

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ JULY 18

LIMDIS

FOR SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR
REF: DEPTTEL 94.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority

By *mg*

NARS, Date

1. BY GOOD FORTUNE I WAS ABLE CALL ON FONMIN VASCO LEITAO DA CUNHA LATE SATURDAY EVENING TO DELIVER HIM YOUR LETTER. HE EXPRESSED WARM APPRECIATION FOR ITS TONE AND CONTENTS, ESPECIALLY REMARKING FINAL PARAGRAPH.

2. DURING COURSE OUR TALK, VASCO TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY PHONE PENNA MARINHO IN WASHINGTON. HE DID SUCCEED TOWARD CLOSE OF TALK IN REACHING PRESIDENT CASTELLO BRANCO IN BRASIRA. PRIOR THAT CALL, HE HAD GIVEN ME HIS PERSONAL REACTIONS AS FOLLOWS.

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3. VASCO RECOGNIZES SOME RISKS IN HOLDING MEETING AUGUST 4, BUT ON BALANCE FAVORS GOING AHEAD ON GROUND THAT OAS WOULD BE GRAVELY WEAKENED BY FURTHER POSTPONEMENT. HE WOULD OF COURSE PREFER THAT DOMREP GOVT HAVE BEEN INSTALLED BEFORE MEETING AND RECOGNIZES THIS NOW APPEARS UNLIKELY. BUT HE CONSIDERS THAT OAS RECORD TO DATE IN DOMREP HAS SHOWN SOLID PROGRESS, WHICH IF NOT YET COMPLETE SUCCESS IS VERY FAR FROM UTTER FAILURE. STATUS DOMREP IS THEREFORE NOT NOW A CONCLUSIVE REASON FOR POSTPONEMENT. POSTPONEMENT WOULD APPEAR TO DEMONSTRATE IMPOTENCE OR UNWILLINGNESS OF HEMISPHERE SYSTEM TO FACE UP TO PROBLEMS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. LIKE OTHER DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS, THIS ONE REQUIRES LEADERSHIP TO WORK, AND TMHAA* SKILLFUL LEADERSHIP ON OUR PART AND GOB'S, SYSTEM CAN BE MADE TO EMERGE STRONGER AND NOT WEAKER FROM THIS CONFERENCE ALREADY SIX YEARS OVERDUE. IF OAS WAITS FOR TRANQUILLITY EVERYWHERE IN HEMISPHERE, CONFERENCE WILL NEVER TAKE PLACE AND VALUE OF SYSTEM AS WHOLE WILL BE IN GRAVEST DOUBT. VASCO BELIEVES THAT THERE IS GOOD CHANCE OF FORWARD ACTION NOW ON STRUCTURAL, ECONOMIC, AND OTHER ITEMS

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WHICH WERE IN CONTEMPLATION PRIOR TO EXPLOSION DOMREP CRISIS. ON IAPF, HE RECOGNIZES THAT GENERAL CONSENSUS TO ESTABLISH PERMANENT FORCE UNLIKELY AT THIS STAGE, BUT SEES POSSIBILITY OF PROGRESS IN DEFINING DANGERS WHICH MAY MAKE COLLECTIVE FORCE USEFUL AND WANTS TO EXPLORE FURTHER IDEA OF A PROTOCOL AMONG THOSE MEMBERS FAVORING ESTABLISHMENT IAPF, SUITABLY LINKED TO SYSTEM AS WHOLE, WHICH HE BELIEVES MIGHT BE A LINE OF ACTION WHICH EVEN CHILE AND MEXICO WOULD NOT OPPOSE.

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4. IF AUGUST DATE NOT KEPT, VASCO SEES NO POSSIBILITY MEETING IN RIO UNTIL NOVEMBER, OR POSSIBLY LATE OCTOBER, IN VIEW OF SCHEDULED STATE VISITS HERE FROM LUXEMBOURG AND ITALY, UNGA OBLIGATIONS OF MINISTERS, AND BRAZILIAN OCTOBER ELECTIONS WHICH INCLUDE GOVERNORSHIP OF GUANABARA. HE FEELS SUCH LONG POSTPONE-
MENT COULD DO GRAVE DAMAGE TO OAS AND IS ESPECIALLY CONCERNED AT DANGER UN WILL TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OAS DISPLAY OF WEAKNESS TO INTRUDE ITSELF FURTHER INTO DOMREP AND OTHER WH AFFAIRS.

5. ON SPECIFIC POINT OF DOMREP DELEGATION, VASCO BELIEVES IT OBVIOUS THAT THERE CAN BE NO ACCREDITED REPRESENTATIVE PRIOR TO INSTALLATION AND RECOGNITION OF PROVISIONAL GOVT. VARIOUS DOMINICAN OBSERVERS MIGHT ATTEND, INCLUDING PRESENT COAS REPRESENTATIVE, BUT WITHOUT ACCREDITATION OR RIGHT TO SPEAK OR VOTE. VASCO IS NOT OVERLY CONCERNED AT EFFECT ON VOTING NUMBERS AND CONSIDERS THIS A FACTOR OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE IN DECISION ON CONFERENCE TIMING.

6. VASCO REACTED FAVORABLY TO YOUR SUGGESTION OF DEFERRING DOMREP DISCUSSION UNTIL LATE IN CONFERENCE. THIS WOULD FIT IN WITH HIS IDEA OF CONVOYING TENTH MFM IN RIO PHYSICALLY AND PROCEDURALLY SEPARATE FROM CONFERENCE, AND RULING DISCUSSION CURRENT SPECIFIC DOMREP QUESTIONS OUT OF ORDER FOR CONFERENCE AS SUCH. TIMING OF MFM CONSIDERATION WOULD DEPEND PARTLY ON EVENTS IN DOMREP ITSELF, BUT AIM WOULD BE TO DEFER IT TOWARD LATTER PART OF MEETING IF CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT. ON OTHER HAND, VASCO HAS NO ILLUSIONS THAT DOMREP WILL GO UNMENTIONED IN GENERAL DEBATE OR IN DISCUSSION OF ITEM ONE.

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7. GOB'S FORMAL INSTRUCTIONS THUS FAR TO OAS REPRESENTATIVES HAVE BEEN NOT TO TAKE INITIATIVE ON CHANGING CONFERENCE TIMING

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BUT NOT TO OPPOSE IF MAJORITY PREFER POSTPONEMENT. GOB WILL IN NO CASE VOTE FOR POSTPONEMENT, BUT CONTRARY TO POSITION IN MAY WELL ABSTAIN RATHER THAN VOTE AGAINST IF CONSENSUS FAVORS POSTPONEMENT. VASCO'S UNDERSTANDING IS THAT ONLY PRESENT STRONG ADVOCATES OF POSTPONEMENT ARE VENEZUELA AND MEXICO, WHILE

SEVERAL GOVTS ARE ON FENCE AND ARGENTINA, PARAGUAY, CHILE, BOLIVIA, URUGUAY, AND MOST CENTRAL AMERICANS PREFER KEEP AUGUST DATE. VASCO RECOGNIZES, HOWEVER, THAT AGREEMENT BETWEEN GOB AND USG CAN ALMOST CERTAINLY SWING DECISION ONE WAY OR OTHER. GOB WILL IN NO CASE PUT ITSELF INTO OPPOSITION TO USG, AND WANTS A COMPLETE MEETING OF MINDS WITH US.

8. AFTER HIS CONSULTATION WITH PRESIDENT CASTELLO BRANCO, VASCO CONFIRMED POSITION TO ME IN FOLLOWING TERMS. HE SAID THAT ON MERITS PRESIDENT ALSO BELIEVES THAT INTEREST OF OAS WOULD BE BETTER SERVED BY KEEPING DATE THAN BY POSTPONEMENT, AND DOMREP PROGRESS SUFFICIENT TO PERMIT MAINTENANCE AUGUST 4. HOWEVER, CASTELLO RECOGNIZES THAT US RATHER THAN BRAZIL WILL BE MAIN

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TARGET OF ANY RECRIMINATIONS FLOWING FROM DOMREP ACTIONS, SINCE ATTACKS ON UNILATERAL ACTION WOULD BE FOCUSSED AGAINST US WHEREAS BRAZIL IS IN MORE COMFORTABLE POSITION OF HAVING PARTICIPATED ONLY IN OAS-APPROVED MULTILATERAL ACTION. GOB DOES NOT WANT TO PRESS FOR MAINTENANCE AUGUST 4 DATE IF USG FEELS SERIOUS CONCERN THAT SUCH RECRIMINATIONS WILL DOMINATE CONFERENCE OR BECOME REAL EMBARRASSMENT TO US IN HEMISPHERE, OUTWEIGHING ANY POSITIVE RESULTS WHICH CONFERENCE MIGHT SECURE. ONLY YOU CAN JUDGE THIS POINT, HE SAID, AND GOB WILL BE GUIDED BY YOUR JUDGMENT ON IT.

9. SINCE MONDAY MEETING WILL PRESUMABLY TAKE DEFINITE DECISION, VASCO REQUESTED ADVICE SOONEST ON YOUR REACTIONS PARA 8, SUGGESTING THAT YOU OR ONE OF YOUR ASSOCIATES MIGHT WISH TO TELEPHONE ME DURING DAY SUNDAY. HE WILL BE AVAILABLE ALL DAY, AS WILL I AT 26-9150.

GP-3. GORDON

*AS RECEIVED. WILL BE SERVICED UPON REQUEST.

NOTE: ADVANCE COPY TO S/S-O AT 11:13 AM 7/18/65
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