naval blockade) and his retort that any action taken by the Soviet Union or Cuba through use of missile launch would be met with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The Sixties. "The World on the Brink." Episode 2, season 1. CNN. First broadcast June 5, 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See Figure 2 in Appendix A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> "Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Soviet Arms Buildup in Cuba. October 22, 1962." Video file. John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum.

reciprocation, the American public prepared for the end of days. The U.S. Air Force's defense readiness was upgraded to Defcon 2; Air Force bombers circled American airspace.

On October 24, Premier Khrushchev's response letter stated that the president's naval blockade was a "pirate act" and that the Soviet ships inbound were instructed to ignore it<sup>13</sup>.

## **Negotiations and Compromise**

The ExComm met several times a day from the span of October 16 to October 28, 1962. The secret service was "braced for an evacuation of key personnel by helicopter" if nuclear war was imminent, according to former secret service agent on Jackie Kennedy's detail, Clint Hill<sup>14</sup>.

On October 26, ABC news reporter John Scali met with the KGB station chief in Washington, D.C.: Aleksandr Feklisov. Feklisov asked Scali to speak to U.S. officials regarding a solution to the crisis, not involving full-scale nuclear armageddon. Scali, did, in fact, deliver the message to the necessary high-up officials in the White House the same day<sup>15</sup>. The crisis came to its climax when the first few Soviet ships came into the view of the American blockade around the Caribbean islands. C.I.A. Director McCone led the first ExComm meeting of the day. The situation in Cuba had begun to collapse, as two additional R-12 launch sites that had been in construction would be completed and operational. The blockade President Kennedy had imposed was not working. United States Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson requested to the ExComm that the quarantine be lifted in exchange that the Soviets stop the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> O'Reilly, Bill, and Martin DuGard. Killing Kennedy: The End of Camelot. p.119-124.: Henry Holt, 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Hill, Clint and Lisa McCubbin. *Five Presidents: My Extraordinary Journey with Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Ford.* p. 123.: Gallery Books, 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> "The Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962." Office of the Historian. Accessed January 7, 2018. https://history.state.gov/milestones/1961-1968/cuban-missile-crisis.

missile buildup on Cuba. McCone, Bundy, and Secretary of State Dean Rusk all opposed this idea immediately<sup>16</sup>.

According to Soviet records, a decision had been made the previous day, October 25. No Soviet ships bound for the island of Cuba would cross the blockade. In addition to this, the Soviet infantry stationed at the missile launch sites would be instructed to begin dismantling the missiles<sup>17</sup>. At 6:00 PM in Washington (2:00 AM in Moscow), a personalized letter from Premier Khrushchev arrived to President Kennedy, a letter prompted by the meeting with Scali and Feklisov. The letter opened the door to compromise, as it, in a somewhat discombobulated fashion, asked for negotiations to begin. President Kennedy did not lift the blockade following Khrushchev's letter; he did, however, allow Khrushchev time to act. Khrushchev had not mobilized the Soviet army to full alert, perhaps due to his belief that President Kennedy was bluffing about retaliating if Soviet ships passed the quarantine. Unknown to the public was a letter that was sent from Khrushchev to Kennedy. The letter said that the Soviet Union ships bound for Cuba were not carrying weapons. The United States in return would make a statement that it would not invade Cuba. The secret negotiation allowed the Soviet Union to agree to dismantle the missiles in Cuba if the United States agreed to dismantle their missile in Turkey. On October 28 at 9:00 AM, Radio Moscow "[told] the people of the Soviet Union that Chairman Khrushchev...[that they chose] to 'dismantle the arms...and return them to Soviet Russia'."<sup>18</sup>. After almost two weeks, the Cuban Missile Crisis began to end, not in conflict, but in compromise.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Fursenko, Aleksandr, and Timothy Naftali. One Hell of a Gamble: The Secret History of the Cuban Missile Crisis. p. 266: Norton, 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Wingrove, Paul. "Cuban Missile Crisis: Nikita Khrushchev's Cuban Gamble Misfired." The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/oct/22/ cuban-missile-crisis-nikita-khrushchev.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> O'Reilly, Bill, and Martin DuGard. *Killing Kennedy: The End of Camelot*. p.128-130.: Henry Holt, 2012.

#### **Following the Resolution**

The lessons learned during thirteen days of a world nearing extinction allowed for a relative abundance of progress in the months that followed October 1962. The Soviet Union promised and verifiably removed its missiles from Cuba, and in return, the United States publicly agreed not to attempt to invade Cuba again (and privately removed missiles from Turkey).

In 1963, President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev established the Moscow-Washington hotline; a direct communication system between the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. and the Kremlin in Moscow, in order to not allow miscommunication and hysteria to potentially dictate the fate of the world once more.

Following in the footsteps of the Moscow-Washington hotline was the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, agreed upon by both countries, which banned nuclear testing anywhere above ground. This shift toward a lessening of the tumultuous relations between the Soviet Union and the United States served as a precursor to the period of detente in that the countries were beginning to gradually learn how to coexist, despite their socioeconomic and political differences.



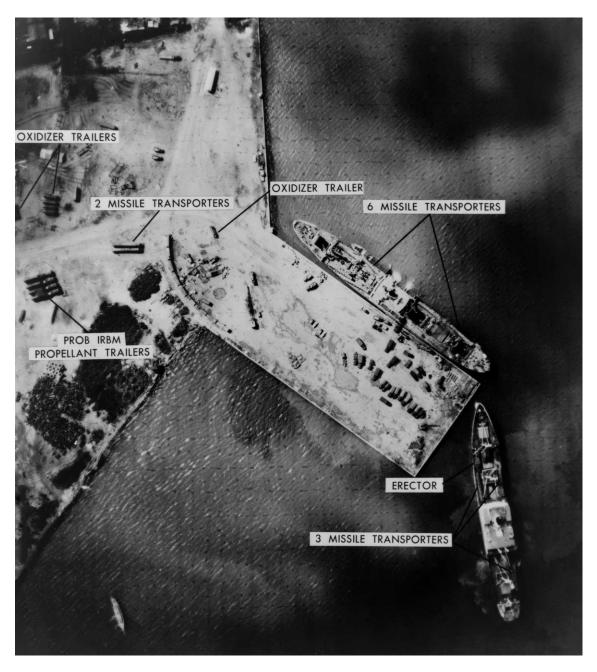


Figure 1: Aerial View of Soviet Missile Equipment at Mariel Bay, Cuba." World History: The Modern Era, ABC-CLIO, 2018, Accessed January 7, 2018. worldhistory.abc-clio.com/Search/Display/1938812.

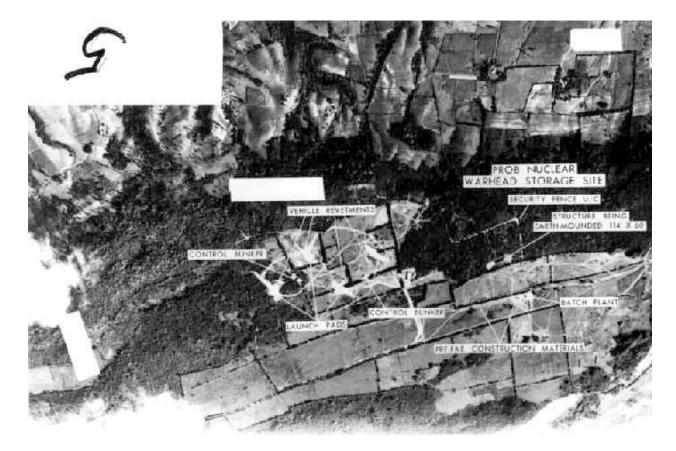


Figure 2: "Cuban Missile Crisis Reconnaissance Photo." World History: The Modern Era, ABC-CLIO, 2018, Accessed January 7, 2018. worldhistory.abc-clio.com/Search/Display/892539.

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A press release given by Fidel Castro in 1963, following the end of the Cuban Missile Crisis. In the release, Castro describes his interpretation and the Cubans' reasoning behind installing medium and intermediate range missiles from the Soviet Union.

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O'Reilly, Bill, and Martin DuGard. *Killing Kennedy: The End of Camelot*. p.105-131.: Henry Holt, 2012.

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A biography written about the former Attorney General of the United States and brother of President John F. Kennedy, this book tells the story of the life of Robert F. Kennedy.

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