

December 2, 1962

Confidential Memo from Cuban Mission to the United Nations Concerning Anastas Mikoyan's Conversations with US President John F. Kennedy (and Secretary of State Dean Rusk), with cover note from Cuban President Dorticos to Foreign Minister Roa

Citation:

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Summary:

A report from the Cuban Mission to the UN concerning a conversation with Anastas Mikoyan and US President John F. Kennedy and Secretary of State Dean Rusk. The three are mostly focused on discussing US-Latin American diplomatic relations, and concerns over American military presence in Latin America, specifically the US fly-overs. Kennedy continues to reiterate the US's position on 'no US invasion of Cuba.'

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REPUBLICA DE CUBA PRESIDENTE

MEMORANDUM

La Habana, Diciembre 5 de 1962 "ANO DE LA PLANIFICACION"

AL: Dr. Raúl Roa García Presente.

Te devuelvo el Confidencial de fecha 2 de Diciembre dirigido a ti sobre la entrevista de Mikoyan con Kennedy.

Fraternalmente,

PATRIA O MUERTE

YENCEREMOS

Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado

ODT:mmc.

MISION PERMANENTE DE CUBA EN LAS NACIONES UNIDAS 155 EAST 44TH STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

2 de diciembre, 1962

SUITE 201

Raul:

Mikoyan envio a New York al embajador de la URSS en Washington, Dobryni, para que nos informara sobre su entrevista con Kennedy.

La version es la siguiente:

--Mikoyan hablo extensamente de su visita a Cuba. Dijo que la Revolución había realizado numerosas obras, citando especialmente las escuelas y los hospitales y refiriendose también a la producción. Expreso que Fidel Castro se preocupaba mucho por el pueblo y habío de la atmosfera popular que existe en Cuba y del respaldo al Gobierno.

--Kennedy ni hizo comentario alguno. Solamente expreso "que le agradaba que Castro se preocupara del pueblo". A rengion seguido manifesto que el Gobierno cubano seguia un plan de subversion en la America Latina y que esa conducta "preocupaba sobremenera al Gobierno de
los Estados Unidos".

--Mikoyan habío de la desconfianza de Cuba por el "imperialismo americano" (me dijeron que había utilizado esa expresión) y culto a los EE.UU. de la crisis de relaciones con Cuba. Añadío que el proyecto de declaración de los EE.UU.--ante el Consejo de Seguridad--no es satisfactorio porque anula en la practica las obligaciones norteamericanas que emanan del intercambio de los mensajes entre Kennedy y Jruschov.

--Kennedy expreso que la idea de concertar las tres declaraciones ante el Consejo de Seguridad no es, en general, aceptable porque
ellos no pueden votar por la declaración de Cuba y Cuba no iba a votar
por la declaración de los Estados Unidos. Dijo que sería mejor no llegar a producir declaraciones similares y limitarse a que U Thant tome
nota de las declaraciones de la URSS y de los EE.UU., sin llegar a nin-

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--2--

SUITE 201

guna votacion en el Consejo de Seguridad. Sugirio tambien no ir al Consejo en forma alguna--ni a la sesion, ni por el procedimiento por medio de U Thant--sino producir las declaraciones, el en Washington y Jruschov en Moscu.

- --Mikoyan rechazo la idea y dijo que era mejor ir al Consejo y seguir las negociaciones entre los sovíeticos y los americanos y los sovíeticos y nosotros en New York.
- --Kennedy expreso que si iban al Consejo tenían de todos modos que encionar el Pacto de Rio de Janeiro y las obligaciones interamericanas porque EE.UU. y los otros paises latinoamericanos eran firmantes del Pacto.
- --Mikoyan que no se puede mencionar el Pacto de Rio porque no es objeto de las negociaciones y, ademas, porque los EE.UU. hicieron posible
 e Cuba fuera separada de la OEA. "Por lo tanto, EE.UU. no tiene derecho
 mencionar el Pacto en esta situación".
- --Kennedy dijo que los soviéticos querian recibir de EE.UU. un documento oficial que los comprometiera no por dos meses, sino por dos años, que es lo que le queda a'el de mandato, o por seis años, ya que ira a la reelección, y que EE.UU. tenian que darle garantias al Hemisferio Occidental de que la URSS no enviara de nuevo sus cohetes a Cuba y de que Cuba no realizara actos de subversión en la America Latina. Agrego que en esa situación ellos se ven obligados a volar sobre el territorio cubano, aunque la URSS los critique. Mostro entonces un recorte de un periódico norteamericano en el que se decia que Cuba ocultaba dun algunos cohetes soviéticos, y pregunto a Mikoyan: "¿Que haria usted en mi lugar después de leer esta sospecha?"

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--3--

Suite 201

- --Mikoyan dijo que todo eso parecia cosa de locos y expreso su confianza en que EE.UU. no se dejara llevar por tonterias.
- -- Kennedy se río. No hizo comentarios.
- --Mikoyan conto que Fidel le pregunto en Cuba: ¿con que derecho Kennedy, o los EE.UU. hablan de atacar a Cuba? ¿Con que derecho vuelan
 sobre nuestro territorio?
 - -- Kennedy no contesto.
- -- Hikoyan manifesto que la URSS nunca aceptaran el titulado derecho norteamericano a efectuar esos vuelos, que estaban catra el desecho internacional.
- --Kennedy dijo oue ellos no realizaran mas vuelos a poca altura, sino a gran altura.
- --Mikoyan respondio que a poca altura era un acto de pirateria abierto y el otro un acto de pirateria a gran altura. Añadio que si los EE. UU. tienen sospechas, que acepten entonces la inspección multilateral. Dijo que Fidel lo había aceptado porque entrañaba una base de reciprocidad, y que esa era una proposición de U Thant. Manifesto que así tembren los EE. UU. podian asegurarse de que Cuba no subvertia el orden en Latinoamerica, cargo que el rechazo. Agrego que Cuba tambien podia hablar de subversión en su territorio no solamente por parte de los EE. UU. sino por parte de etros países del Hemisferio Occidental. Siguiendo la conversación expreso que las proposiciones adicionales contenidas en el proyecto de declaraciones de EE. UU. ante el Consejo de Seguridad no aparecian en los mensajes de Kennedy y parecia que los EE. UU. trataban de rechazar los resultados de las negociaciones. "Parece que EE. UU. no quieren apagar todas las

MISION PERMANENTE DE CUBA EN LAS NACIONES UNIDAS 155 EAST 44TH STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

--4--

SUITE 201

chispas del incendio y nosotros queremos resolver este asunto cuanto antes para poder pasar a otros problemas y resolverlos también. ¿Que le puedo decir a Jruschov?¿Le puedo decir que ustedes estan dispuestos a cumplir las obligaciones que han contraido o que no estan dispuestos?"

--Kennedy dijo que parecía que el interprete no había reflejado bien sus observaciones y que el estaba dispuesto a reiterar la promesa de no invasion a Cuba pero que había algunas dificultades en la redacción del texto. "Vamos a dar instrucciones a Stevenson y usted se las da a Kuznetsov, de que continuen las conversaciones en New York sobre esta cuestion".

EN LA ENTREVISTA de Mikovan con Dean Rusk, al dia siguiente, no se trato del asunto cubano. Hablaron sobre las pryebas nucleares y otras cuestiones. Rusk habío, sin embargo, de la pronosición del Brasil de desnuclearizar a la America Latina. (Dijo lo mismo que Martin al embajador Campos del Brasil, que yo informe en reciente confidencial)

Rusk le dijo a Mikoyan que ellos estaban dispuestos a que se incluyera en la resolución del Brasil a Guantanamo y al Canal de Panama
en el territorio libre de armas nucleares, con la unica enmienda de que
Estados Unidos podía utilizar el Canal para transportar armas nucleares
del Atlantico al Padifico, o villversa.

5 December 1962

Havana, 5 December 1962

"YEAR OF PLANNING"

To Dr. Raúl Roa García

I am returning the confidential memo from 2 December, directed to you regarding the interview of Mikoyan with Kennedy.

Fraternally,

HOMELAND OR DEATH, WE WILL WIN

Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado

Permanent Mission of Cuba in the United Nations, 2 December 1962 Raúl:

Mikoyan sent to New York the USSR's ambassador in Washington, Dobryni [Anatoly F. Dobrynin], so that he might inform us about his interview with Kennedy.

The version is the following:

Mikoyan spoke extensively on his visit to Cuba. He said the Revolution had accomplished many tasks, and specially pointed out the schools and hospitals, referring also to production. He stated that Fidel Castro concerned himself very much with the people and spoke of the public atmosphere that exists in Cuba, and of support for the Government.

Kennedy made no comment. He only expressed "that he was pleased [that] Castro worried about the people." Immediately after, he stated that the Cuban government continued a plan of subversion within Latin America and that this behavior greatly worried the United States government.

Mikoyan spoke of Cuba's distrust of "American imperialism" (they told me he had used that expression) and blamed the USA for the crisis in relations with Cuba. He added that the project [i.e., draft-ed.] of the US declaration before the Security Council is not satisfactory because it cancels, in practice, American obligations emerging from the exchange of messages between Kennedy and Khrushchev.

Kennedy said that the idea of agreeing on the three declarations before the Security Council is generally not acceptable because they cannot vote for Cuba's declaration and Cuba was not going to vote for that of the United States. He said it would be better not to arrive at similar declarations and limit the process to U Thant taking note of the declarations from the USSR and USA, without any voting by the Security Council. He also suggested not going to the Council in any form - neither to the session, nor to the proceedings through U Thant - but rather producing the declarations, he in Washington and Khrushchev in Moscow.

Mikoyan rejected the idea and said it would be better to go to the Council and continue negotiations between the Soviets and the Americans, and between the Soviets and us [Cubans] in New York.

Kennedy stated that if they went to the Council they would have to mention the Rio de Janeiro Pact and inter-American obligations because the USA and the other Latin American countries were signatories of that Pact.

Mikoyan (said) that the Rio Pact could not be mentioned because it is not the object of the negotiations, and besides, the USA might facilitate separation of Cuba from the OAS. "Therefore, the USA does not have the right to mention the Pact in this situation."

Kennedy stated that the Soviets wanted to receive an official document from the USA that promised not for two months, but for two years, which is what remains of his presidency, or for six years if he is reelected. The USA had to guarantee to the Western Hemisphere (countries) that the USSR would not send missiles to Cuba again and that Cuba would not carry out acts of subversion in Latin America. He added that in this situation (the USA) feels obligated to fly over Cuban territory, even though the USSR criticizes them for doing so. He then showed a newspaper clipping in which it was said that Cuba was still hiding some Soviet missiles, and asked Mikoyan, "What would you do in my position after reading this allegation?"

Mikoyan said that this all seemed like the talk of crazy men, and expressed his confidence that the USA would not be swayed by such foolishness.

Kennedy laughed, but did not comment.

Mikoyan related that Fidel asked him in Cuba: with what right does Kennedy or the USA speak of attacking Cuba? What law lets them fly over our territory?

Kennedy did not answer.

Mikoyan declared that the USSR would never accept the American "right" to interfere with these flights, as this was against international law.

Kennedy said they would not carry out any more low-altitude flights, but that higher flights would continue.

Mikoyan responded that low flights were an act of blatant piracy, and the rest were piracy in the high skies. He added that if the USA had suspicions, that they should accept multilateral inspection (of Cuba.). He stated that Fidel had accepted it because it involved a basis of reciprocity, and that was a proposition by U Thant. In that way, he said, the USA could assure themselves that Cuba was not subverting order in Latin America, a charge that he rejected. He added that Cuba could also talk of subversion in its territory, not only by the United States but also by other countries in the Western Hemisphere. Continuing the conversation, he mentioned that the additional propositions contained in the declarations of the USA before the Security Council did not appear in Kennedy's messages, and it seemed that the USA was attempting to reject the results of the negotiations. "It appears that the USA doesn't want to put out all the sparks in the fire, and we want to resolve this matter as soon as possible in order to be able to move on to other problems and resolve them too. What can I tell Khrushchev? Do I tell him that you are going to fulfill the obligations you have laid out, or that you don't intend to?"

Kennedy said that it seemed that the translator had not summarized his observations

well, and that he was prepared to reiterate the promise of no Cuban invasion, but that there were some difficulties in the editing of the text. "We will give instructions to Stevenson and you give them to Kuznetsov, so that conversations in New York on this matter can continue."

In the interview of Mikoyan with Dean Rusk, the next day, the Cuban issue was not discussed. They discussed nuclear tests and other matters. Rusk, however, spoke of Brazil's proposal to denuclearize Latin America. (He said the same as [Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Edwin M.] Martin to the Brazilian ambassador [to the United States Roberto de Oliveira] Campos, whom I informed in a recent confidential memo.)

Rusk told Mikoyan that they were prepared to add Guantanamo and the Panama Canal to Brazil's resolution for a territory free of nuclear weapons, with the only reservation being that the USA could use the Canal to transport nuclear arms from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or vice versa.