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Department of State

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

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ACTION SS-15

7359

SECTO 06003 01 OF 02 142230Z

INFO: OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 ARA-10 CCO-00 SP-02 HSC-05
NSCE-00 PRS-01 PA-01 /835 W

0 142158Z JUN 77 ZFF4
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN GRENADA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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FOR TARNOFF FROM SPIEGEL

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS R.)
SUBJ: SECRETARY'S INITIAL INTERVENTION, OASGA GRENADA, 6/14

1. THIS IS A COPY OF THE SECRETARY'S FIRST INTERVENTION AS DELIVERED. IT IS REGARDED AS CONFIDENTIAL. HOWEVER, HOODING WILL DO EXTENSIVE BACKGROUND ON IT.

2. BEGIN TEXT.

SECRETARY'S INITIAL INTERVENTION

I AM DELIGHTED TO JOIN YOU IN THIS INFORMAL DIALOGUE. WE ARE ON OUR WAY TO A FRANK, DIRECT AND CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP BASED ON THE VALUES AND ASSOCIATIONS WE SHARE. IN HIS REMARKS BEFORE THE PERMANENT COUNCIL OF THIS ORGANIZATION ON APRIL 14, PRESIDENT CARTER SAID:

"... A SINGLE UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN MAKES LITTLE SENSE. WHAT WE NEED IS A WIDER AND MORE FLEXIBLE APPROACH, WORKED OUT IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH YOU. TOGETHER, WE WILL DEVELOP POLICIES MORE SUITED TO EACH OTHER'S VARIETY AND POTENTIAL. IN THIS PROCESS, I WILL BE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT WE NOT SEEK TO DIVIDE THE NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA ONE FROM ANOTHER, OR TO SET LATIN AMERICA APART FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD. OUR GOAL IS TO ADDRESS PROBLEMS IN A WAY WHICH WILL LEAD TO PRODUCTIVE SOLUTIONS--GLOBALLY, REGIONALLY, AND BILATERALLY."

WHATEVER THE FORUM, WE ALL RECOGNIZE THE SPECIAL CORE OF REGIONAL INTERESTS THAT BRINGS US TOGETHER HERE TODAY. OUR NATIONS, FOR ALL THEIR DIVERSITY, SHARE HISTORICAL, INSTITUTIONAL AND PERSONAL TIES. THESE TIES ARE IMPORTANT TO US. WE CANNOT TAKE THEM FOR GRANTED. OUR COOPERATION CAN SHAPE GLOBAL DECISIONS TO THE ADVANTAGE OF ALL OUR COUNTRIES. IN PRESIDENT CARTER'S WORDS, "THE PROBLEMS AND THE PROMISES OF OUR REGION HAVE BECOME AS DIVERSE AS THE WORLD ITSELF."
THROUGH OUR ORGANIZATION WE CAN USEFULLY EMBODY THAT TRADITION OF HEMISPHERIC PEACE, A TRADITION ALREADY SO WELL ADVANCED IN THE LATIN AMERICAN NUCLEAR FREE ZONE. THIS PACT HAS SET AN EXAMPLE TO ALL THE REST OF THE WORLD, AND PRESIDENT CARTER HAS JUST STRENGTHENED MY GOVERNMENT'S ADHERENCE.
WE ARE JUSTLY PROUD OF OUR PEACEKEEPING MACHINERY, OUR COMMITMENT TO INTER-AMERICAN COOPERATION TO SETTLE TERRITORIAL DISPUTES, AND WE ARE TOGETHER IN OUR RESPECT FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ALL OUR PEOPLES.

TODAY I WOULD LIKE TO SINGLE OUT TWO AREAS OF REGIONAL COOPERATION THAT ARE OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO MY GOVERNMENT. THESE TWO AREAS ARE HUMAN RIGHTS AND REFORM OF THE OAS. IN EMPHASIZING THESE TWO PINTS, I DO NOW WISH TO MINIMIZE THE OTHER ISSUES BEFORE US. THE HEMISPHERIC AGENDA IS RICH. THE OAS CAN DO MUCH TO STRENGTHEN OUR CONSULTATIONS. IMPROVE OUR CULTURAL RELATIONS AND MAINTAIN A TRADITION OF PEACE.
OF ALL THE VALUES WHICH THE AMERICAS SHARE, RESPECT FOR THE INDIVIDUAL IS SURELY THE MOST SIGNIFICANT.
--THE BASIC CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS OF ALL OUR NATIONS CITE THE RIGHTS OF MAN.
--NOWHERE ARE THEY MORE PROMINENT THAN IN THE CHARTER OF THIS ORGANIZATION.

--IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, EACH OF OUR GOVERNMENTS HAS ACCEPTED THE OGLIGATION TO PROMOTE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AMONG ALL NATIONS.

THERE IS NO AMBIGUITY ABOUT THESE OBLIGATIONS. A STATE'S EFFORTS TO PROTECT ITSELF AND SECURE ITS SOCIETY CANNOT BE EXERCISED BY DENYING THE DIGNITY OF ITS INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS OR BY SUPPRESSING POLITICAL DISSENT.

SINCE THE LAST GENERAL ASSEMBLY, MEN WHO ONCE SAT AMONG US HAVE BEEN VICTIMS OF VIOLENT ASSAULT. WE MOURN THE DEATHS OF FOREIGN MINISTER BORGONOVO AND FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER LETELIER, AND WE SHARE THE RELIEF AT THE NARROW ESCAPTE OF FOREIGN MINISTER GUZZETTI.

IF TERRORISM AND VIOLENCE IN THE NAME OF DISSENT CANNOT BE CONDONED, NEITHER CAN VIOLENCE THAT IS OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED. SUCH ACTION PERVERTS THE LEGAL SYSTEM THAT ALONE ASSURES THE SURVIVAL OF OUR TRADITIONS.

THE SUREST WAY TO DEFEAT TERRORISM IS TO PROMOTE JUSTICE IN OUR SOCIETIES - LEGAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. JUSTICE THAT IS SUMMARY UNDERMINES THE FUTURE IT SEEKS TO PROMOTE. IT PRODUCES ONLY MORE VIOLENCE, MORE VICTIMS AND MORE TERRORISM. RESPECT FOR THE RULE OF LAW WILL PROMOTE JUSTICE AND REMOVE THE SEEDS OF SUBVERSION. ABANDONING SUCH RESPECT GOVERNMENTS DESCENT IN THE NETHERWORLD OF THE TERRORIST AND LOSE THEIR STRONGEST WEAPON. THEIR MORAL AUTHORITY.

PROGRESS TOWARD HIGHER UNIVERSAL STANDARDS OF JUSTICE CAN ALSO BE ATTAINED BY STRENGTHENING THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, THROUGH OUR COMMON ACTION. ON JUNE 1, PRESIDENT CARTER SIGNED THE AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

I BELIEVE THIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY SHOULD MOVE TO STRENGTHEN THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THE IAHRG IS ELECTED FROM AMONG THE OAS MEMBER STATES. IT SERVES AS AN INDEPENDENT MONITOR OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE AMERICAS.

MY GOVERNMENT WILL VOTE TO INCREASE THE COMMISSION'S BUDGET. THE COMMISSION NEEDS MORE PERSONNEL TO HANDLE A GROWING CASELOAD OF COMPLAINTS. WITH MORE FUNDS, THE COMMISSION COULD ISSUE MORE THAN OCCASIONAL REPORTS. IT COULD INCREASE ITS RESEARCH EFFORTS, HOLD MORE SEMINARS AND INCREASE THE FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO EVERY COUNTRY OF THE HEMISPHERE.

SEVERAL COMMISSION REPORTS ARE ON OUR REGULAR AGENDA. THEY HAVE BEEN PREPARED WITH CARE AND INDEPENDENCE, SOMETIMES WITH FULL ACCESS TO WITNESSES AND RECORDS, SOMETIMES WITHOUT THE COOPERATION OF GOVERNMENTS.

IF EACH MEMBER STATE WERE TO GRANT THE COMMISSION FREE ACCESS TO NATIONAL TERRITORY, THIS BODY WOULD BE ABLE TO CARRY OUT ON-SITE INVESTIGATIONS AT TIMES AND PLACES OF ITS CHOOSING. MY COUNTRY WILL GRANT IT THIS FACILITY FROM TODAY. WE BELIEVE THAT FOR OTHERS TO DO SO AS WELL WOULD REDUCE MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND THE DISSEMINATION OF FALSE INFORMATION.

LET US WORK TOGETHER TO GUIDE THIS SENSITIVE ISSUE INTO THE MULTILATERAL FRAMEWORK WE OURSELVES HAVE SET UP, AND THEN LET US USE THAT FRAMEWORK TO MAKE PROGRESS.
AND LET THERE BE NO DOUBT THAT MY GOVERNMENT JOINS IN DEDICATION TO INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO SECURE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS AS WELL AS CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS.

Department of State, A/GIS/IPS/SRP
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IPS by DBS Date 10-16-19

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Declassified Case: 17X- 87067 Date: 06-04-2013

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FOR TARNOFF FROM SPIEGEL

WE WILL CONTINUE TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF POOR AND MIDDLE -INCOME COUNTRIES, BOTH BILATERALLY AND MULTILATERALLY. THESE PROGRAMS WILL BE DESIGNED TO HELP THE POOREST OF OUR PEOPLES.

BUT OUR COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MUST NOT BE MOCKED BY CONSISTENT PATTERNS OF GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. MY GOVERNMENT BELIEVES IN THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE OF ALL STATES. WE DO NOT ASK OTHER TO EMULATE OUR PARTICULAR FORM OF DEMOCRACY. THE PRINCIPLE OF POLITICAL PLURALISM LIES AT THE HEAD OF THIS ORGANIZATION.

WE DO SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLE TO FREELY PARTICIPATE IN THEIR GOVERNMENT. THIS RIGHT IS BASED ON THE CONVICTION THAT THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN IS A SUBJECT, NOT AN OBJECT. POLICIES THAT CONTRADICT THIS TENET ARE ALIEN TO OUR SHARED TRADITIONS.

OAS REFORM

AS WE STRENGTHEN OUR COLLECTIVE MACHINERY FOR DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, SO SHOULD WE ALSO BE READY TO MODIFY AND BRING UP TO DATE OUR OVERALL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE. FOR ALMOST 30 YEARS, THE OAS HAS PROVIDED AN INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR INTER-AMERICAN COOPERATION. IN TRYING TO MAKE THIS A MORE DYNAMIC AND EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION, OUR REPRESENTATIVES HAVE BEEN WORKING FOR THE LAST FOUR YEARS TO COME UP WITH THE DRAFT OF A NEW CHARTER.

UNFORTUNATELY, THIS NEW DRAFT DOES NOT, IN OUR OPINION, REACH THE GOAL WE SET. WE NEED A CHARTER THAT ALL MEMBER STATES CAN SUPPORT WITHOUT RESERVATIONS, ONE THAT NEED NOT BE REWRITTEN EVERY FEW YEARS. OUR CHARTER SHOULD BE FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO SERVE WELL INTO THE FUTURE.

WE BELIEVE RESTRUCTURING SHOULD BE ANALYZED IN A BROAD FRAMEWORK, NOT IN PIECEMEAL NEGOTIATIONS OVER CLAUSES IN THE DRAFT CHARTER.

STRUCTURAL REFORM SHOULD PROVIDE FOR:

- A MODERNIZED ORGANIZATION, FREE OF UNNECESSARY BUREAUCRACY, WITHOUT ANY HINT OF US DOMINANCE; AND
- MAXIMUM OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICAN STATES TO PARTICIPATE, AND MAXIMUM OPPORTUNITY FOR CONSULTATIONS AMONG OUR GOVERNMENTS. WE NEED TO AGREE UPON A FEW IMPORTANT GOALS. PRESIDENT CARTER, IN HIS REMARKS TO THE PERMANENT COUNCIL APRIL 14, SUGGESTED THESE:
 - PRESERVING PEACE AND SECURITY;
 - PROMOTING RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS;
 - PROVIDING FOR MINISTERIAL-LEVEL CONSULTATIONS ON MAJOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS; AND
 - EXPANDING CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.

I AM HAPPY TO ANNOUNCE ON THIS LAST POINT THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WILL ASK OUR CONGRESS TO APPROVE A CONTRIBUTION OF \$500,000 TO THE OAS SPECIAL ACCOUNT FOR CULTURE. IN ADDITION, WE ARE PREPARING A REQUEST TO CONGRESS FOR A FURTHER \$2 MILLION FOR OTHER SUPPORTING PROGRAMS.

TO EMBODY THESE GOALS, WE BELIEVE, FIRST OF ALL, THAT STRUCTURE AND FORMAL BUREAUCRACY SHOULD BE KEPT TO A MINIMUM. I DO NOT THINK THAT THE PERMANENT COUNCIL SHOULD BE ABOLISHED - IT IS IMPORTANT TO HAVE AN ON-GOING BODY WITH POLITICAL AUTHORITY TO DECIDE CURRENT ISSUES. I SUGGEST INSTEAD MERGING THE EXISTING THREE COUNCILS INTO ONE. ALL THREE HAVE THE SAME REPRESENTATIVES. TIME AND MONEY COULD BE SAVED BY MAKING THE MERGER OFFICIAL. IN ADDITION, THE SECRETARIAT SHOULD BE GRANTED GREATER AUTHORITY TO DECIDE ROUTINE MATTERS, THUS PERMITTING THE NEW COUNCIL TO CONCENTRATE ON LARGER ISSUES.

SECOND, INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS SHOULD REPLACE MUCH OF THE STANDING BUREAUCRACY. SPECIAL CONSULTATIONS AMONG TOP OFFICIALS WITH OPERATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY SHOULD BECOME MORE REGULAR FOR ECONOMIC DISCUSSIONS. FOR INSTANCE, GOVERNMENTS MIGHT SEND MINISTER OF FINANCE, TRADE OR INDUSTRY TO SPECIAL OAS CONFERENCES ON DEVELOPMENT OR COMMERCE.

SUCH CONSULTATIONS SHOULD NOT BE INSTITUTIONALIZED IN THE OAS CHARTER. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY SHOULD BE FREE TO CALL FOR THEM AS NEEDED. ANY COMMITTEES REQUIRED SHOULD BE ABOLISHED WHEN THEIR WORK IS COMPLETED.

FINALLY, REALISTIC PARTICIPATION IN OUR ACTIVITIES SHOULD REFLECT THE DIVERSE COMMUNITY OF AMERICAN STATES. OUR MEMBERSHIP POLICY SHOULD BE UNIVERSAL. WITH ALL INDEPENDENT STATES OF THE AMERICAS FREE TO JOIN. MY GOVERNMENT FAVORS THE ELIMINATION OF ARTICLE 3 OF THE CHARTER. NO OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION HAS A SIMILAR BAR TO ADMISSION. FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBER STATES SHOULD BE REALISTIC.

WE NEED TO FACE TWO URGENT TASKS:

- DECIDING ON AN APPROPRIATE UNITED STATES ASSESSMENT;
- DECIDING ON APPROPRIATE CONSTITUTIONS AND ROLES FOR THE SMALLEST STATES.

IT IS AN ANACHRONISM FOR THE UNITED STATES TO CONTRIBUTE 65 PERCENT TO THE ASSESSED BUDGET OF THE OAS. A BALANCED AND HEALTHY ORGANIZATION REQUIRES THAT NO SINGLE MEMBER SHOULD PAY MORE THAN 49 PERCENT OF THE ASSESSED BUDGET.

A NEW SYSTEM OF OAS FINANCING SHOULD BE A PART OF OVERALL REFORM. REALIGNMENT OF QUOTAS COULD BE PHASED IN OVER A PERIOD OF TIME - AS MUCH AS 5-10 YEARS - TO MINIMIZE HARDSHIP FOR THE MEMBERSHIP OR THE ORGANIZATION ITSELF.

TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF EMERGING NATIONS, I SUGGEST THAT WE CONSIDER CREATING A NEW CATEGORY OF ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP WHICH WOULD NOT REQUIRE PAYMENT OF THE FULL REGULAR ASSESSMENT. THIS ARRANGEMENT WOULD BE ENTIRELY OPTIONAL. STATES SEEKING THIS STATUS COULD EXPECT, ON ADMISSION, TO PARTICIPATE IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE OAS, INCLUDING THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND PERMANENT COUNCIL AS NON-VOTING ASSOCIATE MEMBERS. THE NEW STATES WOULD THUS HAVE THE PARTICIPATION THEY NEED, AND THE ORGANIZATION WOULD HAVE THE UNIVERSALITY IT REQUIRES. WITHOUT FINANCIAL LOSS TO THEM OR NEW FINANCIAL BURDENS ON THE OAS.

IN CONCLUSION, THE US FAVORS A THOROUGHLY REFORMED OAS STRUCTURE - CLEAR IN ITS PURPOSE, FLEXIBLE AND LEAN IN FORMAL MACHINERY, VIGOROUS IN THE USE OF INFORMAL CONSULTATION PROCEDURES, AND REALISTICALLY FINANCED.

WE OF THE OAS HAVE A HERITAGE OF WHICH WE CAN BE JUSTLY PROUD. REALIZATION OF ITS FUTURE PROMISE DESERVES NOTHING SHORT OF OUR BEST COMBINED EFFORTS.

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Declassified Case: 174- 87067 Date: 06-04-2013

Vance lot file 80D135

Box 1

OAS meeting June 14-17, 1977 Grenada