



Security Council (SC)

Study Guide for Zurich Model United Nations

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Introduction

Dear Delegates,

We are delighted to welcoming you to the ZuMUN 2015 Historical Security Council.

We, Henrik and Jan, will be your chairs in this committee. Slightly uncommon in the MUN world, we are both engineers studying at ETH Zurich. Henrik is pursuing his PhD in civil engineering and Jan is a Masters student in mechanical engineering. Together with the members of the crisis team Kamila, Ambroise, Thomas, David and Michal, we are preparing this exciting debate and hope it will be a special experience for you all.

For this committee, we have thought of an unconventional way to make the debate more interesting. As you might have noticed, you have been assigned a *seat* in the Security Council instead of a specific country (unless you represent one of the permanent five members). We shall have the exact same composition of the Security Council as it was at the time our crisis took place¹. We will start in 1958 and then move through the years as debate progresses. We are aware, that this is a complex situation, because the composition of the committee and your roles change throughout the debate and you need to take special attention when negotiating, as one of your supporters might be gone soon. Nonetheless, we hope that this system makes our crisis even more dynamic and engaging. Exact details on how everything works will be outlined in a special appendix to the rules of procedure.

¹ For a comprehensive list, see for instance https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_members_of_the_United_Nations_Security_Council#Membership_by_Year



We wrote this study guide hoping that it aids your preparation for the crisis. It is intended to provide some background information on world politics in general and specifically on the situation in Cuba. The recap of the onset of the Cuban revolution sets the scene for the start of the debate, so all that is written here has already happened before this committee meets.

On February 24th, 1958, our committee sets in. From then onwards, history is rewritten according to your actions and new, surprising, challenging events. We believe it is crucial that you have a good understanding of the situation at large and know the positions of your countries well. Thus, we strongly encourage you to use this study guide only as a basis for your further research on the topic. Only with a profound knowledge of the backgrounds you will be able to find the appropriate response to whatever may happen.

Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact us.

We are looking forward to a vivid debate and a great time with you in Zurich!



Committee History and Mission

The United Nations were officially founded in 1945 with the first General Assembly held on January 10th, 1946, where 51 nations were present. The Security Council met the first time on January 17th, 1947² where they adopted their own rules of procedure (as those were not determined by the UN Charter).

Chapter V of the United Nations Charter³ establishes the Security Council as one of six main organs of the UN and defines the mandate of said body. Its main responsibility is the maintenance of international security and peace and the promotion of the peaceful settlement of conflicts between nations.

It is the only UN organ that may opt for enforcement measures and its decisions are binding to all member states (Article 25), even if they are not represented in the council.

The President of the Security Council calls meetings at any time and he may do so at the request of any member state of the council or if a “dispute or situation” happens to be a threat to international peace and security.⁴

Global Situation

The Cuban revolution took place in a time of a profound global transformation. The outcome of World War II had defined a new political landscape dominated by the antagonism between the Soviet Union and the United States.

In the light of the catastrophic failure of the League of Nations, which was supposed to ensure peace, the United States led by President Roosevelt soon started to lobby for a new post-war framework for worldwide peace and cooperation. An early result of these efforts was the Atlantic Charter in 1941 containing the founding principles of international law such as territorial sovereignty, freedom of the seas and international cooperation. First adopted by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, the charter soon became endorsed by many other states including the Soviet Union. Referring to the Atlantic Charter⁵, the allied governments issued a joint “Declaration of the United Nations” on January 1st, 1942, where they agree to fight the axis countries and to work towards a post-war order guided by the principles of peace and human rights.

² United Nations Security Council. 2015. *What is the Security Council?*. [ONLINE] Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/>. [Accessed 15 February 15].

³ Charter of the United Nations. 2015. *CHAPTER V: THE SECURITY COUNCIL*. [ONLINE] Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter5.shtml>. [Accessed 15 February 15].

⁴ United Nations Security Council. 2015. *Provisional Rules of Procedure - Meetings*. [ONLINE] Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/rules/chapter1.shtml>. [Accessed 15 February 15].

⁵ The Avalon Project – Lillian Goldman Law Library. 2015. *The Atlantic Charter* [ONLINE] <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/atlantic.asp>



With the victory in sight, the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the Republic of China negotiated the details of the new international framework called “United Nations”. On April 25th, 1945, 50 government officials met in San Francisco to draft the United Nations Charter⁶. The organization came into existence half a year later and had the first meeting of its General Assembly in London in early 1946. Members of the United Nations commit themselves to maintaining international peace and security; developing friendly relations among nations and promoting social progress, better living standards and human rights⁷.

In an era of mutual mistrust, the United Nations represented a comprehensive framework for international exchange and promoted the primacy of diplomacy. Especially the profound power of the Security Council combined with the right of veto for the five permanent members helped to prevent conflicts from further (worldwide) escalation and to establish a basic balance of interests.

Despite the fruitful cooperation in founding the United Nations, the Allies disagreed on each other’s plans concerning a post-war order. Soon, international politics became dominated by the formation of two blocs – the West and the East. Driven by the massive losses of two World Wars, the Soviet Union sought security through a large buffer of dependent states, whereas the United States countered the growing influence of the Soviet Union with containment measures motivated by the Truman Doctrine. In contrast to the Soviet Union’s approach, the United States tried to establish democratic countries tied up in a framework of an international organization such as the United Nations.⁸

In Europe, the whole continent found itself divided into the two hemispheres. Whilst the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe either directly annexed some countries as Soviet Socialist Republics or established satellite regimes, the United States offered European countries participation in the so-called Marshall plan, allowances of economic and financial assistance aimed to help rebuilding European democracies and economies. The only democracy in the Eastern bloc, Czechoslovakia, was seized in early 1948. Yugoslavia, although first allied with the Soviet Union as member of the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), was the only European country to choose a non-aligned position in 1948. The following years saw massive espionage, financial and other indirect interventions in European countries by both sides. This way, the Democratic Army of Greece won the civil war against its Communist counterparts and Communist takeover of Italy was averted in the 1948 national elections. The unspoken conflict reached a preliminary climax with the blockade of the city of Berlin from 1948 to 1949, where the Soviet Union cut off almost all infrastructure connections between the three Western zones of Berlin and the surrounding Soviet zone as an answer to a unilateral Western currency reform. The following years saw the foundation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the formation of two German states and a democrats’ revolution in Hungary countered with a military invasion by the Soviet Union.

⁶ available from <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/ctc/uncharter.pdf>

⁷ The United Nations. 2015. The United Nations at a Glance [ONLINE] www.un.org/en/aboutun/

⁸ Gaddis, John Lewis. 2005. *The Cold War: A New History*. Penguin Press.



The Cold War not only affected Europe, but many regions around the globe. In Japan, the United States by using the atomic bomb enforced the capitulation before the Soviet Union had invaded the Japanese islands. This tactical manoeuvre allowed the West to dictate the terms of the surrender (Treaty of San Francisco, 1951) against the opposition of the Soviet Union. In China, however, with support from the Soviet Union the Communist party led by Mao Zedong won over the Kuomintang-led government of the Republic of China in 1950. As a response, the United States extended the containment policy to cover Asia, Africa and Southern America as well. In the following years, the United States formalized alliances with Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand and the Philippines. In contrast, the Soviet Union supported Communist parties around the globe challenging the restoration of former Western European colonial empires. Furthermore, many Asian and African countries declared themselves as non-aligned with any bloc, although they could not completely defy the bipolar distribution power.

As with China, a range of other proxy-conflicts arose on previously Japanese-occupied territories. Encouraged by the unchallenged success in China, the Soviet Union allowed the North Korean leader Kim Il-Sung to invade the Western ally South Korea in 1950. The United Nations Security Council unanimously condemned the North Korean invasion and recommended military assistance to the South Korean regime. Passing the resolutions was only possible due to the Soviet boycott of the Security Council as a protest against the fact that the Chinese permanent seat was still taken by representatives of the Republic of China. With an Indian-proposed armistice agreement, the Korean War came to an end in 1953. The next proxy-war, however, did not tarry: Already in 1955, the next one broke out in Viet Nam. But the Cold War was not only conducted in form of (civil) wars. In addition, both sides tried to overthrow unfriendly government such as the US-backed coup in Iran in 1953.

Post-war Africa saw the steady decline of colonial rule and the emergence of independent states most of which later joined the Movement of Unaligned States. However, economic ties to the former European hegemony still prevailed.

Middle East politics at that time were mostly concerned with the partition of the British mandate and the regional wars following the declaration of the State of Israel.

Despite their remote location, World War II strongly affected South American countries as well. With their economies still weakened by the Great Depression, most Latin American countries had taken advantage by siding with the United States during and after World War II in exchange for generous aid (e.g. through Lend-Lease). Moreover, trade with the United States had grown rapidly as the demand for resources had soared during the war. Thus, many Latin American countries soon found themselves economically dependent on the United States. Although, for most countries an external security risk had not been imminent, various (partly US-induced) coup d'états challenged stability and prosperity.

Map⁹



⁹ File:Cuba_rel94.jpg - Wikimedia Commons. 2015. [ONLINE] Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cuba_rel94.jpg. [Accessed 15 February 2015].



Background of the Cuban Revolution

The following section is in most parts based on Kapcia's book *Cuba in Revolution*¹⁰. All unreferenced quotations are taken from this source.

In order to understand the origin and forthcoming of a revolution in Cuba, establishing a historic context is helpful. This review starts during the time when Cuba was a Spanish colony.

Cuba as a Spanish Colony

Cuba was claimed by Columbus in the late fifteenth century and stayed under Spanish rule until the Spanish-American war in 1898¹¹. This exceptionally long period of colonialism was sustained because of several reasons.

First, the locally born, white population generally rejected the idea of independence because they expected a larger economic welfare and growth by staying part of the Spanish system. This was because Cuba's primary income came from the export of sugar canes, and that production was heavily reliant on slave work. The Spanish administration themselves made sure that enough slaves were imported from Africa to work in the Cuban sugar industry. Additionally, several slave revolts in the region (most notably on the neighboring island Saint-Domingue in the early nineteenth century, today part of Haiti) made the local Cuban elite sympathize with the Spanish rule because it ensured military protection from such revolts especially because the black population was growing even became a majority in 1840.

Secondly, Spain itself wanted to keep hold of Cuba, having already lost other colonies in the region, so they were determined to sustain their rule. This was supported by the rivalry between the United States and Britain who both were "fearful of the potential threat posed by any occupation of Cuba by the other" and hence allowed Spain to hold that territory.

Later, an increasing motion among the Cuban whites developed that wanted to join the United States and become a state (Cuba is in fact less than 250 km away from Florida mainland). This was mainly motivated by the prospects of sustaining slave trade and keeping white people in power with the help of the southern US states and even moderate Cubans saw that as a good way to reject the Spanish rule but avoid the insecure independence. Therefore even the first larger separatist movements did not aim for complete independence and it revealed that the Cuban society is "divided and ambivalent" between black and white and even more so between Spanish-born and local born whites since the latter were discriminated against by the first especially economically.

It also shows that the US is becoming increasingly important for Cuba (by 1877, more than 80 percent of Cuba's export went to their American neighbors¹²) both economically and politically and the

¹⁰ Kapcia, A, 2008. *Cuba in Revolution*. 1st ed. London: Reaktion Books.

¹¹ Encyclopedia Britannica. 2015. *Cuba*. [ONLINE] Available at: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/145542/Cuba>. [Accessed 14 February 15].



United States themselves had a strong interest in acquiring Cuba, as U.S. Secretary of State J. Blaine wrote in 1881 “that rich island, the key to the Gulf of Mexico, and the field for our most extended trade in the Western Hemisphere, is, though in the hands of Spain, a part of the American commercial system... If ever ceasing to be Spanish, Cuba must necessarily become American and not fall under any other European domination¹³.”

Spain kept a tight rule but announced reforms as a response to the separatist movements. However those were never implemented, because Spain was distracted by domestic unrests themselves. The Cuban population became discontent, because the economic situation (with a strong dependence on sugar export) became worse and insecure and any annexation to the US was out of question after the civil war broke out (1861 to 1865). A rebellion by part of the Cuban elite and many black slaves on 10 October 1868 eventually led to the outbreak of the Ten Years’ War (1868 - 1878) against Spain. The motivation of the black population to join this rebellion was their hope of gaining individual freedom through Cuba's independence. They understood the slogan “cuba libre” also as “social liberation”. This however was opposed by the white leaders and led to a separation. The colonial masters defended their authority brutally, especially under General Weyler which led to the loss of many lives. Interestingly, a lot of local paramilitary groups supported the Spanish troops against the rebels. The defeated (mainly black) rebels tried to start another rebellion “Guerra Chiquita” to defend their freedom, which shows that race issues are “at the heart of Cuban thinking”. Spanish authorities subsequently punished the Cubans for the uprising by a more repressive regime which eliminated even the small liberal advances that were gained before 1868 and stopped Cubans from getting involved in the political system and decision-making. Additionally a tax scheme was implemented which made the Cubans pay more than Spanish-borns.

At the same time, Cuba relied almost entirely on sugar exports to the US and US companies started to invest and buy soil, farms and mills on Cuba. Those close ties to America were especially welcomed by black Cubans who saw the US as a partner to start new separatist movements and gain freedom. This was supported by more “politically aware Spanish immigrants [...] [who were] increasingly frustrated by the new Spanish restrictions”. Many went into exile to the US where a large Cuban community formed in Florida. After the US raised tariffs on sugar in 1894, the poet José Martí “succeeded in uniting the politically and socially disparate diaspora [...] into one single party, the Cuban Revolutionary Party (PRC) which now planned and organized the rebellion”. His vision was to create a socially equal society in Cuba. He also recognized the problems that a strong US influence and their “quasi-imperialist thinking” would have on Cuba’s way to independence. They landed on the east side of Cuba in April 1895 and managed to set off a revolution which was significantly more successful this time, with up to 50 000 men in the liberation army. As expected, the Spanish rulers defended themselves, again under General Weyler in a very cruel way, including the use of concentration camps. Faced with that brutality, a political campaign in the United States called for

¹² Bakewell, Peter. *A History of Latin America*. Blackwell publishers. p454.

¹³ Jerry A. Sierra. 2015. *José Martí: Apostle of Cuban Independence*. [ONLINE] Available at: <http://www.historyofcuba.com/history/marti/marti4.htm>. [Accessed 14 February 15].

intervention to end the slaughtering and follow the call for protection by US sugar producers in Cuba. Of course, the geopolitical interest the US had in Cuba has also played a role when they eventually declared war against Spain in February 1898 after the USS Maine exploded and sank in Havana harbor under mysterious circumstances¹⁴. This is known as the (third) Cuban War of Independence (the other two being the Little War ‘Guerra Chiquita’ 1879-1880 and the Ten Years’ War 1868-1878). By mid-July, the Spanish surrendered and in December the Treaty of Paris was signed which would grant Cuba independence. This treaty however, was negotiated without the involvement of Cuba and as Martí had already foreboded, “the sequel to victory [...] [was] a unilateral US military occupation of Cuba for almost four years.”

Independence under US Influence

Cuba’s first period of actual independence started in 1902 when the US troops left under the Platt Amendment¹⁵, which became part of the Cuban constitution. This amendment gave the US several “unusual rights [...] that effectively formalized Cuba’s status as a protectorate or neo-colony”. Most importantly, it allowed the US to intervene at any time in Cuba, maintain military bases (Guantánamo Bay is the last one remaining today) and to control Cuba’s international relations and finances. Additionally, the US closely tied Cuba’s economy to its own, so effectively Cuba was completely dependent on the United States in a political and economical way. What followed, were years of political instability because the rebel forces that were united in their fight against the Spanish colonial masters split up and there was the consciousness of Cuban politicians that any armed challenge or overthrow of the government may cause another military intervention by the US. This in fact happened in 1906 when President Roosevelt ordered an invasion of Cuba after the collapse of a Cuban regime and it was only three years later that the US withdraw their troops again. The years after were dominated by corrupt governments, slow development and continuous discrimination against black Cubans. Any of their protests were violently suppressed and forced them into a “permanent second-class status”.

After Cuba was hit by two large economic crises, the first one after the World War I boom and the second resulting from the 1929 “Great Crash and the Depression”, many were driven into poverty. Subsequent national movements and unrests against the political system resulted into a small revolution in fall 1933 which ended the ‘First Republic’ after President Machado was ousted. However the following administration was quickly replaced by “an unusual combination of mutinous non-commissioned officers (increasingly led by a sergeant, Fulgencio Batista) and radical students in the University Students’ Directorate. The resulting ‘hundred days’ government’ led formally by former law professor Ramón Grau San Martín but in fact increasingly under the protection of, and

¹⁴ See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/USS_Maine_%28ACR-1%29 for a list of investigations on that incident

¹⁵ Internet Modern History Sourcebook. 2015. *Transcript of Platt Amendment*. [ONLINE] Available at: <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=55&page=transcript>. [Accessed 15 February 15].

eventually removed by Batista was caught between popular pressure from below [...] and external pressure from Washington to tone down the movement's radicalism if it wanted recognition.” Batista put himself into power in 1934 and ruled Cuba for ten years. Initially he defended his power through repression and several “puppet presidents” but after 1940 as elected president, during a period of unusual popularity. He managed to gain this popularity through several populist reforms (targeting labor protection, social provision and some “economic nationalism”) and clever political tactics: He formed an alliance with the long-suppressed Communists and significantly contributed to the new 1940 constitution, which “largely succeeded in encoding most of the demands of the 1933 rebellion”.

Under Batista’s administration strong restrictions posed by US policies were slowly loosened through a number of treaties, most importantly removing the possibility of a legal US invasion. This however came at the cost of worse trade conditions. Furthermore, during this ‘second republic’, progress in other areas was still not evident (e.g., corruption continued, paired with a still strong economic US dependence). A tight rule once again kept rebellions down.

The latter aspects led to a “general mood of disillusion, the ‘betrayal’ of 1895 now being replaced by the ‘betrayal’ of 1933”. Under these circumstances the lawyer and former student activist Fidel Castro and his brother Raúl led a more “radical challenge” which eventually became an armed movement. On 26 July 1953 they attacked military premises in Santiago de Cuba and encountered “fierce police brutality” with many killed directly. Among those that were arrested, some were executed or died under torture. In the Cuban population, the attack was viewed as “an essentially heroic act that had at least made a gesture and demonstrated a willingness to confront Batista.” In his four-hour defense speech in court, Fidel Castro concluded with his famous sentence “History will absolve me”¹⁶. Still in prison, Fidel Castro started the 26 July Movement. The platform that was launched had the goal of removing Batista and called for a number of reforms including land ownership, mass education and nationalization of public services¹⁷. Interestingly, there is no mention of the United States but there appears to be a strong identification with the ideas originally brought forward by Martí, so there was nothing that suggested this movement would be any different.

In 1955, Batista still feeling “confident of this control of Cuba” since there was little opposition to his rule and still being supported by the US, he released Castro and the other imprisoned rebels in amnesty and allowed them to leave the country. While many emigrated to the US, the Castro brothers went to Mexico where they met with the radical Argentine Ernesto ‘Che’ Guevara”. It was the latter who brought the US-critical view into the group as well as radical ideas closely linked to Marxism. The group made plans for terroristic activities in Cuba and started to get in contact with local organizers of a rebellion. In December 1956, 82 rebels used a small boat to get to eastern Cuba, “hoping to coincide with an uprising in nearby Santiago [...]. However, the yacht was delayed and the uprising was easily - but bloodily - repressed.” The military already expected their arrival, killed many of the group and the

¹⁶ Editorial de Ciencias Sociales. 1975. *History Will Absolve Me*. [ONLINE] Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/history/cuba/archive/castro/1953/10/16.htm>. [Accessed 15 February 15].

¹⁷ 26th of July Movement. 2015. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. [ONLINE] Available at: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/611045/26th-of-July-Movement>. [Accessed 15 February 15].

surviving members were split. Some of them, including both Castro brothers and Guevara, reassembled to set up a guerrilla base in Sierra Maestra (a mountain range near Guantánamo Province). Within two years, they managed to “built up a solid base, grew in numbers, sought good publicity through their actions and their press coverage, and made good contacts with the local peasantry”. At the same time, the urban wing carried out “bombings, robberies, assassinations and kidnappings”. During that time, Castro became the “main credible opposition” to Batista's rule and the (now called) Rebel Army increasingly radicalized in their political views and goals. The Batista regime on the other hand saw an increasing decline in power due to a stronger opposition, a strong repression which caused declining support of the middle class and an army that became more and more demoralized due to their defeats against the rebels. Most notably, the US administration withdrew their support of the Batista regime because it was “worried by its association with an increasingly and randomly repressive regime”.

Morning News

Today is the February 24th, 1958, and we find the following report in the Milwaukee Sentinel:

Cuba Rebels Kidnap Champ Race Driver

Havana Feb 23 (AP) Cuban rebels kidnaped Argentina's Juan Manuel Fangio world champion racing driver from his hotel in downtown Havana at gunpoint Sunday night.

Two unmasked men entered the lobby of the Hotel Lincoln while Fangio was talking with racing associates. One man guarded the doorway. The other stuck a pistol into Fangio's back and ordered him out.

The four-time winner of the world's automobile racing championship was quickly bundled into a waiting automobile, which moved off at high speed.

Rebel leader Fidel Castro's 26th of July revolutionary movement immediately announced its responsibility for the kidnaping.

Rebel spokesman telephoned the Associated Press and said Fangio had been kidnaped by Castro forces. They refused to say what would be done with him.



Police immediately started an intensive hunt in rebel haunts for the kidnapers. They assigned special squads to guard all of the other 24 internationally known racing drivers here for Cuba's Grand Premio auto races Monday.

Fangio had just returned to the hotel after making the fastest trial run on the Malecon racing course. He was kidnaped at 7:55 p.m. CST.

Police and the national sports commission declined to discuss Fangio's disappearance.