

p.1

Mr. Sedoux of France called the "situation in Cuba today" a "threat to international peace and security".

p.2.

"From the explanations given by our United States colleague ... these weapons cannot be considered anything but offensive. By their nature, they have no relation to Cuba's defense needs. If that is so, what are they needed for? ... the question we have to ask ourselves is why such missiles have been accumulated where they are today. ... Cuba is not acting alone now if it ever did have the initiative."

p.5

Mr. Schweitzer of Chile. "... any worsening of the situation in the Caribbean would be the beginning of catastrophe. Upon Cuba hinges the fate of all peoples of the world. ... we must proceed with extreme care ..."

"This month on 3 October the American Ministers of Foreign Affairs met informally at Washington and expressed the opinion that 'the Soviet Union's intervention in Cuba threatens the unity of the Americas and its democratic institutions, and that this intervention has characteristics which (omission in original) ... call for the adoption of special measures' under the Reciprocal Assistance Treaty of Rio de Janeiro."

"It is therefore no matter for surprise that yesterday, 23 October, the American states, meeting under the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, agreed to apply its defensive provisions and to adopt the individual or collective measures which are considered necessary in order to ensure that the government of Cuba does not continue to receive war materiel/dangerous to peace and security in the hemisphere." (p.9)

"We are also greatly interested in the last operative paragraph of the United States draft resolution. Chile has always favored direct negotiations, and we should be vastly gratified if the United States and the Soviet Union held talks not only to remove the present threat to the security of the western hemisphere but also to remove other threats in other parts of the world. Discussion between both powers is essential to the maintenance of peace."

(p.10) "The Soviet Union's own draft resolution ... contains but one positive element, to which, however, we would draw special attention - the idea, formulated in the last operative paragraph, regarding the need for talks between the United States and the Soviet Union. The draft resolutions of both powers coincide in this, in their final paragraphs. It is a coincidence which we believe to be auspicious."

"At present everything looks dark. Yet from this acute crisis - the sharpest and most disturbing of recent years - it is possible that there may emerge some favorable factors, conducive to the strengthening of world peace. When man looks down and sees the abyss before him, he will instinctively feel the need to cling to some protection. That is what is felt, today, by every human being."

(P.10)

Mr. Mahmoud Riad, United Arab Republics. "Fearful of an armed clash ... representatives of some fifty member states ... common agreement among them ... have delegated ... the representatives of Ghana and

and Cyprus and myself to meet with the Acting Secretary-General in order to convey to him on their behalf their deep concern and anxiety. ... approaches this problem in the light of the principles in which we believe ... charter of the United Nations ... Bandung and Belgrade Conferences ... nonintervention in the internal affairs of any state; each state has complete freedom to choose its own political system of government and way of life; each state has the right and freedom to being its defenses up to the standard which will secure its political independence and territorial integrity. ... all members should refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state ... On October 22, 1962, President Kennedy declared in his speech the steps to be taken by the United States. These steps include the initiation of a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment in shipment to Cuba. Together with this all ships of any kind bound for Cuba from whatever nation or port will, when they are found to contain cargoes of offensive weapons, be turned back. This quarantine will be extended if needed to other types of cargo and carriers. It was later declared that any ship that might attempt to run the blockade shall be sunk. ... cannot condone the unilateral decision of the United States of America to exercise the quarantine in the Caribbean Sea. This action, we believe, not only is contrary to international law and accepted norms of freedom of navigation on the high seas, but also leads to a situation which, I am sure ~~all~~ representatives all agree, is pregnant with all the symptoms of increasing world tension and threatens international peace and security. This is an action which was taken outside the United Nations, and without authorization from the Security Council upon which the founder members of the United Nations have conferred primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

"The United States voiced its fear that Cuba might acquire nuclear weapons or warheads which threaten the security of the western hemisphere. As regards this question, the delegation of the Soviet Union ~~has~~ denied supplying Cuba with nuclear weapons. ... (referring to Cuban fears of U.S. and some L.A. states) The existing tension and fear felt by the two sides cannot be removed except through understanding and negotiations. Naturally, the quarantine does not help to create the required understanding. On the contrary, it will further complicate the matter and may lead to a state of armed combat. ... Mr. Dorticos said that the weapons which Cuba has acquired are defensive in nature, and not offensive, that Cuba is trying to build itself and strengthen its capabilities because it has been under constant fear of intervention in its internal affairs. ... Cuba is ready to sit with the representatives of the United States to reach an agreement or a settlement which may lead to the normalization of the relations between Cuba and the United States. Mr. Dorticos said that, were his country given effective and satisfactory guarantees concerning its territorial integrity, then; 'Cuba would not need to strengthen its defenses and would not even need an army ...'. In our opinion Cuba then, neutral and socialist, would be free from foreign military bases and excess military installations."

He then appealed to all parties concerned to get together. "In the meantime my delegation urges all parties concerned to refrain from any action which might, directly or indirectly, aggravate the situation. In dealing with the various positions and vested interests, in this delicate situation, the Council should not forget for one moment the interests of the people of Cuba, their integrity and independence, and, above all, their right to their own way of life and their right

to coexist peacefully with neighboring countries. ..."

Mr. Quaison-Sackui of Ghana then followed (p.14). He said much the same as the UAR delegate about non-intervention in other and smaller states, the rights of such smaller states to their own political integrity and systems of their own selection, etc. He quoted from the statement of the American representative at the 1022 meeting as distinguishing between missiles, some defensive and some not defensive, those "which introduce a nuclear threat into an area now free of it" being not defensive. "But should the fact that Cuba has received weapons of all kinds from the Soviet Union constitute sufficient pretext for the gigantic action of a naval blockade imposed by the United States against Cuba?" He quoted the assurances of the USSR that it "is not now sending offensive weapons of any kind to Cuba" and that "the assistance being given was 'exclusively designed' to improve Cuba's defense capacity". Equally, the representative of Cuba reminded us of, and we affirmed, the following assurance contained in the President's address to the General Assembly on 8 October 1962: 'We have been obliged to arm ourselves, not in order to attack anyone, any nation, but only to defend ourselves.' Should not these assurances from the governments of the Soviet Union and Cuba allay the crisis of confidence which precipitated the imposition of ~~the~~ quarantine and the present crisis? After all, it has been conceded by everyone at this Council that Cuba has a right to take adequate measures to ensure its self-defense. ... What is a bone of contention is the argument advanced by the United States and a number of countries that the weapons possessed by Cuba are offensive. ... But is a weapon offensive by its intrinsic nature, or does it become offensive by its use? ... If my conclusions are correct, then my delegation proposes that the United States should give a written guarantee to the Security Council that it has no intentions whatsoever of interfering in the internal affairs of Cuba and taking offensive military action, directly or indirectly, against the Republic of Cuba. Then Cuba should also give a written guarantee to the Security Council that it has no intention whatsoever of interfering in the internal affairs of any country in the western hemisphere and taking offensive military actions against any country. ... would help in the restoration of mutual confidence and respect between Cuba and its neighbors."

He then quotes the President of Ghana as that day saying "We do know, however, that intelligence reports on Cuba have misled the government of the United States before now and have caused serious damage. ... But we cannot possibly regard allegations regarding the setting up of such bases in one country, Cuba, as justifying international action which, on the face of it, would constitute a departure from international law. If that were so, the Soviet Union, too, would have to be regarded as being justified in applying a blockade, for example, to the Black Sea Coast of Turkey, where the existence of American rocket bases is not a rumor, but an acknowledged fact. We would deplore any Soviet action of that kind against Turkey, just as we deplore the United States action in relation to Cuba."

On the basis of objectivity he says, "... my delegation remains in doubt whether positive proof has been tendered of Cuba's offensive designs ... with much concern that my government learnt that the United States has initiated measures, including the use of armed force, to quarantine Cuba against imports of military material and related supplies. This in turn has led to a serious warning by the Soviet Union to the United States, which has something of the character of an ultimatum. This, then, is the crisis which bedevils the peace of the world

at this very moment." He then disputes the American claim of competence for the counsel of the OAS for actions they have taken, saying of them, "... these rights and responsibilities do not by any means involve absolute priority in relation to the competence of the United Nations. The flexibility which is desirable in the relations between regional agencies and the United Nations cannot be extended to the point of undermining the Security Council's authority. ... In this particular case ... it is clear that the action contemplated by the United States must be regarded as enforcement action, which is inadmissible in terms of Article 53, without the authorization of the Security Council."

He then disputes the argument that US action "is justified in exercise of the inherent right of self-defense" on the ground that "incontrovertible proof is not yet available as to the offensive character of military developments in Cuba."

He/then called upon all the states involved to get together and negotiate.

Then he presented on behalf of Ghana, United Arab Republic and the other states who had been conferring a draft resolution requesting the Secretary-General "promptly to confer with the parties directly concerned on the immediate steps to be taken to remove the existing threat to world peace, and to normalize the situation in the Caribbean; ... called upon the parties concerned to refrain meanwhile from any action which may directly or indirectly further aggravate the situation."

The Acting Secretary-General (p.20) said, "What is at stake is ... the very fate of mankind." He found common ground in all the draft resolutions in that they called for "urgent negotiations between the parties directly involved ... I cannot help expressing the view that some of the measures proposed are already taken, which the Council is called upon to approve, are very unusual and, I might say, even extraordinary except in wartime." He announced that as of that day he had sent "identically worded messages to the President of the United States of America and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR," in which he said his "urgent appeal ... in the interest of international peace and security, all concerned should refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation and bring with it the risk of war. ... It is important that time should be given to enable the parties concerned to get together with a view to resolving the present crisis peacefully and normalizing the situation in the Caribbean. This involves on the one hand the voluntary suspension of all armed shipments to Cuba, and also the voluntary suspension of the quarantine measures involving the searching of ships bound for Cuba. ..." He then said, "I should like also to take this occasion to address an urgent appeal to the President and Prime Minister of the revolutionary government of Cuba. Yesterday Ambassador Garcia Inchaustegui of Cuba recalled the words of his President, words which were uttered from the rostrum of the General Assembly just over two weeks ago, and I quote: 'If the United States could give assurances, by word and deed, that it would not commit acts of aggression against our country, we solemnly declare that there would be no need for our weapons and our armies'. Here again I feel that on the basis of ~~the~~ discussion some common ground may be found through which a way may be traced out of the present impasse ... I now make a most solemn appeal to the parties concerned to enter into negotiations immediately, even this night, if possible, irrespective of any other procedures which may be available or which could be invoked. (Note: This is a clear appeal for them to go outside the UN or to work through him.) ... During the 17 years that have passed since the end of the Second World War, there has never been a more dangerous or closer confrontation of the major powers." He then went on to say that "a Secretary-

General cannot serve on any other assumption than that ... all member nations honor their pledge to observe ~~all~~ articles of the charter."

"The path of negotiation and compromise is the only course by which the peace of the world can be secured at this critical moment."
Last words of the transcript are, "The meeting rose at 10 p.m."