

**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 possessions 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).

FILES
BUNDY

Charge:

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Classification

Control:

49

Date: May 24, 1965

ACTION: Secstate WASHINGTON ~~XXXXXXXX~~ FLASH// 1972 4:35 pm (35)

EXDIS For the President and the Secretary from Vance & Bennett

1. Vance and I have just returned from two-hour meeting

with Imbert, who was flanked by other four members GNR, Foreign Minister Vicioso, and four members of Consultative Council to Foreign Ministry--Lic. Temistocles Messina; Lic. Pedro Troncoso Sánchez; Lic. Ambrosio Alvarez Aybar; Dr. Carlos Sánchez y Ferrer. Mora and OAS lawyer/~~xxxxx~~ also present by invitation.

Meeting had been obviously carefully planned with view to ~~trapping~~ us on legal basis of presence in DomRep, and Consultative group represents some of best legal minds in country.

2. Vicioso began by stressing surprise and concern of GNR over Stevenson statement before UN to effect we would not permit GNR forces close with rebels by land or sea. He suggested need ~~xxxxxxx~~ for clarification purposes of U. S. troops here, since Stevenson statement different from original understandings. U. S. in effect interposing itself and preventing government which has control over whole country from cleaning out small faction in downtown Santo Domingo which has already been denounced for Communist character by USG in international bodies. GNR has duty reestablish peace and normal rhythm in country. Now that IAF, including Brazil, in existence, what are its terms of

FORM FS-413P
10-64

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E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4
NLJ 92-522
By SP/isa, NARA, Date 3/15/96

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2.

Date:

reference? Is Stevenson statement valid as policy guidance for IAF?

3. I reviewed original notes from Benoit junta, requesting entrance of American forces into DomRep. Recalled conditions of anarchy at time forces arrived and fact that ^{local} military forces then on the run. No honest Dominican could deny that U. S. forces had saved country from takeover by group heavily influenced by extreme left. ^{local} Later forces had re-grouped under Imbert leadership and had moved forward in recent days to retake substantial sections of city. However, ebb and flow of events in past month with attendant bloodshed had caused entire world to look on situation here with horror. Matter had now gone beyond stage of internal problem and Inter-American System was now committed to finding solution here and matter had reached as far as United Nations. Entire world demanding that there be no more bloodshed in the streets of Santo Domingo. Stevenson statement was in response to demands of U. S., Inter-American, and world opinion and our position was that simple.

43. Sanchez y Sanchez sought turn discussion to juridical basis. He said ~~if~~ everyone grateful for our original landing which had undoubtedly saved country, but now we were taking action to prevent solution internal political problem. He

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3,

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wanted to know if we considered our new position U. S. occupation or U. S. intervention. Mora came on stage at that point to review OAS actions and commitments, stressing to group that Dominican problem no longer merely an internal political one. Sanchez y Sanchez requested know whether OAS and IAF were here to impose themselves on Dominican scene. Mora replied they are here to help Dominicans find a solution to their crisis.

5X. Sanchez said President, Secretary, and Stevenson had all been quoted on Communist influence in Dominican situation. He stressed that GNR troops had not killed one American. All opposition, including ^{mortal} ~~lethal~~ attacks, had come from rebel side. Now U. S. and OAS were creating ~~safehaven~~ safehaven for Communists in the city. GNR could not accept being put on basis of equality with Caamaño faction. GNR was legally successor to government recognized by USG. GNR surprised by our blockade which could only imply intervention.

65X Mora in reply reviewed cease-fire arrangements and explained that OAS membership was committed to keeping the cease-fire for humanitarian reasons. OAS lawyer ^{Ferrer} ~~Ferraz~~ emphasized that request of Dominican authorities for U. S. ~~assist~~ assistance was juridical base of IAF. IAF here only for peace and restoration order for all elements population under OAS aegis. Group

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could find it all in the successive OAS resolutions and IAF will stay until MFM dismisses them. Forces stopped victory of Communism. Ferrer ~~xxxxxx~~ had then refused to be drawn into political discussion, maintaining firmly he was here to provide information on juridical base of OAS/IAF action. He out-lawyered local lawyers.

76. Zeller of GNR then made ~~effi~~ offensive personalized speech and Mora reacted strongly. Said he had come to help establish ^{peace} ~~xxxx~~ and find solution and that he intended to consult with all elements and would not leave country until a solution found.

87. In response concerns expressed by Sanchez y Sanchez, Messina, and others over Communist influence in government solution said to be being backed by U. S., I offered firmest ^{determination} ~~xxxxxx~~ assurances re our ~~xxxxxx~~ preventing communist takeover and went on to say we were working for a solution which ^{would} ~~xxxxxx~~ fall neither into hands of extreme left nor of extreme right. After further complaints about Caamaño faction, I told group Caamaño forces had substantial support in other hemisphere ^{with some difficulty} ~~we~~ had managed so far to discourage other Amreps from recognizing Caamaño. This shook them up and along with other comments from Mora and Ferrer seemed to persuade them we meant business about finding a compromise solution. They began

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TELEGRAM

INCOMING

Foreign Service of the
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ACTION: AMB
INFO: ~~AMB~~ VANCE

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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/y* NARA, Date 2/16/96

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.

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PAGE TWO
BR DEPTTEL 1209

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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

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EMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
AME

ACTION: BUNDY + 1

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Control:

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Recd: MAY 23, 1965
4:32 PM

FLASH

FROM: SECSTATE

NO: 1208, MAY 23, 1965

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E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4

NJ

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-

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INCOMING

AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO

PAGE 2
DEPTEL 1208~~SECRET~~
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PRIATE EMMISSARY 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

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SLS

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