

**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).

INCOMING

ACTION: AMB
INFO: ~~WBB~~ VANCE

~~SECRET~~
Classification

Control: 54

Recd: MAY 23, 1965
4:56 PM

(31)

IMMEDIATE

FROM: SECSTATE WASHDC

NO : 1209, MAY 23

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4
NJ 92-522 appeal
By g/p NARA, Date 3/16/96

EXDIS

FOR VANCE

HIGHEST AUTHORITY SUGGESTS THAT IN DEALING WITH IMBERT YOU SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT IN ANY NEW GOVERNMENT WE ARE PREPARED TO GIVE REPRESENTATION TO HIS ADHERENTS AND TO ASSURE THAT HIS ANTI-COMMUNIST PHILOSOPHY WILL BE UPHELD. WE WILL ALSO PROVIDE FOR HIS SECURITY.

SPECIFICALLY YOU SHOULD GIVE ASSURANCES ALONG FOLLOWING LINE:

1. WE WILL INSIST THAT THERE BE NO COMMUNISTS IN ANY NEW GOVERNMENT AND THAT WE WILL NOT SUPPORT ANY GOVERNMENT THAT INCLUDES COMMUNISTS. OUR OBJECTIVE IS A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNION COMPOSED OF INDIVIDUALS LIBERAL IN THEIR POLITICS BUT ANTI-COMMUNIST.
2. WE SHALL INSIST THAT SUCH A GOVERNMENT ADOPT A POLICY OF RECONCILIATION AND RENOUNCE REVENGE EITHER TOWARD THE UNITED STATES OR TOWARD IMBERT AND HIS FOLLOWING.
3. FYI IF IMBERT INSISTS WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO INCLUDE TWO OR THREE OF HIS OWN PEOPLE IN CABINET POSTS IN A NEW GOVERNMENT PROVIDED THEY ARE REASONABLY LIBERAL AND NOT EXTREMISTS. WE WOULD ALSO BE PREPARED TO INCLUDE TWO OR THREE OF BALAGUER PEOPLE LEAVING POSSIBLY FIVE PLACES FOR BOSCH'S PEOPLE END FYI.
4. WE WILL UNDERTAKE TO ASSURE IMBERT'S PERSONAL SECURITY.

~~SECRET~~
Classification

REPRODUCTION FROM THIS COPY IS PROHIBITED UNLESS "UNCLASSIFIED."

COPY LBJ LIBRARY

54

SECRET

Foreign Service of the
United States of America

INCOMING

REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PAGE TWO
BR DEPTTEL 1209

~~SECRET~~
Classification

Control:

Recd:

THIS MIGHT BE BEST ACHIEVED IF HE WERE TO COME TO WASHINGTON
EITHER AS AMBASSADOR OR HEAD OF A RECONSTRUCTION MISSION.
UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE
READILY PROVIDED. WE CAN ALSO ARRANGE FINANCIAL SECURITY.

5. ALL OF THIS REPRESENTS A GENEROUS ARRANGEMENT TO
MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF IMBERT AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

GP-2

RUSK

JHH

~~SECRET~~

Classification

REPRODUCTION FROM THIS COPY
IS PROHIBITED UNLESS UNCLASSIFIED
COPY IN LIBRARY

TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the
United States of America

INCOMING

EMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
AME

ACTION: BUNDY + 1

~~SECRET~~
Classification

Control:

55

Recd: MAY 23, 1965
4:32 PM

FLASH

FROM: SECSTATE

NO: 1208, MAY 23, 1965

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4

NY 92-522 appeal

By [Signature] NARA. Date 3/15/94

ACTION FLASH SANTODOMINGO 1208 INFO FLASH WHITE HOUSE

EXDIS

EMBTEL 1925.

FOR BUNDY AND VANCE

1. IF GUZMAN DOES NOT HAVE EITHER THE POWER OR WILL TO ARRANGE FOR DEPARTURE OF THREE REBEL LEADERS IN HEADQUARTERS GROUP AND IS UNWILLING EVEN TO TRY TO ACHIEVE THIS IT IS OBVIOUS THAT HE WOULD NOT DEAL ADEQUATELY WITH THOSE LEADERS AND OTHER DANGEROUS ELEMENTS ONCE HIS GOVERNMENT WAS FORMED. THIS WOULD CAST IN DOUBT THE EFFIACY OF ANY SAFEGUARDS WE MIGHT WRITE INTO AN UNDERSTANDING WITH HIM.

2. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WE BELIEVE YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO INSIST ON THE ORIGINAL PLAN FOR PAID OVERSEAS VACATIONS FOR THE THREE REBEL LEADERS. ANYTHING LESS WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO EXPLAIN AND JUSTIFY TO CONGRESS AND AMERICAN PEOPLE. WE WOULD NOT REGARD EXPULSION OF GONZALES, PENA TAVERAS, AND GARCIA GERMAN AS A SUBSTITUTE. IF AGREED SAFEGUARDS WORK THEY WOULD BE THROWN OUT OF INTERNED ANYWAY.

3. IN ADDITION WE BELIEVE WE MUST INSIST ON THE FOLLOWING SAFEGUARDS:

A. IDENTIFIED COMMUNISTS WILL BE PROMPTLY TAKEN INTO CUSTODY AND DEPORTED OR INTERNED.

B. MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF OTHER COMMUNISTS, WHETHER IN CIVILIAN OR MILITARY LIFE. WHEN IDENTIFIED THOSE COMMUNISTS WILL BE IMMEDIATELY PLACED UNDER SURVEILLANCE AND IF AT ANY TIME EVIDENCE DEVELOPS OF A PLOT OR THREAT TO SECURITY OF GOVERNMENT THEY WILL BE IMMEDIATELY DEPORTED OR INTERNED.

4. WE WOULD PREFER THAT YOU OR MORA OR OTHER APPRO-

MEMEX

~~SECRET~~

Classification

REPRODUCTION FROM THIS COPY
IS PROHIBITED UNLESS "UNCLASSIFIED."

COPY LBJ LIBRARY

INCOMING

AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO

PAGE 2
DEPTEL 1208~~SECRET~~
Classification

Control:

Recd:

PRIATE EMISSARY MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH IMBERT AND PROCEED WITH EXPLORATORY TALKS WITH HIM WITHOUT AWAITING CONCLUSION OF FINAL AGREEMENT WITH GUZMAN. HOWEVER, IF YOU FEEL STRONGLY THAT APPROACH TO IMBERT IS NOT ADVISABLE BEFORE A FINAL CONFERENCE WITH GUZMAN YOU MAY DELAY SUCH APPROACH UNTIL TOMORROW.

5. ALTHOUGH IT IS OBVIOUSLY DESIRABLE THAT IMBERT ACCEPT AGREED CABINET LIST WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER ONE OR MORE ALTERNATIVE SUGGESTIONS (EXCLUDING IMBERT HIMSELF) IF HE FINDS ANY NAMES ON LIST TOTALLY OBJECTIONABLE. THIS MEANS WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER ADDITION OF UP TO TWO OR THREE PRO-IMBERT PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT TRUJILLISTAS.

6. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THESE INSTRUCTIONS MAY INCREASE DIFFICULTY OF REACHING A FINAL UNDERSTANDING BUT WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT A DEAL THAT DOES NOT FULLY SATISFY OUR REQUIREMENTS. IF YOUR EFFORTS TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING SHOULD IN FACT MEET A DEAD END WE WOULD PROPOSE THAT MORA BRING TO THE MEETING OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS THE DETAILS OF WHAT EACH SIDE IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT. BRAZILIAN, ARGENTINIAN, ECUADORIAN AND HOPEFULLY OTHER MINISTERS PLAN TO ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON ON MAY 27. WE WOULD EXPECT MORA TO MAKE CLEAR TO MINISTERS THAT UNITED STATES HAS CARRIED THE BALL AS FAR AS POSSIBLE PENDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF OAS ARRANGEMENTS TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR ESTABLISHING GOVERNMENT. WITH THE CREATION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN FORCE AND THE MEETING OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS THE OAS SHOULD NOW CARRY ON FROM THERE.

GP-1

RUSK

SLS

~~SECRET~~

Classification

REPRODUCTION FROM THIS COPY
IS PROHIBITED UNLESS "UNCLASSIFIED"

COPY LBJ LIBRARY

OUTGOING

FILE
ANN BUNDY
BEN
WICKER
RE
KUREN

Charge:

~~TOP SECRET~~
Classification

Control:

Date: MAY 23, 1965
2:45 PM

58

ACTION: SecState WASHDC FLASH 1925

EKDIS

Ref: Deptel 1199

1. We can and will make additional effort insure Gusman's ability provide us with evidence that his position vis-a-vis rebel camp strong enough give reasonable assurance that he can control his own government. We do not believe, however, that formula of three major rebel leaders for three San Isidro types reaches heart of problem. "Control" in our terms really means ability to deliver on the communist question. To meet our need for more convincing indication that threat of ~~xxxxxxx~~ communists can be met, we propose ~~xxxxxx~~ insisting on one of two following alternatives.
2. Spanish Communist and PSP member Manuel Gonzalez y Gonzalez is, according to reliable testimony, much in evidence around rebel headquarters. It is widely believed here that he has been functioning as leading rebel military tactician. As pointed out Embtel ¹⁹⁰⁴ ~~1104~~, available evidence points to Peña Taveras and ^Garcia German as ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{possibly} representing additional significant Communist penetration of rebel high command. We can insist on immediate expulsion of these three as demonstration of Gusman's good faith on Communist issue. Substitution on this list of Gonzalez and Garcia for Montes and Aristy would have double advantage of ~~sxk~~ avoiding very difficult demand for departure of two major popular "heroes" of the revolution while focusing on real threat of suspected Communist subversives. Our present

DECLASSIFIED ~~SECRET~~

E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4

NJ 92-522 appeal

By *[Signature]*, NARA, Date 3/5/96

REPRODUCTION FROM THIS COPY IS PROHIBITED UNLESS "UNCLASSIFIED"

FORM FS-413P
10-64

COPY LBJ LIBRARY

SECRET

Charge:

Classification
-2-

Control:

Date:

view of Kristy is that he is a treble witness but perhaps probably not a Communist.

3. As perhaps even stronger, and in some way more palatable alternative from Gurnan's point of view, we could ask for firm agreement now on deportation of specific Castro-Communists whose essentials are not in doubt. List could include 20 agreed names of members of three red parties who have spent time in Sanitizing Soviet Bloc, Cuba and/or Communist China and who we know are presently in D. K. Involvement or lack of it in rebel movement would not be main issue. We would simply make up list of leftist subversives and seek Gurnan's firm commitment to the immediate expulsion of agreed 20 as soon as located. Names of our leading candidates follow in separate cable.

4. In our judgment we should at this time seek Gurnan's consent to one or other of two foregoing proposals. This would not mean, however, that other could not be carried out ^{at} later date under terms of private agreement on Communist issue.

5. In order obtain final concession on one of these alternatives we request definite authority to approach Gurnan on basis that his acceptance will be sufficient for final agreement. We cannot get him to do either of these things on any other basis. ^{There} ~~There~~ will be other things to ask for but they are all covered by our past public and private memoranda and by our continuing power position.

6. For this reason, unless otherwise instructed, we will handle language of

SECRET

REPRODUCTION FROM THIS COPY
IS PROHIBITED UNLESS UNCLASSIFIED

COPY LBA LIBRARY

TELEGRAM

OUTGOING

Foreign Service of the
United States of America

~~SECRET~~

Charge:

Classification

Control:

NR -3-

Date:

understanding on Communists on one or other of two following basis bases:

- (a) First and preferably, by existing public and private memoranda
- (b) Second by following language which meets your suggestions in your 1199 while accepting as we have before the notion that not all Communists need be thrown out at once.

BEGIN QUOTE - MEMORANDUM OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING - Shorter Form.

With respect to Communists and Trajillistas:

It is understood that effective measures must be taken by the constitutional government to protect the Dominican people from the subversive activities of Communist^s and Trajillistas. The initial understanding on this point continues as follows:

community.
XXXXXXXXXX

"These measures will involve their separation from the Dominican Communists. This may take the form of their internment in some isolated area under Dominican jurisdiction or their departure from the island. Identification of such persons to be effected promptly by mutual consultation and prompt action will follow as aforesaid."

It was later agreed that "the detailed procedures would have to be worked out with the new President with the object of accomplishing an effective job utilizing the resources available to all concerned."

Still later it was agreed that while internment and departure of Communists and Trajillistas is permissible, it may have practical disadvantages. It was agreed that the best practicable course will be for persons of U.S.

~~SECRET~~

REPRODUCTION FROM THIS COPY
IS PROHIBITED UNLESS "UNCLASSIFIED"

OUTGOING

~~SECRET~~

Charge:

Classification
-4-

Control:

Date:

choosing to work closely with the new Minister of Police and come to agreement as to how best to achieve the basic objective. The cooperation of U.S. personnel will be sought and retained for such time as may be necessary. Such U.S. personnel should be of Spanish-speaking background. **END QUOTE**

7. Vance and I ~~believe~~ believe he can handle military much better by waiting until we have solid platform with Guzman. If you give us clear green light on above basis tomorrow, we will proceed fastest.

8. ~~Tom~~ Tonight Mora told us finally that Inbert solution is no good. He is prepared to say so to Inbert too when time comes. He will also back a clearly anti-Communist and broadly based Guzman government. So give us the tools and we will finish the job.

B
SECRET

SILVANO MAN
6B
GChavezidjh

~~SECRET~~

REPRODUCTION FROM THIS COPY IS PROHIBITED UNLESS "UNCLASSIFIED"

