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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 Republic of Cuba, constituting a manifest violation of its territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence, and a clear threat to international peace and security (continued) ........................................... 57

Chairman: Mr. Karel KURKA (Czechoslovakia).

AGENDA ITEM 90

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 Republic of Cuba, constituting a manifest violation of its territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence, and a clear threat to international peace and security (A/4537, A/4543, A/4581, A/4701, A/4708, A/4710, A/4716, A/4725) (continued)

1. Mr. ROA (Cuba) said he wished to state formally on behalf of his Government that the Republic of Cuba had been invaded that morning by a mercenary force organized, financed and armed by the Government of the United States and coming from Guatemala and Florida.

2. The Cuban delegation had requested the inclusion of the present item in the agenda for the fifteenth session of the General Assembly in a letter dated 18 October 1960 addressed to the President of the Assembly (A/4543). The plans of aggression and acts of intervention referred to in that letter had been the responsibility of the Republican Administration then in office in the United States. That had not been the first time that the Cuban Government had had occasion to denounce the policy of that Administration. On 11 July 1960 it had made a similar complaint to the Security Council. At the Seventh Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of States members of the Organization of American States, held at San José, Costa Rica, in August 1960, further evidence of United States aggression had been put forward, and at the 872nd plenary meeting of the General Assembly, on 26 September 1960, the Prime Minister of Cuba, Mr. Fidel Castro, had given a complete account of United States policy towards his country. On 31 December 1960, the Cuban Government had been obliged to complain to the Security Council that United States aggression against Cuba was imminent. The breaking off of diplomatic relations, preceded by an economic embargo and attempts to isolate Cuba, had been the signal that the United States was about to carry out its plans.

3. In no case had Cuba obtained justice from the various international organizations whose support it had sought, but it had been given the backing of world public opinion and, particularly, of the under-developed countries, which were opposed to all forms of imperialism and colonialism. It had also had the support of men and women who were brave enough to defy the repressive Government of the United States. The evidence put forward by the Cuban Government had been confirmed by a report in The New York Times of 10 January 1961, which stated that the United States Government was helping to train an anti-Castro force at a secret base constructed in Guatemala with United States money. It was the Cuban people who were suffering the consequences of such policies, through the activities of murderers and saboteurs paid by and directed from the United States.

4. It might be asked why Cuba had persisted in its charges after the change of Administration in the United States. When the Democratic Administration had assumed office, on 20 January 1961, the Cuban Government had hoped that, realizing the failure of previous United States policy, it would adopt a different attitude towards Cuba. If that hope had been fulfilled, Cuba would have withdrawn its complaint. However, the new Administration had continued to carry out its plans of aggression and acts of intervention, in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the Organization of American States and in contravention of the elementary principles of international law. The fact that the former policy had been not rejected but intensified could be seen from the document entitled “Cuba” distributed on 6 April 1961 by the United States delegation (A/4725), which was full of distortions and falsities. It showed that an undeclared war was being waged by the United States against one of the smallest countries in the world. The contrast between the hellicose policy of the United States and the patient policy of Cuba was striking, and was fully documented in the note which the Cuban Foreign Ministry had sent to the Ministers for External Relations of Latin America (A/4701).

5. The item under discussion had been referred to the First Committee because it related to international peace and security and the right to self-determination. The United Nations had no authority to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of States, and could deal with acts outside domestic jurisdiction only when they infringed the principles of the Charter, violated international treaties or endangered international peace and security. Cuba had never committed any such act. It had adhered strictly to the relevant articles of the

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2 Ibid., Supplement for October, November and December 1960, document S/4605.

57 A/C.1/SR.1150
Charter. By contrast, there was no treaty or other agreement which the United States had not broken in its policy towards Cuba. It had violated the fundamental principles of the inter-American system, and in particular had undermined the two pillars of that system, political sovereignty and economic security, the first being guaranteed by article 15 and the second by article 16 of the charter of the Organization of American States. It had disregarded the Protocol to the Convention on Duties and Rights of States in the Event of Civil Strife, under article 5 of which each Contracting State was pledged, in areas subject to its jurisdiction, to use all appropriate means to prevent any person, national or alien, from deliberately participating in the preparation, organization, or carrying out of a military enterprise having as its purpose the starting, promoting or supporting of civil strife in another Contracting State, whether or not the government of the latter had been recognized. Finally, it had violated title 18, sections 959 and 960, of the United States Code, under which it was a punishable offence for any person within the United States to enlist in the service of, or to assist any military expedition against, any foreign prince, state, colony, district, or people.

The pretext on which international law was thus being disregarded was the threat of communism. The same pretext had been invoked against earlier anti-imperialist social revolutions in Mexico, Guatemala and Bolivia. It continued to be invoked to support the capitalist and colonialist hegemony of the United States against any movement for social or economic reform in America. Threatening notes, political pressure and economic reprisals were followed by diplomatic action, which was succeeded, as had been the case with Cuba, by direct economic aggression, undisguised intervention, and the open organization of counter-revolution. A full reply to the charges made by the United States in document A/4725 was being prepared by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs and would be published under the title "Estados Unidos y Cuba: historia pública de un secreto a voces" (The United States and Cuba: The Public History of an Open Secret).

The United States had itself revolted against the political, economic and social domination of the English, and had never doubted its right to do so. Yet it was now organizing a counter-revolution against the Cuban Government. It had suppressed the sugar quota, declared an economic blockade, sent aircraft and weapons to Cuba, distributed millions of dollars to mercenaries, persuaded counter-revolutionary groups to unite and set up a Government in exile, and broadcast propaganda and incitements to civil war and sabotage to Cuba. While doing all this, it blandly denied the facts. Could it deny the existence of counter-revolutionary camps in Florida? Could it deny that the President of the United States had publicly offered to send the enemies of the Cuban Government, that the "Voice of America" and broadcasting stations in New York and Miami were inciting rebellion, that aircraft from Florida had burnt sugar plantations, dropped subversive propaganda, rescued criminals and bombed farms and factories? Had it not given protection to the war criminals who supported Batista and to other opponents of the revolution? Could it deny reports in various United States journals that the United States Government was spending $17,000 a day to maintain four or five bases for mercenaries in Central America, and that one of the main bases of the pirate planes, that at Opalo-Linka, Florida, belonged to the Marines? Could it deny that military supplies had been dropped in the region of Santa Lucia on 6 February 1961 and in the region of Naranjo on 13 February 1961? Did not those supplies consist of equipment manufactured for the armed services of the United States, equipment which could legally be sold only by inter-Governmental treaty? What principles of the United Nations Charter, it might be asked, authorized a Member State to wage undeclared war against another Member State and to interfere in its internal affairs?

8. "Operation Cuba" had been proceeding in the full light of publicity and within a short distance from United Nations Headquarters. Mr. Roa read out a series of addresses at which centres for the recruitment of counter-revolutionaries had been set up under the protection of the United States authorities. All of them were in New York City: thus, representatives could easily verify for themselves evidence of United States intervention against Cuba.

9. Reports published in two United States newspapers, the Miami Herald and The New York Times, showed that the counter-revolutionary mercenaries were recruited in New York and Florida, and were being supplied with regulation United States Army uniforms bearing no insignia or labels, and that small craft were regularly leaving the Florida coast for Cuba with cargoes of explosives and other sabotage supplies and returning to their bases under the protection of the United States authorities. The New York Times had explained that the plan was to co-ordinate subversive activity inside Cuba with the arrival of guerrillas from Guatemala when sabotage activities had reached their peak. Mercenaries had been training in Guatemala since May 1960, and additional groups were continuing to arrive from the United States. The Guatemalan base, the same newspaper had reported, included a 4,500-foot airstrip and a concentration of transport aircraft and bombers, all of United States manufacture. Indeed, transports manned by United States crews being used to deliver weapons in the Escambray Mountains of Cuba.

10. The journalist I. F. Stone, in his weekly newsletter from Washington, had revealed another aspect of the conspiracy against the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. When Rolando Masferrer had been charged with violating United States neutrality laws by preparing an invasion of Cuba from Miami, a reporter had asked the judge why José Miro Cardona, the head of the Cuban Revolutionary Council in New York, was not being charged with the same offence. There had been no reply. Mr. Stone had reported in his newsletter that a number of incidents in Florida in which the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had directly intervened to protect Cuban mercenaries training in the area. According to Mr. Stone, officials of the Federal Bureau of Investigation had complained that they could not compel compliance with the neutrality laws because they could not be sure that the violators were not members of the CIA. Apparently, it was because of those difficulties that it had been decided to establish the actual invasion bases in Guatemala and other countries of Central America. The CIA, Mr. Stone had continued, had assumed the direction of the conspiracy against Cuba in November or December 1959. In 1960, it had expanded the army of mercenaries.
it was training, and in collaboration with the large United States companies affected by Cuba’s revolutionary laws had formed the Democratic Revolutionary Front. The name of the CIA agent originally in charge of the counter-revolution in Miami had been Bender. On his transfer to another mission, the recruitment of counter-revolutionaries had been jointly taken over by a former official of the Batista intelligence service and another CIA agent. As a result of various disputes within the ranks of the mercenaries, the CIA sections in charge of the counter-revolution had been reorganized.

11. Since the beginning of 1961, aircraft based in Florida had carried out about fifty flights over Cuba for the purpose of dropping subversive literature, weapons and radio equipment. The series of clandestine and illegal flights over Cuban territory had culminated on 15 April in the early-morning bombing and strafing of military installations and open areas in the cities of Havana, San Antonio de los Baños and Santiago de Cuba.

12. He described in detail three flights carried out by United States aircraft before that most recent tragic event. One of the aircraft involved had been shot down by Cuban aircraft; another had landed in Kingston, Jamaica with the fuselage heavily damaged, and its crew of mercenaries had subsequently returned to the United States; and the third, which had taken off from Key West, Florida, had been forced to land in Havana, where its American crew had been taken into custody. In such circumstances, the United States representative would convince nobody with his assurance that the United States was exercising special surveillance to prevent aircraft from taking off for Cuba from United States territory. Nor could any credence be attached to the United States version of its most recent act of aggression against Cuba. The question arose whether the policy of undeclared war might not even be the secret clause of the new reactionary programme for Latin America known as the “Alliance for Progress”.

13. United States air and naval units had been violating Cuban territory for many months. A major example was the incident involving the ship Western Union, which had been intercepted by the Cuban Navy inside Cuban territorial waters. A protest concerning that incident, which might have had disastrous consequences if the Cuban naval authorities had not intervened, had been made to the Swiss Embassy in Havana, which was representing United States interests in Cuba. At the same time, the Embassy had been informed of forty-eight violations of Cuban territory committed between 15 February and 15 March 1961. The significance of the Western Union incident had later been revealed in the New York Press: the ship, which had allegedly been engaged in repairing a cable line, had in fact been carrying a cargo of 180,000 gallons of high-octane gasoline to be used in an operation aimed at capturing a number of Cuban torpedo-boats. That operation had been frustrated and the plotters apprehended. He challenged the United States representative to refute those facts.

14. Since the new United States Administration had come into office, preparations for large-scale aggression had been intensified. The details of the plot had been publicly debated in the United States Press; it had been openly reported that a landing strip 8,000 feet long for use by Cuban counter-revolutionaries had been built in Guatemala with United States Government funds, that mercenaries were being trained to use Second World War jet-bombers against oil refineries in Havana and that the airfield at Retalhuleu, Guatemala, was being operated by the CIA. The United States Press had described the activities being carried on in training camps for Cuban mercenaries established in Florida, from which they were flown to Retalhuleu. It had provided detailed accounts of the disputes between various factions of Cuban counter-revolutionaries residing in the United States and the orders given them by United States authorities to constitute a Government in Exile and to expedite their invasion plans. The Columbia Broadcasting System had reported the locations of the bases of the mercenaries operating against the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, and had added that those mercenaries were being gradually evacuated and transferred by sea and air to Guatemala and other sites in the Caribbean area. CBS had also reported that Cuban doctors and nurses in the Miami area were being mobilized to serve on emergency hospital-ships and that PT boats were being used to transport personnel from Florida to Central American ports. According to the CBS report, the first invasion wave was to consist of 4,000 to 5,000 men equipped with modern weapons, whose landing craft would be protected by air and naval units with powerful weapons. According to The New York Times, the invasion forces had been concentrated in two large camps in Guatemala and one base in Louisiana, not far from New Orleans. They included naval, air and paratroop units. For months, saboteurs had been infiltrating Cuba from the Florida Keys; specialized training had been going on in small camps in Florida, and infantry and artillery units had been undergoing final training in the United States. Government officials, the counter-revolutionary groups had been provided with a yacht converted into a hospital ship, which was lying at anchor off the Florida Keys. The Miami police were cooperating with the mercenaries by arresting persons sympathetic to the Cuban revolution on trumped-up charges of vagrancy, and port and immigration authorities were being instructed to look the other way when shipments of explosives were made to the counter-revolutionaries. Further details had been supplied by the Saturday Evening Post, which had reported that boats with the outward appearance of harmless fishing craft were actually carrying arms and trained saboteurs across the ninety miles of water separating the Florida coast from Cuba and that aircraft were leaving “hidden” airports in Florida to drop arms, munitions, medicines and food for the use of anti-Castro forces in the Escambray Mountains. The same magazine had said that the problem of the State Department and the CIA was to organize the counter-revolutionaries into a coalition which would not be hostile to United States interests and which the Cuban people would recognize as their genuine representatives.

15. A coalition had apparently now been organized, under the title of the Cuban Revolutionary Council in Exile. The people of Cuba categorically repudiated it. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba had not been created by fraud, terror or foreign support; it was not a creature of the United States Central Intelligence Agency but was the authentic expression of the will of the majority of the Cuban people. The head of the Cuban Revolutionary Council in Exile had been installed in his office with great pomp and with the active cooperation of high officials of the United States Government and the Pentagon. No international conspiracy
against the independence of a people had enjoyed so much publicity. The purpose of that publicity had obviously been to prepare American public opinion so that it would accept and applaud the crime being perpetrated by its Government.

16. In his recent statements, President Kennedy had shrouded the United States Government's violations of international treaties and of its own neutrality laws in a smoke-screen of unexceptionable observations. At no time, however, had he replied directly to reporters' questions about the assistance which the United States was furnishing to the counter-revolutionaries or given any assurance of his Government's intention to respect United States neutrality laws or the charter of the Organization of American States, which expressly prohibited such assistance. Although the President had said that efforts would be made to see that no Americans were involved in any action against Cuba, he had not denied that he would assist the counter-revolutionaries. The United States Secretary of State had said that the United States had had no part in the invasion which had taken place that morning, but that the American people were with the counter-revolutionaries. Such an assertion was a betrayal of the principles which Jefferson, Hamilton and Lincoln had stood for. As for President Kennedy's observation that the United States had supported Fidel Castro in his efforts to overthrow the Batista tyranny, it was far from the truth: the Cuban revolution had never been for sale.

17. After a week of debate in Washington on the question whether or not the invasion of Cuba should be open or disguised, President Kennedy had apparently decided to go ahead with the plan of the Pentagon and the CIA. The reaction of the United States Government to the bombing incident of 15 April had been a cynical one: an implausible and slanderous account had been invented to justify it and to conceal the responsibility of the United States Government. The names of the criminals had not been revealed, the aircraft which had landed in Miami and Key West had not been identified and a State Department official had said that if they belonged to the Castro Air Force they would be returned. On the other hand, the White House Press Secretary had said that it was not known whether they would be returned, and the United States representative in the First Committee had assured the world that they had been impounded and would not be permitted to take off for Cuba. A fitting reply to those conflicting and evasive statements had been given by Prime Minister Castro, who had asked the United States to produce the pilots and aircraft which had allegedly taken off from Cuban territory before the United Nations.

18. The machinery of the planned military invasion had finally been set in motion. That morning, the mercenary forces of the United States Government, proceeding from Florida and Guatemala, had landed at various points in Cuban territory and fighting was now going on.

19. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba would be able to repel that act of aggression. The entire Cuban people was behind Fidel Castro; that was his most invincible weapon. Moreover, the Presidents of Brazil, Ecuador and Mexico had expressed support for the Cuban revolution and were determined to oppose any efforts to intervene in Cuba's internal affairs. The cause of Cuba was the cause of all the world's peoples, especially of those still suffering the torments of colonialism; Latin America was ablaze with protest against the bombing of 15 April.

20. He solemnly charged the Government of the United States with having launched an invasion of Cuba with the objective of seizing that country's resources, land, factories and communications and of reducing it once again to the status of a satellite of United States imperialism. The Cuban delegation charged the United States Government with the international crime of aggression and called upon the United Nations to take prompt and effective measures to put a stop to United States aggression. The present case was a decisive test for the United Nations. The Cuban Government had repeatedly offered to settle its differences with the United States through bilateral negotiations; the United States reply had always been: yield or be destroyed. Cuba had a right to live in peace; and it would triumph.

21. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America) said that the charges made by the Cuban representative were totally false: the United States had committed no aggression against Cuba, and no attack had been launched from any part of the United States. While it was true that the United States sympathized with those who opposed the Castro régime and who sought to bring freedom to Cuba, he wished to recall President Kennedy's statement that the United States armed forces would under no circumstances intervene in Cuba, and that the United States Government was opposed to any participation by United States citizens in actions inside Cuba and to the use of United States territory for the purpose of mounting an offensive against any foreign Government.

22. The United States had had great sympathy for the goals originally proclaimed by the Cuban revolution; it had promptly recognized the Castro régime and had been prepared to give it economic assistance. However, Mr. Castro had systematically betrayed his own pledges, using the spectre of a foreign enemy as a pretext for establishing a régime of tyranny. The Cuban representative in the Committee was seeking protection for the Castro régime against the justified wrath of the Cuban people; he apparently wished Cuban exiles throughout the Americas to be suppressed as ruthlessly as the Cuban people was today. Cuba now had by far the largest ground forces of any country in Latin America, and had received large quantities of military equipment from the Soviet Union. If Mr. Castro so greatly feared the Cuban exiles and the small bands of resistance fighters, it was evidently because he had lost confidence in his own people.

23. The Cuban problem was one not between Cuba and the United States but between Cuba and the Western hemisphere. The Castro régime had launched an attack on the inter-American system, as embodied in the Organization of American States. Moreover, it was employing propaganda and subversion in an effort to overthrow the free Governments of the Americas and replace them by tyrannical régimes modelled on that of Cuba. On 30 August 1960, Prime Minister Castro had said: "What happened in Cuba will some day happen also in America"; and two days later the present Cuban representative in the First Committee had declared that the Cuban revolution would "act as a springboard for all of the popular forces in Latin America". Yet the Cuban representative contended that the Castro Government wanted only to live in peace, and was not attempting to export its revolution. The increasing evidence
that Cuba had become an instrument of Soviet and Chinese Communist foreign policy and the huge arms shipments which had been made to Cuba by the Communist bloc were a matter of deep concern to independent Governments everywhere.

24. The Cuban people's hope of freedom had been destroyed. Since the advent of the Castro régime, more than 600 persons had been executed without due process of law, and the Cuban people was being denied any form of democratic participation in the determination of its own destiny. The Cuban farm worker had been made an employee of the State instead of being given the land promised to him, while the independent labour movement had been crushed and its leaders imprisoned or forced to leave the country. Since, in addition to everything else, the Cuban people had suffered a drastic reduction in its standard of living, it was not surprising that there was rising opposition to the régime and a steady stream of defections. Those who were seeking to liberate Cuba from the Castro régime were not traitors and mercenaries, as the Cuban representative had alleged. They included the first men to serve as Provisional President, Prime Minister, and President of the Supreme Court under the Castro régime, as well as nearly two-thirds of Mr. Castro's first Cabinet and many persons who had been his companions-in-arms in the Sierra Maestra.

25. The Cuban representative had charged in his letter of 23 February 1961 (A/4701) that the United States was opposed to the legitimate aspirations for social advancement of the peoples of Latin America, Africa and Asia. He wished to recall, in that connexion, President Kennedy's statement on 13 March that social change was a necessary concomitant of political freedom but that it must never be permitted to result in the imposition of tyranny. Despite its professions of devotion to social change, the Cuban Government had refused to sign the Act of Bogotá in September 1960 or to take part in President Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" programme, both of which provided for a co-operative effort by the American nations to achieve social reform and economic development.

26. It was not the United States but Mr. Castro himself who had turned so many thousands of Cubans against the present régime. By denying the people any opportunity to influence his policies by democratic means, Mr. Castro, like Batista before him, had left them no alternative but armed resistance. The opponents of the present régime were not supporters of Batista but men who had fought against him; they did not seek the restoration of the old order in Cuba but the emergence of a new Cuba which would finally realize the pledge of "bread with freedom" which the Castro régime had betrayed.

27. His Government hoped that the Cuban tragedy would awaken the peoples of the Americas to a profound resolve to co-operate in advancing the cause of economic growth and social progress under conditions of freedom and democracy, and that Cuba would one day be able to play a leading role in that effort.

28. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the United States representative had sought by dwelling on irrelevant issues to divert the Committee's attention from the vital question before it. However, everything he had said had provided confirmation of the fact that the United States had organized and was actively supporting the invasion of Cuba which was now under way, thus justifying the fears which the Soviet delegation had expressed in the Committee on 15 April (1149th meeting). In any event, the United States Press was providing abundant information on the training and material assistance which the United States Government had been providing, on United States soil, to the forces preparing for an invasion of Cuba.

29. The United Nations could not disregard the present flagrant intervention being carried out by a great Power into the affairs of a small country which had chosen the road of independent development. His delegation demanded that the armed aggression against Cuba, including the use of United States territory, ships, aircraft and weapons, should cease immediately.

30. He proposed that the Committee should meet again at 3 p.m. for the purpose of taking urgent measures to halt the present course of events, which constituted a grave threat to world peace.

31. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America) said that he supported the Soviet representative's proposal. He wished to observe, however, that the Soviet Union had made no charges of aggression at the time when Mr. Castro's followers had been organizing their revolution against the Batista régime on United States soil. Cuba had been a small nation then, too; and the present Cuban régime was, thanks to the Soviet Union, better able to defend itself than Batista's had been.

32. The CHAIRMAN proposed that, in the absence of any objection, the Committee should hold its next meeting at 3 p.m.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.