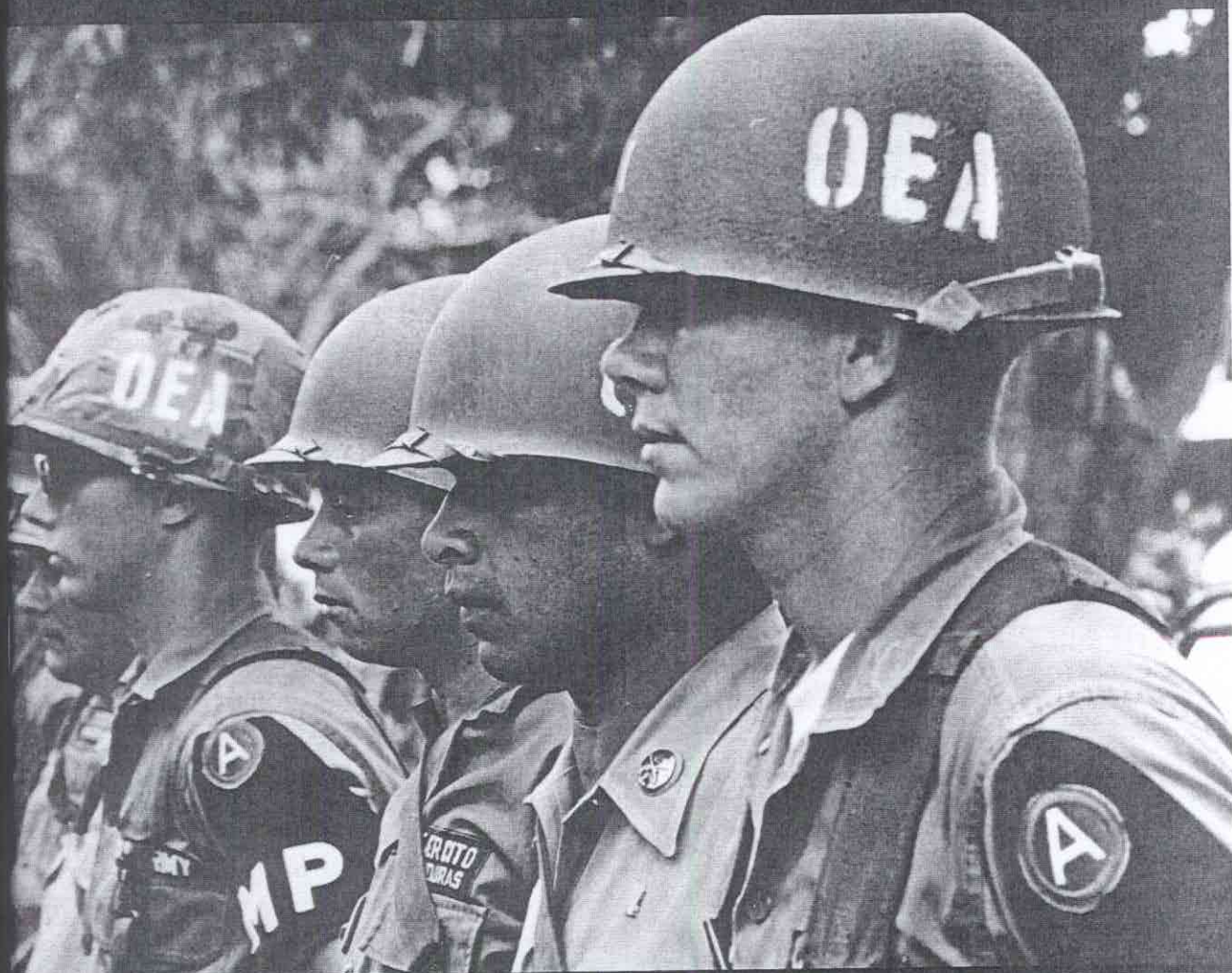


THE ***DOMINICAN  
CRISIS***

...THE HEMISPHERE ACTS



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The following official statements of President Lyndon B. Johnson, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and Ellsworth Bunker, U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States, outline U.S. policy on the situation in the Dominican Republic and describe how the crisis was met.

**COVER:**

Inter-American Peace Force—the first such force in the history of the Western Hemisphere. From right are soldiers of the United States, Costa Rica, and Honduras. The letters OEA are the Spanish abbreviation for Organization of American States.

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For men, as for nations, the way of the peacemaker

is never an easy way.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

*June 3, 1965*





There are times in the affairs of nations when great principles are tested in an ordeal of conflict and danger. This is such a time for the American nations.

At stake are the lives of thousands, the liberty of a nation, and the principles and the values of all the American Republics.

That is why the hopes and the concern of this entire hemisphere are on this Sabbath Sunday focused on the Dominican Republic.

In the dark mist of conflict and violence, revolution and confusion, it is not easy to find clear and unclouded truths.

But certain things are clear. And they require equally clear action.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

*May 2, 1965*

DECISION

1

## *DECISION*

The United States Government has been informed by military authorities in the Dominican Republic that American lives are in danger. These authorities are no longer able to guarantee their safety, and they have reported that the assistance of military personnel is now needed for that purpose.

I have ordered the Secretary of Defense to put the necessary American troops ashore in order to give protection to hundreds of Americans who are still in the Dominican Republic and to escort them safely back to this country. This same assistance will be available to the nationals of other countries, some of whom have already asked for our help.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*April 28, 1965*

For 2 days American forces have been in Santo Domingo in an effort to protect the lives of Americans and the nationals of other countries in the face of increasing violence and disorder. With the assistance of these American forces, over 2,400 Americans and other nationals have been evacuated from the Dominican Republic. We took this step when, and only when, we were officially notified by police and military officials of the Dominican Republic that they were no longer in a position to guarantee the safety of American and foreign nationals and to preserve law and order.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*April 30, 1965*

Our decision to send troops to the Dominican Republic was aimed at saving lives. The situation in the Dominican Republic was one of anarchy; there was no authority able to accept responsibility for law and order and the protection of foreign nationals.





U.S. Marines escort a family to safety.

Police and military authorities normally exercising such functions told us that they were unable to carry them out. They asked for our assistance. Under similar circumstances governments from time immemorial have been recognized to have not merely the right but the obligation to take whatever action is necessary to save the lives of their nationals.

SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK  
*May 8, 1965*

*DECISION*

Over the years of our history our forces have gone forth into many lands, but always they returned when they were no longer needed. For the purpose of America is never to suppress liberty but always to save it. The purpose of America is never to take freedom but always to return it, never to breach peace but to bolster it, and never to seize land but always to save lives.

One month ago it became my duty to send our Marines into the Dominican Republic, and I sent them for these same ends.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*June 3, 1965*



Women and children run to board a Marine rescue helicopter.

**ACTION: UNITED STATES**

**2**



*ACTION: United States*

I thought that we could not and we did not hesitate. Our forces, American forces, were ordered immediately to protect American lives. They have done that. They have attacked no one, and although some of our servicemen gave their lives, not a single American civilian or the civilian of any other nation, as a result of this protection, lost their lives.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*May 2, 1965*

As presently organized, the OAS [Organization of American States] does not have standby forces or the political machinery for the immediate decisions required to deal with such urgent contingencies. As soon as the action was taken, ambassadors to the OAS were informed and a meeting was called to enable the OAS to take jurisdiction.

SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK  
*May 8, 1965*

The first action taken by the United States was indeed a rescue operation, and there is voluminous evidence to indicate that the Marines arrived just in time to avoid a major calamity. The mission of the U.S. forces did expand in keeping with the necessities of the changing situation and to support the decisions of the OAS. For example, the rescue of American and foreign nationals proved to be a larger problem than was at first anticipated; the OAS requested that an international neutral zone of safety be promptly established; a major effort was required to provide food and medicines to sustain the elementary public health of the country; and the OAS committee arrived and needed support. In short, after the initial emergency, United States forces were necessary to preserve the situation in the Dominican Re-





A Dominican boy ducks behind a Marine jeep for protection from sniper fire.

*ACTION: United States*

public until the OAS could take charge. Meanwhile the evidence was mounting that the Communists had captured the revolution according to plan, and the danger of a Communist takeover was established beyond question.

SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK  
*May 8, 1965*

. . . we had to give very serious thought to the needs, the daily needs, of some 3½ million Dominicans. It was very important that the essential structure of the country not disintegrate despite the anarchy and chaos that existed in and around Santo Domingo itself, and so very large quantities of foodstuffs and of course smaller quantities of medicine had to be made available, regardless of political problems, regardless of political sides or orientation, in order to keep the essential structure of the country going during this period.

SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK  
*May 26, 1965*

Both food and medical supplies have been distributed all over the country by nine food teams of Spanish-speaking Americans working to relieve need on a straight humanitarian basis. These teams have cooperated fully with private charitable agencies like Catholic Relief, CARE and the Church World Service. . . .

It is entirely natural that while the shooting continued, public attention focused heavily on the fighting. But it is time now for us all to pay tribute to the work of these peaceful representatives of our country. They have saved uncounted lives, and they have taken the lead in the first steps toward the peaceful reconstruction of the Dominican Republic.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*June 1, 1965*





The Council of the Organization of American States meets on April 29 to take action on the Dominican crisis.



A U.S. soldier distributes rice to Dominican housewives.



A U.S. Army doctor treats a Dominican baby at an aid station.



COMMUNIST SUBVERSION

3

## COMMUNIST SUBVERSION

... there are signs that people trained outside the Dominican Republic are seeking to gain control. Thus the legitimate aspirations of the Dominican people and most of their leaders for progress, democracy, and social justice are threatened and so are the principles of the inter-American system.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*April 30, 1965*

The American nations cannot, must not, and will not permit the establishment of another Communist government in the Western Hemisphere. This was the unanimous view of all the American nations, when, in January 1962, they declared, and I quote:

"The principles of communism are incompatible with the principles of the Inter-American system."

This is what our beloved President John F. Kennedy meant when, less than a week before his death, he told us: "We in this hemisphere must also use every resource at our command to prevent the establishment of another Cuba in this hemisphere. . . ." \*

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*May 2, 1965*

\* The American Republics gave even greater precision to the problem of resisting subversion at a meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Washington in July 1964. Referring to the issue of Cuban intervention in Venezuela, the Foreign Ministers warned the Government of Cuba that:

"... if it should persist in carrying out acts that possess characteristics of aggression and intervention against one or more of the member states of the Organization, the member states shall preserve their essential rights as sovereign states by the use of self-defense in either individual or collective form, which could go so far as resort to armed force, until such time as the Organ of Consultation takes measures to guarantee the peace and security of the hemisphere."

The revolutionary movement took a tragic turn. Communist leaders, many of them trained in Cuba, seeing a chance to increase disorder, to gain a foothold, joined the revolution. They took increasing control. And what began as a popular democratic revolution, committed to democracy and social justice, very shortly moved and was taken over and really seized and placed into the hands of a band of Communist conspirators.

Many of the original leaders of the rebellion, the followers of President Bosch, took refuge in foreign embassies because they had been superseded by other, evil forces, and the Secretary General of the rebel government, Martínez Francisco, appealed for a cease-fire. But he was ignored. The revolution was now in other and dangerous hands.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*May 2, 1965*

What began in the Dominican Republic as a democratic revolution was taken over by Communist conspirators who had been trained for, and had carefully planned, that operation. Had they succeeded in establishing a government, the Communist seizure of power would in all likelihood have been irreversible, thus frustrating the declared principles of the OAS. We acted to preserve the freedom of choice of the Dominican people until the OAS could take charge and insure that its principles were carried out. It is now doing so.

SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK  
*May 8, 1965*

I don't know how one draws the line between overreaction and underreaction and exactly what is right under the circumstances. There is no question at all in our minds that there was a very serious threat for a period that elements of the extreme left had in a very professional and highly organized way seized control



Dean Rusk, Secretary of State.

of mobs who had been armed, and some of these elements were not under the discipline of any of the recognized political leadership of the Dominican Republic on either side, and that there was a very substantial threat.

And I am not impressed by the remark that there were several dozen known Communist leaders and that therefore this was not a very serious matter. There was a time when Hitler sat in a beer hall in Munich with seven people. And I just don't believe that one underestimates what can be done in chaos, in a situation of violence and chaos, by a few highly organized, highly trained people who know what they are about and know what they want to bring about.

SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK  
*May 26, 1965*



**ACTION: ORGANIZATION OF  
AMERICAN STATES (OAS)**

**4**

*ACTION: Organization of American States*

It is very important that representatives of the OAS be sent to the Dominican Republic, just as soon as they can be sent there, in order to strengthen the cease-fire and in order to help clear a road to the return of constitutional processes and free elections. Loss of time may mean that it is too late to preserve freedom, which alone can lead to the establishment of true democracy. This, I am sure, is what the people of the Dominican Republic want. Late action, or delay, in such a case could mean a failure to accomplish the agreed objectives of the American states.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*April 30, 1965*

The United States will give its full support to the work of the OAS and will never depart from its commitment to the preservation of the right of all of the free people of this hemisphere to choose their own course without falling prey to international conspiracy from any quarter.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*April 30, 1965*

The Organization of American States has demonstrated why, as Franklin Roosevelt said, it is the oldest and most successful association of sovereign governments in the history of the world.

Today, faced with a threat to the principles of the inter-American system and the peace of the hemisphere, the OAS acted decisively.

A committee made up of five member states will soon be on its way to the Dominican Republic. Its mission is to reestablish peace and normal conditions in that strife-weary island.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*May 1, 1965*

I continue to hope that the OAS mission presently in the Dominican Republic will rapidly find a solution that will at the same time assure for the Dominican people the principles of a democratic constitution and a government of national unity able to maintain economic and political stability. If the good offices of the OAS succeed in achieving this solution, the United States Government will render all available assistance toward rapid economic development.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*May 15, 1965*



OAS Special Committee: Ambassadors Frank Morrice, Jr., of Panama, Ricardo Colombo of Argentina, Carlos García Bauer of Guatemala, Alfredo Vazquez Carrizosa of Colombia, and Ilmar Penna Marinho of Brazil.



*ACTION: Organization of American States*

We are members of an inter-American system in which large and small nations are partners in the defense of freedom and in the progress of economic welfare and social justice.

That partnership must be constantly strengthened. Our common aim and our combined ability must increase—in crisis as well as in calm. The tragedy of the past 4 weeks in the Dominican Republic renews our common resolution to accept common responsibility in dealing with common dangers.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*May 28, 1965*

Any of those of us who were in Punta del Este in January 1962 will recall the moving occasion in which the Dominican representative rejoined the family of the Western Hemisphere, and I think all of us have been grieved that the events of the past several weeks have inflicted so much suffering upon the Dominican people, but now we have a chance to help them and end this great undertaking, not by imposing anything upon them but as friends to help them find their way to the full promise of the democracy which lies at the heart of the inter-American system.

SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK  
*June 2, 1965*

The countries of this hemisphere must devise new mechanisms for cooperative action in the Dominican situation and for any crises which might arise in the future. And all of us in the Alliance for Progress must demonstrate our deep and lively interest in the welfare of the people of the Dominican Republic. For they want what the rest of us want for ourselves: representative constitutional government, economic and social progress, hope that their children's lives will be happier and more fruitful than their own.

One of our jobs in this hemisphere is to help the Dominican people to attain these objectives. The machinery of the Alliance for Progress should set to work to build as rapidly as possible on that island the foundations for a modern, democratic life.

SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK  
*June 10, 1965*



CEASE-FIRE

5

## *CEASE-FIRE*

We have appealed repeatedly in recent days for a cease-fire between the contending forces of the Dominican Republic in the interests of all Dominicans and foreigners alike.

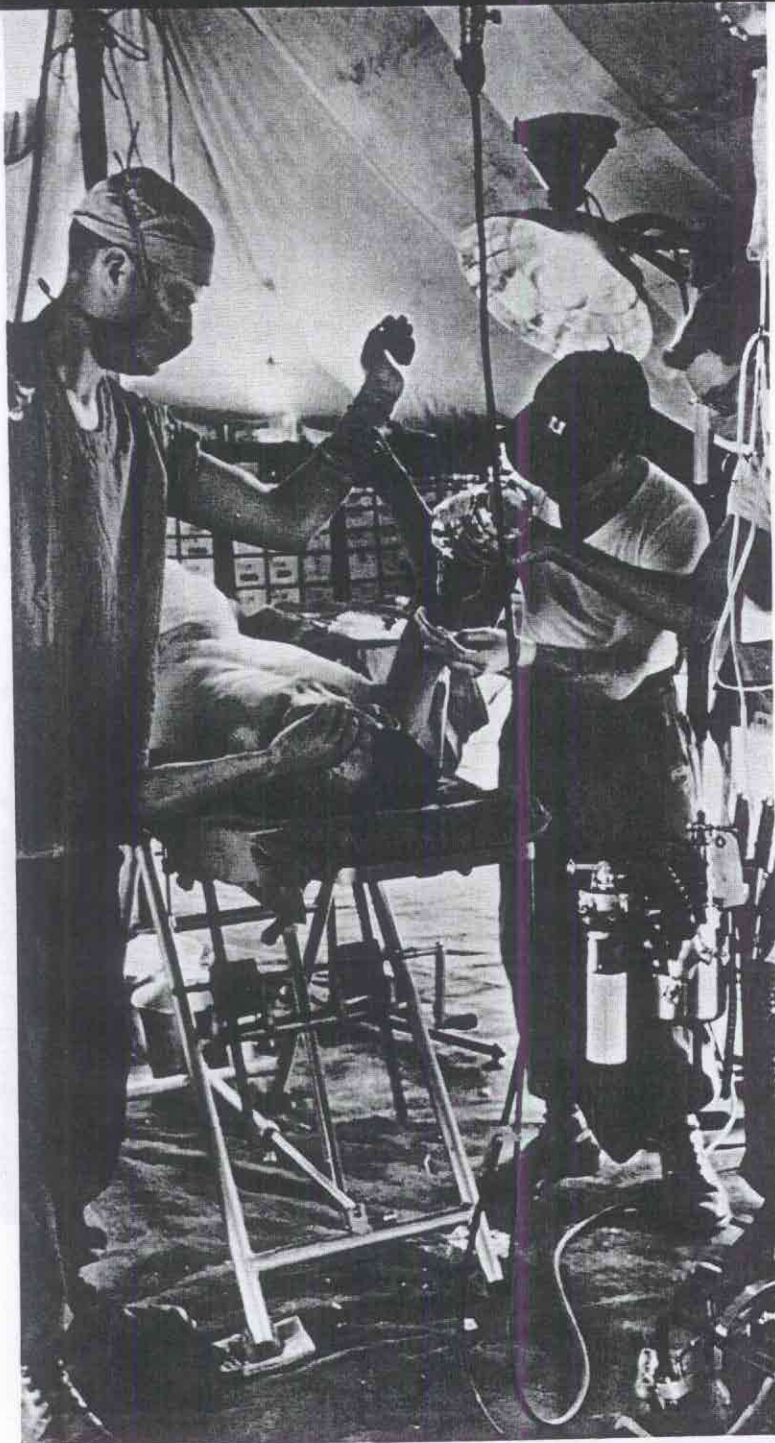
PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*April 28, 1965*

By an outstanding effort of mediation the Papal Nuncio has achieved an agreement on a cease-fire which I have urged all those concerned to take. But this agreement is not now, as I speak, being fully respected. The maintenance of the cease-fire is essential to the hopes of all for peace and freedom in the Dominican Republic.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*April 30, 1965*



The Papal Nuncio, Monsignor Emmanuel Clarizio, worked tirelessly for a cease-fire. Shown with him are Dr. José A. Mora, Secretary General of the OAS, left, and John Bartlow Martin, special U.S. Envoy, right.



U.S. Army doctors treat a young Dominican rebel for an arm wound.

*CEASE-FIRE*

And we once again join in the common appeal to put an end to violence. For only when shooting and bloodshed stop will it be possible to work toward the aspirations and hopes of the Dominican people. Progress and justice do not flourish at the point of a gun.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*May 1, 1965*

In the Dominican Republic in the last 2 days there has been renewed, repeated, and heavy firing on the Inter-American Force, in flagrant violation of the cease-fire. . . .

In these actions 3 Americans have lost their lives, and 37 more Americans and 5 Brazilians have been wounded. These unprovoked attacks on the Inter-American Force appear to have been premeditated by elements which seek to prevent the establishment of peace in Santo Domingo. Our forces there have no other mission, and they will continue to observe the same soldierly restraint they have shown for 7 weeks in the face of more than 900 cease-fire violations, and they have already suffered almost 200 casualties.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*June 17, 1965*



PEACE FORCE

6

*PEACE FORCE*

The United States forces that are there have been employed to help carry out the resolutions of the Organization of American States. I mentioned this morning the sentiments expressed by the Papal Nuncio, by Secretary General Mora, and by members of the diplomatic corps there as to the usefulness of this force and the functions they were performing. We are anxious . . . to create a multilateral force. We would hope that member countries would supply forces so that we might withdraw some of our own. We would hope that all forces could be withdrawn at the earliest possible moment.

AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH BUNKER  
*May 3, 1965*

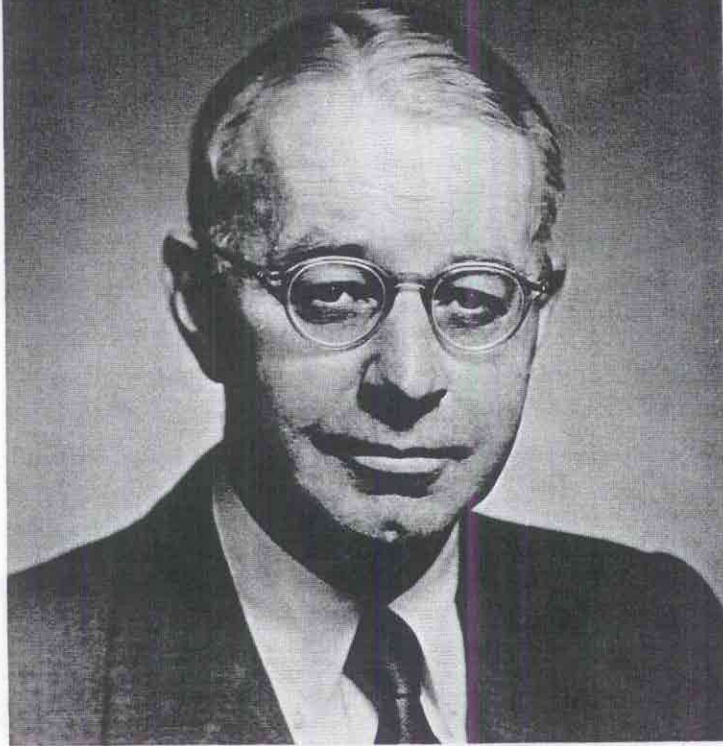
. . . the pace of events in this case does indicate that the OAS should consider standby forces and political arrangements that would enable that organization to make decisions and to take action in any future emergency with a speed required by the course of events.

SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK  
*May 8, 1965*

Mr. President [of the Tenth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of American States], I welcome the announcement of the distinguished representative of Brazil that his Government is sending an important contingent of 1,250 men to become part of the Inter-American Force set up by a resolution of this meeting of May 6th.

This will greatly enlarge the number of troops from other countries, and I am very happy, Mr. President, that I am authorized to say that, upon the arrival of these troops, my Government will withdraw a number of troops equivalent to the total number from other countries in the Dominican Republic and that we hopefully look forward to contingents coming from other countries and to a further withdrawal of the United States troops.

AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH BUNKER  
*May 21, 1965*



Ellsworth Bunker, United States Representative on the Council of the Organization of American States.

In times past large nations have used their power to impose their will on smaller nations. Today we have placed our forces at the disposition of the nations of this hemisphere to assure the peoples of those nations the right to exercise their own will in freedom.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*May 28, 1965*

For the first time in history the Organization of American States has created and sent to the soil of an American nation an international peacekeeping military force.

That may be the greatest achievement of all.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*May 28, 1965*



## WAYS TO PEACE

The United States obviously has no candidate for the Government of the Dominican Republic; this is a matter for the Dominican people themselves. It is for the OAS to find the means to assist the Dominican people to constitute a government which reflects their wishes and a government which can undertake the international obligations of the hemisphere.

AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH BUNKER  
*April 30, 1965*

Our goal in the Dominican Republic is the goal which has been expressed again and again in the treaties and agreements which make up the fabric of the inter-American system. It is that the people of that country must be permitted to freely choose the path of political democracy, social justice, and economic progress. Neither the United States, nor any nation, can want or permit a return to that brutal and oppressive despotism which earned the condemnation and punishment of this hemisphere and of all civilized humanity. We intend to carry on the struggle against tyranny no matter in what ideology it cloaks itself. This is our mutual responsibility under the agreements we have signed and the common values which bind us together.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*May 1, 1965*

We hope to see a government freely chosen by the will of all the people.

We hope to see a government dedicated to social justice for every citizen.

We hope to see a government working, every hour of every day, to feeding the hungry, to educating the ignorant, to healing the sick—a government whose only concern is the progress and the elevation and the welfare of all the people.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*May 2, 1965*



It is quite obvious . . . that there is today no effective national government in the Dominican Republic. There are contending forces, each in control or perhaps quasi-control in separate areas, but no political grouping or faction can lay a well-founded claim to being the government of the country. . . . It seems to me that it is of the greatest importance that the OAS should endeavor to assist patriotic and outstanding citizens of the Dominican Republic . . . to establish a provisional government of national unity, which could eventually lead to a permanent representative regime through democratic processes.

AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH BUNKER  
*May 8, 1965*



Dominican first-graders get new textbooks under a program of the Alliance for Progress.

## WAYS TO PEACE

Already, under the distinguished leadership of Secretary General Mora, the broad outlines of a reasonable settlement are beginning to emerge—outlines which meet the needs and respond to the desires first of the Dominican people themselves and then of all the people of this hemisphere.

First, the Dominican people—and the people of their sister Republics—do not want government by extremists of either the left or right. That is clear. They want to be ruled neither by an old conspiracy of reaction and tyranny nor by a new conspiracy of Communist violence.

Second, they want—as we do—an end to slaughter in the streets and to brutality in the *barrios*.

Third, they want—as we do—food and work and quiet in the night.

Fourth, they want—as we do—a constitutional government that will represent them all—and work for all their hopes.

Fifth, the Dominican people know they need the help of sympathetic neighbors in healing their wounds and in negotiating their divisions—but what they want ultimately is the chance to shape their own course.

Those are the hopes of the Dominican people. But they are our hopes, too. And they are shared by responsible people in every nation of this hemisphere.

Out of the Dominican crucible the 20 American nations must now forge a stronger shield against disaster.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
May 28, 1965

I have been meeting this morning with the Secretary General of the Organization of American States, Dr. José Mora, to express my very deep appreciation and the gratitude of the people of the United States for the very important contributions that

were made by the OAS, the Organization of American States, to the agreement reached last night on a new government in the Dominican Republic.

I want to take this special opportunity now to thank Dr. Mora for his own very excellent and fine work as well as the performance of his fine organization. Special thanks must go to Ambassador Penna Marinho, Ambassador Clairmont Dueñas, and our own Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker.

There are still grave problems facing the Dominican people. But the way has finally been opened for an end to strife and for the choice of leaders through the process which all free men cherish. I am certain that the hopes of men who really love peace and the democratic process have taken new strength from these developments and these events.

In a very short time there will be a provisional government in the Dominican Republic. This government will need the energetic support of the whole Western Hemisphere as it sets about the work of restoring peace and trying to rebuild the entire Dominican economy. The United States and the Organization of American States will work together in these new tasks—shoulder to shoulder—as we have worked together in these recent months. We all have the same objective. We all seek the same goals—peace and prosperity for the hemisphere.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*September 1, 1965*

This past week, Dominican leaders, with important assistance from the OAS, agreed on the establishment of a provisional government under the leadership of Dr. Hector García Godoy. This action marked the end of an impasse which had brought danger and hardship to the Dominican people during four long and difficult months.

Last night the provisional government, officially installed, announced its adherence to the Dominican Republic's international obligations, pledged its allegiance to the high purposes of economic, social, and democratic progress, and requested recog-



dition by the nations of the world. This action marked the beginning of a new road to peace, freedom, and hope for the Dominican people.

Today, after consultation with other OAS states, the U.S. Government is extending recognition to the new provisional government. On behalf of the people of the United States, I extend best personal wishes to the distinguished new President and to the brave Dominican people.

President García Godoy's government will face many great and hard tasks over the coming months—as he leads his country to free elections and as he moves to rebuild his country's economy.

In the difficult but promising days ahead, I want President García Godoy and the Dominican people to know that they have our full support.

We are already discussing on an urgent basis the resumption of certain projects which have been interrupted since the tragic days of last April.

We are ready to participate fully with the OAS, its committee on the Alliance for Progress, and international financial institutions in the important rehabilitation effort that lies ahead. We earnestly hope that, on request of the Dominican Government, the OAS will take the lead in this great enterprise.

Meanwhile preliminary discussions have established an immediate need for approximately \$20 million in assistance, and we hope that arrangements can soon be concluded with the provisional government to make this amount available. These funds will help to defray some of the immediate needs of economic reconstruction, which include the rehabilitation of private industry, a program of public works, and temporary financing of some of the essential operating expenses of the Government and key public enterprise.

While no one knows better than the Dominican people how much work it will take to clear the road to peace, progress, and democracy, they should also know that the whole hemisphere shares their hope for a bright future and will work shoulder to shoulder with them to make this hope a reality.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*September 4, 1965*

The might of America lies in the morality of our purposes and their support by the will of our people of the United States.

It was Jefferson who said that "Our interests . . . will ever be found inseparable from our moral duties." That standard guides us still. For America's only interests in the world today are those we regard as inseparable from our moral duties to mankind.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
*June 6, 1965*



Commanders of National Contingents of the Inter-American Peace Force, left to right:  
Col. Carlos de Meira Mattos of Brazil, Lt. Col. Alvaro Arias of Costa Rica,  
Lt. Gen. Bruce Palmer, Jr., of the United States;  
Maj. Policarpo Paz García of Honduras; and Col. Julio Gutierrez of Nicaragua.  
In the center, OAS Secretary General José A. Mora.

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