Complaint by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba regarding the various plans of aggression and acts of aggression being executed by the Government of the United States of America against the Republic of Cuba, constituting a manifest violation of its territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence, and a clear threat to international peace and security.

Chairman: Mr. Karel KURKA (Czechoslovakia).

AGENDA ITEM 90

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1. Mr. ROA (Cuba), citing Article 1, paragraph 1, and Article 2, paragraphs 3 and 4, of the United Nations Charter, said that he had been instructed by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba to denounce the act of aggression carried out that morning against the territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Cuba, an act which raised a serious threat to international peace and security. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba solemnly accused the Government of the United States of having resorted to the use of force to settle its differences with a State Member of the United Nations. For over a year, the United States had been waging an undeclared war against one of the smallest countries in the world in an effort to subject it once again to United States political hegemony and economic exploitation in defiance of the basic principles of the Charter and of international law. The present attack by aircraft of United States manufacture on three Cuban cities was undoubtedly the prelude to a large-scale invasion organized, equipped and financed by the United States Government with the complicity of its satellite dictatorships in the Western hemisphere and with the assistance of Cuban traitors and mercenaries being trained in United States territory and in Guatemala by experts of the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency.

2. Official United States propaganda was cynically attempting to distort the truth by asserting that the attack had been carried out by members of the Cuban Air Force in revolt against their Government. He read out the official statement dated 15 April issued by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, which set forth the facts supporting its charge of United States aggression. As that statement showed, B-26 bombers had simultaneously attacked targets in the cities of Havana, San Antonio de los Baños and Santiago de Cuba. Anti-raft batteries had opened fire on the attackers, one of which had fled in flames, and aircraft of the Cuban Air Force had immediately taken off in pursuit of the others. Subsequently it had been learned that seven persons had been killed and many wounded. It had been a cowardly, surprise attack.

3. The foreign diplomatic corps in Cuba had been informed of the bombing, and had been shown fragments of the bombs and rockets used. The attack had coincided with sun spot disturbances which had interfered with radio communications. That coincidence indicated that the bombing had been timed on the advice of the technical experts of the Central Intelligence Agency. The same technique had been used during the Second World War to bomb targets in full daylight. Obviously, the reports of the Meteorological Branch of the United States Air Force must have been used, with a view to cutting the targets off from all communication.

4. Further proof of the interventionist and aggressive attitude of the United States authorities could be found in the announcement made by the organization of Cuban traitors established in New York that it had been in contact with the mercenaries who had carried out the bombing and had been familiar with their plan from the outset. That in itself was a violation of the United States neutrality laws which would not have been possible without the complicity of the authorities. Moreover, the pilots of the attacking bombers had taken refuge in Florida; and the representatives of the United States mercenaries had announced that they would bomb Cuban cities again at 10 p.m. that night.

5. Without prejudice to its right of self-defence, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba reserved its right to have recourse, as it saw fit, to all the means of redress available to it under the United Nations Charter.

6. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America) said that in reply to the charges made by the representative of Cuba he wished to report a few facts. On 14 April, the chief of the Cuban Air Force and his brother had landed a Cubana Airlines cargo plane at Jacksonville, Florida, and had requested political asylum in the United States. They would be given a hearing in Miami by immigration officials and their request for political asylum would be considered in accordance with the usual procedure.

7. The Cuban representative's charges against the United States concerning the bombing attacks reported to have been carried out on Havana and Santiago airports and on Cuban Air Force headquarters at San Antonio de los Baños were wholly unfounded, and he rejected them categorically. As the President of the United States had said, there would not under any conditions be any intervention in Cuba by United States armed forces, and the United States would do everything in its power to ensure that no Americans par-
participated in any actions against Cuba. So far as concerned the events which had purportedly occurred that morning and the previous day, the United States would consider requests for political asylum in accordance with its usual practices. Those who believed in freedom and sought asylum from tyranny and oppression would always receive sympathetic understanding and consideration from the American people and the United States Government.

8. The two aircraft which had landed in Florida that day had been piloted by Cuban Air Force pilots who had apparently defected from Castro’s tyranny. No United States personnel had participated. No United States aircraft of any kind had participated; the two planes involved had belonged to the Cuban Air Force, and according to their pilots they had taken off from Castro’s own Air Force field. He exhibited the photograph of one of them, which showed clearly visible tail markings indicating that the plane belonged to the Castro Air Force. As was known, the United States was exercising perpetual surveillance over airfields in the southeastern part of the country in order to prevent take-off from the United States to Cuba.

9. The Cuban pilot who had landed in Miami had stated that he was one of the twelve B-26 pilots who had remained in the Castro Air Force after the defection of Díaz Lanz and the purge which had followed. Three of his fellow-pilots and he had for months been planning an escape from Cuba. Acting on a suspicion that one of their number had betrayed them to Cuban Intelligence, they had decided to take action at once. He had taken off on a routine patrol from his base, San Antonio de los Baños, on a section of Pinar del Río and around the Isle of Pines; the other two pilots had taken off from Ciudad Libertad. He had made two strafing runs at planes on the ground at the San Antonio airfield. Then, being unable because of shortage of fuel to reach the destination agreed upon with his comrades, he had had to go to Miami.

10. Steps had been taken to impound the Cuban aircraft which had landed in Florida; they would not be permitted to take off for Cuba. He concluded by recalling President Kennedy’s statement that the basic issue in Cuba was not one between the United States and Cuba, but one between the Cubans themselves. The history of Cuba had been a history of fighting for freedom. Regardless of what happened, the Cubans would carry on that fight; the activities of the past twenty-four hours confirmed that historic fact.

11. Mr. SANTISO GALVEZ (Guatemala) said he wished to protest against the Cuban representative’s assertion that troops were being trained in Guatemala to attack Cuba, which was entirely false.

12. Mr. ROA (Cuba) said the fact that an aircraft which had landed at Miami had a Cuban star on its fuselage was mere evidence at all that it belonged to the Cuban Air Force. It was a common practice to paint aircraft with the markings of a country they were to attack; at Retalhuleu Airport in Guatemala there were many B-26 aircraft belonging to the mercenary invasion forces which carried Guatemalan markings. Contrary to what the Guatemalan representative said, it was clear from newspaper and broadcast reports that Guatemala was one of the bridge-heads for the invasion of Cuba being organized by the United States Government. President Kennedy’s statement that United States armed forces would not intervene in Cuba was no guarantee: such statements were being made every day, and were merely a smoke-screen behind which an operation was at present being prepared against our country.

13. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the bombing of Cuban cities was an act of direct aggression which could not fail to arouse deep indignation. It had been prepared for by an economic blockade of Cuba, a cold-war campaign against the country by press, radio and television and attempts to isolate it from other Latin American States. Behind a smoke-screen of propaganda about the spread of international communism to Cuba, thousands of Cuban counter-revolutionaries and assorted human floats had been prepared for military operations against Cuba. Forces trained in the United States and supplied with United States equipment, including bombers, had now launched a direct attack on the country. The most alarming fact was that the attack had taken place less than three days after the President of the United States had stated that his Government would not allow aggression against Cuba to be organized on the territory of the United States. He asked why, if that statement had been sincere, the United States Government had not prevented the attacks from taking place.

14. An article by Ted Szalik, in The New York Times of 14 April 1961 reported statements by the Cuban rebel leaders in Florida that President Kennedy’s declaration had not affected their military preparations, which were continuing, and that the usual assistance was still being provided. It might very well seem, therefore, that the purpose of President Kennedy’s statement had been to deceive the Cuban people and lull their vigilance. It should not be forgotten, however, that Cuba had many friends in the world who were ready to come to its aid, including the Soviet Union.

15. The United Nations must take immediate measures to stop aggression and restore peace and security in the Caribbean. The United States representative’s statement had been quite unsatisfactory, because he had not given any assurances that an end would be put to activity hostile to Cuba on United States soil. The United States was not entitled, merely because it did not like the Cuban régime, to take or allow any action on its territory which would help those elements in Cuba and other Latin American countries which were preparing an invasion of Cuba. It was therefore to be hoped that the United States representative would make his country’s position clearer as the discussion continued.

16. Mr. BEN ABDOU (Morocco) said that peace was vital to the economic development of the small countries. The great Powers were concerned with international affairs because of their role in maintaining the balance of power, but the small countries, such as his own, were also involved, since essentially the world was one and all countries were neighbours. The first duty of mankind was therefore to preserve peace by adhering to the Charter of the United Nations.

17. In former times Governments had been able to impose their will on their peoples. Any Government which tried to do so today, however, was doomed to extinction. The national aspirations of peoples were dominant and must be recognized if there was to be peace. The small countries could not control the policy of the great Powers. They could merely express the hope that international tension would not increase and that any disputes between small and large countries would be solved by negotiation rather than by force.

The meeting rose at 4.5 p.m.