THE UNITED STATES AND THE TRUJILLO REGIME

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RUTGERS UNIVERSITY PRESS
New Brunswick, New Jersey
the presidency and for seats in the national assembly. The main contenders were the Partido Revolucionario Dominicana (Dominican Revolutionary Party—PRD), a party to the left of center; and the Unión Cívica Nacional (National Civic Union—UCN), a party to the right of center.

The PRD's chief, as well as its presidential candidate, was Juan Bosch, one of the country's leading literary figures and long-time foe of the late Trujillo. Bosch had been in exile for twenty-five years in several Latin American states until his return to the Dominican Republic in October, 1961. While still in exile he had helped form the PRD in 1939. He based his campaign on reform and stood for what he referred to as "democratic Leftism." His campaign focused on the peasants, promising them land reform, and he pledged the future nationalization of foreign property and business.

Viriato Alberto Fiallo, a country physician, was the UCN's presidential nominee. He had remained in the Dominican Republic during the Trujillo era and had led a clandestine movement against the generalissimo. He had also participated in formation of the UCN. Fiallo and the UCN drew their major support from landowners, shopkeepers and professional people. Both candidates were friendly to the United States, although the Kennedy administration seemed to favor the PRD because its views were more in keeping with the reformist goals of the Alliance for Progress. Nevertheless, the United States pledged to support the winner of the election, whomever he might be.

In late November, the month before the national elections, the Dominican representative to the OAS Council requested that the Secretary General select a group of distinguished American educators, jurists and publicists to come to the Dominican Republic for the dual purpose of participating in a symposium on democracy and observing the national elections. The Secretary General selected forty-six persons to be participants and observers, representing all the American Republics except Cuba, Haiti and Mexico, plus the OAS, the Technical Assistance Mis-

sion and the Inter-American Development Bank. The United States was represented by thirteen individuals.

Finally, on December 2, 1962, some nineteen months after Trujillo's assassination, the OAS-supervised national elections were held. Over one million Dominicans went to the polls, representing almost 70 per cent of the electorate. This first free and honest election since 1924 resulted in the election of Juan Bosch as president by a two-to-one margin over Viriato A. Fiallo, and in a solid majority for the PRD in the national assembly. The inauguration of Bosch as president on February 27, 1963, and the formation of a fourteen-member cabinet early the next month, marked the end of the era of Trujillo and the beginning of a unique period in Dominican history.

Shortly after Bosch's inauguration another chapter was written in the long record of animosity between the Dominican Republic and its cohabitant on the island of Hispaniola, Haiti, which was ruled with an iron hand by François "Papa Doc" Duvalier. In late April, 1963, Duvalier's police broke into the Dominican Embassy in Port-au-Prince to search for anti-government Haitians who had been granted asylum. Although Haiti had refused to grant safe-conduct passes to these political refugees, this was the first time its police had violated the extraterritoriality of a diplomatic mission in order to capture political refugees. The situation was further complicated by the presence in Haiti of certain members of the Trujillo family and by rumors that they were plotting with Duvalier to assassinate Bosch. The Dominican navy put to sea, and tanks and troops moved to the border. Bosch publicly called Duvalier a mad tyrant and issued an ultimatum on April 28 threatening to use force against Haiti if the situation were not "rectified" within twenty-four hours. On the same day the Dominican Republic went to the OAS and charged Haiti with threatening the peace of the hemisphere, presenting ten specific charges against the Haitian government. The OAS persuaded the Bosch administration to extend its ultimatum for twelve hours until it could investigate, and sent a fact-finding mission at once.
In the face of the Dominican massing of troops along the Haitian border, as well as a Venezuelan pledge of military support for the Dominican Republic and the stationing of United States naval units offshore ("to evacuate nationals"), the Haitian government announced its compliance with Dominican demands. A few more threats were required, however, before Duvalier implemented his promises and allowed the Haitian political prisoners to leave his domain, thus ending the three-week imbroglio.

Some commentators believed that Bosch had reacted the way he did in order to divert Dominican attention from domestic problems. Bosch had encountered internal as well as international problems almost from the day he took office—and the former were largely attributable to the legacy of Trujillo. Although a dedicated and honest man, Bosch was a poor organizer and an uncompromising idealist. He alienated one group after another. He lost his supporters' backing because he was unable to fulfill his reform commitments to them; he alienated his conservative critics because he made only limited efforts to compromise with them. In fact, those who opposed him were intransigent and refused to cooperate with him from the very beginning. Bosch's final undoing, which was used as a pretext by his opponents, was alienating the armed forces by permitting extreme leftists to return from exile and failing to take a strong anti-communist stand. Unfounded rumors that Bosch was creating his own rival military force increased the military's fear and suspicion.

Finally, at dawn on September 25, 1963, a widely predicted coup overthrew Bosch and dissolved the National Assembly after only seven months in office. The prime mover was General Elias Wessin y Wessin, commander of the San Isidro air base garrison, who had helped exile the members of the Trujillo family in late 1961. The rationale for the coup was Bosch's "softness on communism" and his responsibility for "plunging the country into chaos." Two days after the coup a three-man civilian provisional government was named, although the armed forces had real power. Bosch left the Dominican Republic for exile in Puerto Rico on September 29, 1963. Thus ended in disappointment the United States- and OAS-backed Dominican democratic experiment.

2. UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE POLICIES

After Trujillo's assassination the general policy of the United States was to assist democratic elements in the Dominican Republic and to oppose strongly any attempts to reestablish autocracy or to begin a Castro-inspired revolution. Trujillo's death on May 30, 1961, occurred about midway between President Kennedy's formal proposal of the Alliance for Progress (March 15) and its acceptance as a hemispheric commitment at Punta del Este, Uruguay (the following August). Consistent with the stated ends and means of the Alliance, the United States opposed solutions to Dominican problems advocated by the extreme right or left, and sought to promote a moderate program of social reform. The United States felt it had a vested interest in the success of Dominican progress toward democracy by steering between the positions of both the extreme left (Cuba) and the right (Trujillo era). If successful, such progress was to confirm the United States' wisdom in adopting a new approach to Latin American problems—and would underscore the potentialities of the Alliance for Progress in combating communist subversion as a substitute for unilateral intervention and cooperation with dictators.

Complete United States support of Dominican efforts to move toward democracy was evidenced in early 1962. On January 6, two days after sanctions were lifted, diplomatic relations were resumed. The Latin American director of AID, Teodoro Moscoso, led an economic mission to the Dominican Republic. An agreement was signed by the two governments on January 11, providing for economic aid and a Peace Corps mission. Immediately after the Rodriguez coup on January 17, the United States halted its steps toward renewal of aid and trade. But