

**DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC  
REFERRED TO IN RECORDINGS OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS**

During the course of the Dominican Crisis in April and May 1965, numerous telephone conversations between President Johnson and his advisors, and between the advisors themselves, were recorded by the White House. Many of these conversations took place between U.S. officials in the Dominican Republic and those in Washington, DC, over non-secure telephone lines. Because they were concerned about their conversations being intercepted, the conversants often made reference to information in documents that each side had in their possession to discuss sensitive topics or individuals.

Since these conversations are often cryptic unless the listener also has copies of the documents in hand, the Library staff has compiled this reference set of documents for use in listening to the conversations. **Please use the original file location to reference these documents.**

<u>Citation #</u>	<u>Tape #</u>	<u>Document #</u>	<u>File Location</u> (see below)
7767	WH 6505.24	5, 5a, 5b	II
7773, 7774, 7775	WH 6505.25	5, 5a, 5b	II
7776	WH 6505.25	96	I
7784	WH 6505.26	89, 95	I
7792	WH 6505.27	84	I
7807	WH 6505.28	58	I
7809	WH 6505.28	54, 55	I
7810	WH 6505.28	54, 55	I
7814, 7815, 7816	WH 6505.29	54, 55	I
7817	WH 6505.30	54, 55	I
7818	WH 6505.30	54, 55	I
7820	WH 6505.30	54, 55	I
7821	WH 6505.30	54, 55	I
7824	WH 6505.30	49	I
7913, 7914, 7915	SR 6505.01	95	I
7917, 7918, 7919	SR 6505.02	95	I
7922	SR 6505.02	91	I
7924	SR 6505.02	103, 116	I
7942	SR 6505.03	84, 89, 90	I
7953	SR 6505.03	47	III
8005	SR 6505.05	80, 91	I
8011	SR 6505.05	79, 80, 84, 89, 90	I
8024	SR 6505.06	91	I

File Location:

- I. National Security File, Country File, Dominican Republic, "Davidson," Box 51, Document # (as listed).
- II. National Security File, Country File, Dominican Republic, "Dominican Republic Vol. IV," Box 39, Document # (as listed).
- III. National Security File, Files of Gordon Chase, "Bundy's Mission on the Dominican Problem," Box 2, Document # (as listed).

FILE  
AMB  
BUNDY ✓

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Control:

89

(15)

Date:

MAY 19, 1965

8:40 PM

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E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4

NEJ 92-530

By           , NARA, Date 8-22-95

ACTION: SecState WASHINGTON FLASH 1824

FROM BUNDY

EXDIS

1. The following are uncleared draft texts of two understandings.
2. These documents are only drafts not yet reviewed in detail with Guzman because of one day without diplomatic relations. They nevertheless reflect faithfully what he and I have orally agreed. I hope to discuss them with him this evening.
3. First document is "public" and second is "private" as explained below. First purpose of "public" paper is for Guzman to get agreement of all on his side to this basis of government, but paper is also drawn with a view to possible publication.
4. "Private" document repeats ~~series~~ <sup>series</sup> of public paper, but it is more precise on:
  - a. Management of Communists,
  - b. disarmament of civilians,
  - c. departures of officers in uniform, and
  - d. possible immediate withdrawal of one U. S. battalion.

I have presented it as a private understanding "at the Presidential level" to cover Guzman from having to show it to the whole downtown crowd.

5. You may want more about OAS in public paper, and I can probably arrange it. But except for some good work by Mora, OAS presence <sup>here</sup> has been

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-2-

feeble and ineffective in the extreme.  
of "public" paper

## 6. Text/follows:

QUOTE: Statement of the Position of Antonio Guzman Toward the Formation of a Constitutional Government in the Dominican Republic, May 19, 1965:

1. Sr. Antonio Guzman has expressed his readiness to assume the office of President of the Dominican Republic, if duly chosen, on the following terms and with the following convictions:

2. Sr. Guzman will assume office only when qualified on the basis of the Constitution of 1963. He will at once call for a duly authorized national referendum, to take place within 60 days. This referendum will permit the Dominican people to reaffirm--or to oppose--this constitution. Full observation by the Organisation of American States will be requested.

3. Sr. Guzman will establish a government of National Concord. This government will be broadly based. Members of the cabinet will reflect a broad spectrum of political, economic and social views. In particular, appointment will be offered to one member of the group which has been serving under General Imbert. This government will be equally opposed to extremists of left and right.

4. The military control of the new government will be non-political, and its professional leadership will be entrusted to officers who merit the confidence of the Dominican people and of all their fellow professionals.

5. Concerning active communists and trajillistas, Sr. Guzman holds the firm position that they present a problem for democracy.

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-3-

in the Dominican Republic and that effective measures must be taken by the constitutional government to protect the Dominican people from their subversive activities. Plans will be developed for the development and execution of such measures within constitutional terms.

6. It is in the interest of the Government of National Concord that the Inter-American Force establish its presence in the Dominican Republic as soon as possible. The United States forces will form a part of the Inter-American Force. It is not possible at this time to predict how long the presence of the Inter-American Force will be required in the Dominican Republic but withdrawal of components will begin as soon as possible.

7. Sr. Guzman has assurances from the Government of the United States that just as soon as a Government of National Concord is established and a full cease fire is assured, the United States will withdraw a substantial part of the U. S. military forces now in the Dominican Republic. The United States Government has informed him that further withdrawals will be made just as rapidly as the restoration of peace permits.

8. Sr. Guzman has also received assurances that the United States Government will <sup>offer</sup> ~~offer~~ strong emergency assistance in the task of restoring active economic life in the Dominican Republic, as well as the assistance already publicly proposed by President Johnson for rapid economic development.

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-4-

9. On taking office, Sr. Gusman will present a public accounting of all his properties and assets. He will then turn over the management of all these private interests to a trustee, and this trustee will conduct no business with any part of the Dominican Government, except routine for necessary ~~xxxxxx~~ dealings with the Agricultural Bank.

10. Sr. Gusman will approach his new duties, if chosen, in the determination that there shall be a spirit of reconciliation among all Dominicans. He will insist on this same attitude among all members of his cabinet and in all branches of the Dominican Government, civil and military alike. In particular he will insist that there be no acts of personal vengeance from any quarter. END OF TEXT.

Text of "private" paper follows:

QUOTE: MEMORANDUM

Communism

1. The Constitutional Government of National Concord will be firmly anti-communist and President Gusman will state this position in his inaugural address. The Government of National Concord will oppose communism and will so conduct its activities as to make this opposition entirely clear. It will prevent any confusion in the public mind by distinguishing in all its dealings between the truly democratic political parties and those responding to or influenced by communist doctrine. It will make certain the public understands that its aims do not coincide with those of the Communists.

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-5-

2. Persons identified as Communists or communist sympathizers will be placed under close observation by the Government of National Concord and, when detected breaking any law, will immediately be detained. Such other measures as may be necessary to contain the threat of communist subversion will be taken after appropriate consultation with the Government of the United States.

3. The Government of National Concord will not permit Communists or communist sympathizers to occupy positions in the Dominican Government, the Armed Forces or the National Police.

4. The Government of the United States will make available professional personnel with full competence in the Spanish language to assist the Government of National Concord in identifying Communists and communist sympathizers, and in controlling their activities. The greatest care will be taken to insure that the information in this field provided by the competent Dominican authorities is precise and detailed, and that innocent persons are not victimized.

5. Measures necessary to contain the communist threat will be the subject of continuing consultations between our two Governments. The Government of the United States reserves the right to re-examine the terms of the agreement reflected in this memorandum if the measures taken under it prove to be inadequate.

Pacification

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FORM FS-413P  
10-64

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-6-

1. President Gusman and his Government will firmly oppose the ~~spirit~~<sup>spirit</sup> of hatred and vengeance wherever it may be found. President Gusman, by example and word, will demonstrate to the entire nation his desire that all Dominicans be treated with absolute impartiality and fairness.

2. The task of disarming the civilian population will be the responsibility of the competent Dominican authorities. United States forces will not take an active role in this process but officers of these forces will be available for professional consultation if their Dominican counterparts should find it desirable. Persons who might wish to deliver their arms to the United States forces will be permitted to do so under appropriate safeguards.

Organization of American States

1. The process of establishing the Constitutional Government of National Concord will, to the maximum extent possible, take place with the participation and approval of the Organization of American States. President Gusman, with the cooperation of the United States Government, will attempt to insure that his Government and its efforts to restore national harmony receive the full endorsement of the OAS through the Special Commission appointed by the Tenth Meeting of Foreign Ministers.

2. The ~~Government~~ Government of National Concord will request the sending of OAS observers to witness the referendum on the 1963 Constitution

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-7-

that is scheduled to be held within 60 days after the inauguration of President Gusman.

Withdrawal of U. S. Forces

President Johnson wishes to begin the withdrawal of U. S. forces at the earliest possible date. It will be recommended to him that the time for the withdrawal of the first units be determined immediately so that President Gusman may make an appropriate announcement in his inaugural address.

Departure of Military Officers

Any officer of the Dominican Armed Forces who has been involved on either side in the present conflict and who wishes to leave the country will be permitted to do so. Those leading officers of either side who wish to depart in uniform will be given appropriate official assignments abroad. END OF TEXT.

GP 2.

B

BENNETT

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MBundy:cp

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Date:

May 19, 1965  
10:45 am

ACTION: SecState WASHINGTON FLASH 1801  
FROM BUNDY, VANCE, BENNETT AND PALMER

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4  
NJ 92-522  
By sp/ep, NARA, Date 3/15/96

KIDIS

Loyalists have taken Radio Santo Domingo. We believe all our interests would be greatly advanced by prompt repair of station and its return to air under OAS auspices. Bennett and Vance are pressing Imbert soonest for his agreement, playing high card that Radio will not ~~max~~ run unless we fix it. Then Bennett and Bundy will press Mora for interim OAS sponsorship. Ryan and Palmer are mobilizing all assets to repair transmitter soonest.

Can you press OAS Washington in most expeditious way to bolster Mora in this concern. Nothing could do more to move us forward here than a strong radio that tells truth and preaches peace and national concord. If we cannot <sup>fit</sup> fix this ~~much~~ under OAS mandate we and they deserve to suffer UN interference and all other woes.

This project highly sensitive because:

- a. Imbert has not agreed.
- b. rebels would raise hell if they knew about it
- c. Imbert needs time to clear area of snipers and we need time to clear booby traps when he agrees.

So telephone talk on this must be extremely careful.

GP 2.

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FORM 13-115N  
10-64  
Bundy:ep

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