

November 25, 1962 Letter from Faure Chomon to Fidel Castro

Citation:

"Letter from Faure Chomon to Fidel Castro", November 25, 1962, Wilson Center Digital Archive, Cuban documents released for the International Conference, "La Crisis de Octubre," October 2002.

https://wilson-center-digital-archive.dvincitest.com/document/110773

Summary:

Letter to Fidel Castro concerning the conversation that took place with Anastas Mikoyan which discussed the USSR's position on Cuba.

Original Language:

Spanish

Contents:

Original Scan Translation - English

Habena, Noviembre 25 de 1962. "ANO DE LA PIANIFICACION"

Cdte. Fidel Castro Ruz, Primer Secretario General de las OBI, Ciudad.

Compañero Fidel:

A continuación le informo sobre la conversación sostenida con el compañero Mikoyán en ocasión de hacerme, en la noche de ayer, una visita en mi casa. Esta visita me fué ahunciada por el embaj-dor de la URSS en Cuba compañero Aleaeiev, ya que según me informó, Mikoyán tenía deseos de saludarme en unión de mi familia.

Fensé se trataba de una visita de pura cortesía, debido a que por ti presencia en la URSS como embajador de Cuba, le conocí y nos encontramos innumerables veces y donde además hicebuera amistad con su hijo Sergio, pero Elkoyán pronto pasó a hablarme de la posición de la URSS respecto a la decisión toma da sobre el problema cubano.

Yo comencé a hablar sobre su vieje a Santiago y su regreso de hacía apenas una hora, pero inmediatamente saltó al tema en cuestión.

Hizo primero une larga exposición que el terminerla le indiqué ya conocer, por los informes de los compañeros del Becretariado y por los cuales el también había conocido nuestros puntos de vista.

Inmediatamente se desarrolló un diálogo, cuya esencia y lo expuesto por Mikoyán primeramente le informo a continuación:

POSICION DE LA URSS CON RESPECTO A CUBA.- "La humanidad había sido librada de una guerra catastrófica y Cuba de su total liquidación, Hay que entener que para Cuba la situación ha mejorado. Los cohetes cumphieron su cometido. Bensemos en seis meses atrás, entonces Cuba no tenía cohetes y había el peli-2-

gro de una inminente invasión. La cuestión era parar a los agresores, y eso se ha logrado con el compromiso de Kennedy de no invadir a Cuba. Hay que creer en este compromiso. Además, en las próximas elecciones él será reelecto sin dudas y tendrá que mantener esa palabra. Por eso consideramos que Cuba no tendrá problemas en unos cinco o seis años!

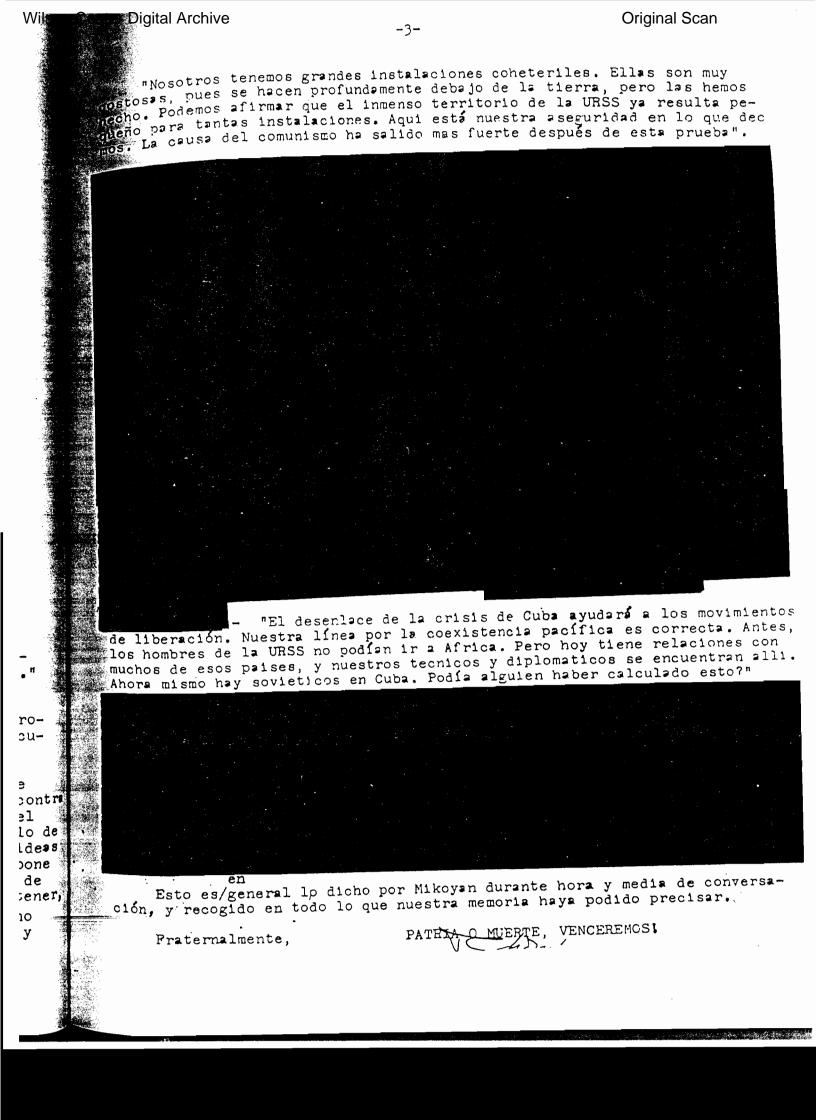
"Si Cuba es agredida en otra forma, se debe entender que la URSS ripostará en otros puntos del mundo en que los americanos están muy interesados, y cuyos puntos están más próximos a la URSS. Cuba está legos de la URSS y cerca de los Estados Unidos. Pero esos otros puntos importantes del mundo están cerca de la URSS y lejos de Estados Unidos. Digamos Laos, Berlín!

"En Berlín están en una ratonera, los tenemos en un puño. Solo con alguna artillería y unos cuantos tanques los aplastamos. Si no tener los cohetes en Cuba deja de ser una ventaja, (Esta respues ta a una pregunta mía no quedó muy clara, a pesar de mi insistencia en ella. No se si por culpa del traduotor o a que Mikoyán prefería que quedara así.) debe contarse lo que se ha avanzado en cuanto a las garantías de no invadir a Cuba por parte de Estados Unidos, y que la URSS no necesita de bases cerca de Estados Unidos, pues su fuerza coheteril es tan poderosa y precisa que desde el propio territorio de la URSS puede golpear al enemigo en cualquier lugar del mundo. Recuérdese que Krushov dijo que la exactitud de nuestra téc nicanos permitía hacer blanco exacto a un punto situado én el cosmos. Ahora bien, cuál era la situación de esa ventaja militar sobre los Estados Unidos?. Nuestáras bases de cohetes en Cuba, habían sido descubiertas por Estados Unidos y los conocían perfectamente. Esta situación les permitía destruirlas antes de que pudieran usarse. For tanto no había tal ventaja."

Y si no se hubiesen descubierto esas bases, considera ud. que habría esa ventaja?

"Si no se hubiesen descubierto, es como si no existieran. La situacion hubiera sido distinta pues no se hubiera producido la crisis." Al hablar sobre este punto se puede llegar a la conclusión, de que Mikoyan trataba de indicar que la URSS trasladó e instaló cohetes en Cuba no pensando en su uso, sino como una maniobra política. Y que procedieron a su instalación en una forma que permitiese a los E.U. descubrirlos.

"El momento de liquidar al imperialismo no ha llegado. La suerte del imperialismo y del socialismo no está en una guerra. Esto va en con de nuestros principios, de todos en los que se fundamenta la lucha del PCUS. La coexistencia pacifica es la línea a seguir para el desarrollo la humanidad hacia el socialismo y la derrota del imperialismo. Las ide del comunismo no se sostienen sobre bayonetas. El comunismo no de impone a cañonazos ni con bombas nucleares. Y nuestra garantia o seguridad de que la guerra se puede evitar, de que al imperialismo se le puede detene está en la fortaleza militar de la URSS. Claro está que si nosotros no tuviéramos ese poderío militar, entonces la situación sería distinta y si habría guerra ."



Havana, 25 November 1962 YEAR OF PLANNING Commander Fidel Castro Ruz, First Secretary General of the ORI [Integrated Revolutionary Organization], [Havana] City.

Comrade Fidel:

Here I will inform you about the conversation with comrade Mikoyan last night when he paid a visit to my house. This visit was announced to me by the USSR's ambassador to Cuba, comrade [Alexander] Alexeiev [Alexeyev], who told me that Mikoyan wished to greet me in the presence of my family.

I thought this was a visit for pure reasons of courtesy, because by way of my presence in the USSR as the Cuban ambassador, I met him and we got together countless times, and I befriended his son Sergo, but Mikoyan quickly began to talk about the USSR's position with respect to the decision taken on the Cuban problem.

I began to talk about his trip to Santiago [de Cuba] and his return that was barely an hour later, but he immediately jumped to the topic of discussion.

First, he made a long statement, and upon finishing, I indicated to him that I already knew, through reports of the comrades in the Secretariat and by those which he too had learned our points of view. [several lines excised]

Immediately a dialogue developed, the essence of which - and what Mikoyan primarily expressed - are the following:

Position of the USSR with respect to Cuba: "Humanity has been freed from a catastrophic war, and Cuba from its complete liquidation. It must be understood that the situation has improved for Cuba. The missiles accomplished their task. We thought about six months beforehand; then Cuba had no missiles and there was the danger of an immediate invasion. The problem was stopping the aggressors, and this has been accomplished in Kennedy's promise not to invade Cuba. We must believe this promise. Besides, in the next election, he will doubtlessly be reelected and will need to keep his word. So we think Cuba will not have problems for the next five or six years."

"If Cuba is assaulted in another way, it must be understood that the USSR will retaliate in other parts of the world in which the Americans are very interested, and other points closer to the USSR. Cuba is far from the USSR and close to the USA. But those other important parts of the world are close to the USSR and far from the United States, say, Laos or Berlin."

"In Berlin they are in a mousetrap; we have them in a fist. With just some artillery and a few tanks, we will crush them. If not having the missiles in Cuba ceases to be an advantage, (this answer to one of my questions remained unclear, despite my insistence on it. I don't know if the translator is at fault or if Mikoyan preferred leaving it this way.) we must tally what has been achieved regarding the guarantees not to invade Cuba from the United States. And the USSR does not need bases near the United States, as its missile forces are powerful and precise enough to strike the enemy in any place in the world from within the USSR's own territory. Recall that Khrushchev said that the precision of our technology permits us to hit a bull's-eye on a point situated out in the cosmos. However, what was the situation of that military advantage over the United States? Our missile bases in Cuba, having been discovered by the USA and become perfectly known to them. This situation allowed them to destroy the missile bases before they could be used. Therefore, there was not such an advantage."

And if they had not discovered those bases, do you think that advantage would exist?

"If they had not been discovered, it would be as if they did not exist. The situation would have been different as it would not have produced the crisis. Talking about this point, one can reach the conclusion that Mikoyan tried to indicate that the USSR transferred and installed missiles in Cuba thinking not of using them, but rather as a political maneuver. And that they proceeded to install them in a way that allowed the US to discover them."

"The moment of liquidating imperialism has not come. The fate of imperialism and socialism is not tied up in a war. This goes against our principles, against all those on which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union bases its fight. Peaceful coexistence is the path to follow for the development of humanity toward socialism and the defeat of imperialism. The ideas of communism are not carried on bayonets. Communism is not imposed by cannon fire or nuclear bombs. Our guarantee or assurance that war can be avoided, that imperialism can be stopped, is in our military strength. It is clear that if we did not have that military power, the situation would be different and we would have war instead."

"We have large missile installations. They are very costly, because they are made deep under the ground, but we have already made them. We can affirm that the immense territory of the USSR ends up being inappropriate for such installations. Here is our assurance in what we say. The cause of communism has emerged stronger after this proof."

[Approximately 27 lines excised]

[14 characters excised] - "The outcome of the crisis in Cuba will help the movements of liberation. Our line for peaceful coexistence is correct. Before, the men of the USSR could not go to Africa. But today it has relations with many of these countries, and one encounters our technicians and diplomats there. Right now there are Soviets in Cuba. Could anyone have imagined this?"

[Approximately 11 lines excised]

This is in general what was said by Mikoyan during an hour and a half of conversation and brought together here to the extent that our memory could recall.

COUNTRY OR DEATH, WE WILL WIN!

[signed:] F Chomón