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AGENDA ITEM 78

Complaint by Cuba of threats to international peace and security arising from new plans of aggression and acts of intervention being executed by the Government of the United States of America against the Revolutionary Government of Cuba (A/4832 and Add.1, A/5072, A/C.1/845, A/C.1/847, A/C.1/851, A/C.1/854, A/C.1/866, A/C.1/L.309)

1. Mr. GARCIA INCHAUSTEGUI (Cuba) said it seemed probable that there would be two main protagonists in the debate on the present item: on the one hand, the United States of America, a large, rich and highly developed country with a population of some 185 million, and on the other hand, Cuba, a small island country, poor and under-developed, with a population of less than 7 million. The United States, a great military Power with bases in all corners of the globe, drew its immense wealth from the under-developed areas of Latin America, Africa and Asia. Cuba had suffered seventy years of economic exploitation by the United States, a period brought to an end only by the triumphant Cuban revolution of 1959. Cuba's quarrel was not with the people of the United States but with its Government, and the powerful group of monopolies which that Government served and whose presence in Cuba had been responsible for the exploitation of its workers and peasants, the spoliation of its natural resources, racial discrimination, illiteracy, destitution, unemployment and many other evils. There could be no point of conflict between the worker, the student and the honest intellectual of the United States and the makers of Cuba's liberating revolution, for their aspirations were identical; friction existed only with those who pursued certain narrow, egoistic and illegitimate interests.

2. The United States, with all its power and its resources, had launched an attack upon Cuba, an attack crushed by the Cuban people in a mere seventy-two hours. By other means, too, by propaganda, diplomatic manoeuvres and economic aggression, the United States sought to destroy Cuba. But Cuba would not be destroyed, for its workers, students and peasants would give their lives to defend their country

and to uphold its right to adopt what social system it pleased. All the might in the world was not sufficient to crush a people determined to fight for its independence, its development and a good life for all its citizens. Like many Latin American countries today, Cuba had once had its professional army, supplied and trained by the United States, whose generals had exercised the real power in the country despite the façade of representative democracy. The professional army had been all-powerful until the advent of Dr. Fidel Castro with his handful of courageous men, the nucleus of the Cuban revolutionary army, which had scored the first great victory of the Cuban people. That victory had shaken the myth of the invincibility of imperialism. Cuba had taken up the challenge of imperialism and had been fighting it, successfully, ever since.

3. The facts were clear, but the United States Government constantly denied them, using untruth as one of its principal weapons. In January 1961, for example, three months before the invasion of Cuba, the United States representative in the Security Council had declared categorically that Cuba's charges of an imminent invasion were false.<sup>1/</sup> In April, 1961 there had occurred what had since come to be known in the United States as the "Cuban fiasco". Even while they were taking place, the United States representative in the First Committee<sup>2/</sup> had attempted to give the impression that the air attacks from Central American bases organized by the United States Government's Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had been carried out by deserters from the Cuban Air Force. On 17 April, when the invasion proper had begun, the United States representative had informed the Committee,<sup>3/</sup> in answer to charges made by Cuba's Minister for Foreign Affairs, that his country had committed no aggression against Cuba and that no offensive had been launched from Florida or from any other part of the United States. He had quoted a declaration by the President of the United States, Mr. Kennedy, that there would not be any intervention in Cuba by United States armed forces and that the United States Government would be opposed to the use of its territory for mounting an offensive against any foreign Government. Seven days later, on 24 April 1961, when the invasion had already failed and the great debate on the causes of its failure was taking place in the United States, President Kennedy had made an official statement, which had been reported in The New York Times of 25 April, assuming full responsibility for the whole venture. Thus his earlier remarks, and those of the United States representative in the First Committee the week before, had been designed solely to keep the world in ignorance until it could be presented, it was hoped, with a fait accompli. That was a technique

<sup>1/</sup> See Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year, 921st meeting, para. 37.

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session (Part II), First Committee, 1149th meeting.

<sup>3/</sup> Ibid., 1150th meeting.

which had been used before with impunity in the Guatemala operation and in many others of a similar kind.

4. Despite Mr. Kennedy's appeal for restraint, the United States Press had since published a great deal of damaging information about the launching and the failure of the United States Government's Cuban venture. According to a report in the New York Herald Tribune of 22 October 1961, the former Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Nixon, had revealed that, despite the public utterances of United States leaders, the plan for the invasion of Cuba had been detailed and thorough. It had, Mr. Nixon said, failed because it had not been carried out, owing to the objections of Mr. Stevenson and others close to the political situation. On 2 January 1962, according to a report published in The New York Times, President Ydígoras Fuentes of Guatemala had revealed, what had long been known but had been consistently denied by the United States Government, namely, that Cuban rebels had been trained in Guatemalan territory for the unsuccessful invasion. Those were the facts, but they appeared not to have been taken into account by the Organization of American States (OAS).

5. United States aggression against Cuba dated in fact from the very moment of the triumph of the revolution. It had begun with a campaign of slander against the revolution conducted through monopoly-controlled newspapers, a campaign that was still being maintained. Subsequently it had taken the form of the dispatch of aircraft from Florida to drop inflammable material on Cuba's sugar plantations in order to cripple the country's principal industry. The United States Government had typically denied responsibility for those flights until presented with incontrovertible evidence. In October 1959, pirate aircraft from Florida had strafed Havana, killing and injuring civilians. In March 1960, a French ship bringing arms and munitions to Havana from Belgium had blown up after its arrival in port, causing a number of casualties. The investigation had shown that the incident had been the result of sabotage; it had coincided with United States pressure on certain European countries not to send arms to Cuba. Later, there had begun the infiltration into Cuba of armed groups of agents of the CIA, who had been supplied with large quantities of arms by aircraft of the United States Air Force itself. Many of those weapons had been captured and the United States had thus become one of Cuba's arms suppliers. In those and many other ways the United States had conducted a relentless campaign against Cuba which had culminated in the bombing raids of 15 April 1961 and the landings of 17 April 1961. Despite their disadvantages the Cuban people had been victorious. There had been not a single defection and no internal uprising. Many members of the mercenary army sent into Cuba had been captured, but they had been treated humanely, punishment being inflicted only on those among them who had been responsible for political crimes during the Batista tyranny.

6. He had mentioned all those facts because they were necessary to an understanding of the present plans of the United States Government. For the United States had not desisted from its illegal activities upon its defeat at Playa Girón: on the contrary, it had increased those activities, and was even at the present time again threatening Cuba with unilateral intervention.

7. After the defeat of the mercenary invasion at Playa Girón, President Kennedy had told the American Society of Newspaper Publishers on 20 April 1961 that if the inter-American doctrine of non-interference were used as a pretext for inaction or if the American nations failed to meet their commitments against outside communist penetration, his Government would not hesitate to meet its primary obligation, the security of the nation. Those threatening words had since formed the basis of United States policy, as had been demonstrated by the perpetration of new acts of aggression against Cuba. For example, on 28 and 29 June 1961 reports had been published in New York newspapers that a large group of Cuban refugees were being trained in Florida under the command of one Jerry Patrick, an ex-member of the Marine Corps. The group included men from South America and Europe as well as from the United States. On 30 June 1961, the Diario de Nueva York had reported that the CIA had given Manual Ray the sum of \$100,000 to carry out sabotage and intelligence operations in Cuba. As reported in The New York Times, one of the counter-revolutionary leaders had had an interview on 25 July 1961 with the President of the United States as a result of which agreement had been reached on the admission of Cuban counter-revolutionaries to the United States regular army. Cuban counter-revolutionaries were being admitted to the United States army in large numbers and were being given special training for the obvious purpose of carrying out acts of aggression against Cuba.

8. On 9 October 1961, the Revolutionary Government had drawn up a list of the military bases inside and outside the United States where the United States Government was training mercenaries with the intention of using them against Cuba. The bases in United States territory were at West Palm Beach, Pompano Beach, Fort Lauderdale, Hollywood, Opalocka, Hialeah, Homestead, St. Petersburg, Sarasota, Tavernier, Islamorada, Key Largo, Key Marathon, Big Pine, Key West, Dry Tortugas, all in Florida; and at Fort Worth in Texas, Norfolk in Virginia, Fort Bragg in North Carolina, New Orleans in Louisiana, Fort Sill in Oklahoma and Fort Dix in New Jersey. They were also located at the Guantánamo naval base in Cuba; Las Calderas and the Constanza area in the Dominican Republic; Vieques in Puerto Rico; Puerto Cabezas, Bluefields, the Montelimar hacienda and Campo de Marte in Nicaragua; the Panama Canal Zone; Río Mamón and Río Hato in Panama; and Puerto Barrios, Trax, Retalhuleu and Finca La Rosa in Guatemala.

9. The New York Times of 23 December 1961 had reported a statement by one Luis Manuel Martínez, who said that he spoke on behalf of the "Council of Revolutionary Cubans of the Guatemala Section", that about 400 Cuban exiles had left Guatemala for the United States in the previous six weeks, to be used as guerrillas in Cuba.

10. The naval base at Guantánamo had played an important role in the aggressive plans against Cuba. It was part of Cuban territory and was being held illegally by the armed forces of the United States as a relic of its intervention in the Caribbean at the beginning of the century. It was being held against the wishes of the Cuban people and Government which had repeatedly protested against the continued existence of the base. It was at Guantánamo that a plan had been prepared to assassinate Major Raúl Castro on 26 July 1961, a plan which had been foiled by the prompt action of the revolutionary authorities. It was also at

Guantánamo that the Cuban worker Rubén López had been tortured and murdered after being arrested by agents of the CIA on 30 September 1961. At the moment, mercenaries were being trained at Guantánamo to be used against the very country in which the base was situated.

11. In the military and strategic field, United States aggression against Cuba was now taking the form of raids by saboteurs and small groups of infiltrators working for the CIA. Some members of those groups had been taken prisoner. They included Reynold González, Pedro López Pérez and Isafas Iglesias Pons, names that would be easily recognized by the CIA, since all had confessed to having received funds and resources from United States authorities.

12. The old plan of bringing pressure to bear on the Latin American Governments to break diplomatic relations with Cuba was opposed by those who took a more serious view of national sovereignty. Persisting in its diplomatic manoeuvres, the United States Government had succeeded on 4 December 1961 in obtaining the agreement of the Council of the OAS to convene a Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States. The fourteenth vote required for the purpose had been cast, it had transpired, by a representative who had disobeyed the instructions of his Government. The Meeting of Consultation had been convened in accordance with article 6 of the so-called Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance signed at Rio de Janeiro on 2 September 1947,<sup>4/</sup> but in fact none of the requirements laid down in that article had been met. The inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of the State requesting the meeting had not been affected by Cuba; there was no extra-continental conflict and if any intra-continental conflict existed, it was due to the military attacks perpetrated by the Government of the United States against Cuba, attacks which had been admitted by the President of the United States, former Vice-President Nixon and President Ydígoras Fuentes of Guatemala. Furthermore, under article 6 of the Treaty, meetings of the Organ of Consultation were required to take place immediately. Yet, although the convening of the Meeting of Consultation had been approved on 4 December 1961, it had not actually been held until 22 January 1962, i.e., one month and eighteen days later. Article 6 also stipulated that the purpose of such meetings was to agree on the measures to be taken in case of aggression to assist the victim of the aggression. But as no aggression had been disclosed, such measures of assistance could not be taken. It was in fact Cuba which was the victim of attacks and interference by the United States, the second most powerful military force in the world.

13. Furthermore, as a result of pressure and blackmail, a motion for Cuba's exclusion had been adopted at the Punta del Este meeting, even though no provision was made for such a measure in the Treaty under which the meeting had been called or in the charter of the Organization of American States, signed at Bogotá on 30 April 1948.<sup>5/</sup> That step had been taken merely because Cuba had a social system that was not to the liking of the United States Government. Article 8 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, however, clearly defined the measures that might be taken at meetings of the Organ of Consultation, and none of

the measures outlined in that article had been agreed to against Cuba. Despite its efforts, the United States had failed to achieve that objective.

14. The action of the United States Government at Punta del Este was completely illegal and a flagrant violation of the preamble, article 1 and article 102 of the charter of the Organization of American States and of the Preamble, Article 1, paragraph 2, Article 2, paragraphs 1 and 7, and Article 52 of the Charter of the United Nations. A number of questions might well be asked in the light of those articles.

15. Did a decision on the incompatibility of the social system of Cuba with the social systems of the countries in the inter-American system imply a tacit denunciation of the relevant Articles of the United Nations Charter by the countries that voted for such a decision? Could there be tolerance and peaceful coexistence in international bodies when such tolerance and peaceful coexistence did not exist in regional bodies? Was it possible to encourage friendly relations among nations on the basis of equality of rights when a member of a regional organization which was also a Member of the United Nations was excluded from that regional organization merely because it had a social system which a particular country did not like? Could the principle of the sovereign equality of States remain valid if one State was excluded from a regional organization because of its social system? Was not the social system of each country its own domestic affair? Could it be considered consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations for a regional organization to discriminate against a member State because of its social system?

16. In its desire to obtain decisions against Cuba, the United States had set aside the charter of the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and had transformed the regional organization into an annex of the State Department. It had laid the ground work for future interference in Latin America, for such decisions constituted a threat not only to Cuba, but to all countries and Governments with the most elementary concept of national sovereignty.

17. The Cuban delegation had gone to Punta del Este not to defend its own sovereignty but to defend the sovereignty of its sister republics of America, their right to self-determination and their inalienable right to adopt the social systems most acceptable to their people, without foreign interference. At the same time, the sovereignty of Cuba would be defended in Cuba, by Cubans, with their weapons in their hands and with their tanks, planes and guns. Cuba would defend its sovereignty as it had done in April 1961 and it would emerge victorious as it had emerged victorious then.

18. It might be asked why the United States Government had wanted the Punta del Este meeting. It was not merely to obtain sanctions against Cuba or to divide the Latin American Governments, or to buy votes with promises of economic assistance. The United States had gone to Punta del Este with a bag of gold in one hand and a bloody dagger in the other in order to attack Cuba and anything signifying independence and sovereignty in Latin America. The dagger it had taken was stained with Latin American blood; it was the same dagger that had murdered Sandino and was keeping the Puerto Rican nationalist leader Pedro Albizu Campos in prison. The United States had gone to Punta del Este to liquidate any possibility of negotiation with Cuba. Cuba had constantly reiterated its readiness to

<sup>4/</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 21 (1948), No. 324 (a).

<sup>5/</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 119 (1952), No. 1609.

negotiate with the United States Government on an equal footing and on the basis of an open agenda and respect for Cuban sovereignty. It had taken a stand in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, while the United States Government had repeatedly stated that Cuba's social system was "not negotiable"—as if the negotiation of disputes between States had anything whatever to do with their social systems or with their geographical location.

19. At Punta del Este much had been said about hypothetical extra-continental intervention, while nothing had been said about the intra-continental intervention of the United States. Many of the countries of Latin America had had experience of such intervention and Cuba was still suffering from it. Did not the so-called extra-continental intervention really mean that one country of Latin America had a social system that did not please the United States? Did such intervention arise because diplomatic, cultural and commercial relations existed with countries following different social systems? No one could believe that ideas could be contained within certain geographical areas and that ideas could be condemned.

20. There was also much talk about exporting the revolutionary idea. Cuba had no desire to change the form of government in any country nor would it tolerate any attempts by a neighbouring country to change its own form of government. That was essentially a domestic matter for each country to decide for itself. Cuba could not, however, prevent the ideas underlying its revolution from spreading to other less fortunate countries. It could not prevent the countries of Latin America from observing all the progress which it had made and its successful resistance to imperialism. Cuba could not be blamed if it stood as an example to the peoples of the other countries of Latin America.

21. The meeting at Punta del Este had already yielded certain results. The Government of President Kennedy had brought the United States policy of economic aggression to a climax by imposing a total trade embargo on Cuba. Such an embargo, although not agreed upon at Punta del Este, had been imposed unilaterally by the United States in complete violation of article 16 of the charter of the Organization of American States.

22. Another result of the Punta del Este meeting was to be seen in the meeting held in Panama by Mr. McNamara, the United States Secretary of Defense, with representatives of the Pentagon and senior United States officials in the Caribbean. The New York Herald Tribune of 4 February 1962 reported on that meeting and stated that one of the main items on the agenda was the so-called "threat of Cuba". The aggressive purposes of such a meeting were quite obvious.

23. The United States was well aware that any mercenary force sent to Cuba would be destroyed. It was therefore preparing for direct and unilateral intervention by its regular forces—the Punta del Este meeting, the dispatch of saboteurs and the total economic embargo being merely preliminary steps. Interference in Cuban affairs was reflected in countless statements by United States Government officials. One of the charges levelled against Cuba related to its manner of voting in the United Nations, as though the Cuban delegation had to account to anyone, apart from its own Government, in that matter. Another charge was that Cuba had betrayed its revolution. In fact it was rather the Government of the United States which was betraying its revolution. The Declaration of Independence of the United States proclaimed that all men

were equal, but that fundamental principle was not being applied in the United States, especially in the south. Diplomats living in New York were fully aware of that betrayal.

24. The United States had even alleged that the Cubans owed their independence to United States intervention. But Cuba owed its independence solely to its own heroes. The United States had intervened in the Cuban war of independence in order to obtain possession of the country's wealth and to limit its sovereignty. It had taken Cuba over just as it had also taken over Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Those had been the golden days of United States imperialism to which President Kennedy cast a nostalgic backward glance.

25. In its current efforts to destroy Cuba, the United States was not only interfering in the domestic affairs of Cuba and of the other Latin American countries, but was openly attempting to induce the latter countries to stop trading with Cuba, as though trade between independent countries was a matter over which the United States Government had jurisdiction. It was seeking to interfere in Cuba's economic, commercial, diplomatic and cultural relations with other peoples. It pointed to the treaties that Cuba had signed with other countries. The United States must, however, become accustomed to the idea that there might be countries in Latin America which could choose their own social system without asking permission from the United States; countries which enjoyed diplomatic relations with any other country they wished; countries which could trade with any other country they wished; countries with a sense of sovereignty and national dignity; countries that could not be bought or sold.

26. Was not the United States ashamed, powerful as it claimed to be, to run after other States, suborning some and exerting pressure on others, to overthrow Cuba? Was it not ashamed of arming mercenary expeditions, training groups of saboteurs, unleashing campaigns of slander, turning the OAS into an annex of its Government and making preparation for unilateral intervention, all for the purpose of attacking the small, resolute, sovereign and independent island of Cuba?

27. The aggressive plans of United States imperialism against Cuba had been denounced on the basis of incontrovertible facts. The United Nations could save the Cuban people from days of blood and strife. It could and must guarantee the principles set forth in its Charter and ensure that the United States, which today was threatening Cuban sovereignty, did not tomorrow threaten the sovereignty of other independent countries in Latin America or elsewhere.

28. The Cuban delegation had come to the United Nations before and denounced aggression but aggression had nevertheless taken place. It now repeated that denunciation. The guarantee extended by the Charter to all Member States, regardless of their size or power, compelled Cuba to turn to the United Nations and urge that such interference and aggression should cease. Wherever such aggression originated, on however large a scale it was being prepared, Cuba was determined to resist it with the same determination as it had resisted other acts of aggression. Cuba would not surrender.

29. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America) said that all the charges levelled against the United States by Cuba had been heard before and were merely an

attempt to divert attention from the action taken at the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States at Punta del Este. No evidence had been brought to support them. Cuba was the real threat to peace in the Americas, because of its subversive activities and its subservience to foreign Powers. The Punta del Este meeting had demonstrated the unanimous belief of the free American States that Cuba's Government was incompatible with the principles and objectives of the inter-American system. The United States had not prepared and was not preparing any aggression against Cuba. As he had stated in the General Assembly (1032nd plenary meeting), any threat to the Cuban Government came not from the United States, but from the Cuban people, who would not tolerate indefinitely the repression to which they were subjected.

30. The leaders of Cuba understood as well as the leaders of the United States that no acts of intervention or plans of aggression were contemplated. It was therefore necessary to look elsewhere for an explanation of the item now before the Committee, an explanation which could be found in the recent meeting at Punta del Este. The decisions taken there with a noteworthy degree of unanimity were known to all and he thought that the Cuban Government wished that they were not, since they testified to two facts which were unpalatable to that Government. The first was that the Castro régime today stood alone in the Americas, isolated by its own self-exclusion from the inter-American system; and the second was that the problem of Cuba was a multilateral problem of the Americas, not a bilateral problem between Cuba and any one of the other American republics. The request for the convening of the First Committee was an attempt to obscure those facts.

31. The American Governments had sent their Foreign Ministers to Punta del Este because they were convinced of the need to safeguard their efforts to achieve the high aims sought through the co-operative solidarity of the American States. Those aims could be summarized as the maintenance of international peace and security in the American hemisphere and the development of a more rewarding material and spiritual life for all of its people, as exemplified by the Alliance for Progress, signed by all the American States except Cuba at the special meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council held at Punta del Este in August 1961. To remove any doubt as to what had been accomplished at the Eighth Meeting of Consultation at Punta del Este, he proposed to outline the decisions which had been taken there.

32. First, by a vote of 20 to 1, the negative vote having been cast by Cuba, the Foreign Ministers had declared that the Castro communist offensive constituted a clear and present danger to the unity and freedom of the American republics. Indeed, while the meeting was being held, reports had come in from several countries of efforts by small communist-led minorities to disrupt the constitutional Governments and the will of the majority.

33. Secondly, the Foreign Ministers, by a vote of 20 to 1, had joined in reaffirming the Western hemisphere's commitment to the principle of self-determination and its resolve to exclude intervention by outside Powers. They had also concluded unanimously that the present Government of Cuba, which had officially identified itself as a Marxist-Leninist Government, was incom-

patible with the principles and objectives of the inter-American system.

34. Thirdly, and on the basis of that unanimous conclusion, the Foreign Ministers had decided, by a two-thirds majority, that such incompatibility excluded the present Government of Cuba from participation in the inter-American system, while seventeen of the Governments had declared that the present Government of Cuba had voluntarily placed itself outside that system.

35. Fourthly, the Foreign Ministers, recognizing that the threat of Cuba was an active threat to the security of the hemisphere and not merely a matter of ideological incompatibility, had once again unanimously and officially ejected the Cuban régime from the Inter-American Defence Board, where their representative had already been excluded from confidential discussions. At the same time, special machinery had been established within the OAS for the purpose of recommending joint action to block subversive activities before they reached the level of insurrection or guerrilla warfare.

36. Fifthly, the meeting had decided to prohibit trade and traffic in arms between Cuba and the other American countries.

37. Sixthly, the Council of the OAS had been asked to explore further trade restrictions, applying to Cuba the same kind of machinery that had been applied the previous year to the Dominican Republic and giving special attention to items of strategic importance.

38. Finally, the Foreign Ministers had unanimously recognized that the struggle against communism in the Western hemisphere was not merely a question of defence against subversion, but of economic, social and political reforms and development to meet the legitimate aspirations of the people of the hemisphere.

39. Cuba's charges against the United States—serious charges which had always in the past called for the most urgent attention—had been communicated to the United Nations in August 1961, almost six months earlier. Since then Cuba had repeated the charges, but had never produced a single shred of evidence to substantiate them and had never asked for the immediate hearing which, if the charges had had any basis, would obviously be required. It was therefore to be concluded that it was the Punta del Este meeting itself which had given the answer to the Cuban charges. That meeting, which had been attended by all Cuba's sister Latin American countries, had unanimously determined that it was Cuba which was interfering with the self-determination of the American republics and which was committing Marxist-Leninist aggression against the free institutions of its neighbours.

40. Far from embarking upon any programme of aggression against the Castro régime, the United States lamented the tragedy of Cuba. Many people in the Western hemisphere had had no quarrel with the avowed purposes of the revolution of 1959 and had rejoiced in the aspirations of the Cuban people for political liberty and social progress. Nor would there have been any quarrel with changes in the economic organization of Cuba instituted with the consent of the Cuban people, as there was room in the hemisphere for a diversity of economic systems. Even the internal excesses of the Castro régime—the violations of civil justice, the drumhead executions, the suppression of political, intellectual and religious freedom—repellent

though they were, would not have constituted a direct threat to the peace and independence of other American States if kept within the confines of one country. What could not and would never be accepted was the use of Cuba as the means through which extra-continental Powers sought to breakup the inter-American system, to overthrow the Governments of other countries and to destroy the autonomous democratic evolution of the hemisphere.

41. The American republics were determined to meet the new offensive in the Western hemisphere, but would not deviate for a moment from their great central purpose, the Alliance for Progress, which was designed to make social justice and economic development realities for millions of American people struggling to throw off the bonds of hunger, poverty, disease and ignorance. That vast evolutionary programme, which was to last a decade, was now in motion. The Latin American nations were engaged in national plans, internal reforms, action programmes to build homes and schools, roads and bridges, factories and dams. The United States had already made large commitments for the current fiscal year and would have no difficulty in providing the sum of more than \$1,000 million it had pledged for the first year of the programme.

42. That was the serious business in which the American Governments were currently engaged. It was that vast co-operative effort to satisfy the basic needs of the people of the hemisphere which the Castro régime opposed and disparaged. The American republics were determined to demonstrate to the world that man's unsatisfied aspirations for economic progress and social justice could best be achieved by free men working through free and independent democratic institutions, and they were determined that that high enterprise should not be subverted by the totalitarian aggressions of the Castro régime. Evidence of the determination of the Foreign Ministers of the American States to ensure that the democratic processes of orderly change were allowed to work could be found in the political declarations adopted at the conclusion of the Punta del Este meeting, the text of which was contained in document S/5075.

43. In conclusion, he wished to emphasize three points. First, the American republics were determined to defend their political freedom, their independence and their democratic institutions against extra-continental forces attempting to undermine and subvert them. Secondly, the Castro régime's quarrel was not with any single American Government, but with the entire American continent. It was the Castro régime, not the United States or any other American Republic, which was threatening the peace and security of the hemisphere; that had been the unanimous conclusion of the Powers meeting at Punta del Este in January 1962. Thirdly, Cuba's estrangement from the inter-American system was deeply regretted by the American Governments, including that of the United States. They knew that the present Cuban régime did not reflect the wishes of the Cuban people and they derived no comfort from Cuba's absence from the councils of their regional organization. Cuba's chair would remain open, awaiting an early return of a Government truly responsive to the will of the Cuban people.

44. The United States had not the slightest quarrel with the Cuban people, with whom it had had the closest of neighbourly ties for many years. Indeed, it had been the blood of United States citizens which

had brought independence to Cuba and lifted the yoke of colonialism from its people sixty-four years earlier. What the United States and its sister American republics opposed was interference in the affairs of the American continent by dictatorships fraudulently imposed on their peoples—the dictatorship in Cuba that was being artificially supported by an alien imperialism and that sought to subvert and overthrow democratic freedom in the American hemisphere. The United States and the other American States would continue to oppose such interference until the day when the Cuban people themselves were again able to walk in freedom and take their rightful place in the community of the American republics.

45. Mr. GARCIA INCHAUSTEGUI (Cuba), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, said that the United States representative had been unable to refute the facts presented to the Committee by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, because they were supported by documentary proof. It was not Cuba which was alone in America, but the United States. Anyone who had read the reports that had appeared in the United States Press during the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs at Punta del Este regarding the popular demonstrations staged in all capitals of Latin America would realize that Cuba was not alone in America and never would be. The clandestine manner in which the former Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Nixon, and the representative of the United States, Mr. Stevenson, himself had travelled to Latin America showed very clearly how strongly the peoples of Latin America supported Cuba.

46. The United States representative had referred to a bilateral problem between the inter-American system and Cuba, but in fact it was the United States that was attempting to turn the matter into a bilateral problem. If Cuba had not been supported by its moral strength it would no longer exist as an independent State, as it would already have been swept away as a result of the corruption of the United States Government. But Cuba was still in being and the Cuban revolution existed, because it was supported by a majority of the Cuban people and of all the peoples of Latin America and the world.

47. The Government of Cuba and the Cuban revolution were not incompatible with the inter-American system. But misery, racial discrimination, illiteracy, puppet governments, bribery and corruption, lack of hygiene and endemic diseases were incompatible with the Cuban revolution. Because they knew that, the peoples of Latin America, in defending Cuba's independence even at the risk of their own lives, were at the same time defending their own independence.

48. According to the United States representative, the Cuban delegation had presented no proof of its allegations. However, was no importance to be attached to the admissions of the President and of a former Vice-President of the United States and of the Presidents of other countries involved in the plans of aggression against Cuba? The United States had aggressive designs against Cuba and, if those designs were carried into effect, the Cuban delegation would return to the United Nations to unmask them before world public opinion. Cuba would never surrender; it would continue to exist because that was the will of the people and it would continue to defend its right to set up whatever social system it pleased, however much that might irk the United States Government.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.