

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE
 WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

10/1

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#2 memo	re: NSC Meeting No. 523 open 3/30/42 NLS 91-42 secret duplicate of #6 3 p	open 5-31-85 NLS 91-42 and FRNS, Vol. XXXI #9 03/05/64	A
#3 report	record of actions Secret sanitized - more released - 4/1/93 NLS 96-108 sanitized 10-18-83 NLS 83-87 1 p	03/05/64	A
#6 memo	re: NSC Meeting No. 523 open 5-31-85 NLS 91-42 and FRNS, Vol. XXXI #9 secret sanitized per NSC letter 3 p	03/05/64	A
[duplicate #2]	same sanitization NLS 83-88 10-24-80		
#7 report	record of actions Secret 1 p	03/05/64	A
#8 memo	to Bundy from Gordon Chase Secret Exempt per NLS 83-87 2 p open 3-29-90 NLS 88-41	03/05/64	A
#9a report	re: Cuba more info released 3-21-91 NLS 91-19 secret sanitized 5-1-85 NLS 84-98 12 p	03/05/64	A
#11 agenda	for 3/5/64 meeting open 10-18-83 NLS 83-87 secret 1 p	03/05/64	A

FILE LOCATION

NATIONAL SECURITY FILE, National Security Council File
 NSC Meetings, vol. 1 Tab 4, 3/5/64, Secretary McNamara's Mission to Vietnam
 OAS Action on Venezuelan Arms Cache

RESTRICTION CODES

- (A) Closed by Executive Order 11652 governing access to national security information.
- (B) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- (C) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in the donor's deed of gift.

Assistant Secretary Mann commented that the Latin American states go along with us, as they did in the missile crisis, when the U.S. appears ready to use military measures, but there is strong domestic pressure in the various Latin American countries opposing lesser actions against Cuba. Elections in the various Latin American countries make this problem more difficult. Unless we find out by prior questioning that the Latin American states will support a meaningful OAS resolution, we should oppose the convening of the OAS on this issue.

The President said we should begin now to find out how the Latin American states feel toward this resolution and then decide what we should do. Let the Venezuelans begin the sounding out, we will support them, and when we know who would support us, we could make a firm decision.

Secretary Dillon expressed his concern about paragraph 2 which he felt was very strong and might force us to act. He suggested that the draft resolution be changed from "should be taken" to "authorizes the member states to take action" in the event that the government of Cuba continues its aggression against other American states. The President agreed to the suggested change.

Mr. Mann said that paragraph 2 gives us jurisdictional authority to move troops in the event of further Cuban subversion actions without going back to the OAS for approval. Secretary Rusk doubted that the OAS would give us this kind of a blank check.

Mr. Mann said we would have to twist arms to get the required thirteen votes for the resolution. What we are looking for is authority in advance from the OAS to act quickly and unilaterally. The issue today is not armed warfare but subversion. The UN Charter talks only of armed aggression, and Article 6 of the Rio Treaty defines aggression somewhat broadly. What we need to meet the existing situation is authority such as stated in paragraph 2.

The President agreed that we should try to get advance authority so that we do not have to go back to the OAS in the event of another action by Castro.

In response to Mr. Bundy's question, Mr. Chayes, as the State Department Legal Adviser, pointed out the legal differences between the statement approved at Punta del Este and paragraph 2 of the resolution.

~~SECRET~~

- 3 -

The President suggested that we say this is what we did at Punta del Este and this is what we should now have authority to do so that we can act in an emergency. We should find out how far the Latin American states will go.

Ambassador Thompson said the resolution created a problem. The Russians would read the resolution to mean that we are no longer committed not to invade Cuba if there is a repetition of an act such as the shipment of arms to Venezuela by Cuba.

Mr. Mann pointed out that our technique would involve convincing Venezuela to accept our draft as their own and do the sounding out with the other Latin American states as if it were their resolution. The Speaker asked what we would do if we failed to sell the resolution. Mr. Mann repeated his view that we should not call an OAS meeting if we could obtain approval of only a mushy resolution.

Mr. Bundy called attention to the problem involved in paragraph 4 of the resolution calling for the suspension of trade and the suggestion that U.S. shipments of lard to Cuba be allowed. The President saw nothing inconsistent.

Mr. Bundy expressed grave doubts about the wisdom of obtaining support of about thirteen small states if the six large states opposed the resolution. Secretary Rusk said the small countries threatened by Castro are important. The big Latin American states are far away from the threat, and, therefore, consider the threat less important, but we have a responsibility to protect the small nearby threatened countries.

Mr. Mann summarized his understanding that he was authorized to proceed to find out what countries would support the draft resolution.

Bromley Smith

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

Smith S

SANITIZED

~~SECRET~~

3

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

RECORD OF ACTIONS

SANITIZED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6
NLJ 96-108
By cb, NARA Date 2-14-97

NSC
Action

2476. SECRETARY McNAMARA'S MISSION TO VIETNAM

Noted Defense Secretary McNamara's comments on the purpose of his trip to South Vietnam.

2477. OAS ACTION ON VENEZUELAN ARMS CACHE

a. Discussed and revised a draft resolution which would be an appropriate OAS response to Cuba's recent effort to subvert the Government of Venezuela.

b. Noted the President's directive to the Secretary of State to [redacted] ascertain how many OAS members would vote for it. A final decision on the resolution will be taken when the reaction of the OAS member States is known.

3.4(b)(b)

March 5, 1964
523rd Meeting
NSC Actions 2476 and 2477

~~SECRET~~

AGENDA

NSC meeting

12:00 noon, March 17

1. Additional comments on the present situation: Mr. McCone
2. Comment on the report: Secretary McNamara, followed by
General Taylor and Secretary Rusk
3. Review of draft statement: Secretary Rusk and Secretary McNamara
4. In a smaller meeting, review of draft cable to Ambassador Lodge

4

6

~~SECRET~~

Summary Record of the National Security Council Meeting No. 523
March 5, 1964, 4:30 PM -- Secretary McNamara's Mission to Vietnam;
OAS Action on Venezuelan Arms Cache

1. Secretary McNamara's Trip to South Vietnam

Secretary McNamara gave an oral summary of what he intends to accomplish by visiting South Vietnam. In a report which he will make upon his return, he will comment on the current strength of the Khanh government, the outlook for the future, and on alternative courses of action which might be taken to improve the situation in Vietnam. He said he would be prepared to make both an oral and a written report.

Mr. Bundy commented that the President was not being asked to make decisions prior to the return of Secretary McNamara.

Secretary Rusk said he was taking a sober view, even a pessimistic view of developments in South Vietnam. Listing the points of weakness in the situation in Vietnam was a way for us to concentrate on courses of action to overcome these weaknesses. Our attention should be concentrated on what we can do to improve the course we are now on.

The President asked whether it was true that all recommendations made by Ambassador Lodge had been dealt with without exception -- promptly and generally favorable. Secretary McNamara replied affirmative, as did Director Bell and Director McCone. Secretary Rusk said the only exception was the proposal which Ambassador Lodge had made with respect to how to handle de Gaulle's support of the neutralization of Vietnam.

2. OAS Action on Venezuelan Arms Cache

Secretary Rusk said that as a result of the proof of Cuban efforts to subvert the government of Venezuela by shipping arms into that country, we must take stronger action against Cuba than any we have taken so far. He summarized the attached paper, "OAS Action Against Cuba," and the draft resolution which it contains. He made two points:

a. There is some question as to whether we can get a two-thirds vote in the OAS for the resolution. Venezuela will not be voting.

b. Paragraph 2 of the resolution is a warning to Cuba. It does not mean that if another incident such as the Venezuelan arms cache occurred, we would be forced to act against Cuba.

DECLASSIFIED
Authority: E.O. 11652, 11654, 11655, 11656, 11657, 11658, 11659, 11660, 11661, 11662, 11663, 11664, 11665, 11666, 11667, 11668, 11669, 11670, 11671, 11672, 11673, 11674, 11675, 11676, 11677, 11678, 11679, 11680, 11681, 11682, 11683, 11684, 11685, 11686, 11687, 11688, 11689, 11690, 11691, 11692, 11693, 11694, 11695, 11696, 11697, 11698, 11699, 11700, 11701, 11702, 11703, 11704, 11705, 11706, 11707, 11708, 11709, 11710, 11711, 11712, 11713, 11714, 11715, 11716, 11717, 11718, 11719, 11720, 11721, 11722, 11723, 11724, 11725, 11726, 11727, 11728, 11729, 11730, 11731, 11732, 11733, 11734, 11735, 11736, 11737, 11738, 11739, 11740, 11741, 11742, 11743, 11744, 11745, 11746, 11747, 11748, 11749, 11750, 11751, 11752, 11753, 11754, 11755, 11756, 11757, 11758, 11759, 11760, 11761, 11762, 11763, 11764, 11765, 11766, 11767, 11768, 11769, 11770, 11771, 11772, 11773, 11774, 11775, 11776, 11777, 11778, 11779, 11780, 11781, 11782, 11783, 11784, 11785, 11786, 11787, 11788, 11789, 11790, 11791, 11792, 11793, 11794, 11795, 11796, 11797, 11798, 11799, 11800, 11801, 11802, 11803, 11804, 11805, 11806, 11807, 11808, 11809, 11810, 11811, 11812, 11813, 11814, 11815, 11816, 11817, 11818, 11819, 11820, 11821, 11822, 11823, 11824, 11825, 11826, 11827, 11828, 11829, 11830, 11831, 11832, 11833, 11834, 11835, 11836, 11837, 11838, 11839, 11840, 11841, 11842, 11843, 11844, 11845, 11846, 11847, 11848, 11849, 11850, 11851, 11852, 11853, 11854, 11855, 11856, 11857, 11858, 11859, 11860, 11861, 11862, 11863, 11864, 11865, 11866, 11867, 11868, 11869, 11870, 11871, 11872, 11873, 11874, 11875, 11876, 11877, 11878, 11879, 11880, 11881, 11882, 11883, 11884, 11885, 11886, 11887, 11888, 11889, 11890, 11891, 11892, 11893, 11894, 11895, 11896, 11897, 11898, 11899, 11900, 11901, 11902, 11903, 11904, 11905, 11906, 11907, 11908, 11909, 11910, 11911, 11912, 11913, 11914, 11915, 11916, 11917, 11918, 11919, 11920, 11921, 11922, 11923, 11924, 11925, 11926, 11927, 11928, 11929, 11930, 11931, 11932, 11933, 11934, 11935, 11936, 11937, 11938, 11939, 11940, 11941, 11942, 11943, 11944, 11945, 11946, 11947, 11948, 11949, 11950, 11951, 11952, 11953, 11954, 11955, 11956, 11957, 11958, 11959, 11960, 11961, 11962, 11963, 11964, 11965, 11966, 11967, 11968, 11969, 11970, 11971, 11972, 11973, 11974, 11975, 11976, 11977, 11978, 11979, 11980, 11981, 11982, 11983, 11984, 11985, 11986, 11987, 11988, 11989, 11990, 11991, 11992, 11993, 11994, 11995, 11996, 11997, 11998, 11999, 12000, 12001, 12002, 12003, 12004, 12005, 12006, 12007, 12008, 12009, 12010, 12011, 12012, 12013, 12014, 12015, 12016, 12017, 12018, 12019, 12020, 12021, 12022, 12023, 12024, 12025, 12026, 12027, 12028, 12029, 12030, 12031, 12032, 12033, 12034, 12035, 12036, 12037, 12038, 12039, 12040, 12041, 12042, 12043, 12044, 12045, 12046, 12047, 12048, 12049, 12050, 12051, 12052, 12053, 12054, 12055, 12056, 12057, 12058, 12059, 12060, 12061, 12062, 12063, 12064, 12065, 12066, 12067, 12068, 12069, 12070, 12071, 12072, 12073, 12074, 12075, 12076, 12077, 12078, 12079, 12080, 12081, 12082, 12083, 12084, 12085, 12086, 12087, 12088, 12089, 12090, 12091, 12092, 12093, 12094, 12095, 12096, 12097, 12098, 12099, 12100, 12101, 12102, 12103, 12104, 12105, 12106, 12107, 12108, 12109, 12110, 12111, 12112, 12113, 12114, 12115, 12116, 12117, 12118, 12119, 12120, 12121, 12122, 12123, 12124, 12125, 12126, 12127, 12128, 12129, 12130, 12131, 12132, 12133, 12134, 12135, 12136, 12137, 12138, 12139, 12140, 12141, 12142, 12143, 12144, 12145, 12146, 12147, 12148, 12149, 12150, 12151, 12152, 12153, 12154, 12155, 12156, 12157, 12158, 12159, 12160, 12161, 12162, 12163, 12164, 12165, 12166, 12167, 12168, 12169, 12170, 12171, 12172, 12173, 12174, 12175, 12176, 12177, 12178, 12179, 12180, 12181, 12182, 12183, 12184, 12185, 12186, 12187, 12188, 12189, 12190, 12191, 12192, 12193, 12194, 12195, 12196, 12197, 12198, 12199, 12200, 12201, 12202, 12203, 12204, 12205, 12206, 12207, 12208, 12209, 12210, 12211, 12212, 12213, 12214, 12215, 12216, 12217, 12218, 12219, 12220, 12221, 12222, 12223, 12224, 12225, 12226, 12227, 12228, 12229, 12230, 12231, 12232, 12233, 12234, 12235, 12236, 12237, 12238, 12239, 12240, 12241, 12242, 12243, 12244, 12245, 12246, 12247, 12248, 12249, 12250, 12251, 12252, 12253, 12254, 12255, 12256, 12257, 12258, 12259, 12260, 12261, 12262, 12263, 12264, 12265, 12266, 12267, 12268, 12269, 12270, 12271, 12272, 12273, 12274, 12275, 12276, 12277, 12278, 12279, 12280, 12281, 12282, 12283, 12284, 12285, 12286, 12287, 12288, 12289, 12290, 12291, 12292, 12293, 12294, 12295, 12296, 12297, 12298, 12299, 12300, 12301, 12302, 12303, 12304, 12305, 12306, 12307, 12308, 12309, 12310, 12311, 12312, 12313, 12314, 12315, 12316, 12317, 12318, 12319, 12320, 12321, 12322, 12323, 12324, 12325, 12326, 12327, 12328, 12329, 12330, 12331, 12332, 12333, 12334, 12335, 12336, 12337, 12338, 12339, 12340, 12341, 12342, 12343, 12344, 12345, 12346, 12347, 12348, 12349, 12350, 12351, 12352, 12353, 12354, 12355, 12356, 12357, 12358, 12359, 12360, 12361, 12362, 12363, 12364, 12365, 12366, 12367, 12368, 12369, 12370, 12371, 12372, 12373, 12374, 12375, 12376, 12377, 12378, 12379, 12380, 12381, 12382, 12383, 12384, 12385, 12386, 12387, 12388, 12389, 12390, 12391, 12392, 12393, 12394, 12395, 12396, 12397, 12398, 12399, 12400, 12401, 12402, 12403, 12404, 12405, 12406, 12407, 12408, 12409, 12410, 12411, 12412, 12413, 12414, 12415, 12416, 12417, 12418, 12419, 12420, 12421, 12422, 12423, 12424, 12425, 12426, 12427, 12428, 12429, 12430, 12431, 12432, 12433, 12434, 12435, 12436, 12437, 12438, 12439, 12440, 12441, 12442, 12443, 12444, 12445, 12446, 12447, 12448, 12449, 12450, 12451, 12452, 12453, 12454, 12455, 12456, 12457, 12458, 12459, 12460, 12461, 12462, 12463, 12464, 12465, 12466, 12467, 12468, 12469, 12470, 12471, 12472, 12473, 12474, 12475, 12476, 12477, 12478, 12479, 12480, 12481, 12482, 12483, 12484, 12485, 12486, 12487, 12488, 12489, 12490, 12491, 12492, 12493, 12494, 12495, 12496, 12497, 12498, 12499, 12500, 12501, 12502, 12503, 12504, 12505, 12506, 12507, 12508, 12509, 12510, 12511, 12512, 12513, 12514, 12515, 12516, 12517, 12518, 12519, 12520, 12521, 12522, 12523, 12524, 12525, 12526, 12527, 12528, 12529, 12530, 12531, 12532, 12533, 12534, 12535, 12536, 12537, 12538, 12539, 12540, 12541, 12542, 12543, 12544, 12545, 12546, 12547, 12548, 12549, 12550, 12551, 12552, 12553, 12554, 12555, 12556, 12557, 12558, 12559, 12560, 12561, 12562, 12563, 12564, 12565, 12566, 12567, 12568, 12569, 12570, 12571, 12572, 12573, 12574, 12575, 12576, 12577, 12578, 12579, 12580, 12581, 12582, 12583, 12584, 12585, 12586, 12587, 12588, 12589, 12590, 12591, 12592, 12593, 12594, 12595, 12596, 12597, 12598, 12599, 12600, 12601, 12602, 12603, 12604, 12605, 12606, 12607, 12608, 12609, 12610, 12611, 12612, 12613, 12614, 12615, 12616, 12617, 12618, 12619, 12620, 12621, 12622, 12623, 12624, 12625, 12626, 12627, 12628, 12629, 12630, 12631, 12632, 12633, 12634, 12635, 12636, 12637, 12638, 12639, 12640, 12641, 12642, 12643, 12644, 12645, 12646, 12647, 12648, 12649, 12650, 12651, 12652, 12653, 12654, 12655, 12656, 12657, 12658, 12659, 12660, 12661, 12662, 12663, 12664, 12665, 12666, 12667, 12668, 12669, 12670, 12671, 12672, 12673, 12674, 12675, 12676, 12677, 12678, 12679, 12680, 12681, 12682, 12683, 12684, 12685, 12686, 12687, 12688, 12689, 12690, 12691, 12692, 12693, 12694, 12695, 12696, 12697, 12698, 12699, 12700, 12701, 12702, 12703, 12704, 12705, 12706, 12707, 12708, 12709, 12710, 12711, 12712, 12713, 12714, 12715, 12716, 12717, 12718, 12719, 12720, 12721, 12722, 12723, 12724, 12725, 12726, 12727, 12728, 12729, 12730, 12731, 12732, 12733, 12734, 12735, 12736, 12737, 12738, 12739, 12740, 12741, 12742, 12743, 12744, 12745, 12746, 12747, 12748, 12749, 12750, 12751, 12752, 12753, 12754, 12755, 12756, 12757, 12758, 12759, 12760, 12761, 12762, 12763, 12764, 12765, 12766, 12767, 12768, 12769, 12770, 12771, 12772, 12773, 12774, 12775, 12776, 12777, 12778, 12779, 12780, 12781, 12782, 12783, 12784, 12785, 12786, 12787, 12788, 12789, 12790, 12791, 12792, 12793, 12794, 12795, 12796, 12797, 12798, 12799, 12800, 12801, 12802, 12803, 12804, 12805, 12806, 12807, 12808, 12809, 12810, 12811, 12812, 12813, 12814, 12815, 12816, 12817, 12818, 12819, 12820, 12821, 12822, 12823, 12824, 12825, 12826, 12827, 12828, 12829, 12830, 12831, 12832, 12833, 12834, 12835, 12836, 12837, 12838, 12839, 12840, 12841, 12842, 12843, 12844, 12845, 12846, 12847, 12848, 12849, 12850, 12851, 12852, 12853, 12854, 12855, 12856, 12857, 12858, 12859, 12860, 12861, 12862, 12863, 12864, 12865, 12866, 12867, 12868, 12869, 12870, 12871, 12872, 12873, 12874, 12875, 12876, 12877, 12878, 12879, 12880, 12881, 12882, 12883, 12884, 12885, 12886, 12887, 12888, 12889, 12890, 12891, 12892, 12893, 12894, 12895, 12896, 12897, 12898, 12899, 12900, 12901, 12902, 12903, 12904, 12905, 12906, 12907, 12908, 12909, 12910, 12911, 12912, 12913, 12914, 12915, 12916, 12917, 12918, 12919, 12920, 12921, 12922, 12923, 12924, 12925, 12926, 12927, 12928, 12929, 12930, 12931, 12932, 12933, 12934, 12935, 12936, 12937, 12938, 12939, 12940, 12941, 12942, 12943, 12944, 12945, 12946, 12947, 12948, 12949, 12950, 12951, 12952, 12953, 12954, 12955, 12956, 12957, 12958, 12959, 12960, 12961, 12962, 12963, 12964, 12965, 12966, 12967, 12968, 12969, 12970, 12971, 12972, 12973, 12974, 12975, 12976, 12977, 12978, 12979, 12980, 12981, 12982, 12983, 12984, 12985, 12986, 12987, 12988, 12989, 12990, 12991, 12992, 12993, 12994, 12995, 12996, 12997, 12998, 12999, 13000, 13001, 13002, 13003, 13004, 13005, 13006, 13007, 13008, 13009, 13010, 13011, 13012, 13013, 13014, 13015, 13016, 13017, 13018, 13019, 13020, 13021, 13022, 13023, 13024, 13025, 13026, 13027, 13028, 13029, 13030, 13031, 13032, 13033, 13034, 13035, 13036, 13037, 13038, 13039, 13040, 13041, 13042, 13043, 13044, 13045, 13046, 13047, 13048, 13049, 13050, 13051, 13052, 13053, 13054, 13055, 13056, 13057, 13058, 13059, 13060, 13061, 13062, 13063, 13064, 13065, 13066, 13067, 13068, 13069, 13070, 13071, 13072, 13073, 13074, 13075, 13076, 13077, 13078, 13079, 13080, 13081, 13082, 13083, 13084, 13085, 13086, 13087, 13088, 13089, 13090, 13091, 13092, 13093, 13094, 13095, 13096, 13097, 13098, 13099, 13100, 13101, 13102, 13103, 13104, 13105, 13106, 13107, 13108, 13109, 13110, 13111, 13112, 13113, 13114, 13115, 13116, 13117, 13118, 13119, 13120, 13121, 13122, 13123, 13124, 13125, 13126, 13127, 13128, 13129, 13130, 13131, 13132, 13133, 13134, 13135, 13136, 13137, 13138, 13139, 13140, 13141, 13142, 13143, 13144, 13145, 13146, 13147, 13148, 13149, 13150, 13151, 13152, 13153, 13154, 13155, 13156, 13157, 13158, 13159, 13160, 13161, 13162, 13163, 13164, 13165, 13166, 13167, 13168, 13169, 13170, 13171, 13172, 13173, 13174, 13175, 13176, 13177, 13178, 13179, 13180, 13181, 13182, 13183, 13184, 13185, 13186, 13187, 13188, 13189, 13190, 13191, 13192, 13193, 13194, 13195, 13196, 13197, 13198, 13199, 13200, 13201, 13202, 13203, 13204, 13205, 13206, 13207, 13208, 13209, 13210, 13211, 13212, 13213, 13214, 13215, 13216, 13217, 13218, 13219, 13220, 13221, 13222, 13223, 13224, 13225, 13226, 13227, 13228, 13229, 13230, 13231, 13232, 13233, 13234, 13235, 13236, 13237, 13238, 13239, 13240, 13241, 13242, 13243, 13244, 13245, 13246, 13247, 13248, 13249, 13250, 13251, 13252, 13253, 13254, 13255, 13256, 13257, 13258, 13259, 13260, 13261, 13262, 13263, 13264, 13265, 13266, 13267, 13268, 13269, 13270, 13271, 13272, 13273, 13274, 13275, 13276, 13277, 13278, 13279, 13280, 13281, 13282, 13283, 13284, 13285, 13286, 13287, 13288, 13289, 13290, 13291, 13292, 13293, 13294, 13295, 13

Assistant Secretary Mann commented that the Latin American states go along with us, as they did in the missile crisis, when the U.S. appears ready to use military measures, but there is strong domestic pressure in the various Latin American countries opposing lesser actions against Cuba. Elections in the various Latin American countries make this problem more difficult. Unless we find out by prior questioning that the Latin American states will support a meaningful OAS resolution, we should oppose the convening of the OAS on this issue.

The President said we should begin now to find out how the Latin American states feel toward this resolution and then decide what we should do. Let the Venezuelans begin the sounding out, we will support them, and when we know who would support us, we could make a firm decision.

Secretary Dillon expressed his concern about paragraph 2 which he felt was very strong and might force us to act. He suggested that the draft resolution be changed from "should be taken" to "authorizes the member states to take action" in the event that the government of Cuba continues its aggression against other American states. The President agreed to the suggested change.

Mr. Mann said that paragraph 2 gives us jurisdictional authority to move troops in the event of further Cuban subversion actions without going back to the OAS for approval. Secretary Rusk doubted that the OAS would give us this kind of a blank check.

Mr. Mann said we would have to twist arms to get the required thirteen votes for the resolution. What we are looking for is authority in advance from the OAS to act quickly and unilaterally. The issue today is not armed warfare but subversion. The UN Charter talks only of armed aggression, and Article 6 of the Rio Treaty defines aggression somewhat broadly. What we need to meet the existing situation is authority such as stated in paragraph 2.

The President agreed that we should try to get advance authority so that we do not have to go back to the OAS in the event of another action by Castro.

In response to Mr. Bundy's question, Mr. Chayes, as the State Department Legal Adviser, pointed out the legal differences between the statement approved at Punta del Este and paragraph 2 of the resolution.

~~SECRET~~

- 3 -

The President suggested that we say this is what we did at Punta del Este and this is what we should now have authority to do so that we can act in an emergency. We should find out how far the Latin American states will go.

Ambassador Thompson said the resolution created a problem. The Russians would read the resolution to mean that we are no longer committed not to invade Cuba if there is a repetition of an act such as the shipment of arms to Venezuela by Cuba.

Mr. Mann pointed out that our technique would involve convincing Venezuela to accept our draft as their own and do the sounding out with the other Latin American states as if it were their resolution. The Speaker asked what we would do if we failed to sell the resolution. Mr. Mann repeated his view that we should not call an OAS meeting if we could obtain approval of only a mushy resolution.

Mr. Bundy called attention to the problem involved in paragraph 4 of the resolution calling for the suspension of trade and the suggestion that U.S. shipments of lard to Cuba be allowed. The President saw nothing inconsistent.

Mr. Bundy expressed grave doubts about the wisdom of obtaining support of about thirteen small states if the six large states opposed the resolution. Secretary Rusk said the small countries threatened by Castro are important. The big Latin American states are far away from the threat, and, therefore, consider the threat less important, but we have a responsibility to protect the small nearby threatened countries.

Mr. Mann summarized his understanding that he was authorized to proceed to find out what countries would support the draft resolution.

Bromley Smith

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

~~SECRET - EYES ONLY~~

March 5, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BUNDY

SUBJECT: NSC Meeting - OAS Resolution

While there is little to say which has not already been thoroughly thrashed out, I might add these comments:

Article 2 -- There may be a tendency by Tom Mann and others to make the warning article the focal point of the whole resolution, and perhaps of our whole Cuba policy. I don't think it should be, especially in view of the fact that no one can say what we will actually do if Castro continues varying levels of subversion. Also, the warning article, per se, takes us no closer to one of the real cruxes of the Cuban problem - breaking the Cuba/Bloc tie line (by overthrow; by Soviet decision to quit Cuba; or by accommodation on U.S. terms). In short, we should not sacrifice the rest of the OAS package on the altar of Article 2. I, for one, would be ecstatic with an OAS resolution which contained only a weak Article 2 but which contained everything else we want.

Article 4(b) and Lard -- The group may wish to look closely at the lard problem vis a vis this article which calls for the suspension of all trade of the American Republics with Cuba, except for foodstuffs, medicines, and medical supplies. If we are heading in the direction of cutting off lard shipments to Cuba, we might want to consider whether or not we can get cover from the OAS - i.e. a resolution which calls for the suspension of all trade between the OAR's and Cuba.

My own view is that we couldn't get such a resolution even if we wanted it. In addition, it does not make sense to expend political capital in order to get it when there are other items in the resolution we want much more.

Article 6 -- This is the article which acts as the hook on which to hang further economic sanctions against Free World firms trading with Cuba. There might be merit in making it stronger, especially if the ^{NSC} meeting produces some feeling that we are willing to move in the direction of a blacklist. (Some stronger language is at Tab 3 (at the paper clip) of your folder.) My own feeling at this point, however, is that the follow-through is much more important than the language.

DECLASSIFIED

~~SECRET - EYES ONLY~~

Authority: OLS 88-41
 BY Delt NARA Date 3-29-80

~~SECRET - EYES ONLY~~

-2-

I think I have found some support on the blacklist question. Brad Patterson, Secretary Dillon's Assistant, tells me that, at least a week ago, Treasury looked fairly favorably on a blacklist operation. With an OAS cover and no freezing of Free World assets in the U. S., the risks of retaliation would be manageable.

If there is a general discussion of the blacklist, I hope that everyone becomes clearly aware of the concrete dimension of the problem -- e. g. Free World exports to Cuba of \$115 million; no one concretely gets hurt but Cuba; the alternative we apparently face if we can't stop the present deterioration.

Gordon Chase

~~SECRET - EYES ONLY~~



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

50 has
Cg # 2716

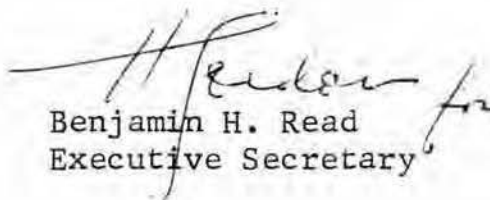
March 4, 1964

~~SECRET~~ Enclosure

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. McGEORGE BUNDY
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: NSC Meeting, March 5, 1964
at 4:30 pm

Enclosed are 15 copies of the paper
entitled "OAS Action Against Cuba" for
the meeting of the NSC tomorrow, March 5
at 4:30 pm.


Benjamin H. Read
Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

OAS Action Against Cuba.
Copy No. 2-16.

~~SECRET~~ Enclosure

1000
SANITIZED

~~SECRET~~

Mayer

destroyed 3/23

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING
The White House - March 5, 1964 - 4:30 p.m.

9cc

OAS Action Against Cuba

Problem:

The President is requested to decide what action against Cuba the United States should seek to have the OAS take under the Rio Treaty in the light of OAS proof of Cuba's efforts to subvert and overthrow the Government of Venezuela.

Background:

At Venezuela's request, the Council of the OAS on December 3, 1964, invoking the Rio Treaty, appointed a five-nation commission (Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Uruguay and the United States) to investigate Venezuela's charges of Cuban subversion, sparked by the discovery on Venezuela's coast of three tons of arms shipped from Cuba. The Commission's report, submitted February 18, 1964, concludes (Tab A) that Cuba, following a general policy of intervention in the other American Republics with Venezuela as a particular target, has been guilty of aggression through a subversive propaganda campaign, the supply of funds, the indoctrination and training of Venezuelan subversives in Cuba and particularly the clandestine shipment of arms to be used in a plan to capture Caracas, to prevent the holding of the December 1st elections and to seize control of the country.

Tab B is a draft resolution setting out the optimum steps which it is recommended we seek to persuade the other American Republics to approve.

~~SECRET~~

SANITIZED

E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4

NLI 91-19

By _____, NARA, Date 3-13-91

GROUP 2

Downgraded at 12 year intervals; not automatically declassified.

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

Tab C discusses the major elements of the proposed resolution, pointing up the basic issues involved in its key paragraphs.

Attachments:

1. Conclusions of Report of OAS Investigating Committee (Tab A).
2. Draft of Proposed Resolution Against Cuba under Rio Treaty (Tab B).
3. Memo re Proposed Resolution. (Tab C)

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING
The White House - March 5, 1964 - 4:30 p.m.

CONCLUSIONS OF REPORT OF OAS INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE

A

In formulating its conclusions, the committee considers it pertinent to make some general observations on the policy of intervention in the hemisphere of the present Government of Cuba, which has been substantiated in the investigation of the charges made by Venezuela:

1. The present Government of Cuba since its institution in 1959 has carried on, supported, and directed in various ways a policy of intervention in the hemisphere through propaganda methods, provision of funds, training in sabotage and guerrilla operations, and the supply of arms to support those movements that seek to subvert national institutions through force in order to install communist regimes.

2. This support of subversion, which generally takes the form of political aggression, has had positive application in the Republic of Venezuela, the primary objective in Cuba's policy of expansion and ideological penetration in the hemisphere. The vast natural resources of Venezuela, its strategic importance in the hemisphere, and its status as a democratic country were factors that motivated the present Government of Cuba to make use of the subversive action of organizations that employ force and violence to overthrow that democratic government.

B

1. 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.

2. A characteristic manifestation of this policy of aggression has been the systematic and hostile propaganda campaign carried out through information organs that are under the control of the Government of Cuba and that are directed against Venezuelan institutions, the President of the Republic, and other high government officials, inciting the people of Venezuela to rebellion and, in addition, giving direct support to subversive movements.

3. Other manifestations of this policy of aggression are found in the supply of funds and the indoctrination and training in Cuba of numerous Venezuelans who later returned to their country to participate in subversive movements.

4. An important element in this intervention in Venezuela, directed by the Government of Cuba, was the shipment of arms that was found on the Peninsula of Paraguaná in the State of Falcón on November 1, 1963, close to the date of the general elections. The shipment was made up of arms originating in Cuba that were surreptitiously landed at a solitary spot on the coast, for the purpose of being used in subversive operations to overthrow the constitutional Government of Venezuela.

With respect to this shipment, the following facts are noteworthy:

a. The perforations and obliterations that were made on the various weapons in places where the Cuban coat of arms and other identification marks had been stamped, in an effort to hide their well-known Cuban origin.

b. The conditioning and packing of the arms for immediate use, the quantity and quality of the arms, and the instructions for their use, which were found in the hands of communist groups. These arms were to be used to support subversive activities and guerrilla action by organizations disciplined and trained for such purposes.

c. The discovery, at the same spot where the shipment of arms was found, of a boat with an outboard motor, which motor was sent from Montreal, Canada, to Havana by air on October 1, 1963, for delivery to the National Institute of Agrarian Reform of Cuba, an official institution of that country.

5. The policy of aggression on the part of the Government of Cuba was confirmed by the discovery on November 4, 1963, by Venezuelan authorities, of a plan of operations, the "Caracas Plan," prepared for the subversive action of the so-called "Armed Forces of National Liberation." This plan anticipated the use of arms similar in type and numerical proportion to the shipment of arms mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The objective of the plan was to capture the city of Caracas, to prevent the holding of elections on December 1, 1963, and to seize control of the country.

6. Consequently, the acts of intervention that have been outlined, and, in particular, the shipment of arms, constitute a policy of aggression on the part of the present Government of Cuba against the territorial integrity, the political sovereignty, and the stability of the democratic institutions of Venezuela.

February 18, 1964

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 4, 1964

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON VENEZUELAN ARMS CACHE

1. RESOLVES to condemn the present Government of Cuba for the acts of aggression and intervention against the territorial integrity, the political sovereignty and the stability of the democratic institutions of Venezuela.

2. WARNS the present Government of Cuba to cease forthwith its aggression against governments of other American Republics; and

(a) Considering paragraph 3 of Resolution II adopted by the Eighth Meeting of Foreign Ministers acting as Organ of Consultation in application of the inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, ^{1/} agrees, pursuant to Article 6 of that Treaty, that, the inviolability and the integrity of the territory and the sovereignty and the political independence of an American State having been endangered by these acts of aggression and intervention which threaten the peace of America, measures set forth in

1/ This preambulatory language might be placed in a whereas clause in the Resolution.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2-

Article 8 of the Treaty should be taken by the member states, acting individually or collectively, in the event that the Government of Cuba continues its aggression against other American States;

(b) immediately upon the taking of any such measures, the Council of the Organization, continuing to act provisionally as Organ of Consultation, shall meet to receive information concerning the measures taken and to further consider the matter.

3. RECOMMENDS that, in order to ensure that no arms, munitions, or implements of war of any kind proceeding directly or indirectly from Cuba are transported into their respective countries, and that there be no clandestine movement of persons reaching their shores from Cuba, the member states cooperate in establishing systems of aerial, sea and land surveillance in the waters off their coasts and along their land boundaries, in order to detect clandestine movement of persons or any suspected movement of arms, munitions or implements of war from Cuba to any other part of the hemisphere and to use such means as they may

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 3 -

deem necessary, including the use of armed force, in areas within their jurisdiction to search for and seize any such suspected persons, arms, munitions, or implements of war.

4. DECIDES to apply the following measures:

(a) Rupture of diplomatic and consular relations by all American Republics with Cuba.

(b) Suspension of all trade by the American Republics with Cuba except in foodstuffs, medicines and medical supplies.

(c) Suspension of all air and sea transportation between the American Republics and Cuba, with the exception of such transportation undertaken for emergency reasons of a humanitarian nature.

5. REQUESTS all other states of the free world to take measures on their own of the type envisaged in paragraph 4 in order that the purpose of this resolution will be fully achieved.

6. RECOMMENDS that the member states adopt such measures as they may consider necessary, within their respective jurisdictions, to further the purposes of paragraphs 4(b) and 5.

7. URGES all the American Republics to increase their vigilance against the subversive activities of Castro-communist

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 4 -

elements in this hemisphere and to take all appropriate defensive measures to counteract these activities, particularly those recommendations made by the Special Committee of the Council on Resolutions II and VIII of the 8th MFM.

8. REQUESTS the Secretary General of the OAS to inform the Security Council of the United Nations of this Resolution in accordance with Article 54 of the Charter of the United Nations.

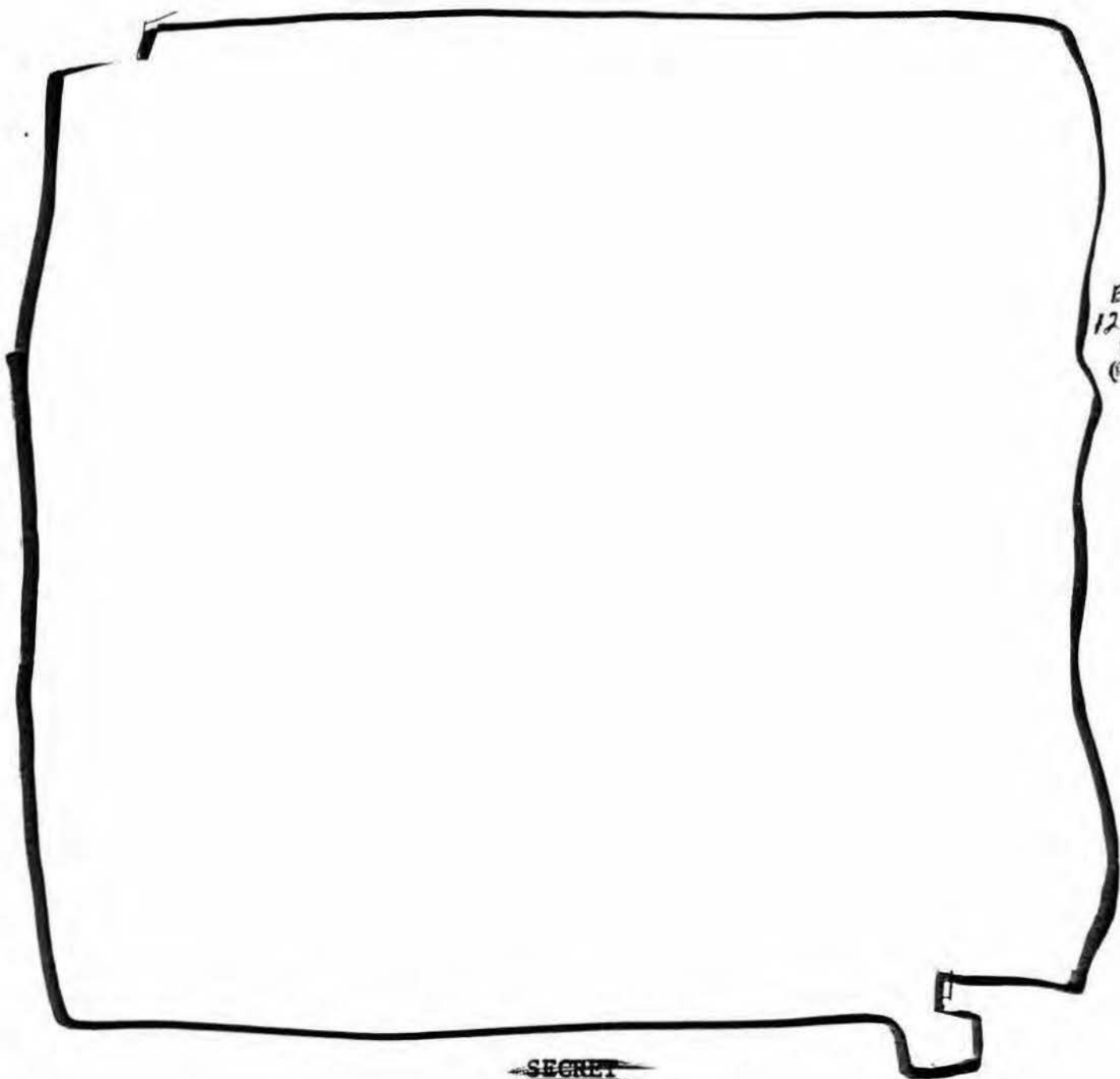
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

Tab C

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING
The White House - March 5, 1964 - 4:30 p.m.

Discussion of Proposed Resolution (Tab B)



ED
12356
113
(P)E

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

-2-

EO
12856
1.3
(b) (5)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

-3-



EO 12356
1.3
(a)(5)

~~SECRET~~

SERVICE SET

3

ATTENDANCE LIST FOR THE 523rd NSC MEETING
HELD ON THURSDAY, MARCH 5, 1964, AT 4:30 PM
IN THE CABINET ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE

ATTENDING FOR THE ENTIRE MEETING

The President of the United States, Presiding
The Speaker of the House of Representatives
Secretary Rusk
Secretary McNamara
Secretary Dillon
General Taylor, JCS
Ambassador Stevenson
General Carter, Acting Director of Central Intelligence
Director McDermott, Office of Emergency Planning
Director Rowan, U. S. Information Agency
Deputy Under Secretary of State Alexis Johnson
McGeorge Bundy, Special Assistant to the President
Pierre Salinger, Press Secretary
General Clifton, Military Aide to the President
Bill Moyers, Assistant to the President
Jack Valenti, Special Assistant to the President
Walter Jenkins, Special Assistant to the President
Bromley Smith, Executive Secretary, National Security Council

ADDITIONAL ATTENDEES FOR ITEM ONE -- VIETNAM

William P. Bundy, Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs
William Sullivan, Special Assistant to the Secretary for Vietnam
Director Bell, AID
William Colby, CIA
Michael Forrestal, Senior NSC Staff Member

ADDITIONAL ATTENDEES FOR ITEM TWO (4:45 PM) -- OAS ACTION

Deputy Secretary Vance
Assistant Secretary Mans
Ambassador Thompson
Abram Chayes, Legal Adviser, State
Ward Allen, State
Desmond Fitzgerald, CIA
Ralph Dungan, Special Assistant to the President

March 5, 1964

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

AGENDA

For the Meeting to be held in the
Cabinet Room of The White House
on Thursday, March 5, 1964
at 4:30 PM

1. Discussion of Secretary McNamara's Mission to Vietnam
2. OAS Action on Venezuelan Arms Cache

Consideration of U.S. position to be taken
in the OAS on further actions against Cuba.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NLS 83-87

By isa, NARS, Date 10-18-83

523rd NSC Meeting

~~SECRET~~