
Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Presidium

Protocol No. 59
Session of 14 October 1962

33. [On the Indian-Chinese conflict]

The proposals are being readied by Cde. N. S. Khrushchev

1. Delay the shipment to India of MiG-21 aircraft.
2. On instructions to the Soviet ambassador in India, Cde. [Ivan] Benediktov. Say to [Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal] Nehru: "We are disappointed."
Are they thinking about how this conflict will end?

By whom was the McMahon Line created?
By whom was it recognized? When was it introduced? But the circumstances have changed.
The PRC's proposals for troop withdrawals spanning 20 km are reasonable.
India's demands for troop withdrawals spanning an additional 20 km are humiliating for the PRC.

We are in favor of eliminating the conflict, it will not bring any benefit.
India is hardly going to gain anything from the conflict.

[. . . .]

Source: RGANI, F. 3, Op. 16, D. 947, L. 35.



Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Presidium

Protocol No. 60
Session of 22-23 October 1962²⁵

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

I. On defining positions toward further steps in regard to Cuba and Berlin

Khrushchev, Malinovsky,
Ivanov, Mikoyan, Kozlov,
Brezhnev, Kosygin,
Ponomarev, Suslov

Cde. Malinovsky. I do not think that the USA right now could embark on blitzkrieg operations. It is not such a country (concerning Cuba). Apparently, the speech on the radio is a pre-election stunt. If an invasion of Cuba will be declared, this will be after another 24 hours has passed in order to get ready.

I think that we will not end up in a situation in which the missiles are placed on high alert.

Cde. Ivanov. Reports at what stage the delivery of property [weaponry and other military equipment] is to Cuba.

Cde. Khrushchev. I agree with Cde. Malinovsky's conclusions. Gromyko responded to Rusk for the most part from an ethical standpoint.

The point is that we do not want to unleash a war, we wanted to intimidate and restrain the USA vis-à-vis Cuba.

The difficult thing is that we did not concentrate everything that we wanted and did not publish the treaty.

The tragic thing — they can attack, and we will respond. This could escalate into a large-scale war.

One scenario: they will begin to act against Cuba.

One scenario: declare on the radio that there already is an agreement concerning Cuba.

They might declare a blockade, or they might take no action.

Another scenario: in case of an attack, all the equipment is Cuban, and the Cubans declare that they will respond.

And another: not yet use the strategic weapons, but use the tactical.

Give Pliev instructions — bring the troops up to combat readiness.

All the forces initially should not use atomic [weaponry].

If there is an airborne assault — the tactical atomic weaponry, but the strategic [not] until orders are given (excluding use of the means in Stetsenko's²⁶ custody).

Conclusion (is being made):

An attack is being organized against Cuba.

Cde. Malinovsky says: wait until 1:00 a.m., or else they will be given grounds for using atomic weaponry.²⁷

I. On the USSR government's draft statement concerning Cuba.

Kuznetsov, Khrushchev,
Mikoyan, Kosygin, Polyansky,
Ilichev, Grechko

The USSR gov't is appealing to the peoples of the USSR — and is informing them.

Work. Measures so that we are not caught unawares.

Accept.

I. On the instructions to Cde. [Soviet UN Ambassador Valerian] Zorin

Cde. Kuznetsov
Affirm.

Draft Security Council resolution.

Affirm.

I. On information to F. Castro about our further steps in events around Cuba.

We need to tell our friends where we are heading.
It was halfway successful, and half not.
It is positive that the whole world is focused on Cuba. Now.
It is not essential for Cuba but is essential for the USA.
Time will pass, and if needed, it [weaponry] will again be sent.

I. On the letter to Kennedy.

Regardless of the class of weaponry, it has been delivered.
It has been delivered with the aim of defending Cuba against aggression.

The ships that are moving in the Mediterranean Sea, return them to the Black Sea.

The armaments and military formations are not to be sent for now, return them from their voyage.

Keep the boats on their approaches.^{27a}

On the measures for increasing combat readiness. Through a gov't decision, an order has been given to the minister of defense.

The Min. of For. Aff. is to brief the ambassadors of the Warsaw Pact countries.

Invite the commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact and the

representatives and exchange views with them.

On the treaty — do not announce it (unanimous opinion).

Issue a command for the return of ships (the ships that have not yet reached there)

(Everyone says that this is correct.)

Compose a statement by the USSR government — a protest.

The USA has set out on the path of preparing and unleashing a third world war.

American imperialism has taken upon itself the right to dictate its will to others — we protest.

All countries have the right to defense and to conclude alliances.

Warn the gov't it is taking upon itself great responsibility.

The USSR also possesses weapons, we protest the reckless actions.

This is lawlessness and unprecedented treachery — demand an account from the other gov't.

The directive to Zorin²⁸ — along these same lines.

The peoples of all countries must raise their voices.

For preservation of the UN.

The laws and Charter of the UN are being trampled on.

All issues in dispute — by means of negotiations.

The USSR gov't is bringing the matter to the Security Council.

Let the four submarines move ahead.^{28a} The "Aleksandrov[sk]" is to head to the nearest port.²⁹

Send a telegram to Castro.

We received Kennedy's letter.

Crude interference in Cuba's affairs.

We are raising the matter in the Security Council against US treachery, and Cuba should come to the Security Council.

[. . . .]

Source: RGANI, F. 3, Op. 16, D. 947, L. 36-41.



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