

"Having received the report from the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States transmitting the Final Act of the Sixth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States (S/4476),

"Takes note of that report and especially of resolution I, approved at the aforesaid Meeting, whereby agreement was reached on the application of measures regarding the Dominican Republic."

The representative of the USSR remarked that, in the light of the discussion and the vote, the majority of the members were not ready at that time to vote for the Soviet draft resolution, although they did not object to its substance. Consequently, he would not press for a vote on his draft resolution. Explaining his vote on the joint draft resolution, he stated that his delegation had abstained because the three-Power draft resolution which proposed that the Council limit itself to taking note of the decision of the OAS was not sufficiently comprehensive. Furthermore, while none of the members objected to the Council noting the action of the OAS, his delegation's draft resolution had expressed that concept more exactly and definitely. He stressed that the decision of the OAS fell completely under Article 53, and that regional agencies might apply sanctions only with the concurrence of the Security Council. However, since no one had challenged that position, although some members tried to evade consideration of the substantive issue, noting that they were not ready to deal with it at that time, the USSR delegation interpreted this to mean that the door was being left open for full support of the Charter provisions in this regard in other circumstances.^{359/}

The representative of the United States expressed his disagreement with the Soviet interpretation of the vote, maintaining that the three-Power draft resolution was not submitted under Article 53. Contrary to the contention that the matter was being left open for future consideration by the Council, his delegation regarded the item as completed, and believed that future proposals should be judged on their merits.^{360/}

The President stated that the Council should consider examination of the question as completed and, after further discussion, he declared that the Council had disposed of the matter.^{361/}

COMPLAINT BY CUBA (LETTER OF 31 DECEMBER 1960)

INITIAL PROCEEDINGS

By letter^{362/} dated 31 December 1960 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the Minister for External Relations of Cuba asserted that the United States, in violation of the United Nations Charter and the most elementary principles of international law, was about to perpetrate "within a few hours" direct military aggression against Cuba, thus

placing in grave peril international peace and security. In justification of these hostile preparations, the United States had invoked the "fraudulent pretext" of "the construction on the island of Cuba of seventeen sites for the launching of Soviet rockets". He noted instances of "psychological warfare" in which the United States had sought to manoeuvre toward the diplomatic isolation of Cuba. The request for an immediate meeting of the Security Council to "examine the situation thoroughly" was based on Articles 24 (1), 31, 32, 34, 35 (1), 52 (4) and 103 of the Charter, and on the relevant rules of procedure of the Council.

At the 921st meeting on 4 January 1961, the Council considered the inclusion of the item in its agenda. The representative of the United States, while describing the item as "totally fraudulent", informed the Council that his delegation would not oppose its inclusion in the agenda.^{363/} The agenda was adopted,^{364/} and the Council considered the Cuban complaint at its 921st to 923rd meetings held between 4 and 5 January 1961. The President (United Arab Republic) invited the representative of Cuba to participate in the discussion.^{365/}

Decision of 5 January 1961 (923rd meeting): Statement by the President expressing confidence that the debate would help in reducing tensions between the two countries and that nothing would be done to aggravate the situation

At the 921st meeting on 4 January 1961, before the adoption of the agenda, the representative of the United States rejected the charge of imminent invasion and stated further that it was not the United States which was isolating Cuba, but that by its own actions Cuba was isolating itself. He repeated previous assurances that the United States was not planning to invade Cuba and claimed that any information concerning such a plan was erroneous and without either logic or evidence. It was Cuba, he contended, that was the real attacker, and its targets were not only the United States but all the Governments of the Western Hemisphere with whose policies Cuba did not agree. These were the real threats to the hemisphere and the concern of the Organization of American States, the proper organ to which the Cuban complaint should have been first submitted.^{366/}

At the same meeting, the representative of Cuba stated that an invasion was imminent. The initiative taken by the United States in breaking off diplomatic relations with Cuba, in accordance with its "strategic plan", gave this imminence an especially grave character. In support of this allegation, he referred to the arming and financing of the counter-revolutionary mercenary forces by the United States Government and cited certain Press reports concerning the presence of thirteen warships without flags or registration in the Bay of Puerto Barrios, Guatemala, the encampment of hundreds of armed men in the Sierra del Petén near the Mexican frontier, together with the fact that two destroyers had been placed on the alert

^{359/} 895th meeting: paras. 21-24.

^{360/} 895th meeting: paras. 31-32.

^{361/} 895th meeting: para. 33.

^{362/} S/4605, O.R., 15th year, Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1960, pp. 107-109.

^{363/} 921st meeting: para. 36.

^{364/} 921st meeting: para. 53.

^{365/} 921st meeting: para. 54.

^{366/} 921st meeting: paras. 32-34, 41-42, 48-52.

at Key West, ninety miles from Cuba. He then expressed the view that only the climax of the plan was lacking, since the action had already been prepared and could be carried out at any time.^{367/}

At the 922nd meeting on 4 January 1961, the representative of the United States admitted his Government's aid to refugees forced to leave Cuba without money or property, but denied that it had supported military incursions by these groups. With regard to the break in diplomatic relations with Cuba, he cited several instances of hostile and provocative actions which destroyed the confidence and mutual respect necessary for effective diplomatic relations and made the maintenance of the United States Embassy in Havana impossible. Further, he noted that in accusing the United States of invasion plans, Cuba seemed unmindful that it had considered itself destined to "... act as a springboard for all the popular forces of Latin America following a destiny identical to that of Cuba".^{368/}

At the same meeting, the representative of Ecuador introduced a draft resolution^{369/} jointly submitted with Chile. Under the draft resolution the Council would remind the parties of their Charter obligation to settle disputes by peaceful means, and recommend that every effort should be made to fulfil such an obligation.^{370/}

At the 923rd meeting on 5 January 1961, the representative of France questioned the allegation of imminent "military aggression" and noted that four days had since elapsed with no such occurrence.^{371/}

At the same meeting, the representative of the United Kingdom referred to another letter^{372/} from the Minister for External Relations of Cuba dated 3 January 1961 and addressed to the President of the Council which, like the previous letter, reported that direct military aggression was about to be committed against Cuba, but noted that a charge of impending aggression, or the intention to commit aggression was in any event more difficult to sustain than a charge of aggression actually committed. So far, however, no evidence had been produced which convincingly supported the accusation. He observed also that both the United States and Cuba had expressed themselves negatively on resolutions of the kind submitted by Chile and Ecuador, and maintained that further action by the Council would be unnecessary and of no positive value.^{373/}

At the same meeting, the representative of Chile expressed regret that the joint draft resolution submitted by Chile and Ecuador had not been supported, since it had been prompted by a desire for constructive co-operation, and with a view to the re-establishment of normal relations. However, in the light of the negative attitudes apparent in the discussion, he

would not press for a vote on the draft resolution.^{374/} The representative of Ecuador concurred in this.^{375/}

At the conclusion of the meeting, the President (United Arab Republic) made a statement expressing confidence that the debate would help "in reducing the tension between the Republic of Cuba and the United States, whose relations should be governed by the Charter of the United Nations", and that, therefore, nothing would be done to aggravate the existing tensions.^{376/}

SITUATION IN ANGOLA

INITIAL PROCEEDINGS

By letter^{377/} dated 20 February 1961, the representative of Liberia requested the President of the Security Council to convene an early meeting of the Council "to deal with the crisis in Angola". After expressing his Government's concern regarding recent developments in Angola, he stated that immediate action should be taken by the Security Council to prevent further deterioration and abuse of human rights and privileges in Angola.^{378/}

By letter^{379/} dated 7 March 1961, the representative of Portugal protested against the request of Liberia for inscription in the Council's agenda of a matter which Portugal considered to be within its exclusive jurisdiction.

The letter from the representative of Liberia was placed on the provisional agenda of the 943rd meeting of the Council on 10 March 1961 and the agenda was adopted at the 944th meeting.^{380/} The Council considered the question at its 943rd to 946th meetings between 10 and 15 March 1961. After the adoption of the agenda, the representative of Portugal was invited to the Council table.^{381/} At the 945th meeting on 14 March 1961, the representatives of Ghana and the Congo (Brazzaville) were invited to the Council table.^{382/}

At the 943rd meeting of the Council on 10 March, the representative of Liberia, explaining his reasons for the submission of the question to the Security Council, stated that consideration had become necessary because of serious loss of life in Angola and the existence of conditions which had become a complete violation of human rights. In invoking Article 34 of the Charter, the Liberian Government

^{374/} 923rd meeting: paras. 44-63.

^{375/} 923rd meeting: paras. 95-111.

^{376/} 923rd meeting: para. 178.

^{377/} S/4738, O.R., 16th year, Suppl. for Jan.-March 1961, p. 145.

^{378/} At the 934th meeting on 15 February 1961, in connexion with the adoption of the provisional agenda dealing with the situation in the Congo, the representative of Liberia had proposed that a new item dealing with the disturbances in Angola be added to the provisional agenda. He requested the inscription of the item on the agenda under Article 34, because fundamental rights were being violated in Angola, and the situation was likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. However, the President ruled that under rules 6 and 7 of the provisional rules of procedure, it would be impossible to add an item to the agenda in the manner suggested by the representative of Liberia (934th meeting: paras. 4-11). For consideration of the inclusion of the question in the agenda, see chapter II, Case 4.

^{379/} S/4760, O.R., 16th year, Suppl. for Jan.-March 1961, pp. 227-228.

^{380/} 944th meeting: para. 8.

^{381/} 944th meeting: para. 31.

^{382/} 945th meeting: para. 2.

^{367/} 921st meeting: paras. 56-60, 63-125.

^{368/} 922nd meeting: paras. 2-40.

^{369/} S/4612, O.R., 16th year, Suppl. for Jan.-March 1961, p. 16; 922nd meeting: paras. 42-55.

^{370/} See chapter X, Case 4.

^{371/} 923rd meeting: paras. 9-23.

^{372/} S/4611, O.R., 16th year, Suppl. for Jan.-March 1961, pp. 15-16.

^{373/} 983rd meeting: paras. 27-43.