

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SECRET/SENSITIVE/EYES ONLY

~~ACTION~~

March 9, 1973

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MEMORANDUM FOR: HENRY A. KISSINGER
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *BS*
SUBJECT: Support from Brazil on Cuban Sanctions

As you know, we have sought President Medici's assistance in heading off moves to lift sanctions against Cuba during the forthcoming meeting of the OAS. We have also told State to oppose vigorously any move along those lines.

At Tab C is President Medici's reply which indicates Brazil will take a firm stand against any attempt to lift sanctions against Cuba. Moreover, Brazil will also publicly oppose any indirect attempt to achieve this objective. The Venezuelans have revealed to the Brazilian Foreign Minister that they intend to introduce a resolution at the April OAS meeting to the effect that times have changed and that the OAS must publicly state that a new era of peace and brotherly love is upon the world. The Venezuelans argue that such a resolution would head off an alternative Peru-Ecuador resolution which would be even more pro-Cuban.

The Brazilians will oppose the Venezuelan resolution because they believe it would lead to judgments by individual nations that they are free of their commitment on sanctions. They estimate that at least eight nations would "jump on the bandwagon and embrace Cuba." While the Brazilians believe it will be difficult to defeat the Venezuelan resolution, they intend to oppose it "steadfastly." They hope we will support them in fighting any "we are all at peace and brothers" proposals, as well as any proposals for consultative meetings to consider ending sanctions.

On a related bureaucratic issue, our Defense Attache [REDACTED] believe our Ambassador will eventually find out about the message because President Medici has brought the President's concern to the attention of the Brazilian Foreign Ministry. They, therefore, want authorization to inform the Ambassador. We have several alternatives:

EO 12958
3.3 (b)(1)

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NLNS
Mandatory Review
Case NLN 02-22
Doc. 1 9 pages

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DECLASSIFIED in part
Authority MR Apr 1 NLN 02-A-22A #1
By SO NARA, Date 6/23/10

- In our reply to the Brazilians we can ask that they avoid revealing to the Ambassador the fact of a Presidential exchange. This might undercut our Ambassador but would emphasize that the channel is meant to be strictly private between heads of government.
- The Ambassador could be informed and cautioned that the information is strictly for his own background and should not be referred to in any conversations or communications. If done by the Military Attache, who is our contact, it would blow the channel. On the other hand, we could send a regular backchannel and not reveal how we convey messages to Medici.

Another problem along the same lines concerns the extent to which Bill Jordan should be informed of these communications. I believe we should let him see this exchange for his background information so that he will be inclined to keep a closer eye on the situation. I will, however, in any case make him aware of the general problem and the need to ensure that State is prepared to head off both indirect and direct attempts to be more forthcoming toward the Cubans.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That you sign the memorandum to the President (Tab A) which informs him of the Brazilian response.
2. That you approve the reply to the Brazilians (Tab B) that assures them we will join in opposing any indirect moves to soften the stand on Cuban sanctions.

Approve HK Disapprove _____

3. That we ask the Brazilians not to refer to the President's message in their contacts with our Embassy, while at the same time encouraging consultations with the Embassy designed to develop tactics for the upcoming OAS meeting. (This would be done by an oral addition to the President's reply to President Medici.)

tell Ambassador Approve _____ Disapprove _____

4. That you approve my bringing Bill Jordan abreast of the Presidential level exchanges.

Approve HK Disapprove _____

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE/EYES ONLY~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT: Support From Brazil on Cuban Sanctions

You recently directed that the Department of State vigorously oppose any move during the April OAS meeting designed to lift sanctions against Cuba. You also asked that we convey our position to President Medici in the private channel. The Brazilian President responded immediately to your message.

In his reply (Tab A) President Medici affirms that Brazil will publicly oppose both direct and indirect attempts to open the way for a future lifting of sanctions against Cuba. Moreover, the Brazilians have refused a Venezuelan proposal to cosponsor an OAS resolution. The resolution would assert that times have changed because of U.S. rapprochement with Moscow and Peking and the end of the Vietnam war, and proclaim that a new era of peace and brotherly love is upon the world. Brazil will fight such a resolution, because it could lead certain nations to believe they are free of any commitments to sanctions against Cuba. It estimates that at least eight nations would jump on the bandwagon and "embrace Cuba". Brazil will steadfastly oppose any such "peace and brothers" proposal, as well as any effort to schedule a further meeting to consult on the possibility of ending sanctions.

The Brazilians have asked if they can count on our support in opposing indirect as well as direct efforts leading to a future lifting of sanctions. I have replied to President Medici affirming that we will stand with them in opposition to these more subtle moves designed to soften the OAS attitude toward Cuba.

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE/EYES ONLY~~

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Tom Katerina Henry
3/23/73

SECRET/SENSITIVE/EYES ONLY

Please deliver the following message to President Medici from
President Nixon.

BEGIN TEXT: The President deeply appreciated receiving President Medici's prompt and positive response affirming that Brazil will oppose efforts during the next meeting of the OAS to lift sanctions against Cuba. Brazil can count on the strong support of the United States in opposing either direct or indirect attempts to achieve that goal. The United States will consult closely with Brazil on this matter.

The President also asked that his warm personal regards be conveyed to President Medici. END TEXT.

~~General Moura should also tell his contact that in order to preserve the privacy of this channel we do not intend to inform our Ambassador of these messages. Therefore, no explicit reference should be made to them in any contacts between the Foreign Ministry and our Embassy. We favor, however, consultations between the Embassy and Foreign Ministry aimed at developing a joint strategy for dealing with this problem.~~

END TEXT.

SECRET/SENSITIVE/EYES ONLY

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~~SECRET SENSITIVE~~

8 March 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR: Dr. Henry A. Kissinger
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

SUBJECT: Reply from President Medici of Brazil

1. The following message was delivered to General Moura at 1530 today and is President Medici's reply to President Nixon's message:

"President Medici greatly appreciates President Nixon's message to the effect that in view of the indications that Venezuela and Ecuador may demand the abolition of sanctions against Cuba during the forthcoming meeting of the OAS, he, President Nixon will strongly oppose any such abolition and that the U.S. will vigorously oppose such a proposal if it is made.

"President Medici wishes to inform President Nixon that Brazil's position will also be firm and resolute against any such attempt as that referred to above whatever the country which makes such a proposal.

"In the same way Brazil will publicly oppose any indirect attempt -- and this seems more likely -- aimed at achieving the same objectives through a resolution which would in practice open the way for a future lifting of the sanctions.

"Brazil would very much like to be able to count on the support of the United States in such a case."

2. Upon handing the above reply to General Moura, President Medici's representative (Colonel Dieguez) said that the President and Foreign Minister Gibson Barbosa, who was asked by the President on the evening of 7 March to draft the above position, wished to convey additional thoughts orally. On the occasion of a recent meeting with the Venezuelans at Santa Elena, the Venezuelan Foreign Minister told Gibson Barbosa that he planned to introduce a

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~~SECRET SENSITIVE~~

resolution at the upcoming OAS meeting. The Venezuelan insisted that it would not be a motion to lift sanctions because a meeting of consultation would be the only appropriate forum for such an action. Moreover, the Venezuelan reportedly also agreed that such a motion would be defeated easily. What the Venezuelan proposes, he told Gibson, is to head off an alternative Peru-Ecuador resolution in stronger terms. The Venezuelan apparently wishes to enlist Ecuador as co-sponsor of a resolution which, in effect, would say that times have changed, as attested to by U.S. rapprochement with the Soviets and Chinese, and the end of the Vietnam war. On that basis, the Venezuelan is said to have gone on, the OAS must publicly state that a new era of peace and brotherly love is upon the world.

3. Dieguez said that Brazil will oppose the Venezuelan resolution because it could lead to judgments by individual nations that they are free of commitment to the sanctions. Gibson Barbosa estimated that at least eight nations would jump on that bandwagon and embrace Cuba. While Gibson believes that it will be a difficult task to defeat the Venezuelan resolution, Brazil will oppose it steadfastly and would hope to count on the U.S. to oppose any such "we are all at peace and brothers" proposal as well as any subsequent meeting of consultation move to end sanctions.

4. Since Itamaraty has been unexpectedly brought into this, [REDACTED] and Defense Attache are concerned that the Ambassador will eventually find out about the message.

5. The following comment was additionally received from General Moura:

"Since President Medici has brought this matter to the knowledge of the Brazilian Foreign Ministry, I would like, for obvious reasons, to be authorized to inform the Ambassador, who is not a square. Moura."



Vernon A. Walters
Lieutenant General, USA

Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

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EO 12958
3.3(b)(1)

MEMORANDUM

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WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE/EYES ONLY

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER *HK*

SUBJECT: Support From Brazil on Cuban Sanctions

You recently directed that the Department of State vigorously oppose any move during the April OAS meeting designed to lift sanctions against Cuba. You also asked that we convey our position to President Medici in the private channel. The Brazilian President responded immediately to your message.

In his reply (Tab A) President Medici affirms that Brazil will publicly oppose both direct and indirect attempts to open the way for a future lifting of sanctions against Cuba. Moreover, the Brazilians have refused a Venezuelan proposal to cosponsor an OAS resolution. The resolution would assert that times have changed because of U.S. rapprochement with Moscow and Peking and the end of the Vietnam war, and proclaim that a new era of peace and brotherly love is upon the world. Brazil will fight such a resolution, because it could lead certain nations to believe they are free of any commitments to sanctions against Cuba. It estimates that at least eight nations would jump on the bandwagon and "embrace Cuba". Brazil will steadfastly oppose any such "peace and brothers" proposal, as well as any effort to schedule a further meeting to consult on the possibility of ending sanctions.

I have replied
The Brazilians have asked if they can count on our support in opposing indirect as well as direct efforts leading to a future lifting of sanctions. ~~Your reply~~ to President Medici (Tab B) affirms that we will stand with them in opposition to these more subtle moves designed to soften the OAS attitude toward Cuba.

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The Brazilians have asked if they can count on our support in opposing indirect as well as direct efforts leading to a future lifting of sanctions. I have replied to President Medici (~~Tab B~~) affirming that we will stand with them in opposition to these more subtle moves designed to soften the OAS attitude toward Cuba.

SECRET/SENSITIVE/EYES ONLY

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~~TOP SECRET~~ / EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

Special Channel to President of Brazil

March 6, 1973

Please bring the following message from President Nixon exclusively to the attention of President Medici.

There are indications that Venezuela and Ecuador may seek to have sanctions against Cuba lifted when the General Assembly of the OAS convenes in Washington in April. President Nixon wants President Medici to know that he strongly opposes such a move and that the United States will take vigorous action in opposition if such a proposal is made. Anything President Medici is able to do in support of the United States' position will be deeply appreciated.

~~TOP SECRET~~ / EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

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