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COMPLAINT BY THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF CUBA REGARDING THE VARIOUS PLANS OF AGGRESSION AND ACTS OF INTERVENTION BEING EXECUTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF CUBA, CONSTITUTING A MANIFEST VIOLATION OF ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE, AND A CLEAR THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

Letter dated 23 February 1961 from the Minister for External Relations of Cuba, addressed to the President of the General Assembly

I have the honour to transmit to you an exact copy of the note which I sent, on behalf of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Latin America, and I would ask that the full text be circulated to the representatives of Member States as an official United Nations document:

Sir,

Since assuming power on 1 January 1959, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba has pursued an independent foreign policy based on specific principles. Although this policy has been explicitly, firmly and consistently stated both within international organizations and outside them, it would perhaps not be idle to reiterate these principles in a frank, sincere and unemotional explanatory statement to the Foreign Ministries of our Continent. Nor would it be idle to recall the threats, attacks and dangers which the people of Cuba have had to endure in order to instil substance into the abstract letter of the instruments and provisions governing the international juridical community.

The foreign policy of the Cuban revolution is grounded in the sovereign equality of all States, in the right to self-determination of peoples, in respect for the domestic jurisdiction of each country, in renunciation of the use of force as a means of settling international disputes, in freedom

of trade and in ties of co-operation, coexistence and friendship between all Governments and peoples of the world, regardless of their political ideology, economic structure or social system. In accordance with these principles, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, notwithstanding the harassment, threats and attacks to which it has been and is being subjected, has endeavoured and still endeavours to contribute to the improvement of harmonious relations within the hemisphere and to assist in lessening the international tensions which seriously jeopardize peace and security in America and the rest of the world. Cuba's highest aspiration is to build, without interference or oppression, the free, prosperous, happy and peaceful life to which its hard-working, self-sacrificing and heroic people are entitled. However, foreign interests, forces and greed have conspired to prevent Cuba from living in peace and - without pausing to reflect that direct or indirect, overt or covert military intervention would inexorably bring with it an international conflict of incalculable magnitude and consequences - are ruthlessly bent on dragging her back into the poverty, backwardness and dependence from which she heroically freed herself.

The centre of power of this international conspiracy against the self-determination, independence and sovereignty of Cuba was the Government of President Eisenhower; its direct agents, the Cuban war criminals and counter-revolutionaries who took refuge in the territory of the United States; and its launching points, the satellite Governments of Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Peru. There is no need at this stage to give a detailed account of the spurious pretexts, clumsy manoeuvres, manifest pressures, humiliating offers, manipulation of votes, economic aggression, trade embargoes, acts of subversion and diplomatic coercion resorted to by President Eisenhower's Government in its obsessive design to destroy the Cuban revolution. This has all been dealt with in the Security Council, at the Seventh Meeting of Consultation and in the United Nations General Assembly, and you have access to the relevant documents. Nor need I dwell on the violations of and disregard and contempt for the Charters of the United Nations and the Organization of American States which accompanied the pursuit of that design, for these are also matters coming within your

competence. Nor, for the same reasons, need I emphasize the weighty international responsibilities which that Government incurred by introducing its cold-war policy into the hemisphere and placing the world on the brink of a thermo-nuclear catastrophe by direct military intervention in Cuba. The aim pursued on the pretext that Cuba was becoming a "pawn of international Communism" was obviously punitive - to punish the Cuban people on account of their legitimate aspirations for the political freedom, economic development and social advancement of the under-developed or dependent peoples of Latin America, Africa, Asia and Oceania.

The dire mandate of President Eisenhower expired without his being able to carry out his typically imperialist designs, for these were frustrated time and again by the determination of the Revolutionary Government, the courage of the Cuban people, the condemnation of international bodies, the generous help of friendly countries and the mobilization of world public opinion. The concluding episode in this sinister scheme was the abortive attempt at a collective severance of relations - supported only by the Government of Peru - and its epilogue, a sure sign of impotence and desperation, namely, the unilateral suspension of diplomatic and consular relations with Cuba. Throughout the dramatic course of this conflict, deliberately created by the United States Government, the Revolutionary Government confined itself, in the exercise of its right of self-defence, to adopting appropriate measures to maintain the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nation. At the same time it maintained an attitude that would favour bilateral negotiations, on an equal footing and with an open agenda, concerning differences with the aggressor Government, as is attested to in diplomatic notes and in statements by Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós, the President of the Republic, and by Dr. Fidel Castro, the Prime Minister. What the Revolutionary Government has always rejected, still rejects and will continue to reject is to negotiate those differences from the position of strength adopted by the United States Government and likewise attested to in diplomatic notes and in statements by Secretary of State Herter and by President Eisenhower.

The slender hopes entertained by the Revolutionary Government in a change of outlook and methods on the part of the new administration in its policy towards Cuba are already beginning to evaporate. So far the words and deeds of President Kennedy and his associates could not have been more intemperate and hostile. But there is something even more serious. The proclaimed policy of "starting afresh" has been reflected, in so far as Cuba is concerned, in a continuation of the cold-war policy of the previous administration. The Revolutionary Government has reliable information that the United States Government has been devising and is carrying out a new plan of aggression against Cuba, once more violating the Charters of the United Nations and the Organization of American States and posing an imminent threat to the peace and security of the hemisphere and the world.

The main purpose of this note is to bring the foregoing matters to the attention of the Foreign Ministries of our America. The Revolutionary Government is well aware of the profound disquiet which some of them feel at the state of international tension caused by the progressive deterioration in relations between the two countries, and of their praiseworthy desire to offer their good offices in seeking arrangements which might remove or mitigate that state of tension, without infringing the principles of non-intervention, the sovereign equality of States and the right of peoples to self-determination.

However, before giving details of the above-mentioned plan of aggression, I feel it indispensable, because of the light which this throws on the matter, to point out objectively the contrast between the position adopted by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba and that assumed by the Government of the United States of America.

On 20 January 1961, a few hours after President John F. Kennedy had taken office, Dr. Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, spoke as follows:

"What is the reason for demobilization? The reason is the change which has just taken place in the administration of the United States of America. What does that mean? The change of administration which has taken place in the United States of America simply means a slight

hope for mankind that the Government of that country may rectify, if not at all, at least some of the great mistakes and great errors of the previous administration. How great is that hope? It is small, but, like all hope, it is difficult to measure. When mankind has such an urgent need for peace, when countries have such an urgent need to be left alone in their work, any hope, however small, is still a hope; however small, it may yet be called a great hope. The only important thing is the greatness of the need, and mankind has a very great need for peace. Therefore, a small hope, in view of the great need for peace, is a great hope.

"The new President has spoken today. To us, reading his words, his speech had some positive aspects which we, who are happy to see one word which deviates from the perverse and odious policy of his predecessor, accept so far as those positive aspects are concerned, especially when the tenor and tone is different, and especially when he addresses himself to public opinion in the United States of America. We believe that one of the most serious problems in the United States of America is that public opinion has been endlessly subjected over the years to a veritable barrage of false propaganda, a veritable barrage of venom and lies, a veritable barrage of hysteria. We, the people of Cuba, do not wish to prejudge nor to judge. We, the people of Cuba, can and will wait, and wait calmly. We never gave way to hatred, we never gave way to hysteria, even when the tremendous threat of a blow from a powerful enemy hovered over us. No one here lost his tranquillity, no one lost his serenity, no one lost his smile.

"What shall I say at the prospect of peace for our country and peace for the world? I welcome that opportunity, and I welcome that peace. And I only hope that the United States Government may be led by men capable of understanding their tremendous responsibility toward the world. I hope that they may have the strength and the courage to speak honestly to the people of the United States of America. I hope that they may realize that that is the duty which lies before them, and I hope that they may meet with success if they carry out that obligation.

"We shall be glad of any change for the better. We know what lies ahead for the new President of the United States of America. If he takes an honest path, for the good of the world and the good of his own country, we wish him success. In the meantime, we await deeds, which are more eloquent than words."

The Revolutionary Government has accordingly pursued an open-minded policy of patient waiting. It has, in short, waited in a dignified and responsible manner for deeds.

Five days after taking office, President Kennedy, on being asked at a press conference under what conditions he would consider resuming diplomatic relations with Cuba and whether he was considering such a step, spoke as follows:

"Well, to take the last part first, we are not considering such a step at the present time. I may say that the United States is interested, and I think this Administration is extremely interested in movements in Latin America and Central America, or the Caribbean which provide a better life for the people. And if American interests may be damaged by those movements - or revolutions, or whatever term you want to use - we feel that this should be a matter that should be negotiated. What we are of course concerned about is when these movements are seized by external forces and directed not to improving the welfare of the people involved but towards imposing an ideology which is alien to this hemisphere, that is a matter of concern, particularly when that intervention takes the form of military support which threatens the security and the peace of the Western hemisphere.

"Now, I am hopeful that governments will be established throughout all of Latin America and governments which are established will - and I think nearly all of them do - share the same view that we have to provide in this hemisphere a better life for the people involved, that we are interested in that, that we are concerned about it, that American policy will be directed towards that end. But we are also concerned that in the name of that peaceful revolution when seized by

aliens for their purposes, it is very difficult for the United States to carry on happy relations with those countries.

"So in answer to your question we have no plan at present to resume diplomatic relations with the Soviet U - with Cuba - because of the factors which are involved in that island."

In his message to Congress on 30 January 1961, President Kennedy spoke as follows:

"In Latin America, Communist agents seeking to exploit that region's peaceful revolution of hope have established a base on Cuba, only ninety miles from our shores. Our objection with Cuba is not over the people's drive for a better life. Our objection is to their domination by foreign and domestic tyrannies. Cuban social and economic reform should be encouraged. Questions of economic and trade policy can always be negotiated. But Communist domination in this hemisphere can never be negotiated.

"We are pledged to work with our sister republics to free the Americas of all such foreign domination and all tyranny, working toward the goal of a free hemisphere of free governments, extending from Cape Horn to the Arctic Circle.

"Life in 1961 will not be easy. Wishing it, predicting it, even asking for it, will not make it so. There will be further setbacks before the tide is turned. But turn it we must. The hopes of all mankind rest upon us - not simply upon those of us in this Chamber, but upon the peasant in Laos, the fisherman in Nigeria, the exile from Cuba, the spirit that moves every man and nation who shares our hopes for freedom and the future. And in the final analysis, they rest most of all upon the pride and perseverance of our fellow American citizens."

On 31 January, replying to a question by a United Kingdom correspondent concerning the possibility of negotiations with the United States Government, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós, President of the Republic, said:

"The Revolutionary Government is prepared to negotiate on all questions except one. The question on which it cannot negotiate is our national independence."

At a press conference on 1 February, President Kennedy spoke the following words:

"Anyone who reads the daily papers is also aware of the steps which have been taken in recent months to increase the iron control of Mr. Castro on Cuba; the shipments of thousands of tons of arms to that country; the expansion of the militia. Those are all factors which affect the security of the United States."

On 8 February, at another press conference, President Kennedy made the following reply to questions concerning Cuba:

"The Cuban and the problem of tyranny throughout all of Latin America is a matter which is, of course, of special concern to Mr. Berle and his group - the inter-departmental group - and they have not concluded their analysis as yet. We are giving the matter of Cuba and its export of its revolution throughout Latin America a matter of high priority. I could not state what actions will be taken yet until Mr. Berle, Mr. Mann and Mr. Rusk have concluded their deliberations, which are now going ahead very intensely."

On 15 February, Dr. Fidel Castro, the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, made the following statement in the course of an interview granted to a United States correspondent:

"Cuba wishes to live in peace with all nations, including the United States. The daily parachuting of United States arms to the counter-revolutionaries in the Escambray area constitutes an obstacle to normal relations."

On the very same day, President Kennedy announced that he was studying measures for banning the import of molasses, fruit and vegetables from Cuba, thus continuing President Eisenhower's policy of economic aggression - a policy which has constituted, under both administrations, a violation of article 16 of the Bogotá Charter, since the objective is to coerce the sovereign will of the Cuban State and to obtain unlawful advantages.

The contrast between the two attitudes - that of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba characterized by calm watchfulness, and that of the United States Government marked by violence and threats - calls for no comment. I am merely drawing your attention to them so that you may form your own judgement.

According to information in the possession of this Ministry, the new plan of aggression against Cuba calls for a short-term and a long-term operation. The strategic objective of the short-term operation is to overthrow the Revolutionary Government before the Quito Conference of American States. If that fails, the long-term operation is to be used to achieve the same result by means of a tactic similar to that employed by the colonial Powers in the case of the Congo, i.e. by utilizing the Organization of American States in the same way as was done with the Security Council.

The first phase of the plan is already under way. The course chosen by the Government of President Kennedy is apparently that of creating conditions which will justify or serve as a pretext for indirect military aggression - organized, directed and supplied by the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency or camouflaged by a declaration of war against Cuba by Guatemala, Peru or Nicaragua, so as to make it possible to establish a beach-head in Cuban territory and to set up a spurious Provisional Government which would be given immediate recognition and, most likely, direct military aid. This explains, on the one hand, the constant repetition of the false accusations made by the previous administration and, on the other hand, the economic aid and moral encouragement given to Cuban war criminals and counter-revolutionaires, together with feverish diplomatic activity designed to set the stage for aggression by holding a Meeting of Consultation with the twofold objective of forcing the collective severance of relations with Cuba and the establishment of the inter-American police force proposed by Senator Smathers and now disguised under another name. On the basis of the information in the possession of the Revolutionary Government, I can state that, for the purpose of carrying out the first phase of the plan, the Government of President Kennedy can already count on the backing and the votes of the dictatorships and the puppet Governments, and especially of the Guatemalan Government, which was assigned the task of proposing that the Meeting of Consultation should be held. I can also state that one of the principal means being used to induce the Governments of Latin America to carry out the collective severance of relations is that of falsely accusing the Revolutionary Government of smuggling arms to their opponents - arms which, in reality, are being shipped by agents of the Central Intelligence Agency

so that they can be "discovered" at the proper moment with a view to obtaining the votes of those countries which are still reluctant to agree to the plot.

The territory of Guatemala is today one of the most active breeding-grounds of counter-revolution. The mercenaries and adventurers who are receiving military training from United States instructors at the Helvetia and San Carlos plantations are believed to number more than 5,000. The greater part of this invasion force was recruited at Miami and brought to Guatemala in United States aircraft. Tactical exercises involving parachute drops from United States aircraft bearing official markings are being carried out in an isolated mountain region 350 kilometres from the capital. Performing the treacherous role assigned to it in President Kennedy's plan, the Guatemalan Government has sent a circular to the other Latin American Governments on "the need to study the danger represented by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba". The circular was prepared and distributed after Carlos Urrutia Aparicio, Guatemala's Ambassador to the Organization of American States, had held a number of conversations with the State Department aide Adolf Berle.

The strategy of organizing attacks, disturbances or frontier raids accompanied by cries of "Viva Castro!" and "Viva Cuba!" so that they will be blamed on the Revolutionary Government, such as those which are to take place in Ecuador during Holy Week, is part of the same policy, as are the intrigues stirred up for the purpose of causing dissension or estrangement between the Revolutionary Government and friendly Latin American Governments. It would not be at all surprising if recourse was had to the classic expedient of a military coup in those countries which are unwilling to give the United States their unconditional support or to carry out criminal acts. It is not for nothing that the aims of the nefarious machinations against Cuba extend beyond the boundaries of that island.

The contention that the dispute between Cuba and the United States is a dispute between Cuba and the Western Hemisphere, i.e. between "international Communism" and the "free world", and that its military implications are of more urgent concern to the continent than the solution of Latin America's economic problems, constitutes the "ideological" cover-up for the strategy

now unfolding, whose political architects are Thomas Mann, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs; Adolf Berle, a former occupant of that post; and the Puerto Rican, Arturo Morales Carrión, all of them avowed enemies of the Cuban revolution and of the independent development of the peoples of our continent.

At a meeting six weeks ago of Ambassadors to the Organization of American States, Thomas Mann bluntly proposed a concerted hemispheric effort to overthrow the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, accusing it of responsibility for the political unrest afflicting certain Latin American Governments. The meeting ended suddenly, however, when one of the Ambassadors present replied that the cause of that unrest would not be removed by attacking Cuba but by destroying the roots of economic backwardness. Unfortunately, the fact that Mann, who during the Eisenhower Administration stubbornly opposed any peaceful solution of the differences between the United States and Cuba, is still in the State Department confirms the aggressive tendency of President Kennedy's policy with respect to our country.

The increase in economic aid to the so-called Cuban refugees and the appointment of a Cabinet member as commissioner in charge of this task have been accompanied by strong pressure on the ringleaders of the war criminals and counter-revolutionaries to complete their preparations and embark on definite action as soon as possible. The propaganda of these ringleaders through the United States Press and Radio Swan - the United States broadcasting station which was put into operation by the Government of President Eisenhower - is proclaiming the imminence of aggression for all to hear. At the same time, United States aircraft piloted by United States citizens and taking off from Florida, have repeatedly violated Cuban air space, dropping United States weapons to the Escambray area and subversive propaganda over Havana. Not only has the Government of President Kennedy failed to take any action to prevent this, but it has even failed to express its disapproval. There is assuredly no threat to the security of the United States by reason of the establishment of "a Communist base only ninety miles from our shores" - as President Kennedy, deliberately distorting the facts, affirmed. However, the security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cuba are indeed threatened by the new acts of aggression and intervention

by the Government of the United States and the conspiratorial activities of the United States naval station at Guantanamo, the only foreign military base ensconced in Cuban territory.

The Revolutionary Government is particularly anxious to make plain to the Foreign Ministries of our America that the origin and development, and the present aggravation, of the conflict between Cuba and the United States are attributable exclusively to the United States Government. The Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba, in the free exercise of their sovereignty and independence, have confined themselves to promulgating the laws necessary to give land to the peasants, and to industrialize the country, improve living conditions, guarantee the democratic participation of the people in the conduct of their affairs, condemn racial discrimination, eliminate illiteracy, and establish diplomatic and commercial relations with all countries of the world on a basis of mutual respect, equal treatment and mutual benefit. The reaction of the United States Government to the exercise by Cuba of its rights as a free, independent and sovereign nation was not only to attempt to block the economic development and social advancement of the country through a merciless economic war, but also to resort to every means to overthrow the Revolutionary Government and install a régime that would restore the privileges of the United States monopolies and meekly carry out the policy dictated by the White House according to the pattern of the past. It has been unwilling to acknowledge or accept the fact that the Cuban revolution is an irrevocable historical fact. On the contrary, it has wanted and still wants to crush it by force regardless of the consequences. This explains its reluctance to settle the differences between the two countries in a peaceful manner through bilateral diplomatic negotiations. The attitude of the Revolutionary Government continues to be the same. Hence, it regards as praiseworthy any action by the Latin American Governments to settle by peaceful means any disputes or conflicts between American States, to avoid military or economic aggression against any of them and to prevent direct or indirect interference by one or more States in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of another State.

The Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba wish to live in peace and with all their neighbours. They do not threaten the independence,

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sovereignty or territorial integrity of the United States or of any other country. They have no intention of invading, attacking or declaring war on any country, for the key to the foreign policy of the Cuban revolution is the defence of peace and of peaceful relations among States. They do not allow their country to be used as a base for attack or aggression against any other country, whether in this hemisphere or in any other part of the globe, and they have no desire to do so. On the other hand, the Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba are determined to continue, by their own means and with the aid of any disinterested parties, to reject every kind of threat and aggression and, at the cost of the most arduous sacrifice, to maintain their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the inalienable right to decide for themselves the course and structure of the nation's political, economic, social and cultural life. In harmony with their exemplary conduct, the Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba have not been sparing in publicly acknowledging their gratitude to the Governments and peoples which have condemned the United States policy of force, have refused to co-operate in the economic blockade or have offered their material and moral support.

Another point that must be made crystal-clear is that Cuba has not sought and does not seek to export its revolution. Revolutionary-type changes and transformations in the basis of a society are matters within the exclusive jurisdiction of each nation. The Revolutionary Government scrupulously respects the principle of non-intervention and the right of peoples to self-determination. While it does not, therefore, export its revolution, it is resolutely determined to use every resource and means at its disposal to prevent any other nation from exporting counter-revolution. Although the Revolutionary Government of Cuba respects the road chosen by each nation, it demands that its own choice be respected.

Cuba will continue fighting what has already become its historic battle in the Organization of American States, but the experience with the inter-American system has been too bitter and discouraging for the Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba for them to be able to rely on its organs and machinery. Still fresh in our memories are the shabby episode of Costa Rica and the fraudulent manoeuvre of convening a Meeting of

Consultation to justify the armed aggression financed, prepared and supported by the powerful Government of the United States against the tiny fatherland of José Martí. The Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba cherish a vigorous faith and firm hope in the solidarity, co-operation and mutual assistance of the peoples who share our background. As long as the great community of peoples conceived by Simón Bolívar continues to be a dream and a distant objective, the Revolutionary Government will keep the flame of that ideal burning and will ever be ready to co-operate in any endeavour to expedite an effective solution of common problems and to strengthen the sovereignty, independence and security of the nations of our America.

I am sure that you will give close attention to the points of view of the Revolutionary Government on matters affecting not only the independence, sovereignty and self-determination of the people of Cuba, but also harmonious relations throughout the hemisphere and international peace and security. The opinion of your Government in these matters, and especially with regard to the interventionist manoeuvre implicit in the call for a Meeting of Consultation, will be greatly appreciated by this Foreign Ministry.

In view of the urgency and gravity of the situation just described, the Revolutionary Government reserves the right, after delivering this note to the Heads of Mission accredited in Cuba, to publish its contents and transmit a copy to the United Nations and the Organization of American States with the request that it be circulated as an official document among the representatives of the Member States.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) Raúl ROA
