

The Turks would charge this is . . . the only thing, as I say, is if this is going to come, we ought to . . . the Turks and NATO, this is on the cheap for them, they will say the United States is pulling out in order to try to make a deal on Cuba. I mean, no matter whether we say it's to protect Turkey or not. That's the way they're going to think about it.

McNamara: Well we can put it—

Dillon: We have to say “provided NATO agrees.”

McNamara: I was going to say, we can put it on an either/or basis. We can say: “We're in a position where we believe we're going to have to attack Cuba. If we attack Cuba, there's a great likelihood that the Soviets will attack the missiles in Turkey.”

President Kennedy: Or in Italy.

McNamara: Or in Italy.

“We are willing, if you would wish us to do so, to give you [Turkey] additional guarantees, to move Polaris submarines there, to place additional planes in, and to state beforehand that the missiles in Turkey and Italy have been rendered inoperable *before we attack Cuba*, thereby increasing your safety if you wish us to do so.” I would put it on that basis.

Dillon: I think that's the best way.

Robert Kennedy: If they don't take it—

McNamara: If they don't take it, that's their decision.

President Kennedy: Yeah, and if they don't take it, we feel you [Turks] should recognize this danger, accept the danger.

McNamara: Yes, yes.

Dillon: I think that's the only way we can put it.

McNamara: Right. Let's try to work that out.

President Kennedy: This will be for a [NATO] meeting tomorrow. Don't you think we ought to have them get in touch with us as soon as possible?

Bundy: No, I think I would not do it tomorrow, Mr. President, myself.

President Kennedy: I think we ought to get moving on it. I think we have until tomorrow afternoon. You see, it's already midnight there. I think tomorrow afternoon.

McNamara: We send it to governments tonight and then in preparation for a meeting late tomorrow.

Robert Kennedy: Who do you send, who do you send it to?

Dillon: We're sending it to the heads of—

Sorensen: NATO governments.

McNamara: NATO governments.