



**NINTH MEETING
of
CONSULTATION
of
MINISTERS
of
FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

SERVING AS ORGAN OF CONSULTATION
IN APPLICATION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN
TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE

PAN AMERICAN UNION, WASHINGTON, D.C. • JULY 21 - 26, 1964

F I N A L A C T

1964

PAN AMERICAN UNION General Secretariat of the Organization of American States WASHINGTON, D. C.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
PREAMBLE	1
RESOLUTIONS AND DECLARATIONS	
I Application of measures to the present Government of Cuba	5
II Declaration to the people of Cuba	7
III Regional and international economic coordination	9
IV Diplomatic relations among the member states	10
V Vote of recognition	11
VI Vote of thanks	11
STATEMENTS	
Statement of Chile	12
Statement of Mexico	12

FINAL ACT

NINTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
SERVING AS ORGAN OF CONSULTATION
IN APPLICATION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE

The Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, was held at the headquarters of the Organization of American States, the Pan American Union, in Washington, D.C., from July 21 to 26, 1964.

The Council of the Organization of American States convoked the Meeting by a resolution adopted on December 3, 1963, which reads as follows:

WHEREAS:

The Council has taken cognizance of the note of the Ambassador, Representative of Venezuela, by means of which his government requests that, in accordance with Article 6 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, the Organ of Consultation be immediately convoked to consider measures that must be taken to deal with the acts of intervention and aggression on the part of the Cuban Government affecting the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of Venezuela, as well as the operation of its democratic institutions; and

The Ambassador, Representative of Venezuela, has furnished information to substantiate his requests.

The Council of the Organization of American States

RESOLVES:

1. To convoke the Organ of Consultation in accordance with the provisions of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, to meet on the date and at the place to be fixed in due time.
2. To constitute itself and act provisionally as Organ of Consultation, in accordance with Article 12 of the aforementioned treaty.
3. To inform the Security Council of the United Nations of the text of this resolution.

At the meeting held on the same day, December 3, 1963, the Council of the Organization, acting provisionally as Organ of Consultation, adopted a resolution, whereby a committee was appointed to investigate the acts denounced by Venezuela and to report thereon. The committee, which was composed of representatives of Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, the United States of America, and Uruguay, presented its report at the meeting held on February 24, 1964, by the Council, acting provisionally as Organ of Consultation.

With respect to the date and place of the Meeting, the Council of the Organization of American States at its special meeting on June 26, 1964, adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS:

On December 3, 1963, the Council of the Organization convoked the Organ of Consultation in accordance with the provisions of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, stating that it would meet at a place and at a time to be set in due time,

The Council of the Organization of American States

RESOLVES:

1. That the Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, shall be held at the headquarters of the Organization of American States.

2. To set July 21, 1964, as the date for the opening of the meeting.

The organization of the Meeting of Consultation and its deliberations were governed by the Regulations of the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs to Serve as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, approved by the Council of the Organization of American States at the meeting held on July 29, 1960.

In accordance with the provisions of Article 15 of the Regulations of the Meeting, a closed preliminary session was held on the morning of July 21. On that occasion, the matters to be dealt with at the opening session were considered, and the order of precedence of the members of this Meeting of Consultation was established by lot, as follows:

CHILE His Excellency Mr. Julio Philippi Izquierdo
Minister of Foreign Affairs

COLOMBIA His Excellency Mr. Fernando Gómez Martínez
Minister of Foreign Affairs

BOLIVIA His Excellency Mr. Fernando Iturralde Chinel
Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship

GUATEMALA His Excellency Mr. Alberto Herrarte González
Minister of Foreign Affairs

VENEZUELA His Excellency Mr. Ignacio Iribarren Borges
Minister of Foreign Affairs

BRAZIL His Excellency Mr. Vasco Leitão da Cunha
Minister of State for Foreign Affairs

EL SALVADOR His Excellency Mr. Héctor Escobar Serrano
Minister of Foreign Affairs

URUGUAY His Excellency Mr. Alejandro Zorrilla de San Martín
Minister of Foreign Affairs

DOMINICAN
REPUBLIC His Excellency Mr. José A. Bonilla Atilés
Special Delegate

ECUADOR His Excellency Mr. Gonzalo Escudero
Minister of Foreign Affairs

COSTA RICA His Excellency Mr. Daniel Oduber Quirós
Minister of Foreign Affairs

PARAGUAY His Excellency Mr. Raúl Sapena Pastor
Minister of Foreign Affairs

HAITI His Excellency Mr. René Chalmers
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Worship

NICARAGUA His Excellency Mr. Alfonso Ortega Urbina
Minister of Foreign Affairs

PANAMA His Excellency Mr. Galileo Solís
Minister of Foreign Affairs

MEXICO	His Excellency Mr. Vicente Sánchez Gavito Special Delegate
PERU	His Excellency Mr. Fernando Schwalb López-Aldana Minister of Foreign Affairs
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	His Excellency Mr. Dean Rusk Secretary of State
ARGENTINA	His Excellency Mr. Miguel Angel Zavala Ortiz Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship
HONDURAS	His Excellency Mr. Jorge Fidel Durón Minister of Foreign Affairs

His Excellency, Dr. José A. Mora, Secretary General of the Organization of American States also participated in the Meeting.

Finding it necessary to return to his country, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Peru, by note dated July 23, 1964, addressed to the Secretary General of the Meeting, appointed Mr. Celso Pastor de la Torre, Peruvian Ambassador to the United States of America, as Special Delegate to the Meeting.

Mr. José Rolz-Bennett also attended the Meeting as representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

In accordance with Article 27 of the Regulations, on July 21, the Secretary General of the Organization of American States, Mr. José A. Mora, installed the opening session, at which His Excellency Mr. Vasco Leitão da Cunha, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Brazil, was elected President of the Meeting. At the same session, His Excellency Mr. Galileo Solís, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Panama, was elected Vice President of the Meeting. In accordance with the same article, Mr. William Sanders, Secretary of the Council of the Organization of American States, acted as Secretary General of the Meeting. Mr. Santiago Ortiz, Director of the Office of Council and Conference Secretariat Services, acted as Assistant Secretary General.

His Excellency Mr. Vasco Leitão da Cunha, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Brazil, and His Excellency Mr. Alejandro Zorrilla de San Martín, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay, addressed the inaugural session held on the same date.

In accordance with the Regulations, the Meeting appointed a Credentials Committee composed of the Foreign Ministers of Peru, Uruguay, and Nicaragua. It also appointed a Style Committee composed of representatives of Colombia, Brazil, Haiti, and the United States of America.

In accordance with the provisions of Article 20 of the Regulations, a General Committee was formed, composed of all the members and charged with considering the topics and submitting their conclusions to a plenary session of the Meeting for approval. His Excellency Mr. Fernando Gómez Martínez, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Colombia, and His Excellency Mr. Miguel Angel Zavala Ortiz, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Argentina, were designated as Chairman and Rapporteur of the General Committee, respectively.

This Final Act was signed at the closing session held on July 26. His Excellency Mr. Gonzalo Escudero, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ecuador, on behalf of the Delegations, and His Excellency Mr. Vasco Leitão da Cunha, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Brazil, President of the Meeting, addressed the session.

As the result of its deliberations, the Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, approved the following resolutions and declarations:

I

APPLICATION OF MEASURES TO THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF CUBA

The Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,

HAVING SEEN the report of the Investigating Committee designated on December 3, 1963, by the Council of the Organization of American States, acting provisionally as Organ of Consultation, and

CONSIDERING:

That the said report establishes among its conclusions that "the Republic of Venezuela has been the target of a series of actions sponsored and directed by the Government of Cuba, openly intended to subvert Venezuelan institutions and to overthrow the democratic Government of Venezuela through terrorism, sabotage, assault, and guerrilla warfare," and

That the aforementioned acts, like all acts of intervention and aggression, conflict with the principles and aims of the inter-American system,

RESOLVES:

1. To declare that the acts verified by the Investigating Committee constitute an aggression and an intervention on the part of the Government of Cuba in the internal affairs of Venezuela, which affects all of the member states.
2. To condemn emphatically the present Government of Cuba for its acts of aggression and of intervention against the territorial inviolability, the sovereignty, and the political independence of Venezuela.
3. To apply, in accordance with the provisions of Articles 6 and 8 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, the following measures:
 - a. That the governments of the American states not maintain diplomatic or consular relations with the Government of Cuba;
 - b. That the governments of the American states suspend all their trade, whether direct or indirect, with Cuba, except in food-stuffs, medicines, and medical equipment that may be sent to Cuba for humanitarian reasons; and
 - c. That the governments of the American states suspend all sea transportation between their countries and Cuba, except for such transportation as may be necessary for reasons of a humanitarian nature.
4. To authorize the Council of the Organization of American States, by an affirmative vote of two thirds of its members, to discontinue the measures adopted in the present resolution at such time as the Government of Cuba shall have ceased to constitute a danger to the peace and security of the hemisphere.
5. To warn the Government of Cuba that if it should persist in carrying out acts that possess characteristics of aggression and intervention against one or more of the member states of the Organization, the member states shall preserve their essential rights as sovereign states by the use of self-defense in either individual or collective form, which could go so far as resort to armed force, until such time as the Organ of Consultation takes measures to guarantee the peace and security of the hemisphere.
6. To urge those states not members of the Organization of American States that are animated by the same ideals as the inter-American system to examine the possibility of effectively demonstrating their solidarity in achieving the purposes of this resolution.

7. To instruct the Secretary General of the Organization of American States to transmit to the United Nations Security Council the text of the present resolution, in accordance with the provisions of Article 54 of the United Nations Charter.

II

DECLARATION TO THE PEOPLE OF CUBA

WHEREAS:

The preamble to the Charter of the Organization of American States declares that, "the historic mission of America is to offer to man a land of liberty, and a favorable environment for the development of his personality and the realization of his just aspirations"; and that "the true significance of American solidarity and good neighborliness can only mean the consolidation on this continent, within the framework of democratic institutions, of a system of individual liberty and social justice based on respect for the essential rights of man";

The Charter of the Organization declares that the solidarity of the American states and the high purposes toward which it is dedicated demand that the political organization of these states be based on the effective exercise of representative democracy;

The Charter also proclaims "the fundamental rights of the individual" and reaffirms that the "education of peoples should be directed toward justice, freedom, and peace";

The Declaration of Santiago, Chile, adopted by the Fifth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and signed by the present Cuban Government, proclaimed that the faith of peoples of America in the effective exercise of representative democracy is the best vehicle for the promotion of their social and political progress (Resolution XCV of the Tenth Inter-American Conference), while well-planned and intensive development of the economies of the American countries and improvement in the standard of living of their peoples represent the best and firmest foundation on which the practical exercise of democracy and the stabilization of their institutions can be established;

The Ninth International Conference of American States condemned "the methods of every system tending to suppress political and civil rights and liberties, and in particular the action of international communism or any other totalitarian doctrine";

The present Government of Cuba, identifying itself with the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology, has established a political, economic, and social system alien to the democratic and Christian traditions of the American family of nations and contrary to the principles of juridical organization upon which rests the security and peaceful harmonious relations of the peoples of the hemisphere; and

The exclusion of the present Government of Cuba from participation in the inter-American system, by virtue of the provisions of Resolution VI of the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, by no means signifies any intention to deny the Cuban people their rightful place in the community of American peoples;

The Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,

DECLARES:

That the free peoples of the Americas are convinced that the inter-American system offers to the Cuban people unequaled conditions for the realization of their ideals of peace, liberty, and social and economic progress;

That the peoples belonging to the inter-American system are in complete sympathy with the Cuban people in all their sufferings, in the face of the total loss of their liberty both in the spiritual domain and in the social and economic field, the denial of their most elementary human rights, the burden of their persecutions, and the destruction of a legal system that was open to improvement and that offered the possibility of stability; and

That, within this spirit of solidarity, the free peoples of America cannot and must not remain indifferent to or uninterested in the fate of the noble Cuban people, which is oppressed by a dictatorship that renounces the Christian and democratic traditions of the American peoples; and in consequence

EXPRESSES:

1. Its profound concern for the fate of the brother people of Cuba.
2. Its deepest hope that the Cuban people, strengthened by confidence in the solidarity with them of the other American peoples and governments, will be able, by their own endeavor, very soon to liberate themselves from the tyranny of the communist regime that oppresses them and to establish in that country a government freely elected by the will of the people that will assure respect for fundamental human rights.

3. Its firm conviction that the emphatic condemnation of the policy of the present Cuban Government of aggression and intervention against Venezuela will be taken by the people of Cuba as a renewed stimulus for its hope there will come to prevail in that country a climate of freedom that will offer to man in Cuba a favorable environment for the development of his personality and the realization of his just aspirations.

III

REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COORDINATION

WHEREAS:

The objectives of liberty and democracy that inspire the inter-American system, threatened as they are by communist subversion, cannot be fully attained if the peoples of the states that compose it lack adequate and sufficient means for bringing about vigorous social progress and better standards of living;

The persistence of a situation in which the world is divided into areas of poverty and plenty is a serious obstacle to any possibility that may present itself in the American hemisphere for achieving an economically more just society;

Harmonious and decisive action is indispensable, in both the regional and the international spheres, to combat the causes of economic underdevelopment and social backwardness, since prosperity and world peace based on the freedom of man cannot be achieved unless all the American countries attain equality in the economic and social field;

In particular, the continued existence of such a state of underdevelopment and poverty among large sectors of mankind, which becomes more acute in spite of the world increase in wealth and the advance of science and technology from which these sectors cannot derive full benefit, encourages the subversive action of international communism;

The countries of Latin America expressed their aspirations in the Charter of Alta Gracia and declared their determined intention to work together to build a better world in which there will be a more equitable distribution of income;

The Conference on Trade and Development, held recently in Geneva, provided a forum for a full discussion of the problems of international economics and established the basis for adequate solutions to problems arising in the fields of raw materials, manufactured products, and international financing; and

The instruments adopted at the two aforementioned meetings supplement and perfect those signed at the Special Meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council held at Punta del Este in August 1961, and especially, the Charter of Punta del Este,

The Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,

DECLARES:

That the aims of unity and peace with liberty and democracy pursued in the struggle against international communism, which threatens the stability of the institutions of the inter-American system and of the countries that compose it, must be achieved by eliminating those obstacles that hinder social progress and economic development, and

RESOLVES:

1. To reaffirm the determined will of their peoples to work, in the regional and international spheres, for the achievement of the objectives expressed in the Charter of Alta Gracia and at the Conference on Trade and Development, which are in line with the aims and purposes of the Alliance for Progress.

2. To request the Inter-American Economic and Social Council to continue the necessary studies in order to find adequate solutions to the problems involved.

IV

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AMONG THE MEMBER STATES

The Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,

RESOLVES:

To transmit to the Council of the Organization of American States the draft resolution "Diplomatic Relations Among the Member States," presented by the Delegation of Argentina (OAS/Ser.F/II.9 Doc. 30 Rev. 2).

V

VOIE OF RECOGNITION

The Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,

RESOLVES:

To congratulate His Excellency Mr. Vasco Leitão da Cunha, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Brazil, on the wise and intelligent manner in which he guided the deliberations of the Meeting.

VI

VOIE OF THANKS

The Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Serving as Organ of Consultation in Application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,

RESOLVES:

1. To express to His Excellency Mr. José A. Mora, Secretary General of the Organization of American States, its appreciation for all the attentions and courtesies extended to the delegates in connection with this Meeting.

2. To place on record its gratitude to the Secretary General of the Meeting, Mr. William Sanders, and to all who collaborated with him, for the manner in which the advisory and secretariat services of the Meeting were organized and carried out.

3. To offer its appreciation to the hemisphere and world press and other information media for the efficient service they rendered to the Meeting.

STATEMENTS

STATEMENT OF CHILE

The Delegation of Chile abstained from voting on paragraphs 1 and 2 of the operative part of Resolution I, because of its doubts regarding the legality of the use of the term "aggression" in describing the acts. It voted negatively on paragraph 3, because it is firmly convinced that the measures agreed to are not appropriate to the particular case that has brought about the application of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. It also voted against paragraph 5, because it believes that there are discrepancies between the provisions of that paragraph and those of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations and of Article 3 of the Rio Treaty. With reference to its abstention on paragraph 6, its attitude is consistent with the attitude taken with respect to the measures called for in paragraph 3.

The Delegation of Chile abstained from voting on the Declaration to the People of Cuba since, although agreeing with its basic content, it maintains relations with the Republic of Cuba and since it believes precisely in the principle of nonintervention, it has deemed it preferable not to give positive support to this resolution.

STATEMENT OF MEXICO

The Delegation of Mexico wishes to make it a matter of record in the Final Act, that the Government of Mexico:

1. Is convinced that the measures provided for in the third paragraph of the operative part of Resolution I, which the Delegation of Mexico voted against, lack foundation, inasmuch as the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance does not envisage, in any part, the application of such measures in situations of the kind and nature dealt with by this Meeting of Consultation.

2. Makes a specific reservation to the fifth paragraph of the operative part of the same resolution since it endeavors to extend, in such a way as to be incompatible with the provisions of Articles 3 and 10 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, the right to individual or collective self-defense.

3. Reiterates without reservations its "will to cooperate permanently in the fulfillment of the principles and purposes of a policy of peace," to which "is essentially related" the "obligation of mutual assistance and common defense of the American Republics," in accordance with the provisions of paragraph five of the Preamble of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs sign the present Final Act.

DONE in the Pan American Union, Washington, D.C., United States of America, in the four official languages of the Organization, on July twenty-six, nineteen hundred sixty-four. The Secretary General shall deposit the original of the Final Act in the Archives of the Pan American Union, which will transmit the authenticated copies thereof to the governments of the American republics.

POR CHILE:
 FOR CHILE:
 PELA CHILE:
 POUR CHILI:



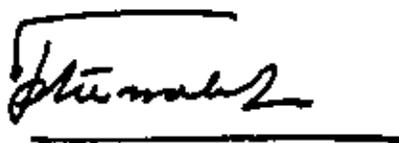
Julio Philippi Izquierdo

POR COLOMBIA:
 FOR COLOMBIA:
 PELA COLÔMBIA:
 POUR COLOMBIE:



Fernando Gómez Martínez

POR BOLIVIA:
 FOR BOLIVIA:
 PELA BOLÍVIA:
 POUR BOLIVIE:



Fernando Iturralde Chinel

POR GUATEMALA:
 FOR GUATEMALA:
 PELA GUATEMALA:
 POUR GUATEMALA:



Alberto Herrarte González

POR VENEZUELA:
 FOR VENEZUELA:
 PELA VENEZUELA:
 POUR VENEZUELA:



Ignacio Iribarren Borges

- 16 -

POR EL BRASIL:
 FOR BRAZIL:
 PELO BRASIL:
 POUR BRÉSIL:



Vasco Leitão da Cunha

POR EL SALVADOR:
 FOR EL SALVADOR:
 POR EL SALVADOR:
 POUR LE SALVADOR:



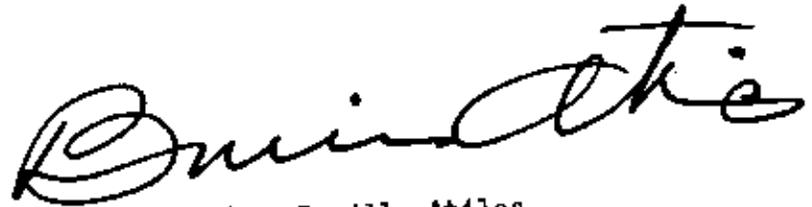
Héctor Escobar Serrano

POR EL URUGUAY:
 FOR URUGUAY:
 PELO URUGUAI:
 POUR L'URUGUAY:



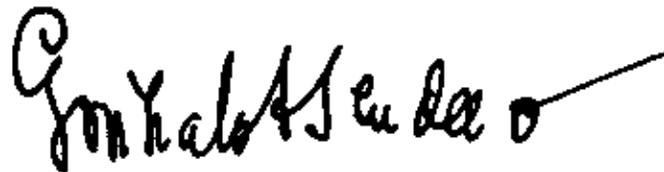
Alejandro Zorrilla de San Martín

POR LA REPUBLICA DOMINICANA:
 FOR THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC:
 PELA REPÚBLICA DOMINICANA:
 POUR LA RÉPUBLIQUE DOMINICAINE:



José A. Bonilla Atilas

POR EL ECUADOR:
 FOR ECUADOR:
 POR EQUADOR:
 POUR L'EQUATEUR:



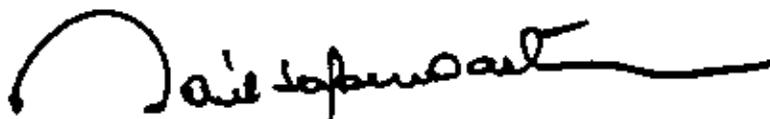
Gonzalo Escudero

POR COSTA RICA:
 FOR COSTA RICA:
 POR COSTA RICA:
 POUR LE COSTA RICA:



Daniel Oduber Quirós

POR EL PARAGUAY:
 FOR PARAGUAY
 PELO PARAGUAY:
 POUR LE PARAGUAY:



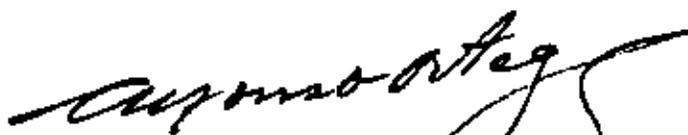
Raúl Sapena Pastor

POR HAITI:
 FOR HAITI:
 PELO HAITI:
 POUR HAITI:



René Chalmers

POR NICARAGUA:
 FOR NICARAGUA:
 PELA NICARÁGUA:
 POUR LE NICARAGUA:



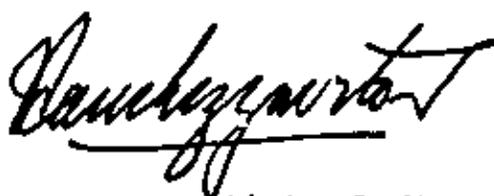
Alfonso Ortega

POR PANAMA:
 FOR PANAMA:
 POR PANAMÁ:
 POUR LE PANAMA:



Galileo Solís

POR MEXICO:
FOR MEXICO:
PELO MÉXICO:
POUR LE MEXIQUE:



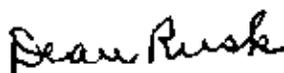
Vicente Sánchez Gavito

POR EL PERU:
FOR PERU:
PELO PERU:
POUR LE PÉROU:



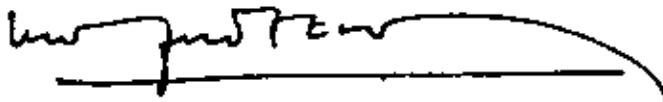
Celso Pastor de la Torre

POR LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS
DE AMERICA:
FOR THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA:
PELOS ESTADOS UNIDOS
DA AMÉRICA:
POUR LES ÉTATS-UNIS
D'AMÉRIQUE:



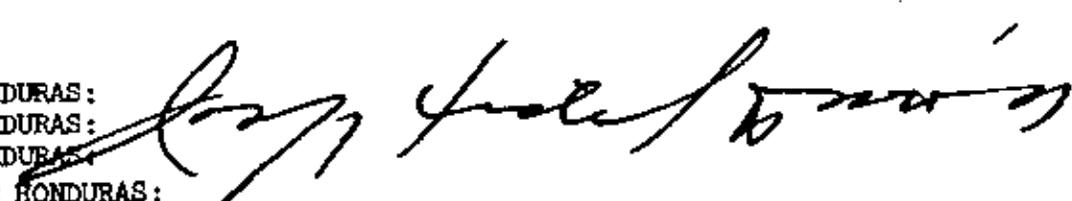
Dean Rusk

POR LA ARGENTINA:
FOR ARGENTINA:
PELA ARGENTINA:
POUR L'ARGENTINE:



Miguel Angel Zavala Ortiz

POR HONDURAS:
FOR HONDURAS:
POR HONDURAS:
POUR LE HONDURAS:



Jorge Fidel Durón