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An International History of the Cuban Missile Crisis

A 50-year retrospective

Edited by
David Gioe, Len Scott and
Christopher Andrew



An International History of the Cuban Missile Crisis

This edited volume addresses the main lessons and legacies of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis from a global perspective.

Despite the discoveries of recent research, there is still much more to be revealed about the handling of nuclear weapons before and during the Cuban missile crisis. Featuring contributions from a number of eminent international scholars of nuclear history, intelligence, espionage, political science and Cold War studies, *An International History of the Cuban Missile Crisis* reviews and reflects on one of the critical moments of the Cold War, focusing on three key areas.

First, the volume highlights the importance of memory as an essential foundation of historical understanding and demonstrates how events that rely only on historical records can provide misleading accounts. This focus on memory extends the scope of the existing literature by exploring hitherto neglected aspects of the Cuban missile crisis, including an analysis of the operational aspects of Bomber Command activity, explored through recollections of the aircrews that challenge accounts based on official records. The editors then go on to explore aspects of intelligence whose achievements and failings have increasingly been recognized to be of central importance to the origins, dynamics and outcomes of the missile crisis. Studies of hitherto neglected organizations such as the US Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) and the British Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) both extend our understanding of British and American intelligence machinery in this period and enrich our understanding of key episodes and assessments in the missile crisis. Finally, the book explores the risk of nuclear war and looks at how close we came to nuclear conflict. The risk of inadvertent use of nuclear weapons is evaluated and a new proposed framework for the analysis of nuclear risk put forward.

This volume will be of much interest to students of intelligence studies, international history, foreign policy, security studies and IR in general.

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**Dedicated to the survivors of the Cuban missile crisis –
participants, onlookers and unborn generations**

‘How can I save my little boy from Oppenheimer’s deadly toy?’
(Sting, *Russians*, 1984)

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Foreword

In her fascinating study of time and recall, *Ammonites and Leaping Fish*, the novelist Dame Penelope Lively writes of ‘the compelling matter of memory – the vapour trail without which we are undone’. For anyone alive, with a pulse to feel and eyes to see, during the days of the Cuban missile crisis, it has left one of the most vivid vapour trails of memory in our lives. And we are many, spread right across the globe.

For professional historians and scholars of war, near-war, and strategic studies, the missiles of October 1962 rank with the Guns of August 1914 in their compelling fascination. They are both subjects and debates that will never wither as long as human curiosity continues to embrace a sense of the past.

An International History of the Cuban Missile Crisis is especially timely. Survivors and witnesses are still alive. The archives continue to yield up their once-secret treasures. And we have within these pages a superb range of scholars to make new sense of that extraordinary crisis for a wider readership.

It was a far, far closer thing than we realized even at our moments of highest anxiety in the autumn of 1962. That we can recall the crisis and write about it in tranquility – and that the Cold War ended as it did without general war or nuclear exchange – is perhaps the greatest single shared boon for humanity in modern times.

Read on. Be fascinated – and breathe as many signs of retrospective relief as you wish.

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David Gioe, Len Scott and Christopher Andrew
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Abbreviations

AEST	Australian Eastern Standard Time
AHB	Air Historical Branch
ASW	anti-submarine warfare
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CAS	Chief of the Air Staff
CI	counter-intelligence
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
C-in-C	Commander-in-Chief
CINCLANT	Commander-in-Chief Atlantic
CND	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
COMOR	Committee on Overheard Reconnaissance
COS	Chief of Station
DC	Democrazia Cristiana (Italian Christian Democrat Party)
DCI	Director of Central Intelligence
DCOS	Deputy Chief of Station
DDP	Deputy Director for Plans (CIA)
DEA	Department of External Affairs
DEFCON	Defense Condition
DGSE	Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure (French Foreign Intelligence Service)
DIA	Defense Intelligence Agency
DMI	Directorate of Military Intelligence
DoD	Department of Defense
DPM	Department of Prime Minister
DSB	Defence Signals Branch
DST	Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire (French Security Service)
ECM	electronic counter measures
EI	essential elements of information
ENDC	Eighteen Nations Disarmament Committee
EST	Eastern Standard Time
ExComm	Executive Committee of the National Security Council
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation

FBIS	Foreign Broadcast Information Service
FO	Foreign Office
FROG	free rocket over ground
GCHQ	Government Communications Headquarters
GLCM	ground launched cruise missile
GMT	Greenwich Mean Time
GRU	Glavnoye Razvedyatelnoye Upravlenie (Soviet Military Intelligence)
HQBC	Headquarters Bomber Command
HUMINT	human intelligence
I&W	indications and warning
ICBM	intercontinental ballistic missile
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IRBM	intermediate-range ballistic missile
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff
JIC	Joint Intelligence Committee
JSG	Joint Study Group
KGB	Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (Soviet Committee for State Security)
MAD	Mutual Assured Destruction
MOD	Ministry of Defence
MRBM	medium-range ballistic missile
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NIE	National Intelligence Estimate
NME	National Military Establishment
NPIC	National Photographic Interpretation Center
NSA	National Security Agency
NSC	National Security Council
OACSI	Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence
OAS	Organisation of American States
ONI	Office of Naval Intelligence
OPSEC	operational security
ORB	Operational Record Book
OSD	Office of the Secretary of Defense
OWVL	one-way voice link
PAL	permissive action links
PCI	Partito Comunista Italiano (Italian Communist Party)
PSI	Partito Socialista Italiano (Italian Socialist Party)
PT	patrol boat
PWE	Political Warfare Executive
QRA	Quick Reaction Alert
RAF	Royal Air Force
RAFHS	Royal Air Force Historical Society
SAC	Strategic Air Command

SAM	surface-to-air missile
SIGINT	signals intelligence
SIS	Secret Intelligence Service (MI6)
SNIE	Special National Intelligence Estimate
SR	Soviet Russia (Division)
UAR	United Arab Republic
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America
USAF	United States Air Force
USIB	United States Intelligence Board
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WRCI	'Weekly Review of Current Intelligence' ('Grey Book')
WSI	'Weekly Survey of Intelligence' ('Red Book')

1 Introduction

Memories and anniversaries: challenges and opportunities

Len Scott, David Gioe and Christopher Andrew

Though the world of 1962 is becoming increasingly remote, some of its lessons seem timeless.

James Blight, Joseph Nye and David Welch¹

The actions of the Soviet Union, Cuba and the United States in October 1962 brought those nations to the verge of military conflict. What was not known then, and what is not fully recognized today, was how close the world came to the brink of nuclear disaster.

Robert McNamara²

This collection is based on a conference at the University of Wales Conference Centre at Gregynog Hall in mid-Wales in October 2012 on the fiftieth anniversary of the Cuban missile crisis. Anniversaries of, and conferences on, the Cuban missile crisis have been of great value to historians, as well as indeed to the general public. They have generated new sources of understanding and new interpretations. Although the release of documents has played an important part in this process much has relied on memory, and in particular the memories of those who lived through the events of October 1962 with varying degrees of responsibility for what did happen, and might have happened.

Recollection, reflection and revision

Twenty-five years after the crisis the first of a series of conferences organized by North American academics James Blight, David Welch and Bruce Allyn brought together former American officials to remember and debate their experiences.³ These ventures in ‘critical oral history’ initially involved members of President Kennedy’s Executive Committee of the National Security Council (ExComm) but soon engaged Soviet and Cuban survivors, including diplomats and intelligence officers.⁴ Thirty years after the crisis, a conference in Havana brought together American, Soviet and Cuban officials.⁵

Most dramatically Fidel Castro attended the Havana conference, exchanging views with his former adversaries, and providing recollections of, and reflections on, his own actions. The conference was also notable for revelations from a former Soviet General, Anatoli Gribkov, that the Soviets had deployed tactical nuclear weapons in Cuba. McNamara stated that he and his colleagues had not known there were such weapons in Cuba. Gribkov heightened the dramatic effect of his revelations by announcing that authority for their use had been delegated by Khrushchev to Soviet commanders in Cuba. The suggestion that an American invasion would have led to the almost inevitable use of nuclear weapons gained immediate currency.

Gribkov's statements provoked robust exchanges among historians about the value and reliability of oral testimony, in particular that of former Soviet officials.⁶ Subsequently, Gribkov clarified his remarks and explained that he had felt constrained about what he could reveal at the Havana conference and did not explain, for example, that Khrushchev had changed his mind and insisted that no nuclear weapons of any kind could be used without his authorization.⁷

Gribkov's clarifications are reminders that some memories need to conform to official practices. Political agendas, moreover, are not the prerogative of states. Much of what we have learned of the crisis has illuminated and challenged the accuracy and at times the veracity of many accounts. One particularly fascinating source has been the recordings and transcripts of the conversations within the White House between President Kennedy's senior advisors on ExComm which the President had secretly recorded, unbeknownst to any of the officials (save for his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy (RFK)). The ExComm Tapes offer unique insights into White House deliberations. They are, moreover, a means of verifying the accounts of those senior American officials whose recollections have helped shape our understanding.⁸

An illustration is Robert Kennedy's depiction of his own attitude to using military force against the missiles. In his memoir, *Thirteen Days*, he invoked the analogy of Pearl Harbor to argue against a surprise attack on the Soviet medium-range ballistic missiles (MRBMs).⁹ However, the secret tapes make clear that in the first discussions on 16 October on how to react, RFK clearly supported a military attack. So too did the President. The Director of Central Intelligence, John McCone, raised the Pearl Harbor analogy with the President on 17 October and George Ball, Under Secretary at the State Department, then spelt out in a memorandum that 'we tried Japanese as war criminals because of the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor'.¹⁰ In *Thirteen Days*, Robert Kennedy recounts how he had passed a note, via Ted Sorensen, to the President stating, 'I now know how Tojo felt when he was planning Pearl Harbor'.¹¹ The account suggests the words were clearly intended to signal RFK's opposition. The evidence from the ExComm tapes suggests they meant the exact opposite.

Thirteen Days is based on Robert Kennedy's diaries and was written as the former President's brother was preparing himself for a presidential campaign. He was assassinated before it was published and the final editing was completed by Ted Sorensen, JFK's speech writer and ExComm participant. *Thirteen Days* provides an account of Robert Kennedy's meeting with the Soviet ambassador, Anatoli Dobrynin, on 27 October which has assumed a particular significance in debates about the resolution of the crisis. It is now clear that at that meeting RFK relayed a message to Dobrynin that indicated JFK's willingness to withdraw Jupiter intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs) from Turkey – a demand that Khrushchev had raised publically earlier that day. Historians have debated whether Robert Kennedy's offer to withdraw the missiles from Turkey represented a deal, an understanding or an arrangement. In this volume, Toshihiko Aono's chapter sheds new light on this problem. As the United States itself could not take public initiatives for a Cuban–Turkish deal, Kennedy and Rusk secretly attempted to arrange mediation by third parties such as the UN Secretary-General. Aono also reexamines the so-called Cordier Ploy in this context. It has also been made clear that the secret undertaking to withdraw the missiles played little role in Khrushchev's decision to retreat as he had already decided to withdraw the missiles from Cuba in return for a no-invasion pledge, before he learned of Kennedy's offer.¹² Indeed it is now clear that Khrushchev had made up his mind – and secured the unanimous agreement of the Presidium – to retreat by Thursday 25 October.¹³ How this could be done then assumed a crucial importance.

In his chapter, Don Munton argues that analysts of the missile crisis should have come to the conclusion much earlier than most did that President Kennedy had offered the Soviets a deal on the Jupiter missiles. Munton also argues that the government of Turkey was, by late October 1962, willing to relinquish the Jupiters, and Kennedy may well have been advised of this through allied channels. If so, the Turkish switch in policy helps explain why Kennedy made the offer he did to Moscow.

In 1989 Sorensen admitted that he had altered *Thirteen Days* to preserve the myth that the President had refused to compromise and stood firm on the missiles in Turkey.¹⁴ Contrary to public statements by the Kennedy administration, the United States government had not ignored Khrushchev's demand that withdrawal of the missiles from Cuba required reciprocal action in Turkey. Yet in 1963 Dean Rusk and Robert McNamara both testified to Congress that the Turkish missiles were in no way connected to the withdrawal of the missiles from Cuba.¹⁵ As McGeorge Bundy later wrote: 'We misled our colleagues, our countrymen, our successors, and our allies.'¹⁶

More recently Sheldon Stern provided a systematic scrutiny of the claims of, and about, the ExComm protagonists.¹⁷ His systematic indictments (and in some cases defences) of ExComm members are important

reminders of the limits and dangers of relying only on memory, especially where the politics of memory predominate.

More generally, the fragility and ambiguity of evidence (oral and written) often present challenges of interpretation for Cold War historians. As Sergei Radchenko argues compellingly, the evidence about Khrushchev's motives for the deployment is at times fragmentary.¹⁸ The argument that a principal reason for the deployment of the missiles in Cuba was to defend Cuba rests considerably on the testimony of former Soviet officials, including at the 'critical oral conferences' of the 1980s and 1990s.

The conferences in Hawk's Cay, Florida, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Moscow and Havana brought together senior officials, diplomats and intelligence officers. In the 1990s, the historiography of the crisis increasingly began to explore events and incidents at the operational level.¹⁹ Over the next twenty years the memories of submarine commanders, missile crews and aircraft pilots assumed a growing importance in assessments of the risk of nuclear war. The fortieth anniversary of the crisis in 2002 generated accounts of events at sea that first revealed to Western audiences the activities of Soviet submariners.²⁰ Dramatic accounts suggested that commanders of Soviet submarines may have been close to firing nuclear weapons against American warships that were dropping explosive devices to force them to surface. These events are explored in Len Scott's chapter.

Greater understanding of the operational level generated increased understanding of the risk of war. Many of these risks were unknown, or only partially known, to senior political and military officials. Michael Petersen's essay in this volume offers an explanation for this by placing the crisis in the context of the sweeping military intelligence reform ordered by McNamara the previous year. Petersen argues that while those reforms helped hasten the discovery of the Soviets' strategic missiles, their then-incomplete nature and the parochial culture of American intelligence combined to provide a flawed picture of Soviet deployments. David Gioe's chapter, like Petersen's, focuses on the role of intelligence, but at the operational and tactical level instead of the structural understanding. Specifically, Gioe reviews and critiques the human intelligence (HUMINT) tradecraft that was used by the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) to run Soviet Military Intelligence (GRU) Colonel Oleg Penkovsky, whose vital information fed many of the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) and ExComm assessments that were provided to both the Kennedy administration and Whitehall.

In the view of Michael Dobbs, the author of an account of the crisis that illuminates many of these risks, the world was at 'one minute to midnight' on the Doomsday clock.²¹ Among the new evidence Dobbs provides of the risk of nuclear war are the testimonies of Soviet troops in Cuba, including the crews of the Ground Launched Cruise Missiles (GLCM) that were

forward-deployed within range of their designated target, the American naval base at Guantanamo Bay.

Global scope and focus

The historiography of the crisis has also developed beyond America and the Soviet Union. Most notably, the perspective and role of Cuba has enjoyed a growing salience.²² Understanding of the roles of America's allies, in particular Britain, Canada and Brazil, in addition to third parties, has also developed. In this volume, Aono's chapter reveals that Britain, as well as the US, tried to arrange mediation by third parties. Especially, London worked hard to establish the UN presence in Cuba in order to provide the US with diplomatic alternatives. This chapter also argues that Kennedy eventually began to see Britain as one of the possible mediators.

Highlighting the UK angle, Michael Goodman's chapter on the role of Britain's Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) during the missile crisis draws on the previously closed archives of America's closest ally to reveal fraught decision-making and a feeling of peril in Whitehall alongside Washington. Laura Stanley's chapter on Australia provides the perspective of another American ally and contributes to the growing literature on state viewpoints from across the globe. Leonardo Campus' chapter explores the Italian political perspectives on the crisis, using new documents from Italian, US and British archives, as well as interviews. The divisive nature and the desire for peace that characterized such reactions are highlighted. The government, led by the Christian Democrat's Fanfani, gave unenthusiastic support to the US moves, while Togliatti's Communist Party supported the USSR. Moreover, as the presence of NATO nuclear missiles made Italy both a target at risk and a possible subject of negotiation, it will be shown how Fanfani secretly tried to use them to play a role as a peace mediator.

Illustrative of the broadening focus on the global scale was the initiative of the Cold War International History Project in 2012 in publishing 800 pages of documentation on the 'Global Cuban missile crisis', including Bulgarian, Brazilian, Chinese, Chilean, Cuban, Czechoslovak, Danish, Dutch, East German, French, Hungarian, Japanese, Israeli, Italian, Mexican, Mongolian, North Korean, North Vietnamese, Polish, Romanian, Soviet, Swiss, Yugoslav and West German records.²³

Such documents traverse diplomatic activity and in some places encompass diplomatic engagement and initiative. More broadly, the 'world crisis' as Harold Macmillan described it in his diary, threatened a nuclear war in which hundreds of millions might die. This prompted 'the frightful desire to *do something*' he went on to record in his diary,²⁴ which included, as Peter Catterall points out in his chapter here, attempts to manage responses to the crisis in, and through, the United Nations. No other phenomenon in human history can have so engaged the attention and anxieties of so much of the global population. The personal experiences and

memories of people across the globe provide generally uncharted territory for academic exploration. A rare example of the social history of the crisis is provided by Alice George's *Awaiting Armageddon*, which examines American attitudes.²⁵ George begins with the observation that, 'For a precarious week in 1962, all Americans got a taste of life on death row'.²⁶ How far that was true for people all over the planet remains to be explored.

Despite the discoveries of recent research, there is still much more to be revealed about the handling of nuclear weapons before and during the Cuban missile crisis. It was not revealed until 2013 that the United States came remarkably close to the accidental detonation of a hydrogen bomb in North Carolina in January 1961, when three out of four safety mechanisms failed after a B-51 bomber broke up in mid-air.²⁷

In October 1962 it was not only Americans who felt that the end of the world might be at hand; in Britain the sense of danger was equally acute. As the chapter by Rosaleen Hughes and Jean Seaton on the BBC's role shows, television brought the Cuban crisis into the living rooms of the nation, and the visual images carried on the emergency programme *Flashpoint Cuba* left an indelible mark on the consciousness of the viewing public and became an intrinsic part of individual memories of the crisis. While it was a programme put together in an enormous hurry it can only properly be understood as the product both of the BBC's institutional position and the way in which it practised its journalism.

Fallibility, bias and necessity

Memories are fallible – and not just long-term memories. One of the seemingly more bizarre moments of the crisis occurred on 16 October when, as Kennedy pondered the deployment of the nuclear missiles in Cuba, he asked 'Why does he put them in there though? ... It's just as if we suddenly began to put a major number of MRBMs in Turkey. Now that'd be goddamn dangerous, I would think.'²⁸ McGeorge Bundy, his Assistant for National Security Affairs, had to remind him that the United States had indeed deployed Jupiter IRBMs in Turkey, each capable of projecting a 1.44 megaton-yield warhead beyond Moscow. More understandably, memories of events many years past can also be fallible. At one point, Anatoli Dobrynin, the highly experienced Soviet ambassador to Washington, mistakenly recalled that his crucial meeting with Robert Kennedy took place on Friday 26th rather than Saturday 27th October, raising the prospect of an entire recasting of the denouement of the crisis.²⁹

Yet memories are as indispensable as archival sources despite their fragmentary, ambiguous or, more often, inaccessible character. What is often crucial may not be written down. Sometimes it may not be said. Historians, of course, seek to use all forms of evidence in devising their narratives and analyses. Historians of the missile crisis continue to debate 'what?', 'why?', 'when?' and 'who?', but also 'what if?' The circumstances in which

decision-makers considered the use of weapons of mass destruction – be they heads of state or captains of submarines – require enquiry beyond memory and experience. Seeking the recreation of the nuclear past and the moment of greatest global peril in October 1962 remains a necessity for those wishing to understand the past and to preserve the future. This collection aims to serve these goals.

Notes

- 1 James G. Blight, Joseph S. Nye and David A. Welch, 'The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited', *Foreign Affairs*, 66/1 (Fall 1987) 188.
- 2 James G. Blight and David A. Welch, 'Risking "The Destruction of Nations": Lessons of the Cuban Missile Crisis for New and Aspiring Nuclear States', *Security Studies*, 4/4 (Summer 1995) 811.
- 3 James G. Blight and David A. Welch, *On the Brink: Americans and Soviets Reexamine the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: Noonday Press 1990).
- 4 Bruce J. Allyn, James G. Blight and David A. Welch, *Back to the Brink: Proceedings of the Moscow Conference on the Cuban Missile Conference, January 27–28, 1989*, CSIA Occasional Paper No 9 (Lanham, MD: University of America Press 1992).
- 5 James G. Blight, Bruce J. Allyn and David A. Welch, *Cuba on the Brink: Castro, the Missile Crisis and the Soviet Collapse* (New York: Pantheon 1993).
- 6 Mark Kramer, 'Tactical nuclear weapons, Soviet command authority, and the Cuban missile crisis', and reply to Kramer: James G. Blight, Bruce J. Allyn and David A. Welch, 'Kramer vs. Kramer, or How Can You Have Revisionism in the Absence of Orthodoxy?', *Cold War International History Project Bulletin*, Issue 3 (Fall, 1993), www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/bulletin-no-3-fall-1993 (last accessed 20 February 2013); Mark Kramer, Bruce J. Allyn, James G. Blight and David A. Welch, 'Correspondence: Remembering the Cuban Missile Crisis: Should We Swallow Oral History?', *International Security*, 15/1 (Summer 1990) 212–18.
- 7 Anatoli I. Gribkov and William Y. Smith, *Operation Anadyr: US and Soviet Generals Recount the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Chicago: Edition Q 1994) p. 165.
- 8 Sheldon M. Stern, *The Cuban Missile Crisis in American Memory: Myth Versus Reality* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 2012).
- 9 Robert Kennedy, *Thirteen Days: The Cuban Missile Crisis 1962* (London: Pan 1969).
- 10 'Position of George Ball' 18 October 1962, in Laurence Chang and Peter Kornbluh (eds), *The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962 – A National Security Archive Documents Reader* (New York: The New Press 1992) p. 121. For scrutiny of the Pearl Harbor analogy, see Dominic Tierney, '“Pearl Harbor in Reverse”: Moral Analogies in the Cuban Missiles Crisis', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 9/3 (Summer 2007) 49–77.
- 11 Kennedy, *Thirteen Days*, p. 36.
- 12 Aleksandr Fursenko and Timothy Naftali, 'One Hell of a Gamble': *Khrushchev, Castro, Kennedy and the Cuban Missile Crisis 1958–1964* (London: John Murray 1997) pp. 283–7.
- 13 Aleksandr Fursenko and Timothy Naftali, *Khrushchev's Cold War: The Inside Story of an American Adversary* (New York: W.W. Norton 2006) pp. 483–5.
- 14 Allyn *et al.*, *Back to the Brink*, pp. 92–3. The wording Sorenson used could nevertheless be interpreted as denoting a deal. See Chapter 13 in this book.
- 15 Philip Nash, *The Other Missiles of October: Eisenhower, Kennedy, and the Jupiters 1957–1963* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1997) pp. 156–8.

- 16 McGeorge Bundy, *Danger and Survival: Choices About the Bomb in the First Fifty Years* (New York: Random House 1988) p. 434.
- 17 Stern, *Cuban Missile Crisis in American Memory*.
- 18 Sergei Radchenko, 'The Cuban Missile Crisis: Assessment of New, and Old, Russian Sources', *International Relations*, 26/3 (September 2012) 327–43.
- 19 Scott D. Sagan, *The Limits of Safety: Organisations, Accidents, and Nuclear Weapons* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1993).
- 20 See William Burr and Thomas S. Blanton, *The Submarines of October*, *National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No 75*, 31 October 2002, www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB75 (last accessed 20 February 2013); Svetlana V. Savranskaya, 'Soviet Submarines in the Cuban Missile Crisis', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 28/2 (April 2005) 233–59; Peter Huchthausen, *October Fury* (New York: John Wiley 2002).
- 21 Michael Dobbs, *One Minute to Midnight: Kennedy, Khrushchev and Castro on the Brink of Nuclear War* (London: Hutchinson 2008).
- 22 For recent studies that illuminate and re-evaluate the role of Cuba and Castro, see James G. Blight and Janet M. Lang, *The Armageddon Letters: Kennedy/Khrushchev/Castro in the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield 2012) and Sergo Mikoyan (ed. Svetlana Savranskaya), *The Soviet Cuban Missile Crisis: Castro, Mikoyan, Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Missiles of November* (Washington: DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 2012).
- 23 *The Global Cuban Missile Crisis at 50: New Evidence from Behind the Iron, Bamboo, and Sugarcane Curtains, and Beyond*, Cold War International History Project Bulletin, Issue 17/18 (Fall 2012), www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/bulletin-no-17-18 (last accessed 20 February 2013).
- 24 Peter Catterall (ed.), *The Macmillan Diaries, vol. II: Prime Minister and After 1957–1966* (London: Macmillan 2011) pp. 508, 514 (22 October 1962, 4 November 1962).
- 25 Alice George, *Awaiting Armageddon: How Americans Faced the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press 2003).
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- 27 Eric Schlosser, *Command and Control* (London: Allen Lane 2013) pp. 245–7. Schlosser provides a profoundly disturbing account of American nuclear weapons safety during the Cold War.
- 28 Ernest R. May and Philip D. Zelikow (eds), *The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House during the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997) p. 100. A possible alternative explanation was that the key word was 'suddenly' and that JFK recalled the deployment which as he remarked had been decided five years previously.
- 29 Bruce J. Allyn, James G. Blight and David A. Welch, 'Essence of Revision: Moscow, Havana and the Cuban Missile Crisis', *International Security*, 14/3 (Winter 1989/90) 158–9.