

**TO THE  
HONORABLE RICHARD M. NIXON,  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
TO THE WORLD-WIDE PUBLIC OPINION:**

**THE UNDERSIGNERS, CUBAN EXILES, because of the consternation created among one million Cuban Refugees and facing the anguish and sorrow created for the eight million Cubans on the Island of Cuba, due to the reach and significance of the articles contained in the Pact of Bilateral Agreement on Air Piracy, signed last February 15 between the United States Government and the Communist tyranny of Cuba, with the highest respect and also with natural patriotic firmness, wish to make the following public statement:**

I. That they respect the United States right to make such Treaties as it may deem convenient for the welfare and security of its People; in such sense, they are not opposed to the Air Piracy Treaty, but only to those parts which they consider fundamental within its contents, and specially Point II, which unusually and practically forbids all kind of actions against the actual Cuban regime, no matter where it takes effect.

The United States Government, through its spokesmen, has stated that such Agreement does not change the status of its relations with the Cuban regime. However, there is a flagrant contradiction between the above referred statement and the contents of Point II of said Agreement, which leaves the impression of having been worded in Havana and later unexplainably accepted by the Government of the United States, without foreseeing the grave consequences that the application of that section of the Agreement might bring in the future to the ever good relations between the free and democratic People of Cuba and the free and democratic People of the United States.

II. That with the noble intention of avoiding events which may result in differences of opinion between Cuban Exiles and Americans, we have decided to give publicity to this document, hoping to achieve a rapid and healthy rectification on the part of the United States Government, of the serious mistake made, and a decided explanation from President Nixon, who has always had the backing and respect of the Cuban People, "his Cuban friends" as frequently and with human warmth, he has stated:

III. That we are under the protection of the laws of this great Nation, traditional cradle of all world exiles, and that we respect them; but allow us to say that, first of all, we are Cubans who came here and to other shores of America seeking Freedom and aid for our Fatherland, and to procure means and ways for a dignified and patriotic struggle against the tyranny, and for the Freedom, Independence and Sovereignty of Cuba within a democratic frame and of truly Social Justice, where opportunely the People may plainly exercise the right to choose its own destiny through a majority consent of its citizenry cleanly expressed in the ballots.

IV. That the rightful struggle of the People of Cuba for its liberation and afterwards to enjoy living in Democracy, Justice and Freedom, as the American People and Other People in Earth do, is an inalienable right of every Cuban and a patriotic duty imposed upon each son of Cuba, in spite of all adversities, obstacles, conspiracies, and Agreements.

The People Of Cuba cannot consent to anything or anybody to conspire so that Communist slavery reigns forever in our country and to make permanent exiles out of us, or classic immigrants, nor has it granted plenipotentiary powers to foreign person or government, be it large or small, to negotiate its future.

V. That the struggle of the Cuban People towards its liberation is safeguarded by the Right to Self-Determination of the People and by multiple Interamerican Treaties and Agreements and also by the United States of America, such as: MONROE DOCTRINE (1823); AMERICAN CONGRESS JOINT RESOLUTION and PARIS TREATY (1898); CUBA-UNITED STATES TREATY, SUPPRESSING THE PLATT AMENDMENT AND EXTENDING THE GUANTANAMO NAVAL BASE CONCESSION (1934); DECLARATION OF LIMA (1938); RIO DE JANEIRO TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE (1947); ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES-OEA- CHART (1948); DECLARATION OF CARACAS (1954); PUNTA DEL ESTE, URUGUAY RESOLUTIONS (1962); AMERICAN CONGRESS JOINT RESOLUTION, MADE PUBLIC ACT BY SANCTION OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER AND THEREFORE, MANDATORY (RESOLUTION No. 230, OCTOBER 3, 1962); IX MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF AMERICA IN WASHINGTON (JULY, 1964); DECLARATION TO THE



CUBAN PEOPLE FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF AMERICA IN WASHINGTON (JULY, 1964).

We must specifically insist that the hereinabove mentioned Point II of the Air Piracy Treaty, of February 15, 1973 arbitrarily violates and consequently is in open conflict with Joint Resolution #230, October 3, 1962, of the United States of America Congress, which was declared a Public Act when it was sanctioned by the President and which, logically, modified the Neutrality Act of that country in regards to Cuba.

Said Joint Resolution establishes that the United States of America shall offer full cooperation to free Cubans in their just struggle against the actual Cuban regime. Now we find that as per the controversial Point II of the Treaty or Agreement on Air Piracy, the United States will punish in accordance with its laws and will not permit any Cuban to prepare, promote or take part in expeditions or other important activities, from its territory or any place in America against the totalitarian regime imposed in Cuba by deceit, force and terror.

We have pointed out the substance of both texts, so that the present contradictions and confusion may be evidenced and to show, from another point of view, how the United States Government has gone so far in concessions and attributions in this Agreement that not only penetrates into the subject of Cuba's sovereignty but also of the rest of the nations of the world, to the point where many might consider it outrageous and humiliating.

VI. That in the same manner that the People of Cuba in Exile and in the Island of Cuba censored and exposed the Kennedy-Khrushchev Pact, born as a consequence of the October, 1962 Missile Crisis, which in the long run has served only to protect and perpetuate Castro and his regime in power, now equally, free and democratic Cubans censor and expose any coexistence intent tending to maintain the Cuban tyranny in power and unjustly condemning our People to live under a prison-regime which has destroyed the Cuban Nation, established permanent rationing and poverty and violated every principle of the Interamerican System, reiteratedly and ostensibly interfering besides, in the internal affairs of numerous Latin American countries and the United States of America. Frankly speaking, nothing has changed in the Homeland of the great Cuban Patriot Jose Marti that justifies the modifications of OAS sanctions against the tyranny and nothing has changed in Cuba to overlook the crimes, the thousands of political prisoners, hunger, terror and the violation of all Human Rights which characterize the totalitarian regime of the Cuban Judas, Fidel Castro.

VII. That for those free and democratic Cubans who have a clear concept of Dignity and Honor, to walk paths of contemptible coexistence with Castro and his communist tyranny now, is nothing else than treason to the cause of Cuban Freedom, and we consider it is also treason to the forefathers and liberators of the Americas and to the fundamental principles on which destiny and democratic security of the Western Hemisphere and the Free World rest; and also, of course, to the rights, beliefs, and hopes of a better a more just future that all Peoples on Earth deserve.

VIII. That all free and democratic Cubans are eternally gratefully to the People of the United States of America and to the different Administrations of the United States Government since our long and hard exile began, and also to all other Peoples and Governments of America, for the generous aid and job opportunities offered to support our homes with dignity; but with nobility and respect we remind everyone that gratitude does not mean submission; that eternal gratitude does not mean the acceptance of indignities which carry on pain and crucifixion for the Cuban People.

As a distinguished diplomat and intellectual of our Americas stated in a very right sentence: "The solution of the Cuban problem is not to supply the Cubans a diluted and false substitute of Fatherland, but to provide them with an honorable return to their ever-homeland."

Let it be known to the whole world that we left Cuba to return with dignity and to a redeemed Fatherland and that, in such sense we consider that the Organization of American States -OAS- and its Nation Members, deplorably have not lived up to their duty to aid the People of Cuba, and to the Agreements and Treaties which demand from them a firmer and more decarous attitude because, after all, the Battle for Cuba is also the Battle of America.

IX. That the Forefathers and Liberators of the Cuban Homeland, whose struggles and examples are inspiration for our battle of today taught us "that the problems of Cuba concern the Cubans fundamentally"; "that we have nothing while we do not have our Fatherland"; "that the historic truth stands above all"; "that no matters what might happen, Cuba should not and cannot wait for extraneous solutions"; "that Cuba cannot live deprived of the rights enjoyed by other countries, not to consent that it be said it only knows how to suffer"; and "that struggles for Freedom are very costly, but one becomes fond of them, the more time passes and difficulties multiply".

X. That in this occasion we make ours, and take this opportunity to remind them all, the visionary phrases of the great American Patriot, Patrick Henry, when he said:

"Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price  
of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God!  
I know not what cause others may take, but as for me,  
GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH!

## PRESIDENT NIXON:

You have demonstrated that you are a sensitive and highly intelligent man, a qualified ruler, a person who works for History. Fulfill your promises to the noble People of Cuba, who has deposited their faith in you; but if you cannot fulfill these promises, do not deny our right, nor allow Russia or anybody else to do it!

**REGARDLESS AND BEYOND ALL IMPEDIMENTS  
THE CUBAN PEOPLE WILL NOT RENOUNCE THE RIGHT TO BE FREE!**

**Signed by: in alphabetical order.**

Dr. Jose Alvarez Blas, Former Secretary of Treasury Department  
Miguel Artiles, Former Civil Chief in the Bay of Pigs Invasion  
Ruben Batista I.C. on behalf of his father the former President of Cuba Fulgenio Batista Zaldívar  
Dr. Jose Berral, President of the Y.M.C.A. International "Jose Martí"  
Joaquín Castro, Chairman of "María Abreu Foundation"  
Marcela Castellanos, Former Mayor of the City of Havana  
Tames Cruz, Member of the Executive Staff of Executive Committee for Liberation and Member of the 2506 Brigade  
Angel Caffiso, Former General Secretary of the Power Plants Workers  
Dr. Manuel A. de Varona, Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Cuba  
Jorge Esteve, President of the Cuban Lions Club in Exile  
Presciliana Palencia, Former Secretary General of Cuban Sugar Workers  
Dr. Rafael José Iñesta, Former Vice-President of the Republic of Cuba  
Dr. Cristóbal González Reyes, Chairman of Cuban Professional Confederation in Exile  
Dr. Enrique Huertas, President of the Cuban Medical Association in Exile  
Dr. Arturo Hernández Telles, Former Secretary of Labor Department  
Frasco La Villa, Chairman of the Cuban Press Association in Exile  
Pablo A. López, Jr., President of the Cuban-American Sertoma Club  
Jorge Blas Casas, President of R.E.C.E.  
Dr. Carlos Álvarez Sotillo, Former Chairman of 1940 Assembly to Write Cuban Constitution  
Dr. Humberto Madroa, Sub-director of PRENSA LIBRE newspaper and member of the International Commission for Cuban Political Prisoners Affairs  
Dr. José Miró Cardona, Former Prime Minister of the Cuban Revolutionary Government and Former President of the Cuban Revolutionary Council

**Very respectfully,**

Given in Miami, Florida, on the 23rd day of March, 1973

Dr. José M. Morales Gomez, Former Congressman  
C. P. Luis V. Munniz, Founder and Past President of the Truth About Cuba Committee  
Eusebio Mujal Bernal, General Secretary of Cuban Confederation Workers in Exile  
Andrés Nazario Sargas, General Secretary of the ALPHA 66  
Dr. René Maseo, Former Mayor of the City of Havana  
C. P. Rafael Pérez Doreste, President of the Truth About Cuba Committee  
Virgilio Pérez López, Former Congressman and Former Secretary of Agriculture  
José J. Parayre, President of the Bay of Pigs Veteran Association, 2506 Brigade  
Dr. Carlos Pilo Soares, Former President of the Republic of Cuba  
Frank Rivers, President of Optimist Club  
Mercedes Rojas, President of the Martyr's Family Association  
Dr. Lincoln Rojas, Former Speaker of the House of Representatives  
Gerardo Rodríguez Sánchez, General Secretary of the Independent Labor Action  
Dr. Amílcar Rivera Aguiar, President Elected of the Republic of Cuba  
Vicente Robles, General Secretary of the Telephone Workers in Exile  
Luis Salinas, Chairman of the Latin Chamber of Commerce  
José San Roman, Military Commander of 2506 Brigade  
Dr. Eduardo Suárez Rivas, Former Speaker of the Cuban Senate  
Dr. Manuel Urrutia Lleó, Former President of the Cuban Revolutionary Government  
Luis Varona, Secretary of Cuban National Veterans Association  
Reinaldo Vergara, Former President of the Cuban American Sertoma Club  
Dr. José M. Vialón, Chairman of the Cuban Rotary Club in Exile  
Herberto Viales Meléndez, President of the Central Executive Committee of the Cuban Municipalities in Ex.

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