accomplished at the national policy level. Those elements of the problem that fall within the scope of our directive are dealt with in the report which follows. The second consideration is less tangible but equally important. It is now clear that we are facing an implacable enemy whose avowed objective is world domination by whatever means and at whatever cost. There are no rules in such a game. Hitherto acceptable norms of human conduct do not apply. If the United States is to survive, long-standing American concepts of “fair play” must be reconsidered. We must develop effective espionage and counterespionage services and must learn to subvert, sabotage and destroy our enemies by more clever, more sophisticated and more effective methods than those used against us. It may become necessary that the American people be made acquainted with, understand and support this fundamentally repugnant philosophy.

NO. 68

1947

The Rio Treaty

The Governments of the United States and Latin America

The Act of Chapultepec of 1945 (Document No. 64) committed the United States to negotiate a mutual security treaty, a task that was carried out two years later by delegates from the United States and nineteen Latin American countries at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security in Petropolis, Brazil, forty miles from Rio de Janeiro, from August 15 to September 2, 1947. The result was the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, better known as the Rio Treaty. While it committed all the American states to share responsibility for the defense of the Western Hemisphere, the overwhelming military and industrial superiority of the United States made its government the principal influence in the maintenance of the treaty system and in determining what constituted aggression.

In the name of their Peoples, the Governments represented at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security, desirous of...
consolidating and strengthening their relations of friendship and good neighborliness, and
Considering:
...That the High Contracting Parties reaffirm their adherence to the principles of
inter-American solidarity and cooperation, and especially to those set forth in the
preambles and declarations of the Act of Chapultepec, all of which should be
understood to be accepted as standards of their mutual relations and as the juridi-
cal basis of the Inter-American System....

That the American regional community affirms as a manifest truth that jurid-
ical organization is a necessary prerequisite of security and peace, and that peace
is founded on justice and moral order, and, consequently, on the international rec-
ognition and protection of human rights and freedoms, on the indispensable well-
being of the people, and on the effectiveness of democracy for the international
realization of justice and security.

Have resolved, in conformity with the objectives stated above, to conclude the
following Treaty, in order to assure peace, through adequate means, to provide for
effective reciprocal assistance to meet armed attacks against any American State,
and in order to deal with threats of aggression against any of them:

ARTICLE 1. The High Contracting Parties formally condemn war and under-
take in their international relations not to resort to the threat or the use of force in
any manner inconsistent with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations
or of this Treaty.

ARTICLE 2. ...[The High Contracting Parties undertake to submit every
controversy which may arise between them to methods of peaceful settlement and
to endeavor to settle any such controversy among themselves by means of the pro-
cedures in force in the Inter-American System before referring it to the General
Assembly or the Security Council of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 3. The High Contracting Parties agree that an armed attack by any State
against an American State shall be considered as an attack against all the American
States and, consequently, each one of the said Contracting Parties undertakes to assist
in meeting the attack in the exercise of the inherent right of individual or collective
self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations....

ARTICLE 4. If the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sover-
ernity or political independence of any American State should be affected by
an aggression which is not an armed attack or by an extra-continental or intra-
continental conflict, or by any other fact or situation that might endanger the peace
of America, the Organ of Consultation shall meet immediately in order to agree
on the measures which must be taken in case of aggression to assist the victim of
the aggression or, in any case, the measures which should be taken for the com-
mon defense and for the maintenance of the peace and security of the Continent.

ARTICLE 7. In the case of a conflict between two or more American States,
without prejudice to the right of self-defense in conformity with Article 51 of the
Charter of the United Nations, the High Contracting Parties, meeting in consulta-
tion shall call upon the contending States to suspend hostilities and restore matters
to the status quo ante bellum, and shall take in addition all other necessary mea-
ures to reestablish or maintain inter-American peace and security and for the
solution of the conflict by peaceful means....

ARTICLE 8. For the purposes of this Treaty, the measures on which the Organ
of Consultation may agree will comprise one or more of the following: recall of
chiefs of diplomatic missions; breaking of diplomatic relations; breaking of con-
sular relations; partial or complete interruption of economic relations or of rail,
sea, air, postal, telegraphic, telephonic, and radiotelephonic or radiotelegraphic
communications; and use of armed force.

ARTICLE 9. In addition to other acts which the Organ of Consultation may
characterize as aggression, the following shall be considered as such:

a. Unprovoked armed attack by a State against the territory, the people, or the
land, sea or air forces of another State;
b. Invasion, by the armed forces of a State, of the territory of an American
State, through the trespassing of boundaries demarcated in accordance
with a treaty, judicial decision, or arbitral award, or, in the absence of fron-
tiers thus demarcated, invasion affecting a region which is under the effec-
tive jurisdiction of another State....

NO. 69

1948

The Charter of the Organization of American States

The Delegates to the Ninth International Conference of American States

Delegates to the Chapultepec conference in Mexico City in 1945 approved
a resolution directing the Governing Board of the Pan American Union
to draft a charter "for the improvement and strengthening of the pan-
American system." In compliance with this directive, delegates at the Ninth
International Conference of American States in Bogotá, Colombia, 30 March to 2 May 1948, approved the Charter of the Organization of American States, in which the delegates:

...agree to establish an organ to be known as the Organization of American States, hereafter referred to as 'the Organization,' which shall be the permanent forum for the discussion and settlement of inter-American differences and for the promotion of the development of the American nations, founded on the principles of respect for the sovereignty of nations and self-determination of peoples, the reaffirmation of the independence and equality of all states, and the strengthening of the ties of union among countries which have, in their history, been part of the same Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires and which now exercise sovereignty and self-government.