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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 4, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MORTON C. BLACKWELL
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR PUBLIC LIAISON

FROM: SHERRIE M. COOKSEY *SMC*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Xeroxing Requests

This is to advise you that I have no legal objections to the duplication of either Ambassador Walters' speech or the Rio Treaty for the purpose of distribution of such items to attendees of briefing sessions of the White House Outreach Working Group on Central America.

Those materials are returned to you for appropriate further action.

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 29, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: SHERRIE MARSHALL COOKSEY

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell
Office of Public Liaison 

SUBJECT: Request to Reproduce Copies of the Rio Treaty

Enclosed is a copy of the "Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance" (commonly referred to as the Rio Treaty) which we desire to distribute to members of the White House Outreach Working Group. This Treaty was mentioned by Ambassador Walters in response to a question from the audience at the time he spoke to the group on August 24, 1983.

Earlier we had sent this document to the Defense Printing Office located in OEOB for duplicating. It was returned to us pursuant to standing instructions from your office that only official documents may be duplicated in that facility.

Although the United States signed the Protocol implementing the Treaty "with reservations," nonetheless, the "Rio Treaty" is an official document of the United States which yet remains in effect.

Members of the White House Outreach Working Group have requested copies of this document; therefore, we are requesting your approval to have it duplicated. In order that it may be distributed concurrently with Ambassador Walters speech, I would appreciate receiving your approval at your earliest convenience.

MCB:jet


Enclosure a/s

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 29, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: SHERRIE MARSHALL COOKSEY

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell 
Office of Public Liaison

SUBJECT: Edited Transcript of Ambassador-at-Large
Vernon A. Walters' Address to the
White House Outreach Working Group on
Wednesday, August 24, 1983

Enclosed is a copy of the subject address as well as a copy of a letter from Ambassador Walters' office which I believe is self-explanatory. Should you desire, we also have a memorandum of transmittal from State to the White House.

Prior to making any request to have this address duplicated, it is my understanding that we must have approval from your office.

I would appreciate receiving your approval at your earliest possible convenience so that it may be distributed to members of the Outreach Working Group, who have requested copies.

MCB:jet

Enclosures a/s

Office of the

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AMBASSADOR AT LARGE
WASHINGTON

23 September 1983

Mr. John Scafe
S/LPD, Room 3245
Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Mr. Scafe:

Ambassador Walters is pleased to release for public use the edited version of his remarks to the Outreach Group on August 24, 1983. They may be employed for whatever purposes deemed useful in explaining American foreign policy to the American people.

Sincerely,



L. E. Martiny
Lieutenant Commander, USN
Special Assistant to the
Ambassador-at-Large

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 6, 1983

Dear Joan:

Our letters crossed in the mail. I appreciate so much your taking the time to write and enclose the clippings. It is good to know that I touched on some issues that generated a favorable response.

I am glad to know about your associate, Bill Mellberg. His optimistic outlook appeals to me. The President and all of us ~~who~~ serve in the White House appreciate the efforts and hard work of supporters such as yourself and others in Cook County.

If I can be helpful in any way in your presentation of the President's policies, or in clarifying those policies, I hope you will get in touch with me. Under separate cover, I am forwarding the White House Digest Papers on Central America which you may find helpful in explaining our policies there. Also, I have asked Mary Ann Meloy to make certain that you receive various other materials from this office that may be useful.

Thank you for your offer of help. I urge you and others in your organization to speak out frequently in the coming months on this President's outstanding record insofar as women are concerned. Spokesmen at the local and community levels are the most effective.

With kind regards.

Sincerely,

Faith

Faith Ryan Whittlesey
Assistant to the President for
Public Liaison

J.T.
Can you pls
do - TWT
M. 10/7

Mrs. Joan Hall
855 North NW Highway
Park Ridge, Illinois 60068

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 10, 1983

Mrs. Joan Hall
855 North N.W. Highway
Park Ridge, Illinois 60068

Dear Mrs. Hall,

Faith Ryan Whittlesey asked me to forward to you copies of the White House Digest Papers on Central America.

I hope they prove useful to you.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Morton C. Blackwell". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized 'M' and 'B'.

Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

MCB:jet

enclosures

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 6, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: THE MEMBERS AND GUESTS OF THE WHITE HOUSE
OUTREACH WORKING GROUP ON CENTRAL AMERICA

FROM: Faith Ryan Whittlesey
Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

SUBJECT: CENTRAL AMERICAN OUTREACH MEETINGS

Thank you for your expressed interest in the White House Outreach Working Group on Central America and for completing and returning your registration form to us.

I regret that it is not possible for me to address each of you individually, but I did want to get the notice to you promptly of the change in the meeting place -- for the next three weeks only -- of our regular Wednesday Outreach Meetings.

On Wednesday, October 12, 1983 our regular meeting will be held in Room #2008 of the NEW EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING at 2:30 p.m. Our speaker will be Colonel Earl J. Young, USAR, His topic will be: "The El Salvadoran Military and the U.S. Advisory Effort."

On Wednesday, October 19, 1983 our regular meeting will be held in Room #2008 of the NEW EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING at 2:30 p.m. Our speaker will be Mrs. Geraldine O'Leary Macias, a former Mary Knoll nun. Her topic will be: "Nicaragua, Witness to the Betrayal of a Revolution."

On Wednesday, October 26, 1983 our regular meeting will be held in Room #2010 of the NEW EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING at 2:30 p.m.

Because of the size of the group, it is not possible for us to communicate with each of you individually each week to remind you of the meeting. They are held every Wednesday at 2:30 p.m. and with the exception of the room changes noted above, are held in Room #450-OEOB (the President's Briefing Room).

We hope that you will put these very important meetings on your schedule as a regular item. If you desire to bring a guest, or need other information, please give Joyce Thomann a call at 456-2657.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 29, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: SHERRIE MARSHALL COOKSEY

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell
Office of Public Liaison

SUBJECT: Edited Transcript of Ambassador-at-Large
Vernon A. Walters' Address to the
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Wednesday, August 24, 1983

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Prior to making any request to have this address duplicated, it is my understanding that we must have approval from your office.

I would appreciate receiving your approval at your earliest possible convenience so that it may be distributed to members of the Outreach Working Group, who have requested copies.

MCB:jet

Enclosures a/s

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Office of the AMBASSADOR AT LARGE
WASHINGTON

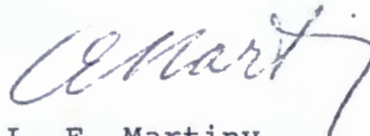
23. September 1983

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S/LPD, Room 3245
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Washington, D. C. 20520

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Sincerely,



L. E. Martiny
Lieutenant Commander, USN
Special Assistant to the
Ambassador-at-Large

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 29, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: SHERRIE MARSHALL COOKSEY

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell
Office of Public Liaison

SUBJECT: Request to Reproduce Copies of the Rio Treaty

Enclosed is a copy of the "Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance" (commonly referred to as the Rio Treaty) which we desire to distribute to members of the White House Outreach Working Group. This Treaty was mentioned by Ambassador Walters in response to a question from the audience at the time he spoke to the group on August 24, 1983.

Earlier we had sent this document to the Defense Printing Office located in OEOB for duplicating. It was returned to us pursuant to standing instructions from your office that only official documents may be duplicated in that facility.

Although the United States signed the Protocol implementing the Treaty "with reservations," nonetheless, the "Rio Treaty" is an official document of the United States which yet remains in effect.

Members of the White House Outreach Working Group have requested copies of this document; therefore, we are requesting your approval to have it duplicated. In order that it may be distributed concurrently with Ambassador Walters speech, I would appreciate receiving your approval at your earliest convenience.

MCB:jet

Enclosure a/s

FOR REFERENCE

• •

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM TREATY SERIES No. 61

OEA/Ser. X/11 (English)

**BASIC INSTRUMENTS
OF THE
ORGANIZATION
OF AMERICAN STATES**



**GENERAL SECRETARIAT
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE

Signed at the Inter-American Conference for the
Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security,
Rio de Janeiro, August 15-September 2, 1947

In the name of their Peoples, the Governments represented at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security, desirous of consolidating and strengthening their relations of friendship and good neighborliness, and

CONSIDERING: That Resolution VIII of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, which met in Mexico City, recommended the conclusion of a treaty to prevent and repel threats and acts of aggression against any of the countries of America;

That the High Contracting Parties reiterate their will to remain united in an inter-American system consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, and reaffirm the existence of the agreement which they have concluded concerning those matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which are appropriate for regional action;

That the High Contracting Parties reaffirm their adherence to the principles of inter-American solidarity and cooperation, and especially to those set forth in the preamble and declarations of the Act of Chapultepec, all of which should be understood to be accepted as standards of their mutual relations and as the juridical basis of the Inter-American System;

That the American States propose, in order to improve the procedures for the pacific settlement of their controversies, to conclude the treaty concerning the "Inter-American Peace System" envisaged in Resolution IX and XXXIX of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace;

That the obligation of mutual assistance and common defense of the American Republics is essentially related to their democratic ideals and to their will to cooperate permanently in the fulfillment of the principles and purposes of a policy of peace;

That the American regional community affirms as a manifest truth that juridical organization is a necessary prerequisite of security and peace, and that peace is founded on justice and moral order and, consequently, on the international recognition and protection of human rights and freedoms, on the indispensable well-being of the people, and on the effectiveness of democracy for the international realization of justice and security,

Have resolved, in conformity with the objectives stated above, to conclude the following Treaty, in order to assure peace, through adequate means, to provide for effective reciprocal assistance to meet armed attacks against any American State, and in order to deal with threats of aggression against any of them;

ARTICLE 1

The High Contracting Parties formally condemn war and undertake in their international relations not to resort to the threat or the use of force in any manner inconsistent with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations or of this Treaty.

ARTICLE 2

As a consequence of the principle set forth in the preceding Article, the High Contracting Parties undertake to submit every controversy which may arise between them to methods of peaceful settlement and to endeavor to settle any such controversy among themselves by means of the processes in force in the Inter-American System before referring it to the General Assembly or the Security Council of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 3

1. The High Contracting Parties agree that an armed attack by any State against an American State shall be considered as an attack against the American States and, consequently, each one of the said Contracting Parties undertakes to assist in meeting the attack in the exercise of its inherent right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. On the request of the State or States directly attacked and until the decision of the Organ of Consultation of the Inter-American System, each one of the Contracting Parties may determine the immediate measures which it may individually take in fulfillment of the obligation contained in the preceding paragraph and in accordance with the principle of continental solidarity. The Organ of Consultation shall meet without delay for the

purpose of examining those measures and agreeing upon the measures of a collective character that should be taken.

3. The provisions of this Article shall be applied in case of any armed attack which takes place within the region described in Article 4 or within the territory of an American State. When the attack takes place outside of the said areas, the provisions of Article 6 shall be applied.

4. Measures of self-defense provided for under this Article may be taken until the Security Council of the United Nations has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

ARTICLE 4

The region to which this Treaty refers is bounded as follows: beginning at the North Pole; thence due south to a point 74 degrees north latitude, 10 degrees west longitude; thence by a rhumb line to a point 47 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, 50 degrees west longitude; thence by a rhumb line to a point 35 degrees north latitude, 60 degrees west longitude; thence due south to a point in 20 degrees north latitude; thence by a rhumb line to a point 5 degrees north latitude, 24 degrees west longitude; thence due south to the South Pole; thence due north to a point 30 degrees south latitude, 90 degrees west longitude; thence by a rhumb line to a point on the Equator at 97 degrees west longitude; thence by a rhumb line to a point 15 degrees north latitude, 120 degrees west longitude; thence by a rhumb line to a point 50 degrees north latitude, 170 degrees east longitude; thence due north to a point in 54 degrees north latitude; thence by a rhumb line to a point 65 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, 168 degrees 58 minutes 5 seconds west longitude; thence due north to the North Pole.

ARTICLE 5

The High Contracting Parties shall immediately send to the Security Council of the United Nations, in conformity with Articles 51 and 54 of the Charter of the United Nations, complete information concerning the activities undertaken or in contemplation in the exercise of the right of self-defense or for the purpose of maintaining inter-American peace and security.

ARTICLE 6

If the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any American State should be affected by an aggression which is not an armed attack or by an extra-continental or intra-continental conflict, or by any other fact or situation that might endanger the peace of America, the Organ of Consultation shall meet immediately in

to agree on the measures which must be taken in case of aggression to assist the victim of the aggression or, in any case, the measures which should be taken for the common defense and for the maintenance of the peace and security of the Continent.

ARTICLE 7

In the case of a conflict between two or more American States, without prejudice to the right of self-defense in conformity with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, the High Contracting Parties, meeting in consultation shall call upon the contending States to suspend hostilities and restore matters to the statu quo ante bellum, and shall take in addition other necessary measures to reestablish or maintain inter-American peace and security and for the solution of the conflict by peaceful means. The rejection of the pacifying action will be considered in the determination of the aggressor and in the application of the measures which the consultative meeting may agree upon.

ARTICLE 8

For the purposes of this Treaty, the measures on which the Organ of Consultation may agree will comprise one or more of the following: recall of chiefs of diplomatic missions; breaking of diplomatic relations; breaking of consular relations; partial or complete interruption of economic relations or of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, telephonic, and radiotelephonic or radiotelegraphic communications; and use of armed force.

ARTICLE 9

In addition to other acts which the Organ of Consultation may characterize as aggression, the following shall be considered as such:

- a. Unprovoked armed attack by a State against the territory, the people, or the land, sea or air forces of another State;
- b. Invasion, by the armed forces of a State, of the territory of an American State, through the trespassing of boundaries demarcated in accordance with a treaty, judicial decision, or arbitral award, or, in the absence of frontiers thus demarcated, invasion affecting a region which is under the effective jurisdiction of another State.

ARTICLE 10

None of the provisions of this Treaty shall be construed as impairing the rights and obligations of the High Contracting Parties under the Charter of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 11

The consultations to which this Treaty refers shall be carried out by means of the Meetings of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics which have ratified the Treaty, or in the manner or by the organ which in the future may be agreed upon.

ARTICLE 12

The Governing Board of the Pan American Union may act provisionally as an organ of consultation until the meeting of the Organ of Consultation referred to in the preceding Article takes place.

ARTICLE 13

The consultations shall be initiated at the request addressed to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union by any of the Signatory States which has ratified the Treaty.

ARTICLE 14

In the voting referred to in this Treaty only the representatives of the Signatory States which have ratified the Treaty may take part.

ARTICLE 15

The Governing Board of the Pan American Union shall act in all matters concerning this Treaty as an organ of liaison among the Signatory States which have ratified this Treaty and between these States and the United Nations.

ARTICLE 16

The decisions of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union referred to in Articles 13 and 15 above shall be taken by an absolute majority of the Members entitled to vote.

ARTICLE 17

The Organ of Consultation shall take its decisions by a vote of two-thirds of the Signatory States which have ratified the Treaty.

ARTICLE 18

In the case of a situation or dispute between American States, the par-directly interested shall be excluded from the voting referred to in the preceding Articles.

ARTICLE 19

To constitute a quorum in all the meetings referred to in the previous articles, it shall be necessary that the number of States represented shall be at least equal to the number of votes necessary for the taking of the decision.

ARTICLE 20

Decisions which require the application of the measures specified in Article 8 shall be binding upon all the Signatory States which have ratified the Treaty, with the sole exception that no State shall be required to use force without its consent.

ARTICLE 21

The measures agreed upon by the Organ of Consultation shall be executed through the procedures and agencies now existing or those which in the future be established.

ARTICLE 22

This Treaty shall come into effect between the States which ratify it as soon as the ratifications of two-thirds of the Signatory States have been deposited.

ARTICLE 23

This Treaty is open for signature by the American States at the city of Rio de Janeiro, and shall be ratified by the Signatory States as soon as possible in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The

ratifications shall be deposited with the Pan American Union, which shall notify the Signatory States of each deposit. Such notification shall be considered as an exchange of ratifications.

ARTICLE 24

The present Treaty shall be registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations through the Pan American Union, when two-thirds of the Signatory States have deposited their ratifications.

ARTICLE 25

This Treaty shall remain in force indefinitely, but may be denounced by any High Contracting Party by a notification in writing to the Pan American Union, which shall inform all the other High Contracting Parties of each notification of denunciation received. After the expiration of two years from the date of the receipt by the Pan American Union of a notification of denunciation by any High Contracting Party, the present Treaty shall cease to be in force with respect to such State, but shall remain in full force and effect with respect to all the other High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE 26

The principles and fundamental provisions of this Treaty shall be incorporated in the Organic Pact of the Inter-American System.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, having deposited their full powers found to be in due and proper form, sign this Treaty on behalf of their respective Governments, on the dates appearing opposite their signatures.

Done in the city of Rio de Janeiro, in four texts respectively in the English, French, Portuguese and Spanish languages, on the second of September nineteen hundred forty-seven.

RESERVATIONS MADE AT THE TIME OF SIGNING

Honduras:

The Delegation of Honduras, in signing the present Treaty and in connection with Article 9, section (b), does so with the reservation that the boundary between Honduras and Nicaragua is definitively demarcated by the Joint Boundary Commission of nineteen hundred and nineteen hundred and one, starting from a point in the Gulf of Fonseca, in the Pacific Ocean, to Portillo de Teotecacinte and, from this point to the Atlantic, by the line that His Majesty the King of Spain's arbitral award established on the twenty-third of December of nineteen hundred and six.

Nicaragua:

The Delegate of Nicaragua, in signing the present Treaty, and with respect to the reservation made by the Delegation of Honduras on signing it and to the provisions of Article 9 (b), does so with the reservation that the boundary between Nicaragua and Honduras from the point known by the name of Portillo de Teotecacinte to the Atlantic Ocean has not been definitively drawn, by virtue of the fact that the royal Award rendered by His Majesty the King of Spain on December twenty-third, nineteen hundred six, has been impugned and protested by Nicaragua as nonexistent, null, and void. Consequently, the signing of this Treaty by Nicaragua may not be alleged as acceptance of arbitral awards that Nicaragua has impugned or whose validity is not definite.

STATEMENT MADE ON SIGNING THE TREATY

Ecuador:

The Republic of Ecuador signs the present Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance without reservations, because it understands that other instruments and the principles of international law do not bar the revision of treaties, either by agreement between the Parties or by the other pacific means consecrated by international law itself.

RESERVATIONS MADE AT THE TIME OF RATIFYING

Guatemala:

The present Treaty poses no impediment whatever to Guatemala's assertion of its rights over the Guatemalan territory of Belize by whatever

means it considers most appropriate; a Treaty that may at any time be invoked by the Republic with respect to the aforesaid territory.¹

Honduras:

With the reservation made at the time of signing.

Nicaragua:

With the reservation made at the time of signing.

Ecuador:

With the statement made on signing the Treaty.

¹ With respect to this reservation, the Pan American Union consulted the signatory governments, in accordance with the procedure established by paragraph 2 of Resolution XXIX of the Eighth International Conference of American States, to ascertain whether they found it acceptable or not. A number of replies being unfavorable, a second consultation was made accompanied, at the request of the Government of Guatemala, by a formal declaration of that Government to the effect that its reservation did not imply any alteration in the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, and that Guatemala was ready to act at all times within the bounds of international agreements to which it was a party. In view of this declaration, the States that previously had not found the reservation acceptable now expressed their acceptance.

INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE

Signed at Rio de Janeiro, September 2, 1947, at the
Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of
Continental Peace and Security

SIGNATORY
COUNTRIESDATE OF DEPOSIT OF THE
INSTRUMENT OF RATIFICATION

Argentina
Bolivia
Brazil
Chile
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Dominican Republic
Ecuador^{1,2}
El Salvador
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras³
Mexico
Nicaragua^{3,4}
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Trinidad and Tobago⁵
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela

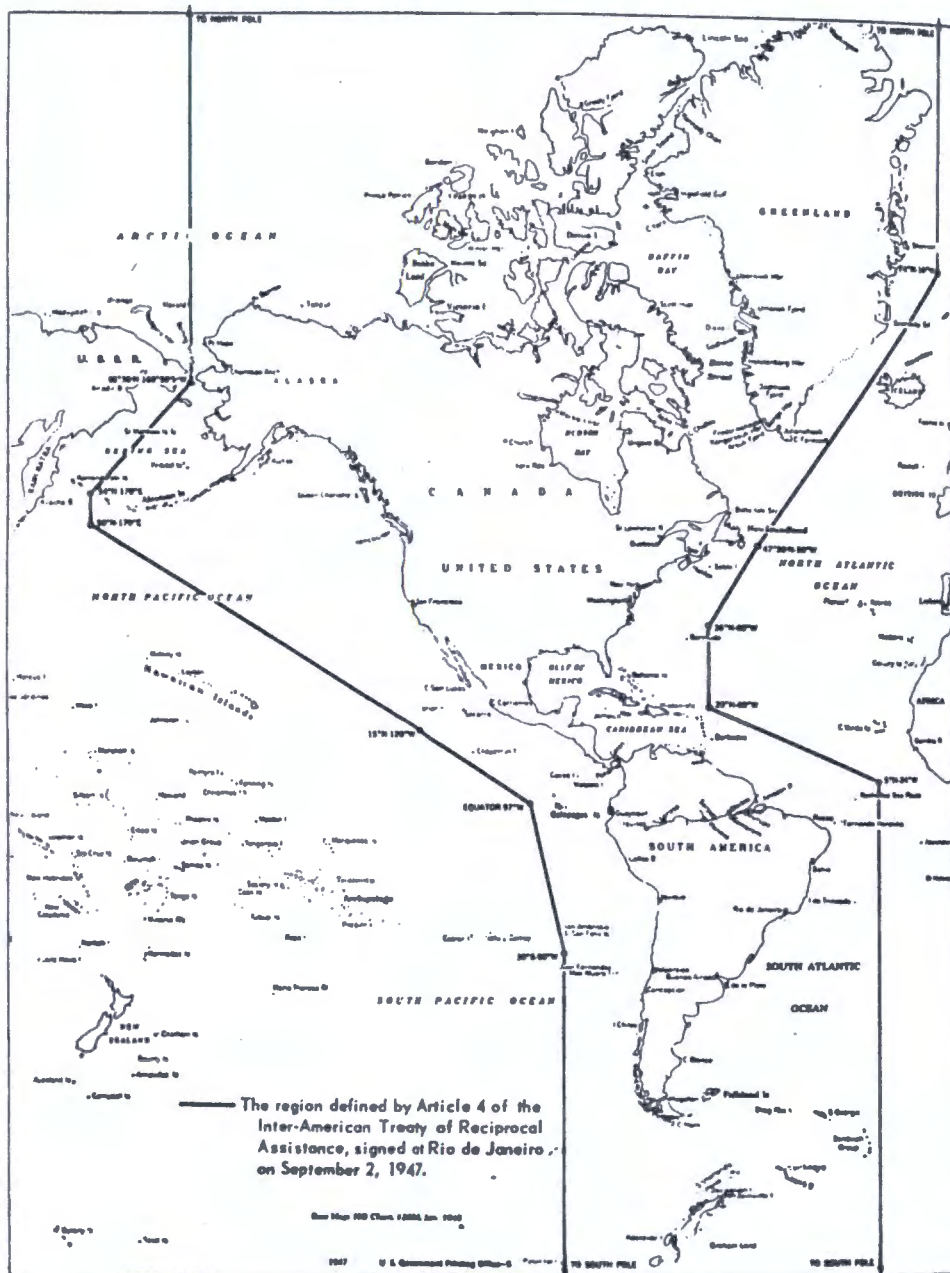
August 21, 1950
September 26, 1950
March 25, 1948
February 9, 1949
February 3, 1948
December 3, 1948
December 9, 1948
November 21, 1947
November 7, 1950²
March 15, 1948
April 6, 1955³
March 25, 1948
February 5, 1948³
November 23, 1948
November 12, 1948³
January 12, 1948
July 28, 1948
October 25, 1950
June 12, 1967
December 30, 1947
September 28, 1948
October 4, 1948

1. Signed on November 10, 1949.
2. With a declaration.
3. With reservations.
4. Signed October 15, 1948.
5. Signed on April 6, 1967.

The original instrument is deposited with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil. The General Secretariat is the depository of the instruments of ratification.

It came into effect on December 3, 1948, when the fourteenth ratification was deposited by Costa Rica. It was registered with the United Nations on December 20, 1948 (Reg. No. 324, Vol 21).

For text, see the following references in List of Sources: 16, 27, 28, 30 and 31, on pp. 295 et seq.



**PROTOCOL OF
AMENDMENT TO THE
INTER-AMERICAN
TREATY OF
RECIPROCAL
ASSISTANCE
(RIO TREATY)**

Signed at the Conference of
Plenipotentiaries for the
Amendment of the Inter-American
Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance

San José, Costa Rica - July 1975

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PROTOCOL OF AMENDMENT TO THE
INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE
(RIO TREATY)

PREAMBLE

The High Contracting Parties represented at the Conference of Plenipotentiaries, meeting in the city of San José, Costa Rica, upon convocation by the Fifth Regular Session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States, for the purpose of taking decisions on the amendments to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance presented by the Special Committee to Study the Inter-American System and to Propose Measures for Restructuring It; of revising and coordinating the texts; and of preparing a Protocol of Amendment to that Treaty and signing it;

CONSIDERING:

That the High Contracting Parties are motivated by the desire to consolidate and strengthen their friendly relations, to ensure peace among the American States and to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and their political independence;

That it is essential that peace and security among the American nations be guaranteed by an instrument that is in accordance with the history and principles of the Inter-American System;

That the High Contracting Parties wish to reiterate their will to remain united in an Inter-American System consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, and their steadfast decision to maintain regional peace and security through the prevention and settlement of conflicts and disputes that could endanger them; to reaffirm and strengthen the principle of nonintervention as well as the right of all states to choose freely their political, economic and social organization; and to recognize that, for the maintenance of peace and security in the Hemisphere, it is also necessary to guarantee collective economic security for the development of the American States; and

That the Preamble of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, signed in Rio de Janeiro on September 2, 1947, insofar as it is compatible with this Protocol, shall be maintained because of its intrinsic value and is therefore reproduced below:

In the name of their Peoples the Governments represented at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security, desirous of consolidating and

strengthening their relations of friendship and neighborliness, and

CONSIDERING:

That Resolution VIII of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, which met in Mexico City, recommended the conclusion of a treaty to prevent and repel threats and acts of aggression against any of the countries of America;

That the High Contracting Parties reiterate their will to remain united in an inter-American system consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, and reaffirm the existence of the agreement which they have concluded concerning those matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which are appropriate for regional action;

That the High Contracting Parties reaffirm their adherence to the principles of inter-American solidarity and co-operation, and especially to those set forth in the preamble and declarations of the Act of Chapultepec, all of which should be understood to be accepted as standards of their mutual relations and as the juridical basis of the Inter-American System;

That the American States propose, in order to improve the procedures for the pacific settlement of their controversies, to conclude the treaty concerning the "Inter-American Peace System" envisaged in Resolution IX and XXXIX of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace;

That the obligation of mutual assistance and common defense of the American Republics is essentially related to their democratic ideals and to their will to cooperate permanently in the fulfillment of the principles and purposes of a policy of peace;

That the American regional community affirms as a manifest truth that juridical organization is a necessary prerequisite of security and peace, and that peace is founded on justice and moral order and, consequently, on the international recognition and protection of human rights and freedoms, on the indispensable well-being of the people, and on the effectiveness of democracy for the international realization of justice and security,

HAVE AGREED UPON THE FOLLOWING:

ARTICLE I

Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (present 6), 8, 9, 10 (present 5), 20 (present 17) and 23 (present 20) of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance shall read as follows:

Article 1

The High Contracting Parties formally condemn war and undertake, in their international relations, not to resort to the threat or the use of force in any manner inconsistent with the provisions of the Charter of the Organization of American States, the Charter of the United Nations or this Treaty.

Article 2

As a consequence of the principle set forth in the preceding article, the High Contracting Parties undertake to settle their disputes with one another by peaceful means.

The High Contracting Parties shall make every effort to achieve the peaceful settlement of disputes through the procedures and mechanisms provided for in the Inter-American System before submitting them to the Security Council of the United Nations.

This provision shall not be interpreted as an impairment of the rights and obligations of the States Parties under Articles 34 and 35 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Article 3

1. The High Contracting Parties agree that an armed attack by any State against a State Party shall be considered an attack against all the States Parties and, consequently, each of them undertakes to assist in meeting any such attack in the exercise of the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. At the request of the State Party or States Parties directly attacked by one or more American States and until the Organ of Consultation provided for in this Treaty takes a decision, each of the States Parties may determine, according to the circumstances, the immediate measures it may take individually in fulfillment of the obligation set forth in the preceding paragraph.

3. In the event of armed attack of extra-hemispheric origin against one or more States Parties and until the Organ of Consultation takes a decision, each State Party may determine, according to the circumstances and at the request of the State Party or States Parties attacked, the immediate measures it may take in the exercise of its right of individual or collective self-defense in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations and with the obligation set forth in paragraph 1 of this article.

4. For the purposes of paragraphs 2 and 3 of this article, on convocation by the Chairman of the Permanent Council the Organ of Consultation shall meet without delay to examine such immediate measures as the States Parties may have taken in accordance with paragraph 1 of this article and to agree on the collective measures that may be necessary, including any joint action the States Parties may take before the United Nations, to give effect to the pertinent provisions of the Charter of the Organization.

5. The provisions of this article shall be applied in any case of armed attack against a State Party that takes place within the region described in Article 4 or within the territory under the full sovereignty of a State Party.

6. Measures of self-defense provided for in this article may be applied until the Security Council of the United Nations has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

Article 4

The region to which this Treaty refers is bounded as follows:

Beginning at the South Pole, thence due north to a point 7 degrees south latitude, 90 degrees west longitude; thence by a rhumb line to a point 15 degrees north latitude, 118 degrees west longitude; thence by a rhumb line to a point 56 degrees north latitude, 144 degrees west longitude; thence by a rhumb line to a point 52 degrees north latitude, 150 degrees west longitude; thence by a rhumb line to a point 46 degrees north latitude, 180 degrees longitude; thence by a rhumb line to a point 50 degrees 36.4 minutes north latitude, 167 degrees east longitude, thereby coinciding with the End Point of the United States-Russia Convention Line of 1867; thence along this Convention Line to its Initial Turning Point 65 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, 168 degrees 58 minutes 22.587 seconds west longitude; thence due north along the Convention Line to its Starting Point at 72 degrees north latitude; thence by a rhumb line to a point 75 degrees north latitude, 165 degrees west longitude; thence due east to a point 75 degrees north latitude, 140 degrees west longitude; thence by a great circle to a point 86 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, 60 degrees west longitude; thence due south along the 60 degrees west meridian to a point 82 degrees 13 minutes north latitude, which coincides with Point No. 127 of the Line of the

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Kingdom of Denmark, which entered into force March 13, 1974; thence along this Line of Agreement to Point No. 1 at 61 degrees north latitude, 57 degrees 13.1 minutes west longitude; thence by a rhumb line to a point 47 degrees north latitude, 43 degrees west longitude; thence by a rhumb line to a point 36 degrees north latitude, 65 degrees west longitude; thence by a rhumb line to a point at the Equator and 20 degrees west longitude; thence due south to the South Pole.

Article 5

If the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any State Party should be affected by an act of aggression as determined in accordance with Article 9 of this Treaty that does not fall within the scope of Article 3 or by a conflict or serious event that might endanger the peace of America, the Organ of Consultation shall meet immediately to agree on the measures that must be taken to assist the affected State Party and the measures and steps that should be taken for the common defense and for the maintenance of the peace and security of the Hemisphere.

If the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any other American State should be affected by an act of aggression as determined in accordance with Article 9 of this Treaty or by a conflict or serious event that might endanger the peace of America, the Organ of Consultation shall meet immediately to agree on the measures and steps that should be taken for the common defense and for the maintenance of the peace and security of the Hemisphere.

Article 8

Without prejudice to such conciliatory or peace-making steps as it may take, the Organ of Consultation may, in the cases provided for in Articles 3, 5 and 7, adopt one or more of the following measures: recall of chiefs of missions; breaking of diplomatic relations; breaking of consular relations; partial or complete interruption of economic relations or of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, telephonic, radio-telephonic or radio-telegraphic, or other means of communication; and use of armed force.

Article 9

1. Aggression is the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations, the Charter of the Organization of American States or this Treaty.

The first use of armed force by a State in contravention of the aforementioned instruments shall constitute prima facie evidence of an act of aggression, although the Organ of Consultation may, in conformity with these instruments, conclude that the determination that an act of aggression has been committed would not be justified in the light of other relevant circumstances, including the fact that the acts concerned or their consequences are not of sufficient gravity.

No consideration of whatever nature, whether political, economic, military or otherwise, may serve as a justification for aggression.

2. Any of the following acts, regardless of a declaration of war, shall, subject to and in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of this article, qualify as an act of aggression:

- a. Invasion by the armed forces of a State of the Territory of another State, through the trespassing of boundaries demarcated in accordance with a treaty, judicial decision or arbitral award or, in the absence of frontiers thus demarcated, invasion affecting a region which is under the effective jurisdiction of another State, or armed attack by a State against the territory or people of another State, or any military occupation, however temporary, resulting from such invasion or attack or any annexation by the use of force of the territory of another State or part thereof;
- b. Bombardment by the armed forces of a State against the territory of another State or the use of any weapons by a State against the territory of another State;
- c. The blockade of the ports or coasts of a State by the armed forces of another State;
- d. An attack by the armed forces of a State on the land, sea or air forces of another State;
- e. The use of the armed forces of one State which are located within the territory of another State with the agreement of the receiving State, in contravention of the conditions provided for in the agreement or any extension of their presence in such territory beyond the termination of the agreement;
- f. The action of a State in allowing its territory, which it has placed at the disposal of another State, to be used by that other State for perpetrating an act of aggression against a third State;

- g. The sending by or on behalf of a State of armed bands, groups, irregulars or mercenaries, which carry out acts of armed force against another State of such gravity as to amount to the acts listed above, or its substantial involvement therein.

3. The Organ of Consultation may determine that other specific cases submitted to it for consideration, equivalent in nature and seriousness to those contemplated in this article, constitute aggression under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Charter of the Organization of American States or this Treaty.

Article 10

The High Contracting Parties shall immediately send to the Security Council, in conformity with Articles 51 and 54 of the Charter of that Organization, complete information concerning the activities undertaken or in contemplation in the exercise of the right of self-defense or for the purpose of maintaining inter-American peace and security.

Article 20

The Organ of Consultation shall adopt all its decisions or recommendations by a vote of two-thirds of the States Parties, except as provided for in the following paragraph.

To rescind the measures taken pursuant to Article 8, a vote of an absolute majority of the States Parties shall be required.

Article 23

The measures mentioned in Article 8 may be adopted by the Organ of Consultation in the form of:

- a. Decisions whose application is binding on the States Parties, or
- b. Recommendations to the States Parties.

If the Organ of Consultation takes measures to which this article refers against a State, any other State Party to this Treaty that finds itself confronted by special economic problems arising from the carrying out of the measures in question shall have the right to consult the Organ of Consultation with regard to the solution of those problems.

No State shall be required to use armed force without its consent.

ARTICLE II

The following new articles shall be incorporated into the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and numbered as follows: 6, 11, 12 and 27.

Article 6

Any assistance the Organ of Consultation may decide to furnish a State Party may not be provided without the consent of that State.

Article 11

The High Contracting Parties recognize that, for the maintenance of peace and security in the Hemisphere, collective economic security for the development of the Member States of the Organization of American States must also be guaranteed through suitable mechanisms to be established in a special treaty.

Article 12

Nothing stipulated in this Treaty shall be interpreted as limiting or impairing in any way the principle of non-intervention and the right of all States to choose freely their political, economic and social organization.

Article 27

This Treaty may only be amended at a special conference convoked for that purpose by a majority of the States Parties. Amendments shall enter into force as soon as the instruments of ratification of two thirds of the States Parties have been deposited.

ARTICLE III

The following articles of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance shall be renumbered as follows:

Article 10 shall become Article 13; 11, 14; 12, 15; 13, 16; 14, 17; 15, 18; 16, 19; 18, 21; 19, 22; 21, 24; 22, 25; 23, 26; 24, 28; 25, 29; and 26, 30.

Consequently the words "Articles 13 and 15" in the present Article 16 of the Treaty shall be replaced, in Article 19, by the words "Articles 16 and 18".

ARTICLE IV

The text and number of Article 7 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance remains unchanged.

ARTICLE V

The terms "Permanent Council of the Organization of American States" and "General Secretariat of the Organization of American States" shall replace the terms "Governing Board of the Pan American Union" and "Pan American Union", respectively, wherever these terms appear in the articles of the Treaty that have not been specifically amended by this Protocol.

ARTICLE VI

This Protocol shall remain open for signature by the States Parties to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and shall be ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures. The original instrument, the English, French, Portuguese and Spanish texts of which are equally authentic, shall be deposited with the General Secretariat of the Organization of American States, which shall transmit certified copies thereof to the Governments of the Signatory States for the purpose of ratification. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the General Secretariat, which shall notify the States Parties to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of each deposit.

ARTICLE VII

The Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, together with this Protocol of Amendment, shall remain open for signature by the Member States of the Organization of American States that are not Parties to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and shall be ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the General Secretariat, which shall notify the States Parties to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of each deposit.

ARTICLE VIII

This Protocol shall enter into force among the ratifying States when two thirds of the Signatory States thereof have deposited their instruments of ratification. It shall enter into force with respect to the remaining States when they deposit their instruments of ratification.

ARTICLE IX

When this Protocol enters into force, it shall be understood that Member States of the Organization of American States that are not Parties to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and that sign and ratify this Protocol are also signing and ratifying the parts of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance that have not been amended.

ARTICLE X

This Protocol shall be registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations through the General Secretariat of the Organization of American States.

ARTICLE XI

When this Protocol of Amendment enters into force, the General Secretariat of the Organization of American States shall prepare a consolidated text of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance that shall include the parts of that Treaty that have not been amended and the amendments introduced by this Protocol. This text shall be published upon approval by the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States.

ARTICLE XII

The Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance shall continue in force between the States Parties to the Treaty. Once this Protocol of Amendment enters into force, the Treaty as amended shall apply among the States that have ratified this Protocol.

ARTICLE XIII

The States Parties to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance that have not ratified the Protocol of Amendment on the date on which this Protocol enters into force may request a meeting of the Organ of Consultation and participate fully in all the meetings this Organ may hold provided that they formally undertake, in each case, to accept the decisions of the Organ of Consultation adopted in accordance with the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance as amended by this Protocol of Amendment.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, whose powers have been found to be in due and proper form, sign

this Protocol, which shall be called "PROTOCOL OF AMENDMENT TO THE INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE (RIO TREATY)", in the city of San José, Costa Rica, on the twenty-sixth day of July of the year one thousand nine hundred seventy-five.

DECLARATIONS AND RESERVATIONS

DECLARATION OF BOLIVIA

Bolivia signs this Protocol of Amendment to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance without reservation in the conviction that this Protocol updates and improves the stipulations of the original instrument in the light of the changed circumstances.

RESERVATION OF PERU

In signing the Protocol of Amendment to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, Peru makes an express reservation with regard to Article 3, paragraph 3.

RESERVATION OF PARAGUAY

In signing the Protocol of Amendment ad referendum, the Delegation of Paraguay makes an express reservation concerning Article 20, on the grounds that it is inappropriate to use different criteria for applying measures and for removing them; this is tantamount to requiring different majorities for the two cases. The Delegation of Paraguay therefore considers that since the decisions or recommendations of the Organ of Consultation must be adopted by a two-thirds vote of the States Parties, a two-thirds vote of those States must also be required to rescind them.

RESERVATION OF GUATEMALA

On signing this Protocol, Guatemala reiterates the reservation it made on ratifying the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, which reads: "The present Treaty poses no impediment whatever to Guatemala's assertion of its rights over the Guatemalan Territory of Belize by whatever means it considers most appropriate; a Treaty that may at any time be invoked by the Republic with respect to the aforesaid territory."

STATEMENT BY PANAMA

Panama signs this Protocol of Amendment to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance with the reservation that the new text can only be accepted in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of Panama with respect to the ratification of treaties; in the meantime, Panama will not accept any new clause that might be in contravention of the mandates of the Political Constitution of the Republic of Panama or the national interest.

STATEMENT BY MEXICO

1. The Delegation of Mexico reiterates its conviction that, in establishing the boundaries of the security zone as indicated in Article 4, regions protected by other international instruments that have been expressly or tacitly approved by the United Nations should, as far as possible, not have been included.

2. The Delegation of Mexico continues to consider that, except in case of self-defense, the collective measures to which Article 8 refers cannot be applied in mandatory form, given their coercive nature, without authorization by the Security Council of the United Nations.

RESERVATION OF THE UNITED STATES

The United States, in signing this Protocol of Amendment to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, accepts no obligation or commitment to negotiate, sign or ratify a treaty or convention on the subject of collective economic security.

STATEMENT AND RESERVATION OF EL SALVADOR

The Delegation of El Salvador states its firm conviction that no provision of this Protocol impairs the principle of hemispheric solidarity in the face of aggression, whatever its origin may be. Without prejudice to any other reservations the Government of the Republic may make in due course, it signs this Protocol with the reservation that its articles contain no commitment by the Parties to use compulsory methods or procedures for the settlement of disputes, which El Salvador cannot accept.

DECLARATION AND RESERVATIONS MADE AT THE TIME OF RATIFYING THE PROTOCOL

DECLARATION OF MEXICO

The Government of Mexico continues to consider that, except in case of self-defense, the collective measures to which Article 8 refers cannot be applied in mandatory form, given their coercive nature, without authorization by the Security Council of the United Nations.

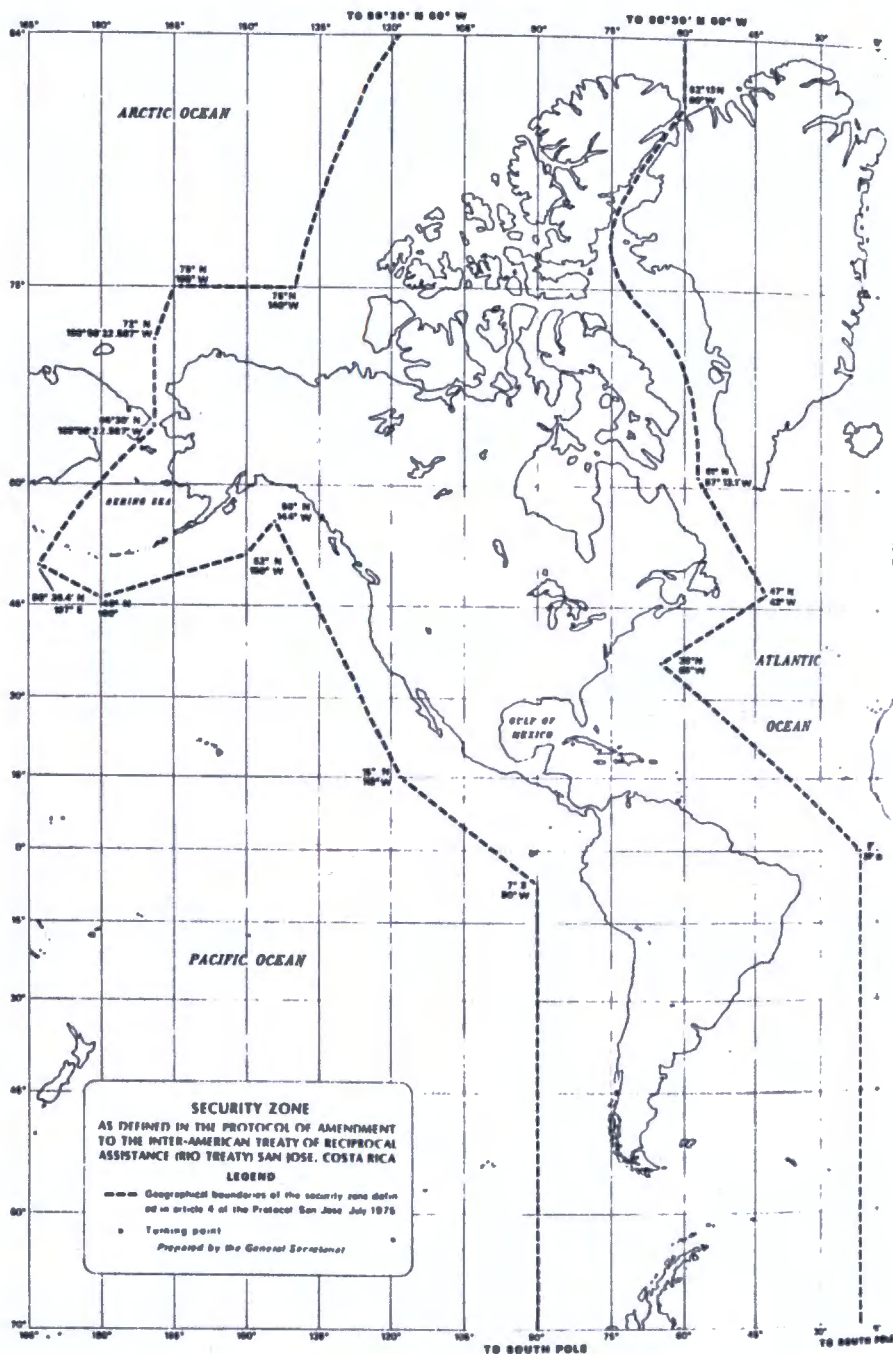
RESERVATION OF GUATEMALA

The present Treaty poses no impediment whatever to Guatemala's assertion of its rights over the Guatemalan territory of Belize by whatever means it considers most appropriate; a Treaty that may at any time be invoked by the Republic with respect to the aforesaid territory.

The Government of Guatemala declares formally that this reservation does not imply any alteration in the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, and that Guatemala is ready to act at all times within the bounds of international agreements to which it is a party.

RESERVATION OF THE UNITED STATES

With the reservation made at the time of signing.



B-29.1

PROTOCOL OF AMENDMENT TO THE
 INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE
 (RIO TREATY)

Signed at the Conference of Plenipotentiaries for the
 Amendment of the Inter-American Treaty of
 Reciprocal Assistance

San José, Costa Rica - July 26, 1975

SIGNATORY
 COUNTRIES

Argentina
 Bolivia¹
 Brazil
 Chile
 Colombia
 Costa Rica
 Dominican Republic
 Ecuador
 El Salvador^{1,2}
 Guatemala²
 Haiti
 Honduras
 Mexico¹
 Nicaragua
 Panama¹
 Paraguay²
 Peru²
 Trinidad and Tobago
 United States²
 Uruguay
 Venezuela

DATE OF DEPOSIT OF THE
 INSTRUMENT OF RATIFICATION

July 14, 1977

April 8, 1976
 February 18, 1976

October 4, 1978²
 April 15, 1976

February 24, 1977¹

September 20, 1979²

1. With declarations.
2. With reservations.

The original instrument is deposited with the General
 Secretariat of the Organization of American States, which is
 also the depository of the instruments of ratification.

(cont.)

B-29.1 (cont)

This Protocol shall remain open for signature by the States Parties to the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. It shall enter into force among the ratifying States when two thirds of the signatory States thereof have deposited their instruments of ratification and with respect to the remaining States when they deposit their instruments of ratification.

For text, see the following reference in List of Sources:
28, on pp. 295 et seq.

**AMERICAN TREATY ON
PACIFIC SETTLEMENT
"PACT OF BOGOTÁ"**

Signed at the Ninth International
Conference of American States
Bogotá, March 30 - May 2, 1948

CENTRAL AMERICAN PORTION OF FRW SPEECH -
Written by J. Thomann
9/30/83 - Speech to be given Monday, October 3, 1983
To the Sisterhood of the Washington Hebrew Congregation

As you may have seen in various news reports, my Office is engaged in an outreach effort to tell the American public precisely what is at stake for the United States in Central America.

On April 27th of this year, President Reagan asked to address a joint session of Congress. He made this request because of his growing concern about the spread of communism in that area.

You know, there are many people who seem to believe that the United States regards all insurrections against injustice and oppression as Communist inspired.

They are not. And we know that.

But in the case of Nicaragua, for example when THEY, the new leaders of the Government of National Reconstruction identify themselves as communists shouldn't we take them at THEIR word? Daniel Ortega, the head of the Junta has said, "Marxism-Leninism is the guide of Sandinismo and without Marxism-Leninism, there is no Sandinismo."

We have the words of Fidel Castro when he said, "I became a Communist at the age of seventeen. I am one now, and I will be one until the day I die."

And we have other, even more ominous words of the Nicaraguan Sandinistas when they and the Palestine Liberation Organization issued a joint communique in Mexico City in 1978 that "affirmed the ties of solidarity existing between their two revolutionary organizations" and declared they were united in their hatred of what they called the

"racist state of Israel."

I am sure you have all heard the axiom, "Actions speak louder than words." We have the words of Castro and of the Sandinistas. Now, let us look at their actions.

I would not for one minute presume to explain to you how the PLO treat the Jewish people. The stories are, unfortunately, becoming legion. But I think you need to know that very close to our own homes there is anti-Semitic activity going on in Central America.

Let me share with you a few words from Mr. Isaac Stavisky a Nicaraguan Jewish refugee who spoke to our White House Outreach Working Group on Central America on July the 20th:

"The Jewish community has always been small, numbering about 50 families at its peak. Jews began coming to Nicaragua in the late 1920's from Eastern Europe. Nicaraguan Jews never encountered anti-semitism -- until the Sandinistas started their revolution. Even before the Sandinistas came to power, they began threatening Jews. In 1978, the Sandinistas sent a strong message to the entire community when the synagogue was attacked by five Sandinistas wearing face handkerchiefs. They set the building on fire by throwing gasoline in the main entrance doors, shouting PLO victory slogans and anti-Jewish defamatory language. This direct attack on the synagogue showed the PLO influence on the Sandinistas. As

the doors caught fire, two members of the community at prayer during Sabbath Services, ran through a side door. The Sandinistas met them with a show of automatic weapons and ordered them back inside.

"The two men who were confronted by the Sandinistas as the synagogue doors burned were both survivors of Nazi concentration camps."

"The Sandinistas threatened to take our property, and they did. They threatened our lives and for that reason, we left our country."

If you would be interested in some of the information we have on the PLO involvement in Central America, we would be happy to send you a copy of our White House Digest of July 20, 1983, entitled, "The PLO in Central America." Just give Joyce Thomann of my offices a call at 456-2657 and she will send you a copy of it.

I think enough documentation exists so there should be no question in anyone's mind that Cuba is indeed a Soviet satellite who will do their master's bidding at anytime and anyplace.

You might enjoy a description of Cuba which was given to me by Ambassador Vernon Walters. He noted that Cuba had received the title of the largest country in the world. Its' capital was in Havana, its' government in Moscow, its' army in Africa, and its people in Miami.

Actions do speak louder than words.

Now, what have been the actions of the United States?

President Reagan asked to address a Joint Session of the Congress on Central America and he has spoken out again and again on the issue. He has committed the resources of the White House to speaking out on the gravity of the situation in Central America and he has asked Congress to provide full funding for economic aid so desperately needed by the countries of Central America.

Three out of every four dollars of American aid to Central American countries is economic.

Let me lay out for you the four points of the President's policies toward Central America. We call them the four "D's."

First and foremost, we seek to have the peoples of Central America able to elect their own form of government. The people of Central America are no less people than we are. If we like for ourselves the advantages of freedom and democracy, why should we deny them to others? This Administration believes that the peoples of Central America should have a chance to develop a pluralistic, democratic society, one in which they have a chance to change their minds. One in which, if they want to try some experiment, they can have an occasion four years later to review that experiment and see whether or not it was any good. Right now, democracy is in trouble in Central America, and if we who enjoy all the

benefits brought to us by democracy will not speak out to defend the principle of democracy, who will?

Secondly, this Administration is committed by a factor of 3 to 1 to the economic development of the region. Seventy-seven cents out of every dollar we will spend in Central America goes for food, fertilizers and other essentials for economic growth and development.

Third, we will aid in the defense of the region. The President has emphatically stated, and I quote,

"There is no thought of sending American combat troops to Central America. They are not needed and indeed, they have not been requested there. All our neighbors ask of us is assistance in training and arms to protect themselves while they build a better life."

Before I go on to the fourth point of the President's program, let me stop for one moment to say, who better than the women who comprise not only the Sisterhood of the Washington Hebrew Congregation, but the women of the Jewish faith know better about the need and desire to protect themselves? Many of your sisters, daughters, and mothers in Israel have trained and fought alongside their male counterparts. The nation of Israel exists today because of your joint determination to protect yourselves and with the help provided by the United States, Israel has done a remarkable job in doing just that.

Now to the final point in the President's Central American program -- dialogue. Talking. You know, people are people. In a family when you stop talking to one another, a family feud begins. Nations are no different than the people who make them up. It is imperative that we continue talking to one another. President Reagan has committed himself and the resources of his Administration to keeping the lines of communication open!

The dialogue on Central America is not a partisan issue. It is a question of meeting our moral responsibility to ourselves, our friends, and our posterity. It is a duty that falls on all of us. The President, the Congress and we, the people. We must perform it together, for who among us would wish to bear responsibility for failing to meet our shared obligation.

One holocaust is enough for all time.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 29, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY
THROUGH: Jonathan Vipond, III
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell
SUBJECT: Transcript of Vernon Walters Speech

Attached is a copy of the transcript of Ambassador Vernon Walters' remarks before the White House Outreach Working Group on Central America. Ambassador Walters has already edited the transcript and the attached is the copy edited and approved for release by Ambassador Walters.

We will have sufficient copies made to distribute at our Wednesday meeting.

MCB:jet

1 Attachment a/s



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

September 27, 1983

TO: Office of Public Liaison -- Mrs. Joyce Thoman

FROM: S/LPD -- John C. Scafe

Here is the transcript of Ambassador Walters' talk before the Outreach Group on August 24. Authorization for release from Ambassador Walters' office is included. I hope you get this early enough to make and pass out copies at the September 28 meeting.

Enclosures:a/s

Edited Transcript of Ambassador-at-Large
Vernon A. Walters' Address to the
Outreach Group on Wednesday, August 24,
1983, 1430 Hours, Room 450 EOB

I would like to talk a little bit about Central America, an area which has occupied a considerable portion of my life at various times and I would like to try, insofar as I can, to dispel a number of myths concerning Central America. You know the Hispanic peoples know what you mean when you say the "Liendra Negra" - the "Black Legend". The black legend is that the Spaniards went to South America and burned the Indians, and all they were interested in was getting gold. They were a mystery to the Indians and exterminated them and generally didn't behave like we noble Anglo-Saxons who treated ours so well. Well, the fact is that they had a couple of universities going a hundred years before Harvard was founded. And secondly, as one Spaniard said to me, "Our Indians are still there. Where are yours?" That black legend has been transferred to us. The other day I was in Spain and someone said "Well, Willy Brandt and Carlos Andres Perez put out a statement and said that the United States is principally to blame for the situation in Central America. What do you have to say about that?" I said, "They are both distinguished statesmen." I doubt that Carlos Andres Perez made such a statement. He was in my office recently and he certainly didn't say anything like that to me. But I said, "You know, regardless of how remarkable they are, it is just as difficult for them to be always right as it is for the United States to be always wrong."

Now, one of the principal myths about Central America is that it is our backyard. It is not our backyard; it is our front lawn. And what happens there is of vital interest to us. It is the land bridge between us and South America and the incalculable reserves of that continent which we want to make sure are lined up on the side of freedom. The second myth is that the United States regards all insurrections against injustice and oppression as Communist inspired. They're not. But when they identify themselves as such, we have to take them seriously. When Umberto Ortega, one of the Nicaraguan Commandantes, says, "Marxism-Leninism is the guide of Sandinismo, and without Marxism-Leninism, there is no Sandinismo," we've got to take him seriously. That is not the US saying it, that is Ortega himself saying that he is. And he said it in a document put out by the Public Relations Department of the People's National Sandinista Army of Liberation. Fidel Castro, on the 6th of June, 1961, said, "I became a Communist at the age of seventeen; I am one now, and will be one until the day I die." So much for the New York Times theory that we pushed him into their arms. I mean, he said so himself. We didn't take Adloph Hitler's Mein Kampf seriously either and it turned out to be quite serious: About twenty five million dead. So it is not a question of we regarding all of these people who are rebelling against social injustice or against oppression, against various forms of dictatorship, as all being Communist. Only when they

identify themselves to us as such. They will tell you now that, "Oh, Ortega said that." i.e. it is only rhetoric. Maybe, but about half of the original junta has now fled the country and are outside. So, evidently they feel the democratic revolution was betrayed.

This area between the Panama Canal and the Rio Grande River is vital to us because it contains one hundred million people. One hundred million people whom we feel are entitled to the same freedoms and democracies that we have. For whom we wish a pluralistic society. The Soviets have an interesting doctrine called the Brezhnev Doctrine. The Brezhnev Doctrine says that when the Socialist Regime of any communist country is threatened, the Red Army reserves the right to intervene to guarantee the achievements of Socialism. Well, I am not sure that we shouldn't have a doctrine that guarantees the achievements of democracy. We apparently let the Monroe Doctrine fall into what the lawyers, I believe, call desuetude. And wouldn't it be a good idea if maybe we had a doctrine that democracy deserves to be helped. Because if you look at the history of the world, this century, one interesting fact strikes you. Democracies almost never engage in aggressive wars. They are almost always a factor of dictatorships, right or left. By their nature they are driven to external adventures. In democracies when you have to ask the people to sanction a foreign war, unless it is a defensive war, very rarely are they willing to do so. We abhorred Nazism, but

it still took Pearl Harbor to get us into the war. It is very difficult to get a democracy to go to war other than in response to an attack upon itself. And this is one of the reasons why, not just philosophically but pragmatically, we believe a pluralistic, democratic society is a good thing, not just for us, but for the people of Central and South America and all over the world in fact.

It is also a question of the maintenance of peace. You are far more likely to have peace where there are democratic regimes than where there are dictatorial regimes. And that is a very powerful factor. Large wars often grow from small wars. World War II grew out of a war between Poland and Germany. World War I grew out of a war between Austria and Serbia. So the important thing is that we do not have wars which can grow. The third thing is that this area is not just important to us. It is even more important that our enemies do not obtain control of it. Because then we do have a soft underbelly. Americans ask, what does El Salvador have to do with me? Well, El Salvador is closer to San Antonio than San Antonio is to Boston. You know, during the Falklands crisis, Mrs. Thatcher at one point in Number Ten Downing Street said, "It was in this room that Neville Chamberlain said, speaking of Czechoslovakia in 1938, 'Why should we go to war for this far distant country about which we know so little and with which we have so little in common?' And," she added,

"because he did that, we had a war that killed twenty five million people." So this is really the question that Cain asked: "Am I my brother's keeper?" And in a world that is the size of the one in which we now live, the answer is: Yes. We all are our brother's keepers. Because the fate of our brothers today may be ours tomorrow.

When you have a vast country with the resources of the Soviet Union actively carrying out Lenin's dictum, "Probe with bayonets. If you run into steel, try somewhere else," it is important that they not find the absence of steel in this area. It is important that they are not permitted to enslave these hundred million people. They will tell you that all of this is caused by poverty and oppression and lack of freedom. If that were true, we would have a lot more revolts in a lot more areas than we do. Certain areas have been chosen. And -- this is a personal opinion -- my opinion is that the real target of the Soviet planners in that area is Mexico. If they could destabilize Mexico-- and our Mexican friends insist there is no danger of this, and perhaps they are right and perhaps they are wrong, but if they are wrong, the price they will pay is very great -- how much interest would the United States be able to pay to Europe, Africa or Asia?

The people in Central America are no less people than we are. If we like for ourselves the advantages of freedom and democracy, why should we deny them to them. Economically we

don't care whether the society is socialist, capitalist or mixed. Personally, I hope it is mixed or capitalist because there is one thing I have always found about socialism, it is undoubtedly one of the most noble doctrines man has ever evolved, but it doesn't work. It hasn't worked anywhere. I think we ought to give these people a chance to develop a pluralistic, democratic society in which they have a chance to change their mind, in which, if they want to try some experiment, they have an occasion four years later to review that experiment and see whether it was any good or not.

I think that is one of the key things that we want to try and help them achieve. Democracy is in trouble in Central America. It is under attack in Central America and if we don't defend it, who will? It is not just under attack from local forces; it is under attack from outside forces. All you have to do is turn up the airwaves and hear the storm that beats on those transistor radios throughout Central America every night to know that it is under attack from outside and not just from forces within each country.

People say, "Why don't you negotiate with the guerrillas?" Well, we negotiated with Hitler -- we didn't, but the British and French did in 1938, and it didn't turn out very well. You've got to negotiate with strength. You've got to be able to convince your adversaries that the route of force is not a paying one. And also be able to convince your friends that,

if the other side chooses the route of force, you have the means of meeting it. And above all, in my opinion, you must not freeze yourself into any position of telling your adversaries what you are going to do or telling them what you are not going to do. Uncertainty is a very powerful weapon. If we had told Adolph Hitler, as we told the North Vietnamese, that under no circumstances were we going to invade Germany, I just wonder how long World War II would have gone on. We are told that the Sandinistas are really representatives of the working peasant class who want to till their soil, earn a living and not become a pawn in the struggle between the superpowers. You know, I hear a faint echo. That is what I heard about the North Vietnamese. They were just representatives of the little-peasants who wanted to till their rice paddies and live their lives without becoming a pawn in the struggle between the superpowers. Well, what happened? In Vietnam, when you had a war going on, you had American bombs falling all over the place; there was fighting in every village and all the young men were being drafted into the South Vietnamese army. There were no refugees. There were no boat people. When liberation came, one million, two hundred thousand Vietnamese chose to go out into the South China sea in open boats, risking the pirates, the typhoons, the storms to escape from "liberation". What, by the way, happened to those peasants who were going to till their soil? Well, they don't have any soil to till. All the soil belongs to the government. What about not becoming a pawn in the struggle between the superpowers? Well, at Cam Ranh

Bay there is today the largest electronics intelligence station the Soviet Union maintains outside the Soviet Union with the single exception of Lourdes in Cuba. And, if you look at Cam Ranh Bay today, you can see Soviet aircraft on the field. This for that part which said the North Vietnamese didn't want to be subject to the Soviets, didn't want to be subject to the Chinese; they just wanted to go their own little independent way.

I submit that when Mr. Ortega tells us that Sandinismo is guided by Marxism--Leninism, we have to take him seriously. And, obviously, a large number of his fellow commandantes have taken him seriously since a large number of the members of the original junta have left because they realize that the the revolution has been betrayed. And what does a "revolution without frontiers" of which the Nicaraguans speak mean? It means you keep going until you get to the U.S. border. And you just take them one by one with the old salami tactics. Everyone said the domino theory was discredited. Was it? Vietnam fell. Cambodia fell with the greatest genocide in history, proportionally to population. Laos fell. Those two countries now are occupied by the Vietnamese. We were told these were the little farmers that just wanted to cultivate their little plots of rice and not bother anybody. And that is exactly what we are hearing now about the Sandinistas, who have the largest army in Central America, an army that is not big enough to stop us but is far too big

for their neighbors. And, if they have and are talking about this kind of an apparatus, what do they intend to do with it? Protect themselves against the Hondurans or the Costa Ricans? All is not by any means lost in this area. In Costa Rica we have just had a democratic election. In Honduras we have had a democratic election. In the Dominican Republic, where we intervened in 1965 militarily over great protests, there have been four separate changes of government by normal democratic elections whose results no one has really challenged. If we can just let democracy take root a little bit, have two, three changes of government by ordinary democratic process, as it has in Venezuela for instance, this process will then become the normal accepted process as up until now the normal accepted process for change has been coups and violence.

If you have democracy, you have all the mechanisms of change, change of any kind you want as long as you get enough people to agree. But not irreversible change. In my lifetime I have seen all the great right-wing authoritarian dictatorships in the world replaced by democracies. But I don't know, and no one else in this room knows, what replaces a Communist dictatorship because no one in this room has even seen one replaced. The only possible exception was the Hungarian Communist Regime of Bela Kun in Hungary in 1929 which was ejected by the Romanian Army marching into Budapest and ejecting it. Outside of that, I do not know of a single case where a Communist regime has been reversible. It is not just the fact that once the people go under this kind of a regime, there is

no longer any hope. The regime is in power, it has weapons and it is quite prepared, in the name of its ideology, to use those weapons to keep itself in power. It impedes the means of subverting the armed forces which, traditionally, in the case of the Russian Revolution and so forth, is what occurred. You got the soldiers to turn their guns against the regime. But when they control all the means, all of the media, it is very difficult to get to the soldiers to subvert them. And so it is not just a philosophical preference for a political pluralistic society, for an opportunity for the people to pronounce themselves in a fixed period of time on whatever experiments that they undertake, but it is the question of guaranteeing to these people the right to live as human beings and not as slaves. And this is the real issue in Central America and in the Caribbean. It is not a question of a border issue, it is not a question of a particular class of society, it is a question of the fundamental rights of people. Whether we believe these people are entitled to the same rights as we are. And if we do, and they are under attack, and their hope for the future and for freedom is under attack, it is up to us to do whatever is necessary to help them to preserve or to gain for the first time, in some cases, the possibility of being free and of controlling their own destiny.

Now in the case of Nicaragua, once again, we have this myth that the United States pushed them into the arms of the Communists, that that is not where they really were going.

Well, perhaps not. I would simply point out that after the revolution in September of 1979, Mr. Rabello and Daniel Ortega were received by President Carter at the White House. Fidel Castro, I might add, paraded down Broadway under the confetti after he was victorious. Now, the myth is that the United States supports the military dictators. I submit that both Batista and Somoza fell when the United States made it clear that they were not going to sell them what they needed to stay in power. I would simply add, from the financial point of view, that to this day the largest donor of aid to Nicaragua has been the United States. And in the first three years after they came to power we gave the Sandinistas more money than we gave Somoza in seventeen years. So it certainly isn't that we turned our backs on them and refused to help them. They chose the path of supporting the Soviet Union, or supporting a Marxist ideal because they believed in it.

You know we always have a tendency to believe that no one is really a Marxist. There are convinced Marxists; I have talked to them. It is an article of religious faith with them. I personally happen to believe that Fidel Castro is a more devout Marxist than Yuri Andropov. Yuri Andropov is in power and he wants to stay there. I think Fidel really believes all the stuff he's been saying. And that is very dangerous, when you begin to believe your own oratory. So I think we have to realize that there is a great deal at stake. Now the Europeans have this myth of Uncle Sam the Goliath beating up on the poor little small countries of Central America and with military aide

we are always looking for military solutions. Well we are not. The President said something like seventy percent of our assistance has been economic. But all the economic assistance is not going to do you any good if you don't have some kind of security shield. So many people have adopted an economic deterministic view -- that if you are economically strong, that is all you need. Well, I look at history and every time I think about the gross national product of Macedonia under Alexander and the Persian Empire which he overthrew, or I think of the gross national product of the Germanic tribes emerging from the Northern forests wearing their animal skins, and the Roman Empire, which was unquestionably the largest, most productive economic unit that had appeared in the world until that time, I am reminded of the story that after Waterloo, Wellington invited Marshal Blucher to London and took him up the newly-inaugurated Nelson column. Blucher looked out over the city and under his breath he muttered, "What a city to loot!"

When people tell me that economic strength is all that is necessary and that there are no military solutions, I always suggest that whoever believes that go tell the Greeks because it was Constantinople for eleven centuries, but as a result of some military activities, it has been Istanbul ever since. And then I remember from my own lifetime that Germany entered World War II practically without a gold reserve, with food rationing in effect and with currency controls. It was six years against the rest

of the world and it was a pretty close-run thing. When you have people imbued with a kind of semi-religious faith, the kind of fanaticism that Marxism brings with it, you've got to understand that you have a real danger on your hands. A danger not only to the United States, but, most of all, and this people lose sight of, to the people of Central America. It is they who are going to lose their freedom in the short term. We may lose ours, if we lose them, in the longer term, but they are going to lose whatever freedom they have, just like Vietnam. Vietnam was not a perfect society by any means but there were thirty newspapers in Saigon under Thieu. Some were suspended; some were fined. You know how many there are now? One. The Party Organ. So, there are all kinds of things at stake that do not immediately escape us.

Finally, that brings me to another item which I think is of fundamental importance. The one thing that all Communist revolutions have in common, is that they engender huge quantities of refugees. From Hungary, there were four hundred thousand. From Cuba, there were eight hundred thousand. And that won for Cuba the title of the largest country in the world. The administration is in Havana; the government is in Moscow; the army is in Africa; and the population is in Florida. Now, Cuba is an island. Central America is not an island. We've had boat people from Vietnam. If we lose Central America, we are going to have a minimum of ten million foot people and they won't be foot people all the way. Because when they get

to the Guatemalan/Mexican border there will be buses waiting to take them to Nogales, Tijuana, Brownsville and Laredo. And someone there to say, "Por Aqui, Senores", that way. Now this is a country that was made by refugees but they didn't come in these enormous waves all at once. Refugees have built the United States but they came in over a period of time in some kind of order. We have ten million unemployed. What are we going to do if we get ten million refugees? Who is going to provide them jobs? Who is going to provide them with housing, schools, social security? These will be people who have lost everything. They will be willing to work for any salary. What will the impact of that be on the American job market? And you know, these people will want to stay--I always tell this to my Democratic friends in Congress from the southern part of the United States--they will want to stay where it is warm. And after they have been here a while, they will become naturalized. And they will be very anti-Communist and they will all register as Republicans and that is not in your interest.

We face a very crucial problem, not unlike the ones the British and French faced when the Germans remilitarized the Rhineland. We now know that the German units that went into the Rhineland had orders, if the French reacted, to pull out at once. They remilitarized the Rhineland, they took the Saar, they took Austria, they took the Sudetenland, they took the whole of Czechoslovakia, they took Memel, and finally the war burst over Poland. But by that time the

Skoda works in Czechoslovakia were working for the Germans, not against them. Churchill once said--and this is an eternal truth--"You cannot slake the appetite of dictators by throwing them small countries to eat. Their appetite grows while they eat." As they digest Cuba, they will move on to the mainland--to Nicaragua. And when they have digested Nicaragua, they will digest Salvador. And then Honduras, and then Guatamala, and then it will be Mexico's turn. Now the Mexicans are convinced that no danger threatens them. I wish I could agree with them. I certainly hope that no danger threatens them but I do remember what Blucher said: What a city to loot. There is for us a choice now. We can either make a stand and defend regimes that are admittedly not perfect. But, is the solution to a flawed regime to replace it with a totally irreversible totalitarian Marxist dictatorship? Is that the answer? Because the Salvadorans or the Hondurans or the Guatamalan government do something that we don't like, is the answer to turn them over to a totalitarian dictatorship which will not be extinguished in our lifetime? That is not the solution and we all know it. And if that is not the solution, then it is our duty as a people, it is our duty as people who believe in freedom, who believe in the equality of all men, to do what we can to protect these peoples' right to decide their own future. And that, simply put, is the whole issue in Central America. And I am an optimist. Because if you look at the whole

course of human history since we came out of the caves; the course of that history has been in the direction of greater freedom and dignity for the individual. Many tyrants have temporarily stopped that flow. None has ever stopped it permanently. And the medieval tyranny that is masquerading as modern Marxism will not escape from the inexorable tide of history. It is our job to help the tide of history. We must not be found wanting or no one knows what the consequences will be.