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Following message from President to Khrushchev should be delivered as soon as possible to highest available Soviet official. Text has been handed Soviet Embassy in Washington and has been released to press.

QUOTE
Dear Mr. Chairman:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/C/D/7/11
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I have read your letter of October 26 with care and welcomed the statement of your desire to seek a prompt solution to the problem. The first thing that needs to be done, however, is for work to cease on offensive missile bases in Cuba and for all weapons systems in Cuba capable of offensive use to be rendered inoperable, under effective United Nations arrangements.

Assuming this is done promptly, I have given my representatives in New York instructions that will permit them to work out this week and -- in cooperation with the

Acting Secretary

Dispatched by S/S - Mr. Beck

UNCLASSIFIED Classification

05-372

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Page 2 of telegram to Ambassy, MOSCOW KLAC

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Acting Secretary General and your representative --
an arrangement for a permanent solution to the Cuban
problem along the lines suggested in your letter of
October 26. As I read your letter, the key elements of
your proposals -- which seem generally acceptable as
I understand them -- are as follows:

1. You would agree to remove these weapons systems
from Cuba under appropriate United Nations observation
and supervision; and undertake, with suitable safeguards,
to halt the further introduction of such weapons systems into
Cuba.

2. We, on our part, would agree -- upon the establish-
ment of adequate arrangements through the United Nations to
ensure the carrying out and continuation of these commitments --
(a) to remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect
and (b) to give assurances against an invasion of Cuba and I
am confident that other nations of the Western Hemisphere would
be prepared to do likewise.

If you will give your representative similar instructions,
there is no reason why we should not be able to complete
these

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these arrangements and announce them to the world within a couple of days. The effect of such a settlement on easing world tensions would enable us to work toward a more general arrangement regarding "other armaments", as proposed in your second letter which you made public. I would like to say again that the United States is very much interested in reducing tensions and halting the arms race; and if your letter signifies that you are prepared to discuss a detente affecting NATO and the Warsaw Pact, we are quite prepared to consider with our allies any useful proposals.

But the first ingredient, let me emphasize, is the cessation of work on missile sites in Cuba and measures to render such weapons inoperable, under effective international guarantees. The continuation of this threat, or a prolonging of this discussion concerning Cuba by linking these problems to the broader questions of European and world security, would surely lead to an intensification of the Cuban crisis and a grave risk to the peace of the world. For this reason I hope we can quickly agree along the lines outlined in this letter and in your letter of October 26.

/s/ John F. Kennedy

END

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TEXT OF KHRUSHCHEV MESSAGE

MOSCOW DOMESTIC SERVICE IN RUSSIAN 1425 28 OCT 62 L

(TEXT) ESTEEMED MR. PRESIDENT: I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR MESSAGE OF OCTOBER 27, 1962. I EXPRESS MY SATISFACTION AND GRATITUDE FOR THE SENSE OF PROPORTION AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE RESPONSIBILITY BORNE BY YOU AT PRESENT FOR THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHICH YOU HAVE SHOWN. I VERY WELL UNDERSTAND YOUR ANXIETY AND THE ANXIETY OF THE UNITED STATES PEOPLE IN CONNECTION WITH THE FACT THAT THE WEAPONS WHICH YOU DESCRIBE AS "OFFENSIVE" ARE, IN FACT, GRIW WEAPONS. BOTH YOU AND I UNDERSTAND WHAT KIND OF WEAPONS THEY ARE.

IN ORDER TO COMPLETE WITH GREATER SPEED THE LIQUIDATION OF THE CONFLICT DANGEROUS TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE, TO GIVE CONFIDENCE TO ALL PEOPLE LONGING FOR PEACE, AND TO CALM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WHO, I AM CERTAIN, WANT PEACE AS MUCH AS THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, IN ADDITION TO PREVIOUSLY ISSUED INSTRUCTIONS ON THE CESSATION OF FURTHER WORK AT BUILDING SITES FOR THE WEAPONS, HAS ISSUED A NEW ORDER ON THE DISMANTLING OF THE WEAPONS WHICH YOU DESCRIBE AS "OFFENSIVE," AND THEIR CRATING AND RETURN TO THE SOVIET UNION.

MR. PRESIDENT, I WOULD LIKE TO REPEAT ONCE MORE WHAT I HAD ALREADY WRITTEN TO YOU IN MY PRECEDING LETTERS--THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS PLACED AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC AID, AS WELL AS ARMS, INASMUCH AS CUBA AND THE CUBAN PEOPLE HAVE CONSTANTLY BEEN UNDER THE CONTINUOUS DANGER OF AN INVASION.

THE SHELLING OF HAVANA TOOK PLACE FROM A PIRATIC SHIP. IT IS SAID THAT IRRESPONSIBLE CUBAN EMIGRES DID THE SHOOTING. THIS IS POSSIBLY THE CASE. HOWEVER, THE QUESTION ARISES: FROM WHERE DID THEY FIRE? AFTER ALL, THEY, THESE CUBANS, HAVE NO TERRITORY, THEY HAVE NO PRIVATE MEANS, AND THEY HAVE NO MEANS TO WAGE MILITARY ACTION. THUS SOMEBODY PUT THE ARMS NEEDED TO SHELL HAVANA AND CARRY OUT THEIR PIRATIC ACTIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN--IN CUBAN TERRITORIAL WATERS--IN THEIR HANDS!

IT IS UNTHINKABLE IN OUR TIME NOT TO NOTICE A PIRATE SHIP, PARTICULARLY IF ONE TAKES INTO ACCOUNT SUCH A SATURATION OF AMERICAN SHIPS IN THE CARIBBEAN FROM WHICH ACTUALLY ALL THIS IS WATCHED AND OBSERVED. IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, PIRATIC SHIPS ARE FREELY MOVING AROUND CUBA, SHELLING CUBA, AND CARRYING OUT PIRATIC ATTACKS UPON PEACEFUL TRANSPORT VESSELS! IT IS, AFTER ALL, KNOWN THAT THEY EVEN SHELLED A BRITISH FREIGHTER!

IN SHORT, CUBA HAS BEEN UNDER THE CONSTANT THREAT OF AGGRESSIVE FORCES WHICH DID NOT CONCEAL THEIR INTENTIONS TO INVAD E CUBAN TERRITORY.

THE CUBAN PEOPLE WANT TO BUILD THEIR LIFE IN THEIR OWN INTEREST WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM WITHOUT. YOU ARE RIGHT IN THIS, AND ONE CANNOT BLAME THEM BECAUSE THEY WANT TO BE MASTERS OF THEIR OWN COUNTRY AND DISPOSE OF THE FRUITS OF THEIR LABOR. THE THREAT OF CUBA'S INVASION AND ALL THE OTHER VENTURES AIDED AT BRINGING ABOUT TENSION AROUND CUBA ARE DESIGNED TO ENGENDER UNCERTAINTY IN THE CUBAN PEOPLE, INTIMIDATE THEM, AND HINDER THEM IN BUILDING THEIR NEW LIFE UNDISTURBED.

MR. PRESIDENT, I WANT TO SAY CLEARLY AGAIN THAT WE COULD NOT BE INDIFFERENT TO THIS. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT DECIDED TO HELP CUBA WITH MEANS OF DEFENSE AGAINST AGGRESSION--AND ONLY WITH MEANS FOR PURPOSES OF DEFENSE.

(CONT)

DIRECT ADD 53 (KHRUSHCHEV TEXT)

X X X PURPOSES OF DEFENSE

(CONTINUING TEXT) WE STATIONED DEFENSE MEANS THERE WHICH YOU CALL OFFENSIVE. WE STATIONED THEM THERE IN ORDER THAT NO ATTACK SHOULD BE MADE AGAINST CUBA AND THAT NO RASH ACTION SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO TAKE PLACE.

I REGARD WITH RESPECT AND TRUST YOUR STATEMENT IN YOUR MESSAGE OF OCTOBER 27, 1962 THAT NO ATTACK WILL BE MADE ON CUBA--THAT NO INVASION WILL TAKE PLACE--NOT ONLY BY THE UNITED STATES, BUT ALSO BY OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, AS YOUR MESSAGE POINTED OUT. THEN THE MOTIVES WHICH PROMPTED US TO GIVE AID OF THIS NATURE TO CUBA CEASE. THEY ARE NO LONGER APPLICABLE. HENCE WE HAVE INSTRUCTED OUR OFFICERS--AND THESE MEANS, AS I HAVE ALREADY STATED, ARE IN THE HANDS OF SOVIET OFFICERS--TO TAKE NECESSARY MEASURES FOR STOPPING THE BUILDING OF THE SAID PROJECTS AND THEIR DISMANTLING AND RETURN TO THE SOVIET UNION.

AS I ALREADY TOLD YOU IN MY LETTER OF OCTOBER 27, WE BOTH AGREE TO COME TO AN AGREEMENT THAT UNITED NATIONS REPRESENTATIVES COULD VERIFY THE DISMANTLING OF THESE MEANS.

IN THIS WAY, IF ONE IS TO RELY ON YOUR ASSURANCES WHICH YOU HAVE MADE AND ON OUR ORDERS TO DISMANTLE, THEN ALL NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR LIQUIDATION OF THE CONFLICT WHICH HAS ARISEN APPEAR TO EXIST.

I NOTE WITH SATISFACTION THAT YOU HAVE RESPONDED TO MY WISH THAT THE SAID DANGEROUS SITUATION SHOULD BE LIQUIDATED AND ALSO THAT CONDITIONS SHOULD BE CREATED FOR A MORE THOUGHTFUL APPRAISAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION WHICH IS FRAUGHT WITH GREAT DANGERS IN OUR AGE OF THERMONUCLEAR WEAPONS, ROCKET TECHNOLOGY, SPACESHIPS, GLOBAL ROCKETS, AND OTHER LETHAL WEAPONS. ALL PEOPLE ARE INTERESTED IN INSURING PEACE. THEREFORE, WE WHO ARE INVESTED WITH TRUST AND GREAT RESPONSIBILITY MUST NOT PERMIT AN EXACERBATION OF THE SITUATION AND MUST LIQUIDATE THE BREEDING GROUNDS WHERE A DANGEROUS SITUATION HAS BEEN CREATED FRAUGHT WITH SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE. IF WE SUCCEED ALONG WITH YOU AND WITH THE AID OF OTHER PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL IN LIQUIDATING THIS DANGEROUS SITUATION, WE MUST ALSO CONCERN OURSELVES TO SEE THAT OTHER DANGEROUS CONFLICTS DO NOT ARISE WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO A WORLD THERMONUCLEAR CATASTROPHE.

IN CONCLUSION, I WISH TO SPEAK OF THE REGULATION OF RELATION BETWEEN NATO AND STATES OF THE WARSAW TREATY, WHICH YOU MENTION. WE HAVE LONG AGO SPOKEN OF THIS AND ARE READY TO CONTINUE AN EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS WITH YOU ON THIS QUESTION AND FIND A REASONABLE SOLUTION. I ALSO WISH TO CONTINUE AN EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON THE PROHIBITION OF ATOMIC AND THERMONUCLEAR WEAPONS, GENERAL DISARMAMENT, AND OTHER QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE LESSENING OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION.

MR. PRESIDENT, I TRUST YOUR STATEMENT. HOWEVER, ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE ARE RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE WHO WOULD LIKE TO CARRY OUT AN INVASION OF CUBA AT THIS TIME, AND IN SUCH A WAY TO SPARK OFF A WAR. IF WE TAKE PRACTICAL STEPS AND ANNOUNCE THE DISMANTLING AND EVACUATION OF THE APPROPRIATE MEANS FROM CUBA, THEN, DOING THAT, WE WISH TO ESTABLISH AT THE SAME TIME THE CONFIDENCE OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE THAT WE ARE WITH THEM AND ARE NOT DIVESTING OURSELVES OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF GRANTING HELP TO THEM.

WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES, LIKE YOURSELF, MR. PRESIDENT, WILL UNDERSTAND ME CORRECTLY. WE DO NOT ISSUE THREATS. WE DESIRE ONLY PEACE. OUR COUNTRY IS NOW ON THE BRIDGE. OUR PEOPLE ARE ENJOYING THE FRUITS OF THEIR PEACEFUL LABOR. THEY HAVE ACHIEVED TRENDING SUCCESSES SINCE THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND CREATED SUPREME MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL-CULTURAL TREASURES. OUR COUNTRY IS MAKING USE OF THESE TREASURES AND WANTS TO DEVELOP ITS SUCCESSES FURTHER AND INSURE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT ON THE ROAD OF PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS BY ITS STEADFAST LABOR.

FBIS 55

SECOND AND LAST ADD 53 (KHRUSHCHEV TEXT)

X X X ITS STEADFAST LABOR

(CONCLUDING TEXT) I SHOULD LIKE, MR. PRESIDENT, TO REMIND YOU THAT MILITARY AIRCRAFT OF A RECONNAISSANCE CHARACTER HAVE VIOLATED THE FRONTIER OF THE SOVIET UNION IN CONNECTION WITH WHICH WE HAD CONFLICTS WITH YOU. AN EXCHANGE OF NOTES TOOK PLACE.

IN 1950, WE SHOT DOWN YOUR U-2 AIRCRAFT, THE RECONNAISSANCE FLIGHT OF WHICH OVER THE USSR LED TO THE WRECKING OF THE MEETING OF THE POWERS IN PARIS. YOU THEN TOOK A CORRECT POSITION IN CONDEMNING THAT CRIMINAL ACTION BY THE FORMER UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, DURING THE PERIOD OF YOUR TENURE OF OFFICE AS PRESIDENT, A SECOND INSTANCE OF THE VIOLATION OF OUR FRONTIER BY AN AMERICAN U-2 AIRCRAFT TOOK PLACE IN THE SAKHALIN AREA. WE WROTE YOU ABOUT THIS VIOLATION ON AUGUST 30. YOU REPLIED THAT THIS VIOLATION HAD TAKEN PLACE AS THE RESULT OF BAD WEATHER AND GAVE AN ASSURANCE THAT IT WOULD NOT BE REPEATED. WE GAVE CREDENCE TO YOUR ASSURANCE BECAUSE THERE WAS INDEED BAD WEATHER IN THAT AREA AT THAT TIME. HOWEVER, IF YOUR AIRCRAFT DID NOT HAVE THE TASK OF FLYING NEAR OUR TERRITORY, THEN EVEN BAD WEATHER COULD NOT CAUSE AN AMERICAN AIRCRAFT TO ENTER OUR AIRSPACE.

THE CONCLUSION FOLLOWS FROM THIS THAT IT IS DONE WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE PENTAGON, WHICH TRAMPLES ON INTERNATIONAL PRACTICES AND VIOLATES THE FRONTIERS OF OTHER STATES.

AN EVEN MORE DANGEROUS CASE OCCURRED ON OCTOBER 23 WHEN YOUR RECONNAISSANCE AIRCRAFT INTRUDED INTO THE TERRITORY OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE NORTH, IN THE AREA OF THE CHUKOTKA PENINSULA, AND FLEW OVER OUR TERRITORY.

ONE ASKS, MR. PRESIDENT, HOW SHOULD WE REGARD THIS? WHAT IS IT A PROVOCATION? YOUR AIRCRAFT VIOLATES OUR FRONTIER AND AT TIMES AS ANXIOUS AS THOSE WHICH WE ARE NOW EXPERIENCING WHEN EVERYTHING HAS BEEN PLACED IN A STATE OF COMBAT READINESS. FOR AN INTRUDING AMERICAN AIRCRAFT CAN EASILY BE TAKEN FOR A BOMBER WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND THIS COULD PUSH US TOWARD A FATAL STEP--ALL THE MORE SO BECAUSE BOTH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND PENTAGON HAVE LONG BEEN SAYING THAT BOMBERS WITH ATOMIC BOMBS ARE CONSTANTLY ON DUTY IN YOUR COUNTRY. ✓

... THEREFORE, YOU CAN IMAGINE THAT KIND OF RESPONSIBILITY, IT IS
ASSUME, ESPECIALLY NOW DURING THE ANXIOUS TIMES WE ARE NOW
EXPERIENCING.

I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU TO ASSESS THIS CORRECTLY AND TAKE
STEPS ACCORDINGLY IN ORDER THAT IT WOULD NOT SERVE AS A PROVOCATION
FOR UNLEASHING WAR.

I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO EXPRESS THE FOLLOWING WISH. OF COURSE,
IT IS A MATTER FOR THE CUBAN PEOPLE. YOU DO NOT AT PRESENT
MAINTAIN ANY DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BUT THROUGH MY OFFICERS ON CUBA
I HAVE REPORTS THAT FLIGHTS OF AMERICAN AIRCRAFT OVER CUBA ARE
BEING CARRIED OUT. WE ARE INTERESTED THAT THERE SHOULD NOT BE ANY
WAR AT ALL IN THE WORLD, AND THAT THE CUBAN PEOPLE SHOULD LIVE
QUIETLY. HOWEVER, MR. PRESIDENT, IT IS NO SECRET THAT WE HAVE OUR
PEOPLE ON CUBA. ACCORDING TO THE TREATY WITH THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT,
WE HAVE OFFICERS AND INSTRUCTORS THERE WHO ARE TRAINING THE CUBANS.
THEY ARE MAINLY ORDINARY PEOPLE--EXPERTS, AGRONOMISTS,
ZOO TECHNICIANS, IRRIGATION AND SOIL IMPROVEMENT EXPERTS, ORDINARY
WORKERS, TRACTOR DRIVERS, AND OTHERS. WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THEM.

I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, TO BEAR IN MIND THAT A
VIOLATION OF CUBAN AIRSPACE BY AMERICAN AIRCRAFT MAY ALSO HAVE
DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES. IF YOU DO NOT WANT THIS, THEN NO PRETEXT
SHOULD BE GIVEN FOR THE CREATION OF A DANGEROUS SITUATION.

WE MUST BE NOW VERY CAUTIOUS AND NOT TAKE SUCH STEPS WHICH WILL
BE OF NO USE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE STATES INVOLVED IN THE
CONFLICT, BUT WHICH ARE LIKELY TO AROUSE ONLY IRRITATION AND EVEN
PROVE A PROVOCATION LEADING TO THE BANEFUL STEP. WE MUST, THEREFORE,
DISPLAY SOBRIETY AND WISDOM AND REFRAIN FROM STEPS OF THIS SORT.

WE VALUE PEACE, PERHAPS EVEN MORE THAN OTHER PEOPLE, BECAUSE
WE EXPERIENCED THE TERRIBLE WAR AGAINST HITLER. HOWEVER, OUR
PEOPLE WILL NOT FLINCH IN THE FACE OF ANY ORDEAL. OUR PEOPLE
TRUST THEIR GOVERNMENT, AND WE ASSURE OUR PEOPLE AND THE WORLD
PUBLIC THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WILL NOT ALLOW ITSELF TO BE
PROVOKED.

SHOULD THE PROVOCATEURS UNLEASH A WAR, THEY WOULD NOT ESCAPE
THE GRAVE CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH A WAR. HOWEVER, WE ARE CONFIDENT
THAT REASON WILL TRIUMPH. WAR WILL NOT BE UNLEASHED AND THE PEACE
AND SECURITY OF PEOPLE WILL BE INSURED!

IN CONNECTION WITH NEGOTIATIONS IN PROGRESS BETWEEN U.N.
ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL U THANT AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
SOVIET UNION, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE CUBAN REPUBLIC, THE SOVIET
GOVERNMENT HAS SENT TO NEW YORK USSR FIRST DEPUTY MINISTER OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS KUZNETSOV WITH A VIEW TO ASSISTING U THANT IN HIS
NOBLE EFFORTS AIMED AT LIQUIDATION OF THE PRESENT DANGEROUS
SITUATION.

WITH RESPECT FOR YOU, KHRUSHCHEV. OCTOBER 28, 1962.

(ENDALL)

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