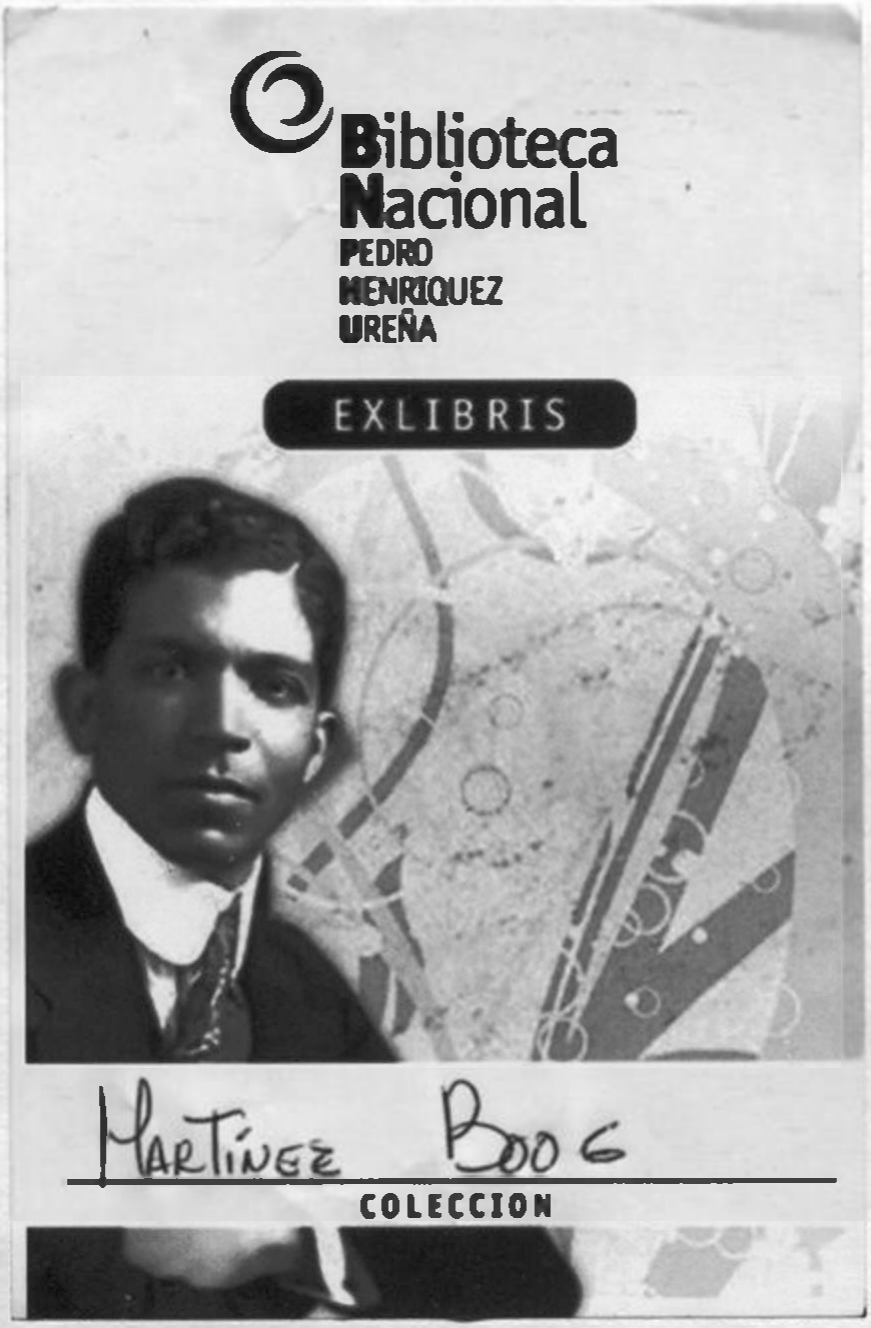
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
MINISTRY FOR HOME AFFAIRS

WHITE BOOK

OF COMMUNISM IN DOMINICAN REPUBLIC


Biblioteca
Nacional
PEDRO
HENRIQUEZ
UREÑA
EXLIBRIS
MARTÍNEZ BOOG
COLECCION

Depósito Legal: M. 458-1958

Gráficas Rey.—Madrid

HISTORICAL NECESSITY OF THIS WORK

Reg. No.

This is the story of communist agression against the Republic of Santo Domingo.

The story is incomplete. The fundamental point is that international communist agression, in spite of having failed in its objectives in Santo Domingo, still conserves its topicality and virulence.

The Republic of Santo Domingo has a tradition of respect for the rights of other nations and has held as an article of faith in her international relations a strict norm of non-interferance in the domestic affairs of others.

In the sphere of home affairs, peace being achieved, and her spiritual and material resources wisely directed towards the common welfare, the people of Santo Domingo are today hard working, progressive, Christian and democratic. For this reason no other nation has suffered such persistent and furious attacks from communists of all countries, in all the ways in which hate and political passion can be manifested: from the international and public campaign that was the height of calumny and moreover systematic, which was initiated and financed largely at the instigation of Moscow, to lower the prestige of the Republic of Santo Domingo and obscure the figure of the great leader of her people, Generalisimo Trujillo Molina, to the most condemnable and violent proceedings, such as war, terrorism and assassination.

The Government of Santo Domingo has the certainty that, on offering this book to the public, at the same time as it fulfils a duty to its own people and to the peoples of the other continental countries, it is offering an extremely useful service in the cause of democracy and of the common ideals

and interests of America, on account of its sensational revelations of facts, plans and methods of the communists.

It will be possible to see, thread by thread and knot by knot, all the complicated international web woven by the reds in order to provoke bloodshed in Santo Domingo and lead the people to chaos and despair. It will be possible by means of facts, the truth of which has been rigorously checked by reports that up to now have not been made public and that have been kept in the secret archives of the government, by means of spontaneous confessions on the part of foreign and Dominican communists concerning episodes in which they themselves played a leading part, by means of official documents which were made public at the appropriate time and others that are published for the first time on this occasion.

From the days when communism appeared to be something remote, lacking in reality and romantic, passing through the first dangerous manifestations made by groups of fanatics and young terrorists, which Juan Isidro Jiménez Grullón captained in Santiago de los Caballeros, and Juan Bosch led in Ciudad Trujillo, till we come to the well organized and financed enterprises of Cayo Confites and Luperón, it will be possible to see and to prove how the love of peace, word and Christian traditions of the People of Santo Domingo, on the one hand, and on the other, the convictions, the iron will and the identification of Generalisimo Trujillo with his people, prevented the perverse and traitorous plans of the reds from being carried out.

Throughout this book we shall see how the Spanish communists paid with ingratitude the hospitality which in an unlucky hour they received from the Republic of Santo Domingo, since, instead of devoting themselves to legitimate work and living honestly with their hosts, they sowed in the virgin soil of the minds of workers and students the seeds of communism, fulfilling orders received from the communist Internationales in Paris. We shall also see in this book episodes in the development of communism as an enemy of peace and of the spiritual heritage of the Dominican people; we shall see the strikes in the east of the Republic, fortunately cut short owing to the authority and moderation shown by Generalisimo Trujillo on occasion; we shall see the clandestine activities of the so-called «Revolutionary Democratic Party of Santo Domingo» and «The Revolutionary Youth»; we shall see the activities of their legal representatives, «Pop-

ular Socialist Party of Santo Domingo» or «Communist Party» and «Democratic Youth», which, in their last phase, embarked on the most sinister projects for the health of the country; we shall see the conspiracy of Cayo Confites» in 1947 and the landing in Luperón in 1949, notorious results of the activities, money and unbridled passions of governors, pseudo-exiles and other fellow travellers under the red mantle of Moscow.

This book is of singular interest and topicality at this time when communism is undergoing a metamorphosis to present itself under new aspects.

We offer it to the public with the certainty that we are serving the great cause of the American peoples.

WHITE BOOK OF COMMUNISM
IN
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

PART I

NATIONAL BOVNDARIES

ORIGINS OF COMMUNISM IN SANTO DOMINGO

At the beginning communism appeared to be something remote, inofensive and romantic.

Among those who were not initiated into Marxist dialectics and philosophy, for the ordinary man in the street, the word «communism» had a vague meaning of revindication in the social, economic and political spheres which had its beginnings —it was erroneously believed— in the immense human laboratory of Russia, a country that was only known for its cruel Tsar, a melody or a romantic legend.

In small intellectual circles the subject of communism was discussed from time to time for snobbish or pedantic reasons. The subject was reduced to purely speculative conversations, with no practical consequences in a country where, like the Republic of Santo Domingo, there has always been a placid social climate without political and labour upheavals which, in other countries favor the development of extremisms.

The hidden and criminal depths of communism, the mechanics of its cynical and malleable policy, the military discipline to which its members are subject, its social dangerousness, were not then foreseen except by a very few intuitive spirits, or by those who had suffered the experience in the flesh, or had seen it at first hand.

Already in the eulogized «country of socialism», in the tortured Russia of all ages, the death of Lenin had broken the governing triumvirate, and Leo Trotsky began

his dramatic exile which terminated with his violent death in Mexico so that, the road free, Stalin might initiate the most absolute and bloody tyranny of all times.

Millions of peasants (eleven million, according to calculations made) starved to death during the stage known as «collectivization», when their wheat and meat were snatched from them and when the cruel knives of the famous «tchiskas» or «purges» had cut off the heads of millions of politicians, soldiers, scientists, civil servants, industrial and administrative employees, intellectuals, etc., among whom were Lenin's own colleagues in the uncertain days of the Russian revolution.

But the shadow of an exaggeratedly untruthful and laudatory propaganda half hid from the eyes of the world the sad truth about an enslaved people.

The first active and public propagandist for communism in the Republic of Santo Domingo was a certain Aarón Kohaz, a Russian trader who settled in the city of La Vega. Kohaz travelled through the towns and villages of the country with his bags full of goods and the formulae of Marx and Engels on his lips, offering them as the «miraculous panacea for all the political and social ills of the world».

Another Russian, Biolostoskey, recounted about his country the «wonderful things» created by the great revolution. These were the first active propagandists for communism in our country.

Biolostosky died in a banana strike in Central America. Kohaz left for Russia.

These ideas, as it may be imagined, did not take root in our midst.

The Russian novelists and story-tellers were read, their beautiful music was listened to and, as a source of culture, one or two intellectuals took up a book on Marx. But no more.

FIRST GERMS OF COMMUNISM

Communism ceased to be a subject for after dinner literary conversations and began to extend dangerously in the social milieu with the activities of two Dominican intellectuals: Juan Bosch, who established his centre of

operations in Ciudad Trujillo, and Juan Isidro Jiménez Grullón, who did the same in Santiago de los Caballeros.

It is curious to observe the similarity in the personalities of both communists. Both are young, ambitious, audacious, with dreams of greatness that border on megalomania, inscrupulous, tremendous talkers, skilful writers and definitely Marxists.

Both introduce themselves among the restless youth of the country with the same methods, they use the same tactics to end up also in a very similar way.

The country was waking up to cultural life. Under the wide and generous patronage of Generalissimo Trujillo cultural life developed and flowered rapidly.

Juan Bosch cultivated the Creole story and he even wrote a novel «La Mañosa» which, was published because its author sought the aid Trujillo.

He is an agitator who works among young people and, like all agitators, Bosch found young people who listened to him and followed him.

The literary people are the first to be seduced. Pedro Mir (1), whom Bosch baptizes with the significant name of «socialist poet of Santo Domingo», Pérez Cabral and Carmen Natalia Martínez Bonilla (2) are three poets who learn their first lessons in Marxism with the author of «La Mañosa».

With his thoughtless irresponsibility it was a simple natter for him to become embroiled, as he did, in the political conspiracy.

Bosch was found out, he confessed and was convicted, but the opportune intervention of Generalisimo Trujillo freed him from the well deserved punishment of prison. He then showed himself full of gratitude, repentance and admiration for Trujillo.

He then became a political partisan of Trujillo. In the village of Andrés, a little distance from the capital of the Republic, he mounted the stand to speak to the

---

(1) After taking his law degree, thanks to the patronaje of Trujillo, he went abroad. He has not returned.

(2) Pérez Cabral went to Venezuela. Carmen Natalia Martínez Bonilla, accompanied by her family, went to Puerto Rico, after having been the centre of intense communist activity, first as a member of «Revolutionary Young» and afterwards of «Democratic Youth».

peasants of the prosperity, of the peace and of the era of work of Trujillo.

In January 1937 Juan Bosch wrote to Generalissimo Trujillo to congratulate him on the change of name of the capital of the Republic, the result of an uncontainable plebiscitary movement on the part of the people of Santo Domingo, and said: «I am taking advantage of this circumstance to send you my warmest congratulations on the occasion of your exalted name having been given to Santo Domingo de Guzmán, though I am of the opinion that it is the town, rather then yourself, that has been honoured.»

But Juan Bosch was ungrateful. With sly mendacity he pretended to ill health in order to travel to Puerto Rico. Trujillo gave him money for the journey and to recover his supposedly lost health. Juan Bosch repaid this gesture with betrayal. From Puerto Rico he sent in his resignation as employee of the Public Administration. and from then on he declared himself to be «an exile for political reasons». No one has so well exploited the business of being an exile as Bosch. We shall meet him again in this book.

Juan Isidro Jiménez Grullón, as we have already said, used the same tactics: First culture, afterwards communism and finally terrorism.

Recently arrived from París, with polished manners and an aristocratic appearance, with bookish and affected conversation, well connected and of a distinguished family, it was easy for Grullón to be elected President of the society «Lovers of Light», the traditional seat of culture in Santiago; and he took advantage —as did Juan Bosch in Ciudad Trujillo— of the healthy restlessness of youth to twist its course and lead it to the thorny field of politics that were frankly subversive.

Jiménez Grullón lost no time. In the mornings he contacted the past policy of the Republic in the persons of two old men who wished to resurrect a dead dictatorship: José Daniel Ariza and Ramón A. Michel, alias «Papa Michel». In the evenings ,and this was far more serious, from the salons of the «Lovers of Light» which he soiled with his presidency, he attempted to stain the clean future which lay before the young students of Santiago.

Jiménez Grullón talked, he talked a lot; he boasted

of his friendship with well known communists, such as Luis Carlos Prestes and others, among whom he mentions Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, concerning whom he recalls boastfully the days they spent together in París.

This whispering and Machiavelian communist led, or rather we should say, pushed a group of young people to terrorist action. Various deadly artifacts exploded in the city of Santiago; it was planned to set two private houses on fire, and the fire was actually started but fortunately it was extinguished in time; the outlines of a plot were drawn up to assassinate the Governor of Santiago, General José Estrella, a plot that failed at the last moment. But there was something graver still: the plans were made and agreed on down to the last detail of a plot to assassinate the head of the State.

Jiménez Grullón, a coward, when he sees that the young men who are involved cannot draw back, leaves them and departs for Constanza, far from the proposed scene of the monstruous affair.

One of the young conspirators, Ramón Vila Piola, during the interrogation by the enquiring magistrate of the district of Santo Domingo, explained the main cause for the failure of the plot. Vila Piola said: «Suddenly the presidential cars appeared. Miolán and I approached the railing to watch the honorable President go in. We did not see any of the boys near us. And when the honorable President got out of his car calmly and firmly, in spite of knowing —as we afterwards realized— that something might occur, I sincerely confess that all evil ideas left my mind and once more I felt admiration for that man who walked forward upstairs, without the slightest haste, as though with a kind of certainty that the arms that were lifted against him would fall again without harming him under the influence of his serene gaze» (3).

In another part of his statement to the Magistrate Vila Piola expressed himself in the following way concerning Jiménez Grullón: «It is a good thing that all this should be known. Men like Jiménez Grullón constitute a real peril for society...» «Jiménez Grullón wished to be

---

(3) See the work «Two cases in our Criminal Annals» by Miguel Angel González Rodríguez, Enquiring Magistrate of the 1st Division of the District of Santo Domingo. Vol. I, page 32.

the leader of the youth of the country. Il pleased his vanity to dream that he would be acclaimed triumphantly by the youthful Phalanxes. But such an enterprise held a lot of risk; his campaign was hardly begun when fear seized him.» Among the young men that Jiménez Grullón led to terrorist crimes in the name of communism were, as well as Vila Piola, Jesús María Patiño (alias) Chichi, Hostos Guaroa, Félix Pepín, Quillermo Liz, Rafael Antonio Veras (alias Quique, Nicanor Saleta Arias, Fulvio Liz, Lionel García Beltrán, Rafael Octavio Moscoso (alias) Fellito, Luis María Helú, Ramón Valverde Martínez, Sixto Liz and others.

They were sentenced by the Criminal Court of the District of Santo Domingo on the 27th of July, 1935, to various penalties (4), according to the gravity of the cases. They were later pardoned by the generosity of the Head of the State, Generalissimo Trujillo, according to the prerogatives conceded to him under the Constitution of the Republic.

Many of these young men returned to a normal life and today fill posts in the Government or in various commercial or industrial firms, and are guided by the light of truth.

Jiménez Grullón behaved like a legitimate communist. First he wrote a long and expressive letter to Generalissimo

---

(4) The crimes for which Jiménez Grullón and the rest of the accused were tried and condemned were the following: offense and machinations against the head of the State (Art.: 87, 88, 89, 90 and 91 of the criminal code); association and agreement to comit crimes against persons and property (Art.: 265, 266 of the criminal code); attempt at assassination perpetrated against the person of the head the State, H. E. Generalissimo Dr. Rafael Leónidas Trujillo Molina (C. C. Arts. 2nd, 295, 296, 297, 298 and 302); Attempt at assassination with undefined or general intentions, for having caused to explode and attempted to cause to explode various deadly bombs in public places and in inhabited dwellings (Art. 45, C. C. and Law Nº 705): attempt at assassination against the person of General José Estrella, Civil governor of the province of Santiago; the crime of arson in two inhabited dwellings (Art. 45, C. C. Law Nº 705); a bomb on the central railway; crimes of public insults against the head of the State; felony of possessing fire-arms, munitions and explosives; offense against public order and the order of the State; finally for having sent anonymous letters of an injurious, defamatory and insulting nature to various persons.

Trujillo, full of literary verbiage, to express his gratitude and promising good behaviour. He left for abroad without hindrance and, as was to be expected, he returned to the task that was most pleasing to him: calumnizing, plotting and serving communism (5).

As in the case of Juan Bosch we shall meet him again in the «Carribean Legion».

A few years passed during which communism gave no signs of life in the Republic of Santo Domingo.

---

(5) Jiménez Grullón was obliged to leave North American territory, Puerto Rico, where he was practising as a doctor, because it was proved that he was devoting himself to communist activities.

PROHIBITION OF COMMUNISM IN THE REPUBLIC OF SANTO DOMINGO

The Communist Internationale had launched among its political armies scattered throughout the world the pass-word of the «popular fronts» variegated alliances of parties and factions of the left-wing, in order to «fight for the triumph of universal democracy and for the final defeat of fascism» (1).

As was amply demonstrated a very short while afterwards, it was a question of a cynical maneuvre on the part of international communism to fortify the national positions and cadres of the communist parties; taking advantage of liberal principles of noble essence and tradition which were «threatened with death by Nazi-Fascist Imperialism»; in this way the following was attained: on the

---

(1) The pass-word of the «popular fronts» was adopted at the VII Congress of the communist Internationale, known also as the Third Internationale, which met in Moscow on July 23rd 1935.

The tactics of the popular front were qualified by George Dimitrof, president of the Communist Internationale, also called the «people's tribunal», as the «Trojan Horse», which would allow communism to penetrate into organizations not hitherto controlled by it.

Dimitrof even defended the thesis that communism should ally itself with «specifically reactionary forces», so that, backed up by them it would be possible to intensify «actions and propaganda with a freedom and protection difficult of attainment while communism remained within legal bounds».

And thus cynical communist politicians have always acted.

one hand, the communist cadres would be able to boast of being in the van-guard of democracy and the liberal movement throughout the world —at the precise moment when Russia was being drowned in a blood-bath— and on the other hand the communists would occupy —as they did in fact do— key positions in the Government and in the workers' organizations, if they triumphed in the elections.

It cannot be denied that the communist parties drew ample benefits from these heterogeneous alliances, making capital from their experiences in the political struggles and the disorientation then prevalent, as also from the ingenuousness and short-sightendness of governors and politicians.

The «popular fronts» triumphed in Chile, France and Spain. In Cuba writers such as Juan Marinello and poets such as Nicolás Guillén were drawn into the orbit of communism. In Brazil the insurrection led by Luis Carlos Prestes failed; but in Mexico Vicente Lombardo Toledano, who made himself out to be a workers' leader without political afiliation, lined up the working classes in the formation ordered by Moscow.

In the United States itself the book *Mission to Moscow*, written by Joseph Davis, with the sumpathy of President Roosevelt himself —a pleasant sketch of life among the Soviets— beat publishing records and was read with favorable interest by millions of ingenuous Americans who began to believe that the bear was not as ferocious as he had been painted.

It was without doubt a time of triumph for communism. To combat it was to be pointed out as an enemy of «progress and democracy», if it did not mean being branded with the stigma of «reactionary and fascist».

This was the moment when Generalissimo Trujillo, with the energy and responsibility that characterize his political actions, resolved to bring to Congress the first anti-communist law in the history of Santo Domingo.

He saw the danger and he acted in accordance with the needs of the country's health.

On Octuber lst, 1936 President Trujillo brought before Congress a Bill, by means of which communism was declared illegal in the Republic of Santo Domingo (2).

(2) See Appendix number 1.

Among other wise concepts President Trujillo expressed the following in the prologue to the Bill.

«Communism and other doctrines of the same kind, which tend to subvert the economic and social regime today in force in all civilized nations, foment increasingly and day by day class hatred and create conflicts which in certain countries take on at times the character of long and bloody armed struggles...

On account of my natural inclination as a man and my ideals as a governor I am deeply attracted by all proposals which tend to extend in the world the conquests of right and the empere of justice. For the first time in the history of the Republic, my Government has initiated and carried through, in accordance with the provisions of a legislation inspired by supreme national interest, the scientific and equitative distribution of all land which is suitable for cultivation. In this way I have given work to thousands of men and I have carried out a task of advanced social justice within the framework of absolute and strict respect for private property. This is the kind of socialism that I practise, being the only one that is in accord with my ideas as a governor who is conscious of the claims of justice, but jealous of his duty as the guardian of the economic and moral patrimony which his fellow citizens have en trusted to him.

I do not believe that profession of communist and other ideas of a similar nature can be justified in our midst. We are an essentially agricultural country, suffering at times crises and perturbations of an economic nature which are the inevitable consequence of the laws that control the development of all nations; but we do not have those social problems that foment in other places the class struggle and often create conflicts that are difficult to solve between capital and labour.

In our country, properly speaking. there are no classes. All the Dominicans, from the President of the Republic down to the last citizen, are fighters and workers, dedicated to the hard task of creating with the sword of our efforts the welfare to which we aspire. Therefore I consider that all communist or anarchist tendencies —which in our country would have of necessity to be an imitation and not a social necessity, or a legitimate class aspiration— must be drastically punished as an attempt against

the principles that serve as a base for the economic and political régime of the Republic and with which all the people of Santo Domingo are in agreement. Such doctrines have today no *raison d'être* in our milieu and the doors must be shut against them so that they may have none in the future. The passing of this Bill which now becomes a law of the Republic will thus constitute an act of great legislative fore-sight.»

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES IN OUR SPHERE

On July 18th 1936 the Spanish Army took up arms against the Republican Government under which Spain was suffering.

The insurrection had a vital sense of profound rectifications.

For some time past, and especially since the triumph of the «popular front» on 16th of February 1936, life in Spain was in its death throes and wounded by anarchy.

Crowds, instigated and led by communists, set fire to churches, public and private buildings, assassinated orderly citizens, vociferated and prophesied even more terrible days.

The Assassination of the member of parliament Don José Calvo Sotelo on the night of July 12th, 1936, was the spark that set fire to the great insurrection.

The Spanish war was long, cruel and full of heroic and dramatic episodes.

International communism organized a vigorous campaign all over the world to present the cause of the Spanish Government as that of Spain herself, the victim of international fascism.

The propaganda was clever, intense and persuasive. Manu fell into the web. To Spain came, together with adventurers and delinquents of all kinds which made up the so-called «International Brigades» of sad memory —precursors of the «Carribean Legion»—, artists, intellectuals, scientists, sane and ingenuous spirits who fell into the

trap of placing their faith and sympathies in a cause which, like the Spanish Republic, was rotten at the roots with the virus of communism.

As was to be expected, the Nationalist forces triumphed, in spite of Russia —who poured in men and equipment, used as experimental material on the flesh of the Spanish people— and in spite also of the International Brigades.

The Spanish débacle forced into exile hundreds of thousands of Spaniards. They were first received in France, of necessity, as an obligatory transit point. There they were thrown into concentration camps where the living conditions were painful.

With the bitterness of defeat and exile, without rêsources of any kind, without clear hopes for the future, this mass of Spanish refugees wished to reach America in order to start a new life; but no door was opened to them.

It was in these circumstances that Generalissimo Trujillo, without taking political colour into account, saw only in these Spaniards men beaten down by misfortune and he offered the hospitality of Santo Domingo.

This very humane attitude of Trujillo was not the result of hazard or improvisation (1).

As far back as the year 1937, when on the initiative of President Roosevelt an international Conference was held in Evian to deal with the problems of the refugees —eth situacion of thousands of Jews, victims of Nazism, was terrible— the voice of Trujillo was heard, alone in that Assembly, giving his assurence that the Republic of Santo Domingo could take in immediately up to a hundred thousand European immigrants.

A result of this offer was the agreement subscribed to by the Government of Santo Domingo and the Dominican Settlement Association of New York, better known by the abbreviation of DORSA, by means of which thousands of Jews settled in the northern part of the Republic on lands donated for this purpose by Trujillo himself.

But even worse, as we have seen, was the situation of the Spanish refugees.

At the beginning of April 1939 the first six Spanish

---

(1) See Appendix number 2.

refugees arrived in the Republic; they were: Francisco Martínez Alvez, of Almería, a captain in Radio-telegraphy; Diego López Gallero, of Jaén, a machine-gunner Captain; Víctor del Pino Gil, major in the Rifles, of Madrid; Antonio Cistre Culárons, of Barcelona, an Air Force mechanic; León Fernández Cámara, of Victoria, a member of the Assault Guard, and José Gutiérrez Alvarez, of Cádiz.

Between this month of April and November 1940 more then seven thousand Spanish republican refugees arrived in the country.

Let one of them, José Almoina, give us his own impressions of Dominican hospitality, after defeat, exile and abandonment:

«The only passport required» —he is referring to the refugees— is their condition. Neither personal nor political antecedents were examined, neither moral nor economic guarantees of any kind were demanded, neither were they obliged to abjure or rectify their professions and activities, nor were they asked to do the slightest thing which might signify a renunciation of their ideals. The Dominican Republic, from the demographic-economic point of view needed only farm workers. However, I believe that of the Spaniards who arrived in Santo Domingo there were not more than a hundred peasants with the inclination to work on the land. The majority were intellectuals. I remember that when I went to Paris to get ready for my journey to somewhere in the world —and with what anxiety all we Republicans tramped about in those days— I went in dramatic pilgrimage to one after another of the diplomatic and consular posts of the countries which, in those days, appeared to be well disposed or not disdaining to take us in. But how many disappointments! When it was not a question of making a payment, difficult and complicated requirements were necessary; in cases where one was found to be acceptable it was necessary to fill in long forms with various recommendations, and finally came the delays motivated by circumstances.»

«When I went to the Dominican Legation all the doors were opened to me and to those others who were there at the same time. In less than ten minutes the brief and indispensable formulae required for a free visa were completed and a few days later we were on our way to

America —all those of us who— a few hours before had been surrounded by a dark and hopeless desert that excluded us. From the anxiety of concentration camps, surrounded by barbed-wire and guarded by Senegalese soldiers —in Free France!— we passed to the restfulness of the land of Santo Domingo where we were given the most cordial and generous of welcomes» (2).

The undertow of the Spanish tragedy threw up on to our beaches thousands of human beings, who were defeated, tough, whose hopes had been destroyed and in whom bitterness had taken root.

In the Dominican Republic a rebirth took place, hope burgeoned afresh and they lived again in the warmth of hospitality and affection.

Little by little the Spanish refugees found homes and places where they could earn their living respectably. In Santo Domingo University, in other teaching centres, in the different departments of public Administration, in private business and industries, everywhere, room was made for a Spanish refugee in distress.

A few —barely a hundred— made their way to the east of the country where they established in the province of El Seibo, on the farming community of Pedro Sánchez, a settlement to work the land.

The simple, Christian and compassionate people of Santo Domingo made every efort to make the process of adaptation an easy one for the refugee Spaniards. The doors of every home were opened to them, they were entertained and made much of. In no other country displaced foreigners received such generous and warm-hearted treatment as was shown by the Government and people of Santo Domingo to those unfortunates who had been cast up on our beaches.

And as though this were not enough, the generosity demonstrated was such that Generalissimo Trujillo himself gave a donation in cash to each and everyone of the refugees, from his own purse, in December 1939, so that the sorrow of exile might be sweetened during the Christmas festivities.

---

(2) From the book: «Yo fuí secretario de Trujillo» —I was Trujillo's secretary— by José Almoina, pages 273, 274. Editor and Distributor: Del Plata. Buenos Aires. The Argentine.

The return was made in the coinage of ingratitude.

With a few honourable exceptions of those who assimilated our way of life and who shared —and still share— our life in mutual respect and affection, the Spanish refugees interpreted our goodness and kindness as a sign of inferiority; they found our peacefulness tedious; the absence of political and social problems and prejudices was to them a sign of backwardness; our love of work seemed to be an imposed slavery; our healthy customs were looked on as primitive and antiquated; and finally the adhesion of the Dominican people to the policy and work of the Government was ridiculed as servile.

On the other hand, far from uniting them, political failure and misfortune opened up once more old disputes, hatreds and desires for vengeance.

More than twenty political groups, mutually hostile and actively hostile in a public manner to the Government implanted by Franco, began to operate on Dominican territory, sometimes frankly violating the laws of public order that control the country and showing no respect at all for the hospitality and nobility of the people of Santo Domingo.

Among these political groups —outstanding for their activity— were: «The Spanish Liberation Junta», presided over by Rafael Dupervía Zahonero; the Spanish Socialist Group, presided over by Augustín Cortés Martínez; the General Union of Spanish Workers, by Ramón Camino Vázquez and Luis Romero Vázquez; the Republican Left, by Alberto de la Cuesta Marín and José Atoche Andre; the National Confederation of Labour of Spain, by José Martínez Aedo, besides autonomous groups of Galicians, presided by Ramón Suárez Picallo; of Basques led by Jesús Galíndez; of Catalans and many other groups of communits and anarchists who worked clandestinely on the Marxist instruction of workers and students, following out orders received from the Communist Internationale in Paris.

Among these last groups were the Spanish workers and farmers who had established themselves in the east for reasons of convenience concerning the mission that had been entrusted to them, as they knew that in that zone were to be found the densest concentrations of workers in the country, on account of the installations in

that district of large scale sugar industries. With the instructions received, surreptitiously but tenaciously, the Spanish communists of the «Pedro Sánchez Community», behind the smoke-screen of a cultural and artistic task for the benefit of workers and peasants, students and professional people of Santo Domingo, carried out a campaign whose effectiveness must be recognized; its main results, which deserved the gratitude of Moscow, were: the strike at the sugar producing centres and others that we shall see later on.

A mixed amateur theatrical group of Spaniards and Dominicans was founded; these latter were ingenuosly enthusiastic at the «cultural paths indicated by the visitors from overseas»; the first preformance was «La Zapatera prodigiosa» by Federico García Lorca, whose name at that time served as a political flag; it was followed by our «Natacha» by Alejandro Casona; and the plays that came afterwards were manifestly revolutionary in tendency. Also under the guise of a disinterested and cultural task murals of Soviet inspiration depicting the proletariat were painted, in which appeared the «workers of the Revolution in victorious marching order towards power to impose the dictatorship of the Proletariat». To all this they added the prolonged nightly readings of «Das Kapital» by Karl Marx and other works by Engels and Lenin, the interpretation of which, adapted obligingly to simple people with little political experience, had a tempting and persuasive character.

It was in this way that young men like Roberto McCave, Aristy and Dato Pagán Perdomo and workers such as Mauricio Báez and Justino José del Orbe, of San Pedro de Macoris, became blind instruments of Marxist materialism and the terrorism that the discipline ordered by Moscow imposes.

In Ciudad Trujillo and in Santiago de los Caballeros the Spanish communits worked actively carrying out the secret orders that they had received in Paris, shortly before sailing for Santo Domingo.

In this connection they took advantage of the fact that the Government —in its determination further to extend culture throughout the nation— had created the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at the Santo Domingo University, and, either as Professors nominated by the

Board of Governors, or as registered students or attendants at the lectures, they infiltrated into our most important teaching centre to sow woth treachery the seed of communism in the minds of young students, many of whom cut short their studies to surrender themselves fanatically to the most dangerous tasks.

Among the Spanish intellectuals who most distinguished themselves in this task of political indoctrination were Dr. Antonio Román Durán, who called himself a psychiatrist and who, after having completed his mission in our country, left for Guatemala, where he became confidential agent for the communist governments of Juan José Arévalo and Jacobo Arbens; the graduate Rafael Supervía Zahonero, who was known as the «President of the Spanish Liberation Junta», but who was affiliated secretly to Spanish communism and who, together with his wife —Guillermina de Supervía— founded a college for children in Ciudad Trujillo; this was done with the help of facilities given him by the Dominican Government, which at that time ignored his affiliations and secret activities; Jesús de Galíndez, who was known as the leader of the Basque group, but who clandestinely maintained constant political contact with communist groups, whose instructions he carried out; Baltazar Miró, who, with his journalist's identification card, travelled all over the country and who published a book in praise of Trujillo's work in the field of external relations entitled «Cartones de la Frontera»; Serrano Poncela, who founded literary reviews and carried out his mission among young poets and artists. There were many others, both declared communits and those who operated under a disguise.

It is an opportune moment to state now that the Spanish communist who managed to sneak into our University, did so with the underground complicity of J. A. Bonilla Atiles, who at that time held the post of Vice-rector of this important teaching centre and also that of Professor of the Faculty of Law.

Bonilla Atiles carried out this unworthy political mission with the co-operation of a young lawyer, Dr. Moisés Bienvenida Soto Martínez, a relation and protegé of his and Asistant Professor of the Faculty of Law (3).

---

(3) Doctor Soto Martínez sailed for Porto Rico, where he still

The case of Bonilla Atiles is one of political mimicry. While in the public phase of his blameworthy political duplicity he did not cease to lavish every kind of praise on Generalissimo Trujillo and loudly protest his loyalty in the press and on the public platform, in the other phase he co-operated silently and clandestinely with the Spanish communists in their work among university students.

Bonilla Atiles —whose conscience was guilty —at the time when a popular movement was much in favor of the re-election of Generalissimo Trujillo Molina at the district assemblies that had been announced for May 16th 1947, announced unexpectedly and to everyone's surprise, that he reserved his opinion for another occasion, since he considered the planting of the question premature; this was in response to a public enquiry among professional men on this subject. Although this attitude seemed little in accord with the partisanship of Trujillo that Bonilla made such a point of in public it agreed well enough with the secret activities that monopolized his hidden feelings and enthusiasm. Afterwards, realizing that his treach-erous activities had been didscovered he pretended that he was the object of political persecution, sought sanctuary in the Mexican Embassy and left for abroad. Then, free to behave with effrontery, he entered the service of the communist Government in Guatemala, first under Arévalo and then under Arbenz. He also intervened in the negotiations for purchasing armaments to supply the Caribbean Legion —of such sad memories—.

The communist seed produced, as was to be expected, its bitter harvest. Among the fruits of this, we must count the young people who spoilt their lives becoming embroiled in the subversive movements of the party which called itself «Revolutionary Democratic Party of Santo Domingo» and also of the «Revolutionary Youth», from whose unimportant tank came the fanatics of the «Popular Socialist Party» the «Communist Party» and «Democratic Youth», during the brief but agitated phase when communism was legal in the Republic of Santo Domingo.

---

lives. He formed part of the army of comunists and malefactors which assembled in Cayo Confites with the ill-fated proposition of invading the Republic.

Another aspect of the activities of the Spanish communists was the foundation of centers or groups whose ends were apparently social, cultural and recreational, but which really served for the diffusion of communism among the different classes of the Dominican people.

In Ciudad Trujillo and in Santiago de los Caballeros, without taking into account the Dominican laws, or even the elementary obligation imposed by politeness to inform the competent authorities, a so-called «Spanish Democratic Centre» was organized which was, in both towns, a den of communists.

The Secretary of State for Home Affairs and the Police, Manuel A. Peña Batlle, famous writer and internationalist, who was well aware of the anti-social and anti-Dominicah activities of the conter, ordered the club premises to be closed and the subsequent dissolution of the group.

In Ciudad Trujillo, not without a certain amount of struggle caused by the intransigence and rebelliousness of the communits, the «Spanish Democratic Centre» publicly announced its dissolution. But this was not the case in Santiago, whose centre gave rise to the document which we copy. This will make it possible to appreciate the degree of moderation and correctness shown by the Dominican authorities, in face of the obstinacy and insolence of the communists.

The words of the Secretary Peña Batlle:

«MESSRS

José Montalvo, Rogelio Rodríguez and Mariano Ramírez. Santiago de los Caballeros.

Gentlemen:

The closing of the «Spanish Democratic Centre» was motivated by an order isued by this Department of State and duly transmitted to that association on January 29th 1943, by the Provincial Governor of Santiago.

The absolute responsibility for this measure rests with this department and it is for that reason that I am disposed to answer the open letter which, on March 31st last,

you took the liberty of addressing to H. E. the President of the Republic, in relation to this affair.

The «Spanish Democratic Centre» of Santiago was founded and functioned without taking into account the law which in our country controls the right to associate for Dominicans and foreigners. The group of persons who founded that society did not comply with a single one of the requisites demanded by Law number 267, of May 10th 1940, for such cases; neither did you at a later date concern yourselves with complyng with the regulations which might have legalized the functioning of a centre which, by the very nature of its ends falls completely within the regulations. This circumstance makes it impossible for us to accede to your demands and makes it absolutely undesirable to maintain a society of foreigners which has not satisfied the elementary duties of obedience to the law or of bare courtesy to the community which opened its doors to them in a cordial welcome which Spaniards who had emmigrated for political reasons after the Civil war found in very few countries. To sum up, what you pretend is for the Dominican Government to concede you the exorbitant right to be able to associate yourselves within the country, with obviously political ends, without being bound by law, without respect for the norms which in the Republic of Santo Domingo regulate this right, and especially without taking into account the discretional power of supervision which the Dominican State has over any political activities whatever which develop in the country, as an elementary and primary element of its sovereignty.

What I have stated will be sufficient to discredit the objectionable attitude shown by you, notwithstanding I shall allow myself to touch on some of the points contained in your open letter to H. E. the Head of the State.

The very presence in this country of yourselves and of all the political refugees from Europe who today share our lives is an extremely clear proof of the noble and generous spirit with which Generalissimo Trujillo contemplates the problems of democracy in the world. You came to the Republic of Santo Domingo some years ago, and here you have shared our life without difficulties, without troubles, without demands being made on you and with no restriction on any of the rights guaranteed by the polit-

ical constitution of the State to their own nationals and to foreigners, even in such calamitous and abnormal times as those through which we are passing.

Official assistance has had no limit where you are concerned; and a large number of European immigrants today enjoy generously paid Government posts.

It would certainly seem that it is this generous attitude of the Dominican Government which has encouraged you to assume and demand rights which were not granted to you, even in your own country. It is only in this way that one can explain the infamy of publicly stating that the closing of that centre was due to fifth column activities, when in reality it obeys, as is made amply clear in the order emanating from this department, only the flagrant and gross violation of the law, a violation which allowed you to develop your activities.

It is only in this way, I repeat, that an explanation can be found of the fact that you appropriate the privilege of being the best supporters of democracy in a country which, like ours, has placed all that it has at the service of the United Nations and which has not doubted a single moment in identifying its cause, its fate and its destiny with those of the countries which have made of liberty and mutual respect the only motives for their struggle at moments of supreme importance in the history of humanity. The unanimous opinion of the Dominicans is expressed and oriented in favor of the militant democracies, as is proved by the work of government carried out by their leader and the absolute devotion of Generalissimo Trujillo to the ideal that the United Nations are defending on the field of battle. This unanimity of opinion, which is a considerable contribution on the part of the Dominican Head of State to the war effort to which we are all dedicated, cannot be endangered by the ungovernable attitude of foreigners who, like yourselves, have not even had the tact to behave in accordance with the hospitality offered you by a country that is remote from the passions and hatreds which you publicly manifest amongst us. The Dominican Government is not disposed to cede essential and fundamental attributes of national sovereignty, renouncing the police powers of supervision which are conferred on any free State by its mere condition as such. The observance of the law is even more binding on foreign-

ers than on our own nationals and to seek to evade this obligation does scant honor to those have come from abroad seeking the protection and assistance which have been offered them here without stint.

The object of these explanations is not, naturally enough, to give rise to discussions or to question an order which, with all the legal and institutional authority imparted by this Department of State, terminates a state of affairs that is frankly prejudicial to the harmony in which the Dominicans live and a disturbing influence on the efforts made by the Government and people to confront the problems which have been created for us by the current state of war. What I have desired is not to silence the indignation caused in our minds by the insidious, unhealthy and systematic work of separation carried out by some undesirable elements among the Spanish political immigrants to whom we have given asylum since 1939. The object of this letter is moreover to advise you of the final decision of the Government not to tolerate further encroachments by foreigners in the social life of the country and not to permit collective activities by groups of exiles other than those which function in accordance with the norms of decorousness and respect imposed by the national laws and the order with which all we Dominicans are devoted in the carrying out of our private and public duties. It was precisely to ensure that the Spanish refugees in this country should enjoy to the full their common needs that the Dominican Republic permitted the reopening of the Spanish Democratic Centre in Ciudad Trujillo (4) with the necessary facilities to ensure that all those members of the Spanish political immigration who felt the need of such a centre should have the opportunity to engage in personal activities. It is the opinion of this Department that the afore-mentioned organization is sufficient for such purposes and that no praiseworthy object is served in desiring to multiply the organization of groups that in themselves are of no advantage to the Dominican community. And finally the object of this letter is to warn you

---

(4) The Spanish Democratic Centre in Ciudad Trujillo resolved at this time to discontinue their activities, in accordance with instructions received from abroad which emanated from those who directed and gave norms for the conduct of the Spanish refugees in our country.

that from now on each one of you will be personally responsible for any repressive measures that it may in the future prove necessary to adopt in order to put an end to any public or hidden activities whatever by means of which you may attempt to render inefficacious the resolution taken by this Department of State.

I remain yours,

M. A. PEÑA BATLLE,

Secretary of State for Home Affairs and the Police.
Ciudad Trujillo, D. S. D.
April, 8th 1943.

The Spanish communist episode in our midst was drawing to a close.

In the fulfilment of its duties the Dominican Government could not permit that an advance guard of communist imperialism —composed of foreigners— attempt to disrupt the social harmony and peace of the Republic.

And this was made known in no uncertain manner.

The Spanish refugees chose to leave the country. Various Spanish refugees remained and still live among us, having assimilated the Dominican way of life and having earned our affection.

The communists initiated the disbandment. Later on they were the first to enlist in the army of buccaneers who attempted to invade the Republic from Cayo Confites and swelled the ranks of the so-called «Caribbean Legion».

THE WAR

The Republic of Santo Domingo on the side of the Democracies

The Second World War had broken out. A few days before the world had been shaken by a sensational piece of news. Russia and Germany had entered into a non-agression pact, signed by Ribbentrop and Molotov on August 23rd 1939 in the Soviet capital.

The Soviet and Nazi imperialisms, after a bitter struggle in the sphere of propaganda, had unexpectedly discovered that «the decadent capitalist democracies» were the enemy of the moment.

This pact which had been so skilfully concluded allowed Hitler's armies to invade Poland on September 1st 1939. Eighteen days of the violent German offensive were more than sufficient to break down Polish resistance. Russia gave the final thrust; with Poland defeated and ruined the armies of Soviet Russia occupied Bielorrussia and Western Ukraine.

On September 3rd France and England declared war on Germany.

The world went up in flames.

The Russo-German Pact had presented communist parties all over the world with serious problems concerning the propaganda that had been distributed with the ingredients prepared in the enormous laboratory of Moscow.

For many years the verbal batteries of communism had been directed against Hitler and Mussolini and against the doctrines that they represented. Now it was necessary to change the colour of the propaganda. Russia was an ally of Germany and Italy.

On June 22nd 1941 a surprising event occurred: the Nazi armies and their allies hurled themselves like thunderbolts on to the wide Soviet plains.

The communits then retraced their steps; with chameleon-like facility they changed their slogans and political passwords, unearthing all the buried literature against the «Nazi and Fascist monsters, the enemies of mankind».

Meanwhile an event of the greatest importance for the Americas happened in the Far East: at 7.55 a. m. on 7th December 1941 a powerful Japanese air-force attacked the United States Fleet, anchored at the Pearl Harbor Base, in a savage act of agression that history will remember for its felony.

This was the beginning of war for the United States.

In this way, without previous alliances, without ideological affinities, only on account of the tremendous force of circumstances, the United States and the other American countries saw themselves involved in the world conflagration on the same side as Russia.

Generalissimo Trujillo on the day following the Japanese agression, from New York addressed himself to the President of Santo Domingo who was the notable jurist, Dr. Manuel de Jesús Troncoso de la Concha, with the urgent recommendation that we should declare war on Japan as a demonstration of solidarity with the Government and people of America.

Here is the message of Generalissimo Trujillo:

«New York, 36 Collect Gobt 81.55 p.m.
President Troncoso. C. Trujillo.

I know. I recommend that our Government should meet and declare war on Japan in solidarity with the Amerian Government and people, to whom we are sincerely united.»

A few days later, on December 21st 1941, this time from Washington, Generalissimo Trujillo addressed himself to President Troncoso in the following terms:

«Washington, D. C. 21 Domghr 11th 4.47 p.m.
President Troncoso. Ciudad Trujillo DR.

I recommend Congress declare war on Germany and Italy as has been done by the American Congress.»

In this way, the Dominican Republic, without vacilating and facing up to all risks, lined up her forces and offered all her resources for the cause of democracy in the world, in an enforced and brief alliance with the Soviet Union.

In accordance with her behaviour, the Dominican Republic has always religiously observed her duties imposed by continental solidarity and the defense of democracy in the world.

More recently, on the occasion of the conflict in which the United Nations took part in order to defend the right of nations to be sovereign and free, a right which was perilously attacked by Chinese and Korean communists, our Government, by means of an expressive message from our great leader, Generalissimo Trujillo Molina, to President Truman, made known energetically their sentiments and intentions on the side of the United States and the United Nations in their now historic struggle (1).

In the clamour of the dramatic World War, the government of the Republic of Santo Domingo, on account of imperious reasons which could not be left on one side, the same as the other democratic governments of America had to put off their plans of action against communism.

On the other hand, the Soviet Unión, although considerably aided by the war resources of the democracies, made a gigantic war effort in order not to succumb under the mortal charge of the enemy.

Communism on the side of the democracies! Absurd! An inconceivable alliance of liberal regimes with totalitarian communist powers! But in reality the Nazi agression which had put an end to Hitler's friendship with Stalin had

(1) See Appendix Number 3.

thrown the communits into the arms of the democracies. It was the time of conferences between the Allied leaders and of common points of view in the leadership of the war and the political affairs of the world.

Joseph Stalin appeared in the newspapers and newsreels of the world beside Roosevelt and Churchill, with such a beatific smile and such a placid expression that he looked more like the good father of a family than the creator of one of the bloodiest tyrannies that the history of humanity has known.

The spectacular victories of Soviet arms, their participation in the plans for a «better world» after the war, their literature —minted in accordance with the ideologies of the moment— in which the communists presented themselves as «the champions of democratic rights and of the free self-determination of the peoples»— created an atmosphere in some cases of tolerance and in others of sympathy towards the communists.

But these past-masters of political artifice and deceit did far more: from Moscow it was announced that the Third Internationale, the fomenter of disturbances, strikes, revolutions and political assassinations, had been dissolved, which was interpreted as a friendly gesture to the democracies and a proof of the Russian intentions to live in harmony with their allies.

The Dominican Republic adjusted her line of policy to the currents prevalent at that time; and following the lead of her allies in the great struggle for the survival of democracy, a law was promulgated which revoked the one declaring communism illegal and forbidding communist activities on Dominican territory.

It was a time of communist advances. Their propaganda, with clashing metallic colours, sung the deeds of Soviet arms; the bravery and the spirit of sacrifice and the heroism of the Russian people were excellent material for political propaganda which was advantageously exploited by the communist parties, which a short time before had been the allies of their current enemies—.

Only a romantic mirage was able to present the communist Mephistopheles as a guardian angel of democracy.

Disillusionment was not long in coming. With the end of the conflict and the victory of the allied arms Russia brazenly violated with typically communist audacity the

obligations undertaken at International conferences; and the promises of Stalin to the leaders who were building a new world were volatilized in the subtlety of communist dialectics.

The dissolution of the Third Internationale turned out to be one more piece of deceit, since it was born again with only a change of name: the «cominform»; whole nations that were awaiting their freedom were ferociously engulfed by the Soviet bear.

The communist parties, strengthened by victory, increased their offensive and became more virulent, more intolerant, more dangerous, more anti-national and also more submissive and servile to the will of Moscow.

Once more communist world propaganda changed its course and as in the time of the Nazi-Bolshevik love affair the «Capitalist democracies» were once more to blame «for the backwardness of the world and for the slow advance of the socialist revolution» in the one-string orchestra of the communist singers all over the world.

The Dominican communists did not remain idle in all this war period and in the immediate post-war. They preferred clandestine and illegal activities to legal action in full daylight. Only afterwards, as we shall see at the proper time, oriented by and following the orders of the Cuban communists, did they make their appearance in public and legal life. But they failed in their first attempt to dominate the great mass of working class people and peasants in the country, as a means to absolute political power and they returned again to the starting point: to a campaign of terrorism.

SUBVERSIVE AND CLANDESTINE PLANS

It is related of the Spanish communist, Dr. Antonio Román Durán, that a few hours before leaving the country he said optimistically to «comrade» Bonilla Atiles: «We are leaving, but the seed has taken root.»

The truth is that in the Dominican Republic an embryonic communist movement existed consisting of students who did not study and workers who did not work.

The picture, in broad outline, was as follows:

Two main political groups had been constituted: «Revolutionary Youth» and «The Dominican Democratic Revolutionary Party». A third group was also functioning under the title of «Patriotic Revolutionary Union», which dissolved of its own accord after a short while. Various elements of the professional classes were members of this latter group, such as Dr. Viriato Fiallo, Gilberto Fiallo, Rafael Alburquerque Zayas Bazán, Miguel Campillo Pérez and others.

Ill assorted and amorphous groups drew their members from the ranks of those who were discontented with the Government for personal reasons, revolutionaries, anarchists, delinquents and Marxists and from among those who had failed or were frustrated.

The authorities knew about them and knew of their meetings; but as at the beginning their activities were limited to small talk —animated by spirits— and to fantastic political speculations which at that time offered no danger —as was the case some months later— they were allowed to function.

Night after night, with illusory mysteriousness, the «men of the revolution» met; according to their pretentious affirmations they constituted the «National Democratic Front», whose aim was to draw up the plans for the future policy of the country.

There was no real line of separation between the «Revolutionary Youth» and the «Dominican Democratic Revolutionary Party».

The difference was rather a question of name; both revolutionary groups were so small that those who acted as leaders allowed members to pass from one group to the other and even to work actively in both, since the objects were the same and, on the other hand, this system created an illusion of force and stability.

The central nucleus had been founded in Ciudad Trujillo, with small ramifications in Santiago, San Pedro de Macorís, Barahona and San Juan de la Maguana; there were also elements dispersed between La Vega, La Romana and Puerto Plata.

The organic constitution was the cell, in principle of the marxist type, with strict clandestinity, secret instruction courses on marxist economy, socialist books and the technique of strikes, sabotage and terrorist activities. The immediate objects were: the conquest of the mass of peasants and workers for the carrying out of the «great socialist revolution».

Only very few members knew by their real names, or by their «noms de guerre», the greater part of those engaged in the revolutionary enterprise (1) These were: Francisco Alberto Henríquez Bázquez —alias, Chito—, Félix Servio Ducoudray Jr or Mansfield —alias, El Pato—, Pericles Franco Ornes and a Cuban, a member of the «Cuban Popular Socialist Party», who had arrived from Havanna. The others, thanks to the cell system —even

---

(1) In their written documents, registers of members, correspondence and other documents, and also when addressing each other, the communist used assumed names, taken from famous men in the struggles for freedom, or chosen from among the most distinguished of the communist revolution in Russia and in other European countries. So there were names like Timoschenko, the son of Lenin, Spartacus, Luperón, Juana of Saltitopa, Togliati, etc. The same happened with the names of the cells: «The Commune», Santomé, Leningrad, etc.

though this was not as yet perfectly applied— only knew the members of the same cell.

In the capital, among the most active and enthusiastic were: Francisco Alberto Enríquez (alias Chito), Félix Servio Ducoudra (alias El Pato), Juan Bautista Doucoudray, M. Germán Emilio Ornes Coisc (2) ,Pericles Franco Ornes, María Herminia Ornes Coiscou (alias Marcusa), Diego Emilio Bardás Hernández, Virgilio Díaz Grullón (3), Manuel Alfredo Lebrón Pumarol, Luis Escotto Gómez (4), Manuel Francisco Mena Blonda, José Ramón Martínez Burgos (5), Luis Antonio Iriarte Ramírez, Jesús Wellington Reyes Vargas, Carmen Natalia Martínez Bonilla, Josefina Padilla Deschampos (6), Silvia Padilla Deschamps, Manuel Lorenzo Carrasco, Ubaldo Lorenzo Carrasco, Bolívar San-

---

(2) Among all the communist Ornes Coiscou was the most notable case of perfidy and political double-dealing. He was an old hand at subversive activities, he abjured Marxism on various occasions, only in order to fall once again into his old political sins. Under the banner of the Dominican Party he made political progress. Generalissimo Trujillo showered favours on him and for a while Ornes Coiscou was one of his most enthusiastic eulogists; but at heart —as has been proved— he continued to be a marxist. He himself said so in a letter written during his spell of communist enthusiasm: «I am a Marxist, I was a Marxist, I shall continue to be a Marxist.» As Vice-President of the Commission of the Ministry of Public Works he went to the United States, from where he wrote a long letter to Generalissimo Trujillo; in it, at the same time as he protested his friendship, he expressed his decision not to return to the country. His last scruples overcome he finally joined the communist gang and the enemies of the country. See Appendix number 22.

(3) He became a partisan of the comprehensive policy of Generalissimo Trujillo, after having abjured his political errors. He is Under- Secretary of State.

(4) He was one of the first —with characteristic sense of public responsibility —to leave the ranks of the Popular Socialist Party. He offered his co-operation to Generalissimo Trujillo and he has given it so whole-heartedly that he has been favoured with important posts in the Government. He is currently Under-Secretary of State.

(5) After having resigned from the ranks of «Democratic Youth» he has co-operated with the «Dominican Party». He now practises his profession of engineer and is respected by all.

(6) She resigned from the ranks of «Democratic Youth» to co-operate again with the ideals of the Dominican Party. She s now the wife of the deputy Dr. Rafael Augusto Sánchez Sanlley.

tos Moreno, Julio César Martínez Sobá, José Caonabo Lora Martínez, Luis Emilio Guillén, Ramón Grullón Martínez. Francisco José Grullón, Vicinio Vigueras (7), Ercilio García Bencosme, Eleuterio Salas, Nicolás Quírico Valdez, Julio Raúl de Jesús Durán García and a few others.

In San Pedro de Macorís the most important figures were Mauricio Báez, Roberto McCave Aristy, Dato Pagán Persomo and Justino José del Orbe; In Santiago de los Caballeros, Rafael Moore Garrido, Amiro Cordero Saleta, Lulú Quesada, José A. Patiño; In Barahona, Freddy Valdés, Héctor Ramón Ramírez Pereyra.

The arrival of the Cuban, Rafael Fernández Reyes. with instructions from the Cuban communist party, injectea an anti-social and dangerous element into the activities of the Dominican communists, who, up till then. had confined themselves to purely speculative discussions.

Fernández Reyes established himself at number 2 Emilio Prud-'Homme, where he installed a secret arsenal of subversive propaganda, explosives and fire-arms, as was clearly demonstrated during the official search later carried out at these premises.

With a travelling salesman's identity card and in the company of Luis Antonio Iriarte Ramírez, also a travelling salesman, Fernández Reyes covered the country distributing subversive propaganda brought from Cuba and establishing the links in a political conspiracy which, had it not been discovered in time by the authorities, would have been an irremediable source of evil for the Dominican people.

Another aspect of the revolutionary activities of those days was revealed in the constitution and functioning of a society with a cultural and promasonic character called «Ajef», of which some of the young people already mentioned were members: Manuel Francisco Mena Blonda, Jesús Wellington Reyes Vargas, José Ramón Martínez Burgos and others who, like Francisco Antonio del Rosario Díaz and Bienvenido Mejía y Mejía, did not suspect that behind this group —whose apparent aims were most praiseworthy— was hidden a dangerous and subversive sub strata.

---

(7) He is the author of the anthem of the Popular Socialist or Communist Party. The words and music of the song have fortunately disappeared without leaving any trace.

The literary organ of the society was a small-sized newspaper, the director of which was José Ramón Martínez Burgos; it was published at the printing works of Julio César Martínez Sobá at Number 61 «Arzobispo Meriño». In this little paper veiled propaganda of a subversive nature was skillfully inserted between literary articles by Juan Montalbo, José Enrique Rodó and José Marty, and between poems by Días Mirón and Santos Chocano.

The month of May, 1945 showed great activity in subversive politics, ordered and directed by the Cuban communist party, through its leader Fernández Reyes.

It was during this month that the III Congress of Dominican Touth took place, a democratic conclave that united a brillant congregation from all classes in the Republic to study, consider and discuss important social and political questions.

From nearly all the counties of South merica friendly delegates arrived to act as observers at the debates and to get to know the problems and ideals of the youth of Santo Domingo (8). Generalissimo Trujillo himself felt the youthful enthusiasm of that assembly and in a gesture of democratic friendliness he wrote out and sent a beautiful message of congratulation and encouragement (9). While the most select and representative of the young people of Santo Domingo recalled the great events of our history and made important social and political plans, a fanatical minority were forging sinister designs in the shadow.

On the night of May 18th 1945, at different pounts of the town, pasted to the walls and lamp posts, lampoons

---

(8) The foreign delegates of the III Youth Congress were as follows: The Argentine: Carlotta Trongé, Jorge Alvarez Trongé and Enrique Dellachiesa; Columbia: Daniel Arango; Costa Rica: Prof. María Cristina Dittel, Mario Fernández Pacheco and Fernando Castro Montero; Cuba: Angel Calderón, Rosario Franco Bethancourt and Prof. Sara de Vidaurreta; Chile: Alvaro Bunster and Augusto Ovallez; The United States: John David Rusthak; Ecuador: Wilson Vela, Gustavo Vallejo Larrea and Francisco Orellana; México: Renán Rodríguez Vado, Edmundo García Sánchez and Prof. Guadalupe Jiménez Posada; Nicaragua: Dr. Olga Núñez Abaúnza, José Coronel Urteche; Panamá: José R. González; Perú: Belisario Gensollen, Manuel González Olaechea, Carlos Palacio Moreira; Salvador: Manuel Aguilar Cávez and Guillermo Machón; and Venezuela: Herman Cour-Laender Duarte and Víctor R. Castaneira.

(9) See Appendix number 4.

appeared with texts insulting the Head of the State, attacking the public authorities and inviting the citizens to take up arms against the Government.

In the rooms of the «Jaragua» Hotel, where the foreign delegates to the above mentioned Youth Congress were staying, leaflets with the same revolutionary texts appeared in the morning having been pushed under the doors. This came under the Dominican Criminal Code.

The tolerance of the authorities had, of necessity, come to an end.

After a thorough investigation the whole web was uncovered, and the authors were found guilty and confessed.

Some of the lampoons and leaflets had been printed in the house of Julio César Martínez S. The rest were mimeographed by the Ducoudray Mansfield Brothers; the mimeograph was a Rotary Lithograph and it was installed at a farm belonging to the father of Lebrón Pumarol, Don Manuel Lebrón Parra —who was in ignorance of the deceitful conduct of his son— the said farm was at kilometre eight of the «Sánchez» road.

One of the foreign guests at the «Jaragua»—the young Chilean Alvaro Bunster Briceño was responsible for distributing the revolutionary leaflets in the hotel rooms; as was later found out, a communist sympathizer and an intimate friend of the Dominican communist Pericles Franco Ornes, a friendship dating from the time that the latter had studied in Chile with the generous help of Generalissimo Trujillo.

The distribution and pasting up of the subversive propaganda in public places throughout the city was carried out by numerous young people who were engaged in subversive activities; some of these young men were caught red-hand-ed in the early hours of the morning by the nightwatchmen; among them were Martínez Burgos, the Ducoudray Mansfield brothers and Mena Blonda.

Acting according to the ordinances of the Criminal Code the police authorities, accompanied by judicial representatives, carried out a search in the house of the Cuban, Fernández Reyes, as was already stated. The following subversive material was found: a shotgun with its corresponding munition, two revolvers, a large quantity of gun-powder, tow, a copy of the speech made at Havanna University on February 27th 1945, by Arnaldo

Severet, Manolo Castro, Angel Miolán, Juan Isidro Jiménez Grullón, Eduardo Corona and Juan Marinello; as well as a large quantity of other communist propaganda.

It was some weeks before all the conspirators were discovered, since the authorities, without unnecessary haste or fuss, wished to have —as they did have— a complete picture of the situation, without arresting or otherwise troubling at any time people who had apparently given rise to suspicions but who were in fact remote from that movement.

Active work on the investigations was still being carried on in June and the beginning of July 1945.

Meanwhile Francisco Alberto Henríquez Vázquez, one of the gheads of the conspiracy, established a precedent of which later on many ordinary criminals took advantage. Suddenly, and taking with him his father Enrique Henríquez (Enriquillo) he took refuge in the Venezuelan Legation. As was later demonstrated Henríquez Vázquez was incited to take this decision by the then Venezuelan Minister, Dr. Francisco Hermógenes Rivero, who had fornerly lived in the Republic as an exile, as a political enemy of General Juan Vicente Gómez. He practised as a doctor. His attitude to Henríquez Vázquez was contrary to all diplomatic usage, and contrary to the dignity of his position and it was also in clear opposition to the respect imposed by hospitality and the domestic affairs of another country.

All those who were compromised in the subversive movement were detained; and in a gesture of tolerance and generosity seldom seen in political and Latin American circles, they were freed shortly afterwards by order of Generalissimo Trujillo.

Among them there were some who were under age; they were handed over to their parents or guardians so that they might be directed once more to the paths of study and work.

The others were cautioned and allowed to return home where they found waiting for them wives, mothers, children and other relatives who knew how to express their gratitude to the leader who forgot injuries so easily and forgave them with equal facility.

But far from being grateful for this forgiveness many of the young people who had been set free demonstrated

to what a point their fanaticism and rebelliousness could go by seeking asylum —without any reason at all— in foreign Embassies, from where they left the country.

Among those who did this were —as well as the Henríquez— Félix Servio Ducoudray, Manuel Lorenzo Carrasco and Pericles Bienvenido Franco Ornes, who sought asylum in the Columbian Legation; Amado Soler Fernandez, José Caonabo Lora Martínez and Julio César Martínez Sobá, who took refuge in the Mexican Embassy.

The Cuban, Rafael Fernández Reyes, was handed over to his uncle, a Spaniard, Francisco Fernández Fierros, who was to be responsible for supervising him; a few days later he left freely and voluntarily for his country, Cuba.

Notwithstanding the moderation and the prudence with which the authorities carried out the investigations and arrests, one onfortunate event occurred, provoked by the violence and rebelliousness of one of the fiercest of the fanatics among the young men involved in the plot; Nobody could prevent it. Ramón Espinal, at the moment of going into the headquarters of the national police to be interrogated —in the same way as his companions who were set at liberty a few hours later— suddenly snatched the pistol from Second Lieutenant Toribio Carvajal, with the intention of making his escape, and seriously wounded the police officer and the policeman Napoleón Hernández; this gave rise to a short but violent struggle during which Espinal himself was killed.

The unfortunate young man was far from imagining that, had it not been for his agressive attitude, he would shortly afteswards have been safe and sound at home, the same as the rest of the conspirators.

As the result of a classical norm of the communists consisting in not engaging all the available personnel in one maneouvre, only some of the members of «Revolutionary Youth» and of «The Dominican Revolutionary Democratic Party» were involved in this revolutionary episode. Many of them remained crouching in the shadow waiting for fresh opportunities.

This non-intervention at moments of great political activity allowed the communists to dispose of a sufficient numbers of agents in order to be able to undertake new clandestine activies, this time with the benefit of experience and calculated caution.

The Dominican communists have boasted much of their plans and activities in this clandestine period, which they qualified as «the great epic of the Dominican revolution», with the fiery imaginativeness of Marxist revolutionaries. They even began to speak of a congress of the revolutionary party of Santo Domingo, which took place in Ciudad Trujillo in 1954 and coinciding with the important celebration for the centenary of the Republic. But the picture was a completely false one; the so-called congress was nothing more than a meeting —with a more numerous attendance than usual— during which plans were made to establish in our country, within the shortest possible time, the most important dependency of Moscow in the Caribbean area.

Other communists, Mauricio Báez, Dato Pagán Perdomo, Roberto McCave, Freddy Valdez, Héctor Antonio Ramírez Pereyra would wait patiently for fresh opportunities to demonstrate their dangerousnes.

STRIKES IN THE EAST OF THE REPUBLIC

The communists had managed to infiltrate into the Dominican' Workers' movement. This was one of the most important orders transmitted by the Cuban leaders of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba: Blas Roca and Lázaro Peña.

In Ciudad Trujillo they had convinced and conquered Luis Emilio Guillén who became their secret agent; he had been president of the Navvy's Guild and had been removed from this post for misappropriation of funds; Guillén wished to attribute his dismissal to political causes, thus giving an honest appearence to his offence. Eleuterio Salas, a restless and dangerous young workman who had frequently appeared on the accused bench for crimes involving bloodshed, also moved in the humblest circles of the proletariat of the capital; he was ignorant but fanatical.

In the eastern region where there were large masses of workers the communists planned their campaigns of agitation better.

In San Pedro de Macorís lived and worked the most dangerous, active and intelligent of them all: Mauricio Báez, an outstanding result in the human sphere of the brief but effective task carried out some years earlier by the Spanish communists.

His most determined deputy was Justino José del Orbe, trained likewise by the Spanish Marxists.

Mauricio Báez had not yet revealed himself as a com-

munist, quite the contrary, he denied being one, in accordance with time honoured red tactics. He said, with an apostolic tone albeit with rough words, that he was «a disinterested fighter for the betterment of the working classes». Justino José del Orbe followed the same line of conduct.

Various individuals were sowing the seeds of hatred and nonconformity among the workers of La Romana; these were, Fernando Hernández, alias Nando — Julio Aníbal García Dixon— alias Blanquito, Héctor Porfirio Quezada— alias Negrito and a picturesque personage called Manuel Fías Meyreles, a communist who said that he was the greatest leader of an imaginary Party of National Elevation. As a curiosity we shall devote a few lines to him when we descibe the terrorist conspiracies, outrages and plans of the Dominican communists.

Surreptitiously and criminally the minds of the Dominican workers were being poisoned. The object was to drive them to violent strikes, which were to be bloody ones —according to the plans drawn up—, with the aim of paralysing the economy of the Republic and upsetting the Dominican people; which, according to communist plans, would provoke the fall of the Government and consequently the «longed for dictatorship of the proletariat».

The workers who had acted as *agents provocateurs* stated later that the strikes in La Romana had only had a purely economic and social nature. Nothing was further from the truth. They were strikes with political aims and had been completely communist inspired.

Some days before the workers' outbreak a manifesto signed by «The Dominican Revolutionary Democratic Party» was circulated among the workers of the sugar factories in the east; its text which was Marxist in spirit, was a call to violence and to collective deeds of madness and bloodshed.

As a documentary proof we copy some paragraphs from the fiery manifesto. It began in this way: «Comrades of the sugar refineries». «Comrades» —the typical communist call to action— And it continued:

> Your report has touched us to the bottom of our hearts: Your words reveal to us the lofty and

intransigent spirit of rebellion, of despair and hatred which is in you.» And in another part of the same manifesto.

«The hour of the rebellion has come. Millions of your comrades, workers from all the nations of the world, are hanging on your high destiny.

We shall implant in the country the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the first and most effective step towards the great Socialist revolution, in accordance with the orders and wishes of our beloved Father, comrade Stalin. If it should be necessary we shall drown the country in a blood-bath to achieve this.

The hour has come for all workers and peasants to unite under a single fighting flag, under the banner of our great Party of classes: The Dominican Revolutionary Democratic Party.

On with the strike! Workers and comrades!»

The manifesto was full of scurrilous insults against the Head of the State and it containd precise instructions as to how the Dominican workers should behave after the outbreak of the strike.

On February 28th 1946 thousands of workers from the sugar refineries of the east came out on strike without any reason at all, merely because they had been deceived by the communists.

The agitators' plan was clear and it was expressed in the manifesto mentioned above: In order to carry out the orders of the beloved father Comrade Stalin, the country had to be drowned in a blood-bath.

The Dominican Government, in order to maintain order, respect for public and private property and the personal safety of the citizens, including that of the strikers themselves, mobilized hundreds of soldiers who dispersed throughout the factories and their annexes. Together with the soldiers came the mediators from the Department of Labour who were assisted by the provincial authorities; they began the negotiations to conciliate interests and aspirations and to achieve a suitable and just solution to the problem; All this was undertaken in an atmosphere of absolute tolerance, in accordance with the conciliatory instructions of the Head of the State himself.

It is opportune to remark at this point that the Dominican Government had implanted one of the most advanced labour legislations of South America; since it must be taken into account that in the Dominican Republic, since the old laws of the Indies, not a single law of a social character had been passed in benefit of the working classes until the time of Trujillo.

Minimun salaries, the nationalization of labour, a weekly free day, vacations, fixed wages, insurance, were achievements of Trujillo's social policy within a humane, just and comprehensive legislation.

But the objects, as we have said, were not social or economic but political, and were not of interest to the workers —who were criminally driven to striking— but to the communists who were inciting them in the background.

Under the eyes of the soldiers a platform was improvised from which Mauricio Báez and Frías Meyreles —who had turned up— incited the workers to intolerance with speeches inflamed by fanaticism, and with demands which the employers could not possibly have acceded to, in order to make any agreement impossible and to incite them to a clash with the military.

The maneuvre failed. On the one hand, the prudence and discipline of our soldiers —who remained at their posts without using any kind of force, in spite of communist provocations— on the other, the common sense of our workers, who divined the hidden and latent criminal intention of the communists; besides this the diligence and skill of the technicians and representaives of the Department of Labour destroyed the strike, a satisfactory and harmonious solution for both sides was reached after barely two days of frank and sincere discussions. The voice of reason was heard. The workers returned to their jobs. The expected blood-bath —blood and fire in the cane fields, howled the communists— did not come about.

In the temperate climate of peace and justice obtaining in the Republic President Trujillo, once more, had caused the terrorist plans of the reds to fail.

Mauricio Báez and Nando Hernández, having failed, opted for voluntary exile. The rest were forced to remain, for the time being, inactive while waiting for fresh opportunities.

THE FIRST NATIONAL WORKERS' CONGRESS

On September 24th 1946 the First National Workers' Congress was inaugurated.

The improvement of the working class, as much in the individual conditions of life as in its syndical organization, was of interest for the Dominican Government. It was rightly thought that in this way they would be in a condition to offer a more direct and efficacious cooperation in the forward march of the Republic.

As a result of this idea the Dominican Government received with sympathy the project for a National Workers' Congress and in order to give material form to their sympathy they immediately contributed a sum of $26,305.90 to help with the costs of the projected meeting.

The communists, though for very different reasons, joyfully celebrated the announcement of the congress. They did not fail to realize the opportunity to forward their plans offered by the larges cale meeting of workers' representatives from all over the Republic.

One fact presented itself for the consideration of Cuban and Dominican communists: a workers' congress, held in an atmosphere of absolute freedom would give the lie to the propaganda put out by themselves, stating that in the Dominican Republic all individual freedom had been retrenched.

The communists, as usual, took this fact into consideration and decided to back both sides. If at the Congress they achieved all their political ends; in other words —if

they managed to place their own selected agents in the high ranking posts of the Confederation of Dominican Workers— with the resulting submission of the non-communist leaders and the sympathy of the mass of workers who would not be involved in the gamble —they would have triumphed; and this triumph would make it well worth while to waste their propaganda against the Dominican Government. If on the other hand the Assembly did not let itself be seduced with tricks and chose for the managerial posts the real leaders among the workers who were old hands at syndical questions, and their red-coloured plans were not realized on account of having been discovered, or were only half realized, they would not have failed completely, since in this way they would have sufficient fuel to feed the old fire of anti-Trujillo propaganda with hot new arguments derived from experience; in this way they would satisfy the hidden desires of national and foreign communists who were scattered over South America and those of the so-called political exiles.

Having made these calculations the central committee of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, in other words the High Command of Cuban communism, decided to order the Dominican communists to attend the Congress.

Generalissimo Trujillo himself, with his inexhaustible policy of harmony and drawing together for all Dominicans, gave them the chance that they were waiting for. An appeal published in the Havanna newspapers by our legation in that capital, and even in the Communist newspaper «Hoy» in the July 12th, 1946 edition, encouraged Dominican workers to return to their country, after a voluntary and illogical exile.

It was a long-standing preoccupation of Trujillo's to attract his political enemies to a climate where all souls live together in harmony without prejudices, hatreds or party ambitions.

Throughout his public service he had never ceased to address cordial words and invitations to those who stated that they were his public enemies, urging them to return to their country under the protection of the guarantees promised by the Constitution and additional laws. These appeals were made by Generalissimo Trujillo on the

following occasions: on June 21st, 1931 (1), on July 23rd, 1932 (2), on October 5th, 1933 (3), on July 23rd, 1943 (4), on October 24th, 1945 (5), on June 10th, 1946 (6), and on July 24th, 1946 (7).

The appeal which the communists took advantage of in order to take part in the National Workers' Congress was written in the following terms:

«LEGATION OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.
OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE

In accordance with orders from the authorities, to all whom it may concern, the Government of the Republic of Santo Domingo reiterates its formal invitation so that all nationals who are now abroad, without reference to their political ideologies, and who desire to return to the country, may do so under the most absolute official guarantees, being able to devote themselves to political actviities, should they so desire, within the framework of the Constitution and the laws in force.

The co-operation of all Dominicans of good-will will find propitious circumstances for the use of their constructive and patriotic enthusiasms, precisely at the moment when the Dominican Workers' Congress has been convoked, which will take place next November (8) and from which positive benefits are hoped for, for the national working classes and definitive conquests for justice and social improvement in Santo Domingo.

Havanna, July 10th 1946.»

According to tha rigid military and international discipline that governs the communist parties all over the world, the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba convoked its

---

(1) See Appendix number 5.

(2) See Appendix number 6.

(3) See Appendix number 7.

(4) See Appendix number 8.

(5) See Appendix number 9.

(6) Official communiqué of the Dominican Legation in Havanna, inserted in this chapter.

(7) See Appendix number 10.

(8) The Congress was convoked by the decree of May 27th 1946 and took place from September 24th of the same year.

central committee to study the case. Having consulted Moscow in an extensive and extremely detailed report, the expected instructions arrived from the distant capital.

It was then that the P. S. P. of Cuba ordered the Dominican communists to return to their country and to work in accordance with a plan of action which was read and commented on at a secret meeting, which took place at the centre where the Central Committee of the Cuban communists met.

At this meeting the following Cuban communists were present: Blas Roca, Lázaro Peña, Juan Marinello, Buenaventura López and Ursiño Rojas; the Dominicans were: Mauricio Báez, Ramón Grullón, Félix Servio Ducoudray and other Cuban communists, syndical leaders and others trusted by the high-ranking Marxist leaders.

Ramón Grullón Martínez and Mauricio Báez were the first to arrive. A little later the following arrived in the Dominican capital: Buenaventura López and Ursiño Rojas, Cuban communists, in the capacity of «Fraternal delegates» and Counsellors of the Confederation of Dominican Workers for the preparatory period of the Workers' Congress.

The co-operation of the Cuban communists and the participation of Dominican communists in the preparatory work was acepted without any prejudice or mental reserve whatsoever.

Mauricio Báez and Ramón Grullón, who had formerly proclaimed their communist affiliations —a little later, they founded the Popular Socialist or Communist Party of Santo Domingo— were selected to form part of the organizing committee of the Workers' Congress. This committee was formed by Julio César Ballester Hernández, president, Ramón Calderón Jiménez, Marcelino de Jesús, Antonio Soto, Juan A. Pardilla, besides the aforementioned Báez and Grullón. The Cuban delegates, Buenaventura López and Ursiño Rojas were nominated advisors to the committee, with the object of taking advantage of their experience in syndical struggles and work.

A propaganda tour was organized taking in the principal cities of the Republic to explain to the working class masses the meaning of the coming event and other important questions relating to the organization of their Guilds.

It was decided —and this point was much insisted on by Cuban and Dominican communists— that all the Congress and the preparatory work and meetings should have an exclusively lanour character to the absolute exclusion of politics.

It would not even be permitted —and in this unjust extremes were reached— to mention the name of the Head of the State, and much less his concrete achievements in benefit of the working classes. This was found to be extremely difficult, on account of the great social conquests achieved by those classes with the protection and initiative of Generalissimo Trujillo; however, the workers' leaders who were affiliated to the Dominican Party decided to accept the arbitrary condition in order not to give motive for communist protests and not to disturb in any way the organization of the preparatory work.

The following went on the propaganda tour and mounted the platform on every occasion: Ramón Calderón Jiménez. Ursiño Rojas, Buenaventura López, Mauricio Báez and Julio César Ballester Hernández who reserved the right to make the last speech. There were therefore two members of the Dominican Party to three communists. On one side Calderón and Ballester and on the other, Rojas, López and Báez.

Calderón Jiménez and Ballester Hernández, faithful to their engagement, kept the tone of the congress free from politics, in spite of the extreme dificulty of speaking on a public platform without an elementary spirit of justice obliging the orator to alude to the multiple and important works of progress, culture and civilization carried out by Trujillo's Government. Calderón Jiménez and Ballester Hernández, we repeat, kept their speeches on a purely doctrinal and labour basis to an almost exaggerated extent. Not so the communists whose speeches were moulded on the classical pattern of Marxist literature and between labour topics they sowed in the consciousness of their listeners the seeds of class hatred, the hope of a future red revolution and the theories calculated to vex and conquer the Dominicans.

Everything was in accordance with a plan agreed on by the communist leaders in Havanna in the first fortnight of June, 1946, to which we have already referred.

At this meeting it was decided, besides all the questions relating to communist participation at the Workers' Congress, that the Dominican Communist Party should make its public appearance under the name of «Popular Socialist Party» and a branch of the same which would be formed of sympathizers —not precisely communists— but led by communists which would be called —and so in fact it was— «Democratic Youth».

The meetings that took place in Barahona, in San Pedro de Macorís, in La Romana and in Santiago were mainly an overflow of Marxist virulence, of rabid statements and of unjustified omissions.

Mauricio Báez especially took advantage of the occasion that offered to get all the old passions and hatreds off his chest.

Buenaventura López and Ursiño Rojas, who were more experienced, more skillful and more temperate, fenced with subtle dialectic, in this way carrying out their important and secret mission to «prepare the masses» and also their engagement to remain remote from politics.

The communists spoke at these meetings of subjects such as the «ignorance of the working masses», of «the reigning poverty», of the «high cost of living», of «the cruel exploitation that rich capitalists and employers carried out in the flesh of the workers». And as a tempting counterpart they talked in the speeches of the conquests achieved by the workers in other countries, suggesting naturally those in which the guilds were under communist leadership.

At the meeting held at Baní the clash was inevitable. Thousands of citizens, specially workers and peasants who had arrived from the neighbouring fields and factories, were massed in front of the platform. Among the humble people there was a natural curiosity to hear the the message brought bythe communists and also the words of «fraternal companions sent by the Cuban workers».

The insolence, scandal and tone of the communists overstepped in Baní the limits of prudence and respect. Mauricio Báez especially went as far as insulting the Gobernment and the Head of the State.

Julio César Ballester Hernández, who, as usual had reserved the right to speak last, could not repress his indignation and he oriented his speech, for the first time

in the tour, to making a brief but sonorous summing up of the benefits received by the Dominican workers from the social policy of Trujillo. The orator discarded all metaphor or literary artifice and demonstrated directly with exact data, with statistics and laws that the Dominican worker had achieved the desired standard of living and dignity, precisely on the eve of the great congress, and that these ends had been achieved without the expedients of violence and bloodshed so frequent in other countries.

The audience justly and enthusiastically applauded the speaker, who was taken down from the platform shoulder high.

The communists felt the blow. The delegation returned immediately to Ciudad Trujillo where the communists convoked a meeting during which the points at issue were discussed, among others the «affair» at Baní, with the resulting admonitions to Ballester.

The proximity of the Congress, the wish of the workers' leaders —who recognized as good the social policy of the Government— to make whatever sacrifices might be compatible with dignity and decorum so that everything might develop in an atmosphere of harmony, won the day in the end, and the flood waters returned to their proper level.

The sincere recognition by the working class of the protection they had received from that inspired statesman, Generalissimo Trujillo, was not a new phenomenon in our country.

Already on different occasions the Dominican workers, as well as all the social classes of the Dominican people, had expressed their support of the policy and work of the Government of President Trujillo, in view of the palpable and splendid results.

In 1944, for example, all the Dominican workers syndicates made public a manifiesto to the workers of America —among the signatories was Mauricio Báez— in which, with a view to giving the lie to the infamous fakes circulated by the communists, among other things they said the following:

> The collectivity of Dominican labour, because of its ideals, experience and the nature of its statutes,

lives and works remote from the tides of those groups which are purely and essentially political... We do not go in for politics; but we must be aware of political facts in order to praise those who favour us and condemn those who prejudice the aspirations of the collectivity... President Trujillo is a political leader. He has created a powerful political organization and he is backed up by a great force of public opinion. As a leader President Trujillo has enthusiastic and sincere friends and some bitter enemies. Dominican labour, we repeat, does not take part in politics; but today, tomorrow and always, it will recognize that he has been the initiator and conserver of our social legislation, for which fundamental reason the proletariat will support him, supports him now and always in his fruitful social and constructive policy. President Trujillo's enemies may create a world of high-sounding words in their Jacobin plan of demolition... what they will never achieve is the destruction, by skill, intrigue and lies, of a social legislation which is in no way inferior to that of the other civilized nations of the continent and which is in its totality due to the initiative of President Trujillo. Dominican labour never before enjoyed the protection that it has at present. It was never able to organize itself, function, make claims and protest with the freedom that it now disposes of. For nearly a whole century of troubled institutional life the worker was a non-existent factor in the social, economic, political and cultural development of the Dominican people. Today he is living in full consciousness of his grave responsibilities... Many years of progress divide the exhausting work of thirteen or fourteen hours work a day which was imposed on employees and workmen from the current working day, regulated by Law number 929, of 1935; there was a long period of hunger and bitterness when the maimed and crippled found no help in their misfortunes, either from their employers or from the State; hunger and bitterness eliminated today thanks to the beneficial results obtained by the law in force relating to working accidents, which was promulgated in 1932; from the time when

there were men without land and land without men —which was the great tragedy of our peasants— to the current period when land is periodically shared out, land that has the benefit of irigation. Years of darkness and poverty followed on each other for thousands of men in despair who began their confused exodus to the urban centres. From the times of the employer who exploited his workers, paying them what he thought fit, to the present time of just salaries, established by the intervention of the State, there was a nightmare world; as was also the case from the time of hard and exhausting work with no rest for recuperation to the current conditions of obligatory vacations. From the times of the submission of the worker to the will, the feelings and emotional reactions of the employer and foreman, to the current period controlled by laws regulating work contracts and protecting the worker, which were passed on the initiative of President Trujillo, an inhuman abyss of incomprehension and despotism existed.

From the times of the sick and poverty-stricken worker who wandered through our streets begging, to the legislation establishing free assistance in State hospitals, to the creation of modern centres for the cure of venereal diseases and hospitals and dispensaries for the treatment of tuberculosis, to the functioning of economical canteens, stretched a terrible desert of social insensibility where not a single Christian cross stretched out its arms to the helpless. New social measures are under consideration and we are convinced that they will soon become a part of the law. The life now enjoyed by the Dominican worker has solid foundations and the solicitous attention of the State. President Trujillo has been the only moving force in Dominican social legislation, which never had the smallest attention from former leaders. Dominican labour is happy, in all justice, to recognize this, rejecting absolutely any statement which is contrary to the truth. We are and we shall continue to be with him who is with us, substituting tears for smiles, despair for optimism, slavery for justice. For this reason, Dominican labour, in spite of the crafty maneuvres of some ill-intensioned politicians abroad, has

enthusiastically applauded and resolutely supported the all embracing social policy of Generalissimo Trujillo. And when we back up this constructive policy we are only defending our own ideology which has become law and our own aspirations to carry out fresh progress. Signed by: Mauricio Báez, President of the local Labour Federation of San Pedro de Macorís; Ramón Calderón Jiménez, for the Federation of Ciudad Trujillo; José Israel Santos, for the Federation of Santiago de los Caballeros; Efraím Méndez, for the Federation of Moca; José María Morales, for the Federation of Puerto Plata; Eugenio M. Pérez Medina, for the Federation of Barahona; Arturo Olivero, for the Federation of La Vega; Clemente Brador, for the Federation of San Pedro de Macorís; Francisco Prats Ramírez and Julio César Ballester, for the Dominican Confederation of Labour.»

On September 24th, 1946, at ten in the morning, at the «Julia» Theater of Ciudad Trujillo, the First National Workers' Congress was formally opened.

Generalissimo Trujillo himself, in a democratic gesture of friendliness to the working classes, was pleased to accept the invitation extended to him by the organizing committee and made the inaugural speech at the Congress (9).

It was a sober yet briliant and lofty piece of oratory, in which promises were absent to make way an eloquent exposition of facts underlying the life the Republic.

If the communists still had any doubts concerning the popularity of President Trujillo, the clamorous ovations and shouts of enthusiasm which his sonorous speech provoked must have proved sufficient argument to do away with those doubts.

The members of the Congress rose to their feet and applauded Trujillo's speech for several minutes.

Various foreign labour leaders, specially invited, witnessed from the presidency the course of the Congress. These were: Fernando Amilpa who personally represented Vicente Lombardo Toledano, well known for his submission to Moscow; Luis Gómez, General Secretary of the Workers' Syndicate of Mexico; the Cubans: Angel Fon, General Secretary of the Syndicate of Electrical Workers of Cuba and Secretary of the Federation of Workers of Havanna;

---

(9) See Appendix number 11.

Oswaldo Ruiz, General Secretary of the Federation of Bank Workers of Cuba; Vicente Ubiera, General Secretary of the Confederation of Telephone Workers of Cuba and Assistant Secretary of the Confederation of Workers of Cuba; Serafín Ruiz, Under-secretary of the Confederation of Workers of Cuba; Antonio Coffiño, member of the Confederation of Workers of Cuba; Jorge Luis Blandino, Secretary of the Confederation of Workers of Puerto Rico. Also present at all the sessions of the Congress were the «Fraternal Delegates», Ursiño Rojas and Buenaventura López, the former was Organizing Secretary of the Eastern Federation of Workers and Under-Secretary of the Sugar Workers of Cuba, and the latter was Cultural Secretary of the Confederation of Workers of Cuba.

The communists and their sympathizers noticed at the congress a mode of behaviours that was typically communist. It could not be different.

Conveniently distributed throughout the great hall where the Congress took place, the communists placed specially prepared groups to act as a claque applauding those statements that had a red tinge. But the applause soon turned to hissing and booing and other manifestations of disapproval directed at speakers and resolutions that did not coincide with their points of view.

In this way, Julio César Ballester Hernández was the object of shouts of condemnation, jokes and hissing on the part of the communists, who thus violated the most elementary norms of respect and comradeship. However, he received an ovation from the greater part of the members of the congress, who, when it came to giving their votes, chose him in spite of lively opposition from the reds. Ballester Hernández was thus elected General Secretary of the Dominican Confederation of Workers.

Mauricio Báez was elected Organizing Secretary and Ramón Grullón as Secretary for Culture and Propaganda of the Confederation. These elections were made possible due to the compliance of the workers' leaders affiliated to the Dominican Party, who managed to persuade most of the members of the congress that this was advisable in the interests of unity and fraternity among the workers.

The speeches made by Mauricio Báez and Fernando Amilpa were applauded in chorus and to a ridiculous pitch of frenzy by the red claque. When Amilpa pronounc-

ed the name of Lombardo Toledano, presenting him as «the greatest apostle of the working classes», the communists burst into frantic acclamations.

The Workers' Congress brought its tasks to a satisfactory conclusion in spite of the turbulent interventions and inopportune words and acts of the communists.

One of the clearest and most notable results of the Congress was the proof that the great majority of our workers repudiated marxism and refused to be bound by any instructions with underlying communist pretensions. It was also, on the other hand, a reiteration of a determined and long-standing attitude of the Dominican working classes (10).

---

(10) On March 25th 1946, in a manifesto published by the newspaper «La Opinión» of Ciudad Trujillo, the Dominican Confederation of Labour repudiated communism in no uncertain terms and with great clarity, in the following statements:

«The labour organization of the Dominican Republic has demonstrated that it sustains a democratic, liberal and evolutionary ideology. It repudiantes with determination and responsibility all systems and all programmes of a totalitarian and extremist tendency and rejects, in the consciousness of its rights and jealous of its human prerogatives, the leaden tyranny of communist inspired instructions, and more especially when it is a question of an attempt to impose these from distant sources that have absolutely nothing to do with the circumstances of our orbit, our historical and regional imperatives, our psychology and our cultural outlook.

It is not therefore necessary to reaffirm that our syndicated workers, who are more united than ever, are not and do not wish to be communists, since they desire to maintain and extend the regime of free inquiry, freedom to associate and to make decisions in which they now live; but, in view of the communiqué issued by the Secretariat of the Ministry of the Interior and the Police, concerning the existence of an incipient and clandestine Communist Party, we wish to state and put on record:

1. That the said inderground movement does not enjoy the slightest backing from the tens of thousands of workers affiliated to the Dominican Federation of Labour.

2. That, on the contrary, we believe that the efforts made from the shadows by a limited number of individuals who are drunk with extremist and exotic doctrines —individuals who have not been able to adapt themselves to the cultural, economic and moral conditions of our life— are doomed to crash against the granite walls of our ideology, of the feelings of the Dominican people, of the continental conscience and of the evolutionary faith of our syndical organizations.

3. That we are not troubled by incipient communism in our

For the moment, this did not dishearten the communists. Indeed they seemed to be in a hurry to go forward with the instructions issued from Havanna and the urgent appeals. compelling them to act.

In the house at Number 10 Duarte Street, where the Central Committee of the Dominican Popular Socialist Party —and for Socialist read: communist— was already functioning, a private meeting was called which was attended by the Dominican communists Félix Servio Ducoudray, Ramón Grullón, Mauricio Báez, Dato Pagán Perdomo, Roberto McCabe, Antonio Soto, the Cubans Buenaventura López, Ursinio Rojas and Antonio Coffiño and the Mexican Fernando Amilpa.

In the course of this meeting an «auto-criticism» was effected by the communists of their participation in the Congress, the «errors» committed were analyzed and resolutions for future methods were adopted. As the main point it was resolved to send a detailed report to the Central Committee of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba and to solicit approval for the plans agreed on.

What were those plans and how were they carried out by the Dominican Popular Socialist Party and by Democratic Youth? That we shall see immediately.

---

country but that, on repudiating it, we are once more prepared and determined not to permit any totalitarian seed to germinate in our land and exercise its disintegrating influence by imposition, whether it be of the extreme right or the extreme left.

4. That, being the natural environment in which we can always exercise our rights and realize our aspirations in the syndical spere, we are and shall be on the side of democracy. Since the beginning of the Republic our workers have been lovers of freedom and of the norms of life in common obtaining among civilized communities. We maintain and shall maintain this position at all cost. Ciudad Trujillo, Republic of Santo Domingo. Signed by: The Dominican Confederation of Labour: Board of Governors: Francisco Prats Ramírez, President; Remón Calderón Jiménez, Marcelino de Jesús, H. Cruz Rodeck, Valentín Evangelista, Luis Miranda, José Casado R., Federico Scharbay, Juan A. Pardilla Jr., Julio César Ballester, General Secretary.»

THE PUBLIC PHASE OF COMMUNISM

«The Popular Socialist Party» and «Domocratic Youth» Terrorits Plans

The arrival in the country of Ramón Grullón Martínez and Mauricio Báez was the first effective step of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba to put in motion a project approved by Moscow to constitute in the Dominican Republic a communist party which would function legally and a group of sumpathizers which, adopting a less political attitude, would attract students, professional men and intellectuals who would not wish to be compromised —at least openly— in a marxist campaign.

A short time afterwards the following people returned to the Republic, after having attended special courses in Marxist training and clandestine agitation: Félix Servio Ducoudray Jr. or Mansfield (alias: El Pato), Francisco Alberto Henríquez Vázquez (alias: Chito), Juan Bautista Ducoudray Mansfield and others; Later on Pericles Bienvenido Franco Ornes also returned.

Immediately, the necessary political contacts began to be made and directives and instructions were given. The old-time revolutionaries who has been lying low came to the surface with smiling faces.

Generalissimo Trujillo gave clear and definite orders to the effect that neither authorities nor friends should

disturb in any way the incipient communist movement in its new legal and public phase, either for their convictions or for reasons of political sympathies.

The communists, on their side, through various channels of information, made to the Government important declarations and promises, with a view to having their recent history of clandestinity and transgressions forgotten.

The communists made known to the Government and especially to Civil servants of importance in the political life of Santo Domingo the following:

1. That they came to work, without prejudice, hatreds or reserve, protected by the Constitution and the laws of the Republic, for the social and economic improvement of the Dominican people.

2. Violent methods and clandestine activities were to be completely discarded. They therefore repudiated all terrorist activity and even further, they engaged to unmask and hand over to the authorities any of their members who, in violation of party discipline, were responsible for personal outrages, armed aggression or any other political act contrary to the penal code.

3. The communists recognized with pleasure the progress of the Republic made during the period of Trujillo's ofice and that they would fight frankly and legally for the extension of democratic guarantees and liberty.

On August 27th 1946, in the town newspapers and in numerous circulars and leaflets which were rapidly distributed, it was made known to the public in a manifesto that the Popular Socialist or Communist Party had been formally constituted. The signatories to the manifesto were: Freddy Valdez, Roberto McCabe, Ramón Grullón, Mauricio Báez, Héctor Ramírez Pereyra, Rafael A. Quennedit, Luis Escoto Gómez and Antonio Soto Jr. The manifesto did not differ in a single word from the well known type of Marxist literature. After the well worn attacks on the «International reactionary element led by Anglo-Yankee imperialism, represented by Labour treachery in England and Truman's Administration in the United States», they promised the Government that «they would repudiate all kinds of political terrorism. They then declared that« we, the communists of Santo Domingo, who have fought clandestinely under the banner of the Democratic Revolutionary Party of Santo Domingo, today

legally constitute our party under the name of Popular Socialist Party, whose aims are...» And this was followed by a list of beautiful democratic aims, exclusively created for propaganda purposes and not for application in the political field, as was very shortly afterwards demosntrated.

Finally, they did not hesitate to confess that the «Popular Socialist Party had as its ideological base Lenin-Stalinist-Marxism, and as its supreme ideal the implanting of "Socialist Society"».

Some time afterwards, on October 15th 1946, another communist group calling itself «Democratic Youth» announced its constitution and its «incorporation into the democratic struggle of our people» in a manifesto of lyrical and high-sounding democratic literature.

This group of young politicians came, according to the final phrases of their manifesto, to «struggle for the conquest of the welfare and the happiness of the Dominican people»; «to struggle for the heroes of Dominican youth: Duarte Sánchez and Melia»; «to struggle for the triumph of the democratic aspirations of our youth»; «to struggle for the world fraternity of youth». The signatories of the document were the members of the Central Committee: Salvador Reyes, Manuel Mena Blonda, Josefina Padilla Deschamps, J. A. Martínez Bonilla, Virgilio Díaz Grullón, José Manuel Peña Jr. and Juan Bautista Ducoudray Mansfield.

«Democratic Youth» proclaimed its severance from the Popular Socialist or Communist Party, as also from any other political group, since they affirmed that they did not constitute a political party but an association whose objects were purely civic, democratic and cultural.

Nothing could have been further from the truth. Very soon the close links and dependence of «Democratic Youth» on the «Popular Socialist Party» was so intimate and notorious that it can be stated that both groups were one and the same thing with complete continuity in their aims, campaigns, directives and common obedience to the Cuban communist and, as a logical consequence, to Moscow.

The communists stated that the Popular Socialist Party was the same as the «Revolutionary Democratic Party» of before, but now functioning within a legal framework; and that «Democratic Youth» was the heir of «Revolutionary Youth»; and just as before in the clan-

destine groups there had never been separating boundaries, neither were there now in their successors in public and legal life.

The majority of the members of «Democratic Youth» were university students from «Revolutionary Youth» who had found in the figure of J. A. Bonilla Atiles their secret guide and moving spirit and various old time communists who served as liason officers with the Popular Socialist Party.

The manoeuvre of presenting a communist second front, in appearance purely democratic and indifferent to politics, was planned in Havanna and, according to the affirmations of various young men belonging to «Democratic Youth», the original project was the work of Juan Marinello, a distinguished communist intellectual who wished to take advantage of his experiences in Cuba.

The instructions were brought from Havanna by young Virgilio Díaz Grullón who had facilities for travelling between Cuba and the Dominican Republic, being the son of the then Minister of Santo Domingo in that capital —the poet and diplomat Virgilio Díaz Ordóñez— who was a personal friend of Generalissimo Trujillo's and a very loyal one.

Young people of the Dominican Party energetically denounced the communist manoeuvre. The President of the Governing Board of the Dominican Party, who was at that the time Virgilio Alvarez Peña, observed that in the newly appeared «Dominican Youth» there were various women university students: Josefina Padilla Deschamps, María Herminia Ornes Coiscou (Maricusa) and the poetess Carmen Natalia Martínez Bonilla —relative and political off-spring of J. A. Bonilla Atiles—; for this reason he considered it his duty to make an appeal to the conscience of the women of Santo Domingo in order to show them the red sub-strata existing under the flowery words of the manifesto of the above-mentioned group.

Alvarez Peña stated in his speech for the guidance of these young women that:

> «We are convinced, and for the honour of our women we proclaim that they, mothers, wives, model daughters, the adornment of the home, profoundly Christian and full of love for all that Santo Domingo

implies, will not allow themselves to be seduced by the machinations with which the misguided communists hope to undermine their good faith or their kindly credulity; they are the enemies of democracy, the enemies of religion and the enemies of the country, whether they present themselves under their real guise of communists who are unconditional devotees of the red cult, or whether they present themselves camouflaged, as now, by the disguise of «Democratic Youth», or with other masks pertaining to the same pernicious and disintegrating carnaval.»

The President of the Board of Governors of the Dominican Party did not exaggerate his zeal in favor of the interests and political ideals which he proclaimed and defended, neither did this zeal lead him to exaggerate or twist the grave facts that he denounced.

The Dominican communists, attracted by an irresistible gravitation toward danger and adventure, fell once more into their old subversive tactics even before the first difficultics had been overcome, the firts inevitable obstacles conquered for the setting in motion of their small-scale political machinery, the settling of means of public expression; their installation at the central locality at Number 10 Duarte Street —the head-quarters of the P. S. P.— and at «Arzobispo Nouel», Number 33 —the head-quarters of D. Y.— in Ciudad Trujillo and the establishing of the necessary contacts.

This back-sliding meant the converting into dust and ashes of the promises given. There will be no more clandestine activities, they said. Whoever is found guilty of terrorist methods will be denounced and handed over to the authorities. The promises made by communists bear the same stamp of untruth all the world over, whether they be given by Russians, Chinese or Dominicans. The mere fact of being a communist is sufficient for every word uttered to bear the germs of falsehood.

Let us see how the Dominican communist movement functioned during this new stage.

During this phase communism adopted two forms of existence. The public or legal, which was purely a matter of form, and the clandestine or illicit, which was the true one of communist directives and passwords.

The P. S. P. installed its central committee at number 10 Duarte Street, the residence of the Ducoudray brothers, which from that time turned into a den of vagrants and rogues who came and went as they wished, wrangling and bickering to such an extent that they were the curse of the peaceful neighbours of that district.

The P. S. P., had two publications: the review «Bases», which was of very short duration, giving way to a little paper called «El Popular». The editor was Félix Servio Ducoudray, the best educated and most cultured member of the group; but the material was carefully selected and written by the so-called intellectuals of the party: Luis Escotto Gómez, Ramón Grullón, Ercilio García Bencosme, Roberto McCabe and Mauricio Báez for articles of a labour character; and the members of «Democratic Youth»: Carmen Natalia Martínez Bonilla, Virgilio Díaz Grullón and Manuel Mena Blonda who, as well as having their own paper also called «Democratic Youth», collaborated in this field with the members of the P. S. P.

All the articles were submitted to the censorship of the central committee of the P. S. P. who approved, rejected or corrected even those that were authorized by the signatures of their authors. And this was done by those who called themselves the vanguard of democracy in our country.

The communists put into practice the so-called acts of confession and repentance of errors and political deviationism. The censorship exercised by the central committee over the written or spoken word and even over the thoughts of its affiliates was so narrow and tyrannical that Roberto McCabe Aristy, who was then Secretary of the said committee, was submitted to interrogation by a Court of Honour formed by his colleagues and chiefs and obliged to confess to a «grave fault» in a caricature of the celebrated hearings that took place in Moscow and during which the most notable individuals of the Revolution were purged. McCabe was punished, after his spontaneous confession had been obtained, by being expelled from the central committee, but not from the party, and with a public admonition and the vote of censure from all the meetings of the District and Provincial committees; this task was carried out by selected individuals who, to demonstrate their marxist fervour, produced vitriolic invec-

tives. His fault —his «grave fault» consisted in having written and sent— without the prior censorship and approval of the central committee— a letter to H. E. the President of the Republic which, even though formally cold in tone, used the necessary forms of courtesy applicable to the high rank of the recipient; the said letter acknowledged the instruction that the President had publicly given to the Secretary of State for the Ministry of the Interior and the Police to the effect that all the necessary measures should be adopted to ensure the communists with complete freedom of expression and action.

The P. S. P. also made public a declaration signed by Ramón Grullón, Félix Servio Ducoudray and Ercilio García Bencosme in which they announced the sanctions imposed on McCabe Aristy for his «Unforgivable political deviationism».

This absurd and picturesque «Court of Honour» functioned fairly frequently, imposing a whole scale of arbitrary sanctions, from private admonitions to beatings-up and liquidation of guilty affiliates. The following came before the «Court», were judged and condemned: Ramón Gonell, a shoe-maker employed in the footware factory of «La Reyna», of Ciudad Trujillo, because during a workers' rising —an attempted and unjustifiable strike— he said a few words of moderation in order to open the way to an agreement with the bosses; Hipólito Ernesto Rodríguez Montero, because «he was an agent in the pay of the reactionaries» and in the critical phase of dissolution —which we shall see later— Francisco Alberto Henríquez Vázquez (alias: Chito), because he began negotiations to leave for Havanna, without the authorization of the central committee, and Mauricio Báez and Dato Pagán Perdomo, for the same reasons. The punishment consisted of expulsion and being stigmatized «as traitors». This however did not prevent the sentence from being revised by the central committee of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, acting as a Court of Appeal. They considered that Henríquez Vázquez, Báez and Pagán Perdomo had acted under the irresistible pressure of a *force majeur* and they therefore ordered their political rehabilitation; this being the case, the accused returned to the communist ranks.

Extremism, agitation, demagogic and frankly sub-

versive outbreaks, calumny, libel, public insults, sarcasm, incitement to violence, were commonplaces in the writings and speeches of the communists, both in the P. S. P. and the D. Y.

It is only necessary to give a superficial examination to the collection of newspapers of both political groups to realize that the foregoing statement needs no further proof.

Titles such as the following filled with red letters the pages of the communist organs: «For the mobilization of the masses to declare implacable punishment on the guilty members of the reactionaries»; «The Dominican Party ill treats its workers»; «Let us struggle against the cost of living»; «The destitution of the people»; «Vengeance!»; «Into the fray, comrades!»; «Exhortation to the workers to close their ranks in the company of the P. S. P. to implant the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry out the socialist revolution»; «Injustice»; «Crimes»; «Treachery».

At the meetings deafening obstreporousness and incitements to «valiant» and agressive action were more frequent than in the articles, by reason of the heat generated by improvisations and the intoxication of tumultuous shouting from the reduced but fanatical members.

On December 10th, 1946, at eight pm, D. Y. held their first meeting at Santiago de los Caballeros.

Gustavo Adolfo Patiño, Virgilio Díaz Grullón, Gilda Pérez y Pérez, José Manuel de Peña Jr. and Rafael Moore Garrido, General Secretary of the Committee of that province, mounted the platform.

The speakers —as happened at the other meetings of D. Y. and P. S. P.— were slavishly faithful to the classical pattern of communist oratory; their language was so impudent and ferocious that it caused the society of Santiago to tremble.

D. Y. had already attempted to hold a meeting in the «Rubén Darío» Park of this city, next to Jorge Washington Avenue on November 24th of the same year.

As happened at the other communist manifestations, they insulted the authorities responsible for maintaining public order, drafting for the purpose a group of burly youths who, with insolent defiance, and provided with big arm-bands, acted as a kind of body-guard to impose order or to impose any kind of programme of violence.

The captains of this provocative body-guard of D. Y. wer the Guarionex brothers and Hector Flores Ortiz (1); belonging to P. S. P. were Juan María Ramírez (alias Ramirito) and Freddy Valdez.

The meeting of D. Y. in this town did not go according to program, because at the moment that the «populistas» (members of the P. S. P.) and «democratas» (members of the D. Y.) were getting ready to listen to the chosen speakers, a torrential rain storm burst, lasting for several hours.

This however did not prevent an intelligent and fiery young woman from mounting the platform and delivering an inflamatory harangue to the accompaniment of torrents of rain and thunder; the speaker was Josefina Deschamps, a student at the Faculty of Medicine at our university; the speech concluded with an invitation to all the demonstrators to sing the national anthem, which they did with manifest irreverence. How can the communists feel respect and devotion for the anthem of the country on whose coat-of-arms is the device: «God, Country and Liberty?»

But the demonstrations and acts of the P. S. P. were even more alarming and more fiery in tone.

On September 14th, 1946, at 8 pm, the «populistas» held their first public function in Ciudad Trujillo, which they pompously called «the first concentration of the masses in favour of democracy».

Barely two hundred militant communists and sympathizers who were not enrolled gathered round the platform; but rather than participants in a democratic and political function, the pack of frenzied fanatics produced the impression of a collection of escaped lunatics, or the fury of a gang of pirates about to board a ship: With the shouts and terrible threats, the cries of death and the cheers all sanity disappeared from a place which, a few minutes earlier had been a peaceful spot for the inhabitants of the city to rest in and enjoy themselves.

Those who mounted the platform were: Freddy Valdez.

---

(1) Guarionex and Héctor Flores Ortiz later graduated at Santo Domingo University, the former as a doctor and the latter as a lawyer; they have co-operated with the Dominican Party and they are today faithful and respected servants of the Government.

Mauricio Báez, Ramón Grullón, Félix Servio Ducoudray, Roberto McCabe Aristy, Dato Pagán —the Secretary of the Provincial Committee of San Pedro de Macorís and a saddler called Hasbum.

The speeches, as was to be expected, were virulent and aggressive.

Ramón Grullón, even more than the others, was especially insulting and lacking in any moderation. After having unloaded his extensive vocabulary of insults against the government and the «reactionnary and criminal enemies of the socialist revolution», he referred specifically, with gross insults, to three people who had distinguished themselves for the energy of their anti-communist campaigns: Virgilio Alvarez Peña —President of the Central Governing Board of the Dominican Party—; Dr. José Angel Saviñon —then President of the District Board of Santo Domingo and Francisco Prats Ramírez, who was at that time president of the Board of Directors of the Labour Party.

When the speeches were over, the small but delirious gathering set off in procession through the main streets of the city, finishing up at the «Altar de la Patria» (The Altar of the Country) a place which is sacred to the Dominicans since there are buried the mortal remains of the Founders of the Republic. The procession sowed panic among the the citizens of the capital, accustomed as they had been to order, peace and work ever since 1930, the year that Trujillo took the reins of leadership to guide the destiniies of the people.

On September 21st of the year already mentioned the P. S. P. held their second meeting, this time in San Pedro de Macorís, in the «Duarte» Park of that town.

Those who made speeches were: Dato Pagán Perdomo, General Secretary of the Provincial Committee of San Pedro de Macorís; Mauricio Báez, Félix Servio Ducoudray, Ramón Grullón and Roberto McCabe Aristy.

The third meeting of the P. S. P. was held in Santiago de los Caballeros on October 11th of the same year, 1946. This time those who mounted the platform to instigate rebellion were: the General Secretary of the Provincial Committee of Santiago: Minaya; Julio Raúl Durán —Organizing Secretary on the same Committee—; Doctor Aquiles Ramírez, Ramón Grullón and Roberto McCabe.

While all this public activity was going on in the shape of meetings, processions, newspapers, leaflets and propaganda through loud-speakers —in front of the «Julia Molina» Park at the premises of the Villa Francisca Committee in José Trujillo Valdez Street, a high-powered loud-speaker was installed and from 7 to 10 every night noisy and scandalous propaganda was kept up, consisting of slogans, short phrases, manifesto and even jokes in very poor taste— while all this was going on, the communists, violating their repeated primises, dragged into the sub-strata of clandestinity many of their more determined and fanatically militant members, whose movements therefore remained concealed.

The Dominican communists believed, and made their superiors, the Cuban communists beleive —either because they were blinded or were acting in bad faith— that the «Dominican people were ripe for the revolution», and that it would be an easy task for them to achieve their objectives. They thought that once the roar of the call to revolt had gone up, that the great masses of peasants and workers, led by the party politicians, wouldt hrow themselves into the conquest of power. They dreamed of great subversive movements, of enormous strikes which would paralyze the economic advance of the nation, of the sugar-cane plantations in flames and of fevered multitudes clamouring at the gates of the Presidential Palace for the head of President Trujillo. Those were the secret designs of those who, with hammer and sickle, had come to save the Dominican people from their pretended destitution and misery.

A communist, Francisco Antonio Cruz (2), who was General Secretary of the Villa Francisca Committee and founder of the «General Luperón» clandestine cell, after having left the ranks of the P. S. P., describes this secret and subversive activity —in order to give rein to his horror and indignation— in the book he wrote in 1947: «Génesis, evolución y agonía del Partido Comunista Dominicano» («Origin, evolution and death agony of the

---

(2) He is a great Dominican poet. He has eficiently cooperated in the political ideals of the Government. For many years he has been workins in the Directorate General of Home Revenue.

Dominican Communist Party»). Concerning this subversive activity he says the following:

> «The question was apparently a simple one: to keep the outward forms and to take advantage of the sub-strata.
>
> And this was how the public phase of the P. S. P. began, with propaganda designed to conquer the great masses of workers of the Republic. In effect, it was proclaimed that the P. S. P. constituted the vanguard of the working classes and that it was called to fulfill their desires and to revindicate them. To each one of the members already enrolled in the communist party was given the immediate task of conquering the greatest number of possible adherents Meanwhile we spent our nights, with a revolutionary fever that reached the pitch of frenzy, in educating ourselves culturally by means of bolshevik books and other propaganda concocted in Cuba, so that we might deserve the title of good marxists.»

While the party developed a phase of public activities, observing —at least in appearance— absolute respect for and observance of the law and the constitution, the communists had an important clandestine task to carry out. The instructions we had received from the P. S. P. of Cuba recommended underground action, the formation of solid blocs and bolshevik cells of a clandestine nature, until a vast network covered the whole country, the meshes of which would entwine the most important guilds and labour syndicates, with the objects of obtaining absolute control and domination.

For this slow task which needed prudence the principal agents to be counted on were: Ramón Grullón and Mauricio Báez, who could act to advantage thanks to the positions they had obtained in the Dominican Confederation of Workers; but the exhibitionist temperament of the one and the ignorance and thoughtlessness of the other brought an end to this plan.

From the first moment the improvised bolschevik leaders' dream of ungovernable masses which in crazy waves would demand revindication at the Government palace, invading streets and squares and working on the

minds of the people, exciting them as a prelude to a large-scale insurrection. At every moment Cuba was held up as an example, where they had witnessed events the nature of which acted as a fertilizer in the over-heated atmosphere of that nation.

When they tried to put into practice these madman's dreams, they received the first cruel and decisive impact, first of the indifference and then of the open aversion of the Dominican people, who were already used to order. peace and work.

And in fact, the people of Santo Domingo remained deaf to the sonorous promises of the communists; and when the element of danger began to threaten the peace of Santo Domingo, the indifference of this peace-loving people was transformed into a war-like attitude of legitimate defense of the material and spiritual heritage which was endangered by the new doctrine.

The machinations of the communists to swell their ranks went for nothing. Sometimes it was a question of promises for immediate economic improvements, higher salaries and shorter working hours, given to the workers of the shoemakers guilds, among whom the «populistas» made their most effective conquests; at other times, in order to encourage the secret enemies of the régime, they presented it as a lost cause «because of pressure from Washington; they presented an anachron istic picture which recalled the epoch of the «big stick»; they reached the height of audacity and cynicism with a dirty political swindle: which consisted of presenting the communist movement —to ignorant people in the slums of the city— as enjoying approval in the eyes of the Government, since the communists «in spite of their determined campaign had made a pact with the Dominican Government and would ask for the re-election of Generalissimo Trujillo in the elections of May 16th, 1947».

But neither this nor many other machinations managed to divide the people from a norm of dignity, of support for the policy of the Dominican Party and the work of the Government, on whose side they had voluntarily placed themselves.

This was clearly demonstrated by a political event which was of great importance at that time: On September 24th, 1946, to commemorate the anniversary of the Trujillo-

Hull Treaty which gave full sovereignty to the Republic, the greatest crowd ever seen at a political function in the Republic gathered on the wide esplanade of Ciudad Trujillo near the entrance of the San Diego settlement.

The people responded to the appeal made by the Dominican Party. Thousands upon thousands of enthusiastic, disciplined and democratically happy citizens manifested their political feelings and their patriotic aspirations. All this was summed up in a single proposal: that Generalissimo Trujillo should continue in the leadership of the affairs of state for the next constitutional period.

The P. S. P., decided to make a counter-move with a meeting that was announced for October 26th.

While the preparations for the P. S. P. meeting were underway an independent communist party came into being. In the confused political picture presented by the so-called «Dominican opposition» a ridiculous thing happened; this would have been laughable if the Dominican people, whose name was taken in vain, had not been involved, as was also the Government, whose lofty ideals were profaned by the marxists. One day leaflets were distributed throughout the city setting out the programme of a so-called «National Elevation Party»; the author was a certain Manuel Frías Neyreles, a man who was mentally unbalanced and who, as was later found out, had been under the care of specialists on account of his mental condition.

Frías Meyreles appeared in the public lists, giving assurances that he and his party were the only representatives of the communist ideals and stating to the public, as a certain fact, that behind him were «thousands of workers, professional men and citizens from all social classes».

In reality all these affirmations only existed in the limited but extravagant mind of their author. It was later proved that only an ex-school master, Professor Antonio Velázquez (3), and a last-year student of the Faculty of

---

(3) He soon realized his grave error. Professor Velázquez was nominated some years ago to a political post within the Dominican Party, a post which he still holds today.

Medicine, Francisco Xavier Maduro Sanabia, were the followers of the lunatic and improvised leader.

So that the reader may have an idea of the confusion reigning among the political enemies of the current regime, of the freedom that they enjoyed and the efficiency of Generalissimo Trujillo's promise not to cut short that liberty, it is sufficient to say that this «National Elevation Party» went tothe length of holding a meeting in the «Colón» Park, attended by half a dozen curious spectators who listened in the background to the absurd reasoning and nonsense of the only speaker at the function: Frías Meyreles himself.

The «National Elevation Party» disappeared from the political scene as unexpectedly as it had appeared.

The trust is that neither the P. S. P. nor D. Y. paid any attention to the rival communist party of Frías Meyreles; neither did the people or the Government take it into account. since all could realize that the boastful bragging of the individual in question was but the expression of an ignorant man who was suffering from hallucinations.

The P. S. P. speeded up their clandestine tasks in readiness for October 26th. Rapid and secret orders were sent from Number 10 Duarte Street and from here too came the directive to prepare peoples minds for a great event in the life of the Republic; the event might be a suicidal insurrection or the assassination of important political figures in the life of the nation; the sacrifice in lives that this action might necessitate is unimportant. The objetives were: «to arouse the people and attract the attention of the world to the case of Santo Domingo.»

Demented youths, often criminally intoxicated to entrust them with dangerous tasks, worked feverishlly as late as the dawn hours in the preparation of the plan for the insurrection. Among these were: César Augusto Batista Turbides, Angel Marmol, Juan María Ramírez (alias: Ramirito), Vinicio Vigueras, Bolívar Eybar, Nicolás Quirico Valdez, etc.

> Francisco Antonio Cruz says in the work quoted: «The work of agitation advanced rapidly. The cells in industries, factories and shops had, as their immediate mission, the task of causing political agitation among workers and employees. The family

cells —situated preferibly in humble districts, poor and out-of-the-way sections, where the people lived on top of one another— also had to carry out intensive and effective agitation.

The motives were all ready on a plate: capitalist exploitation, the poverty of the worker, the high cost of living, etc., etc.; and if the occasion seemed propitious they even talked of the «imminent fall of the Government»; and with a slight effort of the imagination a beautiful picture could be presented of conditions in the wonderful communist society.

All this activity was shrouded in a mist of mystery. It was clear enough that the first links in a vast terrorist chain of conspiracy were being forged; nothing was omitted, neither the placing of bombs, nor the assassination of illustrious and high-ranking citizens.

The cells, obeying explicit orders, submerged themselves more and more in the shadow of clandestinity. Each one of them had a special name for identification purposes: «Pedro Santana Cell», «Stalingrad Cell», «The Invincible Cell». I was General Secretary of the «General Luperón Cell».

We were given secret codes for the transmission of orders and directives, using for this purpose figures, numbers and signs instead of letters, words and sentences. It was the General Secretary of each cell who knew the code and these minute organizations of sedition functioned completely independently of each other and were only mutually known to one another through their respective General Secretaries who were also the only ones who kept in contact with the Central Committee of the «Popular Socialist Party».

The names of the components of the cells were completely changed which made it difficult to know who was who in the bolshevik web of the district.

Thus, for example, among the members of my cell were Espartaco, Timoshenko, Oliveira del Barrio, etc. They were the so-called "noms de guerre".» (Pages 29, 30 & 31 of the work quoted.)

The days passed in feverish agitation. The «great mass

manifestation of the communist Party» was the obsession fo the Dominican reds and the waited-for event.

Night after night the Central Committee of the P. S. P. held their sessions with the attendance of the most enthusiastic communists from D. Y.

One night Ramón Grullón proposed —and his proposal was accepted by the Central Committee of the P. S. P.— the assassination of the Head of the State. It was agreed that hazard should decide who was to carry out the criminal act.

When the lots were drawn the task fell to Ercilio García Bencosme (alias: Silo), who in a panic argued that such a mission should be carried out by one of the members already qualified as «blind instruments of terror». The chosen instrument argued vehemently that he «should be reserved for intellectual and organizing work, in which he could be more useful to the party and the country.»

The wrangle arising from all this threatened a violent schism within the communist party. García Bencosme was on the point of being immediately expelled from the P. S. P. being accused of acting «as a coward and with a lack of discipline»; Freddy Valdez and Ramón Grullón were on the point of coming to blows; but the efforts of the peacemakers were successful in the end and the excited and over-heated spirits became calm once more.

As a question of form it was decided to inform the Central Committee of the Cuban P. S. P. of what had occurred, notifying them that the criminal project had been put off till after October 26th.

During the 22nd, 23rd, 24th and 25th of October the Dominican communists hardly had a moment's rest.

Urgent orders, confidential directives, admonitions, threats and demands for action to be rapid and efficacious arrived daily from Havanna. It was all too evident what the communists were after: the carrying out of violence and terrorist plans by every possible means; at the same time they were preparing a way of escape to Havanna, after the bloody scenes which, according to their calculations, «should throw discredit on the régime abroad», presenting it as a tyrant who throttled public freedom. In this way they would justify their failure to the

people and they would have the complacent approval of the so-called «Dominican Opposition» abroad.

The longed-for 26th of October arrived and from the early hours of the morning a «guagüita» (an omnibus with loud-speakers) of the type known as pick-up travelled all through the streets of the city transmitting eloquent harangues to the people, inviting them to the «great mass meeting of the P. S. P.».

In the early afternoon disquieting rumours began to circulate to the effect that the communists were planning blood-shed.

The Dominican party made a proclamation advising loyalty and discipline for all its members, recommending prudence and moderation; in clear and decisive terms it ordered that nobody should interfere in the demonstration planned by the communists and that their provocations should not be taken up.

The meeting was announced for 8 pm. Before 7 groups of «populistas» and «democráticos» began to arrive, with placards bearing slogans and phrases of an insulting nature.

At 8 pm —the time of the meeting— it was evident that the much longed-for «mass meeting» was merely a group of barely 300 people, counting communists, sympathizers and curious on-lookers, who occupied the south west corner of the «Colón» park, where the platform was situated with the Dominican flags and the Soviet banner with hammer and sickle.

It could not have happened in any other way, because the P. S. P. even at its maximum barely counted on 200 members, officially enrolled; the number of communists and sympathizers throughout the whole country never reached 400, counting the members entolled in D. Y. and counting also those who, for reasons of decorousness, hypocrisy or other reasons, did not show their faces (4).

The «Colón» park is an evening rendez-vous for peaceful citizens who have established in this quiet corner of the city traditional groups or gatherings in which they seek entertaiment and solace without worries of any kind.

That night, as always, the usual gatherings of the «Colón» park were animated at various spots far from the

---

(4) See Appendix number 12.

location of the meeting. On the other hand, from different view-points, groups of curious spectators watched the proceedings at the meeting.

A fact that was noticeable from the beginning was that the insolent «body-guard» of the communists —that night more numerous than ever with volunteers and members of D. Y.— were carrying thick sticks in the form of clubs; this, and their flashy arm-bands made their members easily distinguishable at a distance. The men and women who were taking part in that function were in a state of extreme tension and excitement. It was known afterwards that many of them were quite drunk, having spent the day in a state of self-induced revolutionary excitement by means of proclamations, shouts and numerous rounds of rum.

To begin with the crowd sang the «communist anthem», followed by the «Internationale» — the famous song of the reds.

Francisco Alberto Henríquez Vázquez (alias: Chito) mounted the platform in an atmosphere charged with tension, the small crowd was prickly and apressive, throats were hoarse with cheers, insults, and threats; the speaker dwelt on the much handled subjects of virulent marxist orthodoxy for the consumption of ignorant fanatics.

The meeting reached its climax with the speech made by Ramón Grullón who was —as always— excitable, audacious and unrespectful. While he was speaking with hoarse frenzy and with sentences which were interrupted by his own inflamatory passion the expected skirmish broke out in a corner distant from the platform.

Various communists armed with clubs, threw themselves into the fray, unjustifiably attacking peaceful citizens who were, as has been said, at a prudent distance from the red platform.

The expected affray has happened. Freddy Valdez, Héctor Antonio Ramírez and Antonio Soto join the skirmish to encourage the ignorant and fanatic youths, whom they themselves had called «the automatons of terror», blind instruments of criminal directives.

The clash was inevitable, those who were attacked defended themselves vigorously and the fight spread like a trail of gun-powder to other sectors.

The communists brandished clubs and knives that, up

till then, they had concealed. In the confusion many of the red demonstrators fought amongst each other. A witness to the event said:

> «I saw a certain Mara, a prostitute that the communists had recruited that night, draw a knife against a worker called Robinson and wound him in the arm, without realizing that he was one of her companions.»

To sum up, a tremendous confusion, to which the Dominicans were not accustomed since Trujillo had implanted his era of work and peace.

After a brief but vigorous fight the balance was several wounded none of them serious — and bruises on both sides.

It was what they wished for. Frenzied by the sight of blood, they themselves tore down the platform, they piled up the wreckage and set fire to the timber. In this way they saw their old dream of «blood and fire» come true, if not in the sugar-cane plantations, at least or at most — in the central and pacific «Colón» park.

Also, and this was what they pretended —as one of the later objetives— they covered up their failure. They could tell their impatient masters, the Cuban communists, not that they had been defeated by the people themselves who despised and rejected them, but that they had succumbed because «the criminal reactionaries had strangled the democratic movement of the P. S. P. with violence and blood-shed.»

The wounded and bruised who were affiliated to the Dominican party were immediately taken to the State hospitals or to private clinics.

The communists could not —according to their norms— proceed in this way. They has to exhibit their «victims»; they had to make capital out of the blood-shed that they themselves had provoked. They took charge of their wounded, placing in a prominent position those who had not had any emergency treatment and therefore presented a most pathetic sight, they organized a tumultous and vociferous procession through the streets of the city, stopping at the doors of the Mexican Embassy, the Cuban and the United States Embassies. At each one of these Embassies they showed

their victims, they gave the communist version (deformed, naturally) of the recent happenings and they «patriotically» demanded foreign intervention in the home affairs of the Dominican Republic.

And so finished the «red night» — according to the name given to the occasion by the people.

A few days later the Executive or Central Committee of the P. S. P. issued a manifesto signed by Ramón Grullón, Ercilio García B. and Félix Servio Ducoudray, in which they gave their versión of the violent happenings, copying more or less the report sent to the Cuban communists.

Naturally the affair as it really happened was a great disillusion for the small-time communists. They had hoped for a proper insurrection with the backing of enormous and unknown masses, shaken by the «heroic actión of the democratic vanguard of the country». What they did find —on the part of the people— was a reaction that vacilated between indifference and indignation.

The Dominican communists, after their violent action of October 26th, were left more alone, despised, and were ridiculed by public opinion.

They were waiting for fresh instructions from Moscow, via Havanna. While they thus waited for orders there was a period of apparent tranquility, during which only clantine work prospered.

On March 16th, 1947, after nearly two years of voluntary exile, Pericles Franco Ornes arrived in the country with the latest instructions from the Cuban Communist Party, approved by Moscow.

On the following day, March 17th, at 8 pm on the premises of «Democratic Youth», Arzobispo Nouel number 33, a joint meeting took place of the leaders of the P. S. P. and D. Y. to agree on all future conduct.

During this meeting Franco Ornes made a pedantic and tedious speech on the occasion of the presentation of a portrait of the young Cuban communist leader, Julio Antonio Mellas, which the «National Excutive Committee of Socialist Youth» of Havanna had sent to D. Y.

The instructions received through Franco Ornes could not have been more decisive or clearer: Within as short a time as possible it was necessary to unleash a campaign of

terror and violence, capable of «making all the social classes of the Dominican people shudder».

The plans reached the ears of the authorities of Santo Domingo through the confessions of various communists who were terrified at the scale of the enterprise in which they were on the point of being compromised.

As a result a group of seven young communists, led by Rubén Darío Vallejo (5) made public a manifesto in which they denounced those criminal plans, repudiating them, and at the same time they irrevocably renounced the party which attempted to sew anarchy and to bring misery and mourning to the people of Santo Domingo.

During the following days there were many such resignations from the members of the P. S. P. and D. Y.; at the same time a campaign of political guidance was started by the Board of the Dominican Party in the district of Santo Domingo —now the National District— under the presidency of Dr. José Saviñón.

A unanimous outcry arose from the Dominican people demanding the dissolution of the P. S. P. and of D. Y. and the prohibition of all communist activity which was completely antagonistic to the democratic and Christian traditions which have formed the Dominican nation.

Generalissimo Trujillo listened to the outcry of his people and on June 8th, 1947, he sent a patriotic message to the National Congress together with a Bill which prohibited the constitution in our country of communist and other groups of similar tendencies as legal parties (6).

The Dominican people had triumphed over one of its most dangerous and unpleasant experiences. The law prohibiting and punishing communist activities and others of anti-democratic tendency produced demonstrations of civic approval all over the Republic.

At last a period in Dominican history had come to an end, a period which could have had disastrous consequences had it not been for the political maturity of the Dominican people and the vision, energy and patriotism of their great leader Generalissimo Trujillo.

The communist leaders, in the majority, opted once

---

(5) Since then he has behaved politically with correctness. He is an employee of the Dominican Governemnt.

(6) See Appendix number 13.

more for the road to exile. Others, sincerely repentant, offered their co-operation to the Dominican party and were accepted. Most of the members of the P. S. P. and D. Y. returned to the great party of the Dominican people exchanging their stormy past for a life of love and fraternity.

The communist adventure on national territory had come to an end.

WHITE BOOK OF COMMUNISM
IN
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

PART II

The International Communist Conspiracy.

THE SACK OF OUR LEGATION IN CARACAS AND JOURNEYS AND OUTRAGES OF BETANCOURT

On October 18th 1945, a subversive and bloody uprising took place in Caracas; this occasioned the overthrow of the legitimate Government of Venezuela, the President of which was General Isaías Angarita.

A group which was in a minority, of extreme political ideology, akin to the communist doctrines of «Democratic Action», took the side of the young insurrectionary soldiers and assumed the political leadership of the movement.

On the day following the uprising, October 18th, an unusual event un the history of inter-American relations took place in Caracas: the Legation of the Republic of Santo Domingo in that capital was attacked and sacked by a gang of communists and members of «Democratic Action»; this alliance was known by the abbreviation «Adeco»; at the head of this organization was a Dominican, Belisario Medrano, who had frequently appeared in the courts accused of various transgressions against property.

Valuable property belonging both to our Minister and to the Dominican Government was stolen by the gang.

One must assume that Belisario Medrano took charge of most of the booty.

The theree children —who were under-age— and the

mother-in-law of our minister, who was a Mexican woman, were at the Legation at the time it was sacked and they suffered great moral and psychological harm, to such a point that the eldest of the children suffered for a long time from the effects of the shock produced by the experience.

The Dominican minister, without loss of time, sent a detailed report to our Government of the act vandalism.

Notwithstanding the adverse circumstances in which our diplomatic representation found itself, President Trujillo gave orders through our Chancellory that everyone should remain at his post to await future events, presenting, naturally, the protests demanded by the case to the competent authorities.

In spite of this —and it was natural that this should be so, after an uninterrupted tradition of respect and decency in inter-American relations— the Dominican Government hoped that the misfortune that had occurred to our diplomatic representation was only a lamentable but isolated happening, caused by irresponsible rogues at a time of confusion among the people, but which the new Government completely ignored and which they should repudiate, sanctioning the authors, according to the law and fulfilling elementary international obligations.

Fresh events in the very near future were to demonstrate how mistaken our Government was on wishing to exempt from responsibility the provisional Government which was managing public affairs in the country of Bolívar; our Government was also mistaken concerning the sentiments of the provisional Government towards Santo Domingo.

Our Minister in Caracas took the necessary steps to call a meeting of the diplomatic corps in that capital. During the meeting our diplomatic representative made a report on the depradations mentioned. With a unanimous movement of solidarity and indignation the diplomatic corps in full protested to the revolutionary Junta, which obliged the latter to offer a formal apology for what had occurred.

Subsequent events demonstrated that the Junta — which had seized power by violent and anti-democratic methods and ad taken over the government when there were only a few months left before the general elections,

and which was openly hostile to the Dominican Government was taking the first steps in the international communist conspiracy whose aim was to convert the Republic of Santo Domingo into a dependency of Moscow, and to transform it into a bridge-head, from where the reds could make their advances over the whole Caribbean area and the other countries of South América.

In view of the hostility of the Revolutionary Junta the Dominican Chancellory issued a communiqué the end part of which says, after having referred to the sack of our Legation:

> «Later Dr. Leonardo Ruiz Pineda, Secretary of the Junta in question, made frank and open declarations of a hostile nature to the Dominican Government, insulting to the dignity of our country and to the Dominican people generally. These declarations, which duly became known to the Dominican Chancellory, did not provoke any reaction from us, since his Excellency the head of the Republic was determined not to give any cause which might produce a rupture. We waited for the outraged dignity of our country to be the object of normal reparations, once the political situation in that country had become clear.
>
> But our hopes were to be disappointed: Dr. Carlos Morales, who had been named by the Revolutionary Junta the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Sr. Rómulo Betancourt, President of the Junta, made fresh public declarations which were offensive and hurtful to the Dominican Republic and its Government. Both representatives of the revolutionary regime manifested that the latter felt no sympathy for our country. Under these circimstances the Dominican Chancellory decided to withdraw its diplomatic representatives in Venezuela, fearing that the repeated manifestations of hostility against the Dominican Republic, which proceeded from the revolutionaries who had seized power in that country, would endanger the safety of our diplomats and that new acts of agression would occur whose consequences would be irreparable.

Even though the presidency of the Revolutionary Junta has sent a cablegram on Octobar 21st to the President of the Dominican Republic soliciting that the Junta should be recognized as the Government of Venezuela, the Dominican Government decided not to give this recognition in view of our firm criterion, consisting of not recognizing in South América any regime which —such as the recently implanted one in Venezuela— places obstacles in the way of free inter-continental relations and to the principle of solidarity and good understanding on which the inter-American system rests.»

The outrage suffered by Dominican dignity with the sack of our Legation in Caracas and thesubsequent offensive declarations of Rómulo Betancourt and other representatives of the extremist regime of Venezuela produced a wave of keen and legitimate indignation in the Dominican people; this indignation had clear expression in the thousands of messages received by Generalissimo Trujillo from people belonging to the most varied social classes. and at a gigantic meeting which was held at that time on the esplanade at the foot of the «Trujillo-Hull» monument, in the Jorge Washington Avenue.

Shortly afterwards Sr. Rómulo Betancourt undertook a political tour of various countries on the continent. The international communist conspiracy against the Dominican Republic had begun. The mission of Betancourt was to establish the first official, and extra-official contacts with Heads of Governments, military men, intellectuals and politicians, with the object of warming up things in preparation for the great projects that the communists had in reserve for the future.

Betancourt, who was an impulsive and impatient demagogue, did not even manage to keep within the limits dictated by prudence, discretion and good taste which his mission and rank required.

Without any thought for the consequences, acting as though he had been a vociferous politician —in reality he behaved merely as a communist in the service of Moscow— (1)

---

(1) *Text of the letter whriiten by Rómulo Betancourt and*

Betancourt took advantage of his official visits to the continental countries to make speeches that were frankly hostile to the Dominican Republic.

The conduct of this communist agent was so scandalous, on not taking into account in his speeches, even his high rank, that the Dominican Republic published a «White Book» denouncing to the Governments and peoples of South America the misbehaviour and attacks of Rómulo Betancourt, against which it protested energetically, at the same time as it «reserved all rights in this unusual case» (2).

---

publishel in the newspaper «La Hora» of Costa Rica, declaring his Communist affiliations

The Director of «La Hora»

Dear Sir,

Owing to illness I am confined to bed and am dictating these lines to a friend; I am disgusted by the fantasies which the newspapers have woven around my person and in connection with the Atlantic strike.

1. It is false that the Government has notified me that there is an order of banishment out against me. It is false that I stated that I wished to go to France. It is false, as the «Diario de Costa Rica» has stated, that it has been proposed to assist me economically so that my departure from the country may not prejudice me, because men of my témperament and convictions do not accept this kind of «help».

2. I am not the «intellectual director of communism in Costa Rica». The Communist Party has its collective administration, the Central Committee, of which I do not form part. This does not mean that I deny my communist affiliation. I am and I shall be a communist. But I do not participate actively in the political struggles of Costa Rica. I am interested in its politics as I am interested in those of China or India.

I should be grateful if you would publish these lines.

Yours faithfully,

ROMULO BETANCOURT

(2) See Appendix number 14.

CAYO CONFITES

The communist leaders responsible for American affairs, and especially those of Spanish speaking America, considered and decided that, in the development of the plans for the expansion of communism and the spreading of Soviet Imperialism, the overthrow of the Dominican Government and the immediate installation of a pro-Soviet regime was a step which was not only necessary but indispensable.

The geographical position of the Dominican Republic in the center of the archipielago of the Antilles, its varied and abundant natural resources —still for the most part unexploited— and the progress achieved in recent years, made a much desired prize of our country.

On the other hand the Generalissimo was, and is, a valiant and declared enemy of all that communism is and means. The communists had openly declared war to the death on him and they sought the destruction of his regime —and they still seek it, in spite of the failures they have suffered— by all possible means.

In this way, to motives of a strategic and material nature were added those of a political and even of a sentimental order —sentimental, according to the absurd concept held by the communists concerning sentiment— making the reds of all nations look voraciously on the pacific Republic of Santo Domingo, considering it as a necessary conquest in order to convert the Caribbean Sea into a Soviet Lake.

The general plan was elaborated in Moscow with the participation of the communist leaders who specialized in Latin American affairs; it was then submitted to careful revision and further study. The Dominican communists, as usual, were given a secondary part to play, which was posterior to the planning phase.

On October 30th, 1944, Dr. Ramón Grau San Martín was inaugurated as President of Cuba.

During the electoral campaign Dr. Grau San Martín did not conceal his unfriendly sentiments towards the Dominican Government.

On March 15th, 1945, Dr. Juan José Arévalo took the oath as President of Guatemala.

An anecdote, which at that time seemed unimportant, revealed its meaning at the end of two years, when the intention behind it became clear.

During one of the festivities celebrating the taking of office of the new Government, President Arévalo went up to the head of our special delegation, and inappropriately —to the surprise of the Dominican diplomat on account of the unusual way of proceeding— he said the following: «Tell your Government that within two years I shall visit your country.»

The Dominican Minister managed to thank President Arévalo and he assured him that «his visit would be received with pleasure by President Trujillo, his Government and the Dominican people».

Our representative left the reception without being able to decide whether «Arévalo is a mischievous and ironic spirit or a man who says things sincerely and honestly».

Subsequent facts cleared up this doubt.

On October 18th, 1945, the uprising in Venezuela took place which brought Rómulo Betancourt and his henchmen to power.

The attacks to which the Dominican Republic was subject from the new leaders in Venezuela were described in the preceding chapter.

Towards the end of the same year of 1945, it came to the ears of the Dominican Government that agents from the Governments of Cuba, Venezuela and Guatemala had been in Port au Prince, Haiti, negotiating with the Government of that country for them to permit the transit of

troops and war material for the attack that was being prepared against the Republic of Santo Domingo.

The preparations for the invasion of our Republic from Cuban territory were already being got feverishly under way; the objeticve, which was already know to our Government, was: the installation of a communist or pro-communist régime which would facilitate the ulterior and more important projects of international communism.

Coinciding with these preparations, in which the Governments of Cuba, Venezuela and Guatemala invested considerable sums of money, an insulting and dishonourable press-campaign was unleashed against the Dominican Government; the grossest insults against President Trujillo were not omitted.

This propaganda, whose slogans the communists embroidered with satanic imagination, had two main objetives: to create an atmosphere of hostility and aversion towards the Dominican Republic, and at the same time to prepare international public opinion for the time when the attack would be made with the accompanying blood-shed, destruction and death.

During the whole of 1946 the efforts and war-like preparations became so notorious and the reports about them were so numerous and so detailled that the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, acting on instructions received from President Trujillo, convened the Diplomatic corps accredited to Ciudad Trujillo and informed its members of the position.

Providence seemed to have a special interest in Cuban affairs since the Government of that country, through its Chargé d'Affaires, was aware that our Government was already in possession of detailed reports concerning the situation and that, logically, it was adopting a legitimate attitude of defence.

Notwithstanding the fact that the revolutionaries and the governments involved in the conspiracy had lost the factor of surprise, on which they were counting for the success of their operations, they did not cease or diminish their preparations for the attack.

At the beginning of 1947 the contingents which were to form the invading army began to arrive on Cuban territory —most of them having come from Venezuela and Guatemala.

It would be impossible to imagine a more heterogeneous and ill assorted legion —as far as social origins and way of life were concerned— than that which endeavoured to invade the Dominican Republic from «Cayo Confites».

Dominican exiles, among whom abounded individualf who had been tried and condemned by the Courts os Santo Domingo, for common law offenses, adventurers of every species, suspicious characters —attracted by the prospect of loot in plenty— Spanish refugees, communists of various nationalities, failures and frustrated individuals who saw in the dangerous enterprise an opportunity to triumph and get rich quickly and easily, in fact the scum of this sector of America.

During the first six months of 1947 some thousand men of different nationalities —of whom barely six per cent Dominican nationals— gathered in Cuba for training and practice in war maneuvres.

The Technological Institute of Santiago de Cuba lent its services for the military training of the freebooters of the new international army.

The north-west ports, especially Nuevitas, served as operation bases for the expeditionary forces and their ships.

An act of piracy which was carried out in violation of international law when armed vessels belonging to the expeditionary forces assaulted and sacked in English waters, opposite the Cayo Lobo Light-house, the Dominican motor-ship «Angelita», the property of «Naviera C. por A.»; The motor-ship was taken to a Cuban port without any intervention on the part of the Cuban authorities to prevent this act, rather, they supported it with pleasure.

To carry outt heir plan the expeditionaries hoisted the United States flag on their ships; this was exchanged for the Cuban flag as soon as the act of vandalism had been concluded.

The quantity of armaments that the insurgents managed to collect was in fact considerable; some twenty-eight planes, six ships, more than 3,500 Mauser rifles, a number of machine-guns, cannons and anti-aircraft guns, hand granades and bombs, etc.

The expeditionary force gathered at a key adjacent to Cuban territory: «Cayo Confites» which since then has

been famous. In the first fortnight of August, 1947, the expedition was ready to carry out its unjust mission.

The Dominican Government was informed point by point all the time of the state of the preparations and of all the details of the communist expedition.

The energetic, clear and precise messages which our Government sent to the Cuban and the false and evasive replies of the latter constitute the best documentation for the understanding of this agitated period in inter-American relations and for forming an opinion on this question.

For this reason, we shall copy the contents of these messages, quoting in part an important document the original of which is in the archives of our Chancellory, as a written proof of an episode in the history of the Republic; in it the truth of those unfortunat events is revealed.

«On July 22, 1947, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic delivered to the Chargé d'Affaires of Cuba in Ciudad Trujillo a Memorandum to inform him that, according to a report from a reliable source, the Dominican Government knew that individuals from Cuba, Venezuela, America, Santo Domingo and other nations were preparing an armed movement to overthrow the legally constituted Government in the Dominican Republic and that for this end they had installed their bases in Oriente province, where they were doing their military training.

In the said Memorandum the Chargé d'Affairs of Cuba was also informed that the revolutionaries could count on bombers and all kinds of war material; that they were led by Manolo Castro, Sports Director of the Cuban Ministry of Education, by Maderno and other ringleaders; and that, according to their statements, they had the backing of the Cuban Government.

The said Memorandum concluded by expressing that the Dominican Government were confident that, as soon as the Government of Cuba was in possession of the above report, it would give to the affair the attention that its nature demanded, in the spirit of cordiality that has always characterized the traditional friendship between both peoples and their Governments.

In a cable dated July 23rd of the same year, addressed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Domi-

nican Republic to the Minister of the Interior of Cuba. he reiterated the contents of the Memorandum.

In reply to the above-mentioned cable the Minister of the Interior of Cuba stated that he had informed the competent authorities of the affair, for its immediate solution, in accordance with te tradition of cordial friendship which characterizes the relations between the peoples of Cuba and Santo Domingo.

On the same day, July 23rd, 1947, the Chief of Staff of the Dominican Army, General Fausto E. Caamaño, sent a cable to General Genovevo Pérez Dámera, Chief of the Cuban Army, which said the following:

> «Although I suppose that you are aware of the military preparations which are in progress in Cuba, with the intention of disembarking in order to invade our territory, I wish to make this fact officially known to you.»

General Pérez Dámera answered this cable with one dated July 28th the text of which is as follows:

> «Acknowledge receipt of cable of recent date. Stop. Full investigation has been ordered. Stop. Result of same will be communicated by appropriate channels. Stop. Sincerely.»

In a note dated July 31st of the same year, sent by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Santo Domingo to the Cuban Chargé d'Affaires in Ciudad Trujillo, he said, among other things:

> «... Notwithstanding what the Cuban Minister of the Interior was pleased to communicate to me in his cable of reply, to the effect that the information that I transmitted to him concerning those revolutionary activities had been communicated to the competent Cuban authorities for the due investigation of the case, the Dominican Government continues to receive reports from reliable foreign sources, from which it is evident that the military and revolutionary preparations which are publicly taking place in your country, in order to organize a revol-

utionary expedition against the Dominican Government and against the legal ly constituted institutions of the Republic, far from disappearing as a result of the action which might be expected from the competent Cuban authorities —who have been officially informed of this affair— continue to progress feverishly in the zones of the towns of Holguín, Antilla and Baracoa, so as to carry out the plans for which these preparations are necessary.

Concerning this affair, I am under the obligation to inform your Excellency that, among the questions which have occupied the attention of the Inter-American Conferences, both the regular and special ones, which have taken place during recent years, with the aim of giving a more realistic and effective sense to the principle of continental solidarity and to the co-operation that must be reciprocal among the peoples and Governments of this continent; is, on account of its evident importance, the question relative to the duty which each South American State has of avoiding within its territory activities leading to the fomentation in another South American State of civil strife. internal troubles or ideological propaganda of a subversive nature which disturb the peace and order of that other State and consequently affect the normal rhythm of peaceful relations between both nations.

This juridical and moral duty is not only formulated and established in Article 8 of the Convention on Rights and Duties of States, which was approved by vote at the Seventh International Conference of Montevideo and in the annexed Protocol, relating to non-intervention, also approved by vote at the Consolidation of Peace Conference at Buenos Aires; but also, and in a special manner, in Resolution number 7, passed by vote in Havanna itself by the Second Consultative Meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the South American Republics, which took place in July, 1940.

In effect, this last Conference recommended the South American Republics, by means of the Resolution to which I have referred, "to employ the necessary measures to avoid the inhabitants of

their territories —whether they be nationals or foreigners— from taking part, collecting elements, crossing the frontier or embarking, with the object of initiating or fomenting civil strife or internal troubles and propagating subversive ideologies in another South American country".

The principles which inspired this wise Resolution were subsequently ratified, not only within the South American system, at the Conferences in Río de Janeiro and Mexico, which took place after the Second Consultative Meeting in Havanna, but also within the world system, in the United Nations Charter signed in San Francisco City on June 26th, 1945.

It is this evident, Your Excellency, that if the revolutionary preparations that the Dominican Government has duly denounced to your Government continue —preparations which do in fact continue, according to reports which our Government receives daily concerning this question— your Government is juridically and morally obliged to adopt with all speed all the necessary measures to avert a situation concerning which it has been duly informed, and for the solution of which it disposes of the necessary means and authority.

The Dominican Government consequently hopes that the Cuban authorities will give due attention to this affair, not only on account the traditional friendship that unites both peoples and Governments, but also on account of the juridical and moral obligations established by the agreements and resolutions on Inter-American affairs to which I have referred.»

The Cuban Chargé d'Affaires replied to this note with a communication dated August 2nd, 1947, which says as follows:

«In reply to your esteemed note, number 19,928 of July 31st last, I am pleased to communicate to your Excellency that I have received instructions from my Government ordering me to contradict categorically the rumours which attribute to the

Cuban Government a passive attitude concerning the alleged revolutionary proceedings whose object is to attack the Dominican Government; and also the rumours which appear to state that the Cuban Government protects or permits the organization of armed groups on its territory; and still more those which affirm tolerance on its part in face of maritime expeditions directed against friendly nations.

I can assure your Excellency that, as soon as the Cuban Government, on the notification of the Dominican Government, was informed that, according to reports received by the latter from various foreign sources, alleged revolutionary movements directed against the Dominican Government were taking place on Cuban territory, it gave the necessary orders to the competent authorities so that they might exercise strict surveillance in all those places which were considered as being most appropriate for putting into action a plan of this nature.

Your Excellecny may rest assured that the line of conduct followed by the Cuban Government in this particular case has been in accordance, as always, with the most exact and strictest observance of all the duties imposed by International pacts and agreements.

I hope to have been able to convince your Excellency of the real sentiments of the Cuban Government, sentiments which are completely in accord with the tradition of cordial friendship which characterizes the relations between our two countries.»

On August 20th of the same year, the President of the Dominican Republic sent to the President of the Republic of Cuba a cable worded in the following terms:

«The Government which I have the honour to preside over has received reports, proceeding from its diplomatic and consular representatives in Cuba and other neighbouring countries, as also from other trustworthy sources, to the effect that on the territory of that Republic active military training has been undertaken for some weeks by a fairly large group of individuals, composed of Cubans, Venezue-

lans, Guatemalans and nationals from other countries, constituting an international brigade, in which there are some Dominicans who have voluntarily exiled themselves from this country, and having acquired armaments and war equipment, including ships and planes, this group is now ready or almost ready to attempt landings on Dominican territory with the object of unleashing a civil war and endeavouring to overthrow the legally elected and constituted Government of the Republic of Santo Domingo.

These grave facts, whose consequences on the peace of the Caribbean cannot be forecast, have been transmitted by the Dominican Chancellory to the Government of your Excellency, by means of the Notes cabled on July 23rd and 25th addressed to the Cuban Chancellory and by the Notes to the Cuban Legation in this capital, dated July 31st and August 11th of this year, of whose contents I presume your Excellency is aware.

In those Notes the Dominican Chancellory underlined the fact that the carrying out of such subversive preparations on Cuban terriotry against the Dominican Government was manifestly contrary to the norms of International Law and to the Inter-American Pacts that expressly prohibit the toleration of expeditionary forces in a South American country which are destined to disturb the civil peace of other South American countries; among these pacts the Agreement signed in the capital of your Republic in 1928 is prominent and contrary to the friendship and fraternity which have traditionally existed between the Cuban and the Dominican peoples from time immemorial, a friendship and fraternity which had such memorable expressions during the Cuban Wars of Independence.

The object of those Notes was to obtain from your Excellency's Government immediate measures to suppress or deter those anti-Dominican preparations of a revolutionary nature that are taking place in Cuba, in accordance wit the Inter-American Pacts which govern the case.

In reply to the above mentioned notes from the

Dominican Government, your Excellency's Government, though its Chancellory and Legation in this capital, answered giving the assurance that the said information had been transmitted to the competent Cuban authorities for the immediate investigation of the case; it also replied that the Cuban Government had not co-operated in any way with the revolutionary expedition which was denounced, and that the Cuban Government had taken —or was taking— the necessary measures to prevent the departure of the revolutionary expedition.

Notwithstanding these assurances given to the Dominican Government by the Cuban Chancellory, all the indications possessed by my Government would seem to suggest that the revolutionary preparations that are taking place in Cuba, directed against the Dominican Government, far from having been halted, continue to develop with feverish activity; that the expedition is in possession of the same armaments and equipment as it had at the time of the denunciation made by the Dominican Government; and that the Cuban authorities to whom, according to affirmations made, the affair was communicated, have not taken any efficacious measures to halt the preparations that were denounced, in spite of the fact that sufficient time —nearly a month— has elapsed since the first Note was cabled by the Dominican Chancellory concerning this grave matter.

The discrepancy existing between the situation to which I refer and the assurances and promises given to the Dominican Government by the Cuban Chancellory, authorize me in suspecting that the Cuban Government, to whom the Cuban Chancelery state that they have given due notice of the affair, have not acted in accordance with the promises and assurences of the Chancellory; therefore the intervention of a more influential authority than the Chancellory is required in order to promote the action of these Departments in compliance with the faithful observance of the International Pacts.

Taking this circumstance into consideration, and taking into account the habitual equanimity of your

Excellency and the certainty that I have that it cannot be your Excellency's desire that in your period of office —and for the first time in history— the fraternal peace which has always existed between the people of Cuba and Santo Domingo be ruptured; I do not hesitate to appeal personally to your Excellency so that, interposing your high authority as President, you should halt the revolutionary preparations which are being carried out against the Dominican Government on Cuban territory, and begging you that, if on the latter, political adversaries of my Government exist, your activity be limited by the boundaries permitted by hospitality, International Law and the Inter-American Pacts.

I have the hope that your Excellency enjoys in Cuba on account of your official position and your personal attributes the necessary political and moral authority to serve the cause of peace in the Caribbean with the efficiency that the circumstances require in this case.

If this were not the case, my Government would find itself obliged to recognize the failure of the sincere efforts that the Dominican Republic has been making since the Note of July 23rd, with the object of solving by diplomatic means this lamentable question which has been interposed in the traditional friendship between the Dominican and Cuban peoples; a question that, if your Excellency formally desired it, would be immediately solved.»

In reply to the above message the President of Cuba sent the following:

«In reply to your Excellency's cabled message, transmitted yesterday, I have honour to express to you that the strengthening of the fraternal relations which have always existed between the peoples of Cuba and Santo Domingo is the dearest wish of my Government. Concerning your Excellency's allegations about the supposed activities of the Dominican exiles residieng in my country, I am happy to advise you that my Government has endeavoured to check the accuracy of these reports and it continues working

with the object of avoiding the occurrence of events to which these refer.»

With the object of co-operating with the Cuban Government for the success of the surveillance measures which, according to their assurances had been put into effect in order to avoid the development of revolutionary activities against the Dominican Government, our Chancellory sent to the Cuban Chargé d'Affaires in Ciudad Trujillo on August 23rd, 1947, a Note in the following text:

«I have the honour to make known to your Excellency that my Government has just received information from Havanna reporting that a revolutionary force of some 1,500 men —including Canadian aviators from Larcas, some Americans and some Cubans from the Cuban Army— are ready to proceed to our country, and that the ships of the expedition that are to take said forces to the Dominican Republic, with the object of disturbing the peace of the country, are known to all.

I make haste to advise your Exellency of the above serious piece of news, begging you to transmit it to the Cuban Government with the urgency that the case requires.»

In a Note with the same date-line —August 23rd— from the Dominican Chancellory to the Cuban Chargé d'Affaires in Ciudad Trujillo, the texts of the aforementioned cables was copied, to which the following was added:

«I believe it my duty to advise your Excellency —as I have already done on previous occasions, and is confirmed by the message of his Excellency to President Trujillo— that the elements of the revolutionary expedition against Santo Domingo which has established its headquarters in Cuba consist of Cubans, Venezuelans, Guatemalans and other nationals, all of which form an International Brigade. Consequently, the said individuals of extremist tendencies, as is being made more and more obvious day by day, constitute a group of the

same character as that which took part in favour of communism in the recnt Spanish war; their aims cannot be merely a question of internal politics as far as the Dominican Republic is concerned, but rather it is a question of endeavouring to produce in this country a social revolution which is contrary to its traditions, to the political ideology of all its sectors and to the highest interests of the South American democratic system.

In view of these facts and that it cannot be denied that the Cuban Government —not only on account of the reports supplied by the Dominican Government, but also through the news and reports in the press and over the radio in Cuba and through information given by various citizens of Cuba— has more than enough motives to be convinced concerning the reality of the subversive anti-Dominican preparations of an extremist character which are being carried out on your territory; my Government considers that the time has come to solicit from the Cuban Government, through the worthy mediation of your Excellency, the following:

First: That in cirtue of the Agreement signed in Havanna on February 20th, 1928, duly ratified by Cuba, the Dominican Republic and the majority of the other nations of South America, the Cuban Government employ the efficacious means of which it disposes in abundance to prevent the meeting of the members who constitute the revolutionary expedition organized on your territory against Santo Domingo.

Second: That the forces which are trained and enlisted or in the process of enlisting in the said expedition be disarmed and interned.

Third: That the armaments and war material which are found in the possession of the expeditionary force, ostensibly or clandestinely, be appropriated and handed over to the Dominican Government, which is the object of these preparations for an attack.

Fourth: That the Government make use of the means at its disposal to prevent the traffic of arms

and war materials destined for the expeditionary forces.

Fifth: That the Government prevent the use or equiping of ships in the ports, waters and coasts of Cuba, for or by the revolutionary force.

In view of the promises and assurances given to my Government within the last few days, not only by the Cuban Chancellory but also by the Legation of Cuba in the name of the former; in view also and more especially of the promise contained in the message of his Excellency, President Grau San Martín, to his Excellency, President Trujillo, to which one must attribute a solemn character —coming as it does from the head of a State— my Government has confidence that the Cuban Government will acceed to the just petitions already formulated; in this way it will observe the terms of the agreements of the Inter-American Agreement of 1928, quoted before and will consolidate, now and in the future, the civil peace of our country and of yours also and will prevent disturbances in the Caribbean which would be serious for the whole of South America in the present difficult times.»

The preceding Note was answered by the Cuban Chargé d'Affaires on September 6th in the following terms:

«I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's Note of the 23rd of August last concerning the alleged activities of Dominican exiles in my country.

In it your Excellency expresses the desire of the Dominican Government to formulate to my Government certain petitions concerning this affair which are briefly enumerated in your Note.

I have been very surprised to see that your Excellency's Government —in spite of recognizing in the said note the solicitous attention given to your former dispatches— has not seen fit to await the reply of my Government; instead of so doing your Excellency refers the affair to the South American

Governments accredited to this capital, with the inevitable prejudices that this gives rise to.

This change of attitude, which I am the first to deplore, might contribute to interrupting the normal development of this affair and to giving rise to confusion instead of enlightenment; On account of all this I feel obliged to suspend the normal procedure of this affair, while waiting for the Dominican Chancellory to reconsider the attitude adopted.»

It is as well to observe that —in view of the ever more alarming reports received by the Dominican Government concerning the nature and magnitude of the invasion preparations which were taking place publicly and ostentatiously in Cuba, without any effort being made by the Government of that country to halt them, indeed, engaging itself in the conspiracy, as was amply demonstrated later— the Dominican Government decided to inform the South American Governments of all that was occurring in that country; in this way it observed the VIIth Resolution of the Second Consultative Meeting of the American Chancellories in Havanna; this was done in the Note of August 30th, 1947, so that the Governments and peoples of the Continent might ponder whose would be the grave responsibility if the pacific relations in the Hemisphere were interrupted, were this to occur.

On August 29th, 1947, the Dominican Chancellor sent to the Cuban Chargé d'Affaires in Ciudad Trujillo a Note expressing the following:

«In addition to the information contained in my Note Number 22,340 of August 23rd, 1947, and in the former ones sent to your Legation, I have the honour to communicate to your Excellency the fact taht the Dominican Government has received the following fresh reports:

a) that the forty members of the crew of a ship detained in Baltimore were Dominican revolutionaries, many of whom have left for Cuba by air;

b) that in Havanna three departments are functioning with the object of preparing the invasion of Santo Domingo; they are situated in the Hotel Sevilla, Room number 140; Hotel San Luis, fifth

floor, Room number 23; and number 118, calle Orrely. The Hotel San Luis section is in charge of Enrique Cotubanamá Henríquez and the Hotel Sevilla one of Araña;

c) That the revolutionaries are in front of the Nuevitas coast, in a nearby key; they are organized into different battalions, the best organized being that composed of Cubans;

d) that the revolutionaries are having daily training in the throwing of hand-grenades and machine-gun practice; and

e) that from the city of New York the following men have left for Havanna by various means of transport: Arístides Guillén 203 A 14th Street, New York; Domingo Guillén, 203 A 14th Street, New York; Juan Díaz Jr., 551 W. 157 Street, New York; Miguel A. Ramírez, 4 W. 104 Street; Octavio Castillo, 541 W. 144 Street, New York; Domingo Chicón, 612 W. 137 Street, New York; Polibio Pineda, 212 W. 21st Street, New York; Juanito Díaz, 551 W. 157 Street, New York; and a man called Aybar, all these are organizers of revolutionary groups against the Dominican Government.

In view of the nature of the foregoing information, I beg your Excellency to transmit it to the Cuban Government so that they may take the appropriate measures.»

On the following day another Note was sent by the Dominican Chancellory to the Cuban Chargé d'Affaires, in which the following was said:

«I have the honour to advise your Excellency that my government has been informed of the following facts:

a) that on August 19th of this year a considerable quantity of war material was embarked in Puerto Barrio for Cuba, material which, it is supposed, is destined for the revolutionaries that are conspiring in that country against the Dominican Government;

b) that on August 24th, 1947, the newspaper «El Popular» edited in Mexico City published some statements made by Policarpo Soler Cruz and Juan

Cárdenas, ex-officers of the Cuban Police Force, declaring to the editor of the said newspaper that officials of the Cuban Government are openly tolerating the conspiracy to attack the Dominican Government and taking active part in the organization of an armed expedition, of which many Cubans form part, also foreigners of various nationalities and some Dominicans;

c) that, in Havanna University, volunteers have been recruited under the leadership of the communist Manolo Castro, Director General of Sports for Cuba;

d) that the transport of the revolutionaries is being effected in lorries belonging to the Ministry of Public Works, by order of the Minister Alemán;

e) hat this member of the Cuban Government has contributed with the sum of $350,000.00 for the acquisition of war material, military equipment, planes, etc., destined for the revolutionaries; and

f) that on the property of the Minister, near Havanna and called «El Calabazal» there are eleven planes, some of them are P—38's and DC—3's, which are also destined for the use of the revolutionaries.

As this information may be of help to the Cuban authorities, for the investigation of the affairs related to the revolutionary movement, I beg your Excellency to transmit it to the Government of Cuba as soon as possible.»

On September 5th of the same year the Dominican Chancellory communicated to the Cuban Chargé d'Affaires in Ciudad Trujillo, the following information:

«I have the honour to make known to your Excellency, in addition to former reports, that my Government has been informed of the following:

a) that in Baracoa and Cayo Verde, near the Cuban coast, revolutionary training is being carried out against the Dominican Government; and

b) that in front of Nuevitas, in a nearby quay, one of the ships belonging to the revolutionaries is anchored; it is provisioned by a small unit of the Cuban Navy; and that in the Refinery called Pilón,

at 125 kilometers from Manzanillo, there is a camp of some 900 revolutionaries.

I therefore beg your Lordship to transmit the above information to the Government of Cuba as soon as possible, since it may be of help to the Cuban authorities who are responsible —according to statements made by your Government— for the investigation of the affairs concerned with the said revolutionary movement.»

On the 9th of the same month of September the Dominican Chancellor sent another Note to the Cuban Chargé d'Affaires with the following text:

«In addition to the information given to your Excellency in former dispatches concerning the revolutionary activities taking place in Cuba and directed against the Dominican Government, I feel obliged to give you the following report:

1. Sr. Evelio León y Cervantes of Cuban nationality has been endeavouring to obtain help from the Government of Haito for the said project.

2. The International Brigades that were in Antillas and Holguín, numbering between 1,500 and 1,800 men, have been transferred to Cayo Confites, to the north of Cayo Romano, where they are undergoing daily training with automatic rifles, machine guns and 65 mm cannons.

3. In the said Key there are three two-masted schooners and a tugboat, and

4. Among the Government officials who are most interested in these activities is Captain Agostini, Chief of the Presidential Palace Guard in Havanna.

I beg you to transmit to your Government the above information so that the Cuban authorities, responsible for making the investigation concerning the said revolutionary activities, may have concrete facts.»

On the following day the Dominican Chancellor communicated to the Cuban Chargé d'Affaires the following:

«I have the honour to make known to your Excellency that my Government have been informed of the following facts:

a) that the International Brigades which are organizing against the Dominican Government have received eight Torpedo boats in Lengua de Pájaro;

b) that the aeroplanes in their possession number twentyeight;

c) that they have acquired a 500-ton motor-ship to increase the number of ships they already possess; and

d) that they propose to leave Cuba before the 15th of this month, the date of the meeting of Congress.

I beg your Excellency to transmit as urgently as possible the above information to the Government of Cuba, so that the appropriate steps may be taken by authorities to whom your Government have entrusted the investigation of the affair, according to a communication received at this Chancellory.»

On September 13th the Dominican Chancellor addressed himself once more to the Cuban Chargé d'Affaires in the following terms:

«I have the honour to advise your Excellency that my Government has been informed of the following facts, concerning the revolutionary preparations which are being carried out in Cuba against the Dominican Government:

a) that the following persons have left for Haiti: Sr. Ibán Ruiz, the brother of the Chief of Police of Havanna; Sr. Valle, War correspondent for "Carteles" during the Italian-Abyssinian conflict and other individuals, with the object of making a final inspection of the places that might serve as a base for the International Brigades which are being organized in the island of Cuba;

b) that the date and manner of the attack will depend on the reports given by the above-mentioned persons;

c) that from Puerto Rico, destined for Cuba, a cargo composed of 3,053 steel helmets was cland-

estinely embarked by planes by Sr. Arseno; this shipment was received in Havanna by Sr. Manolo Castro;

d) that the air crew of the plane in which the said helmets were transported was lodged in the Hotel Sevilla Billmore for approximately five days, by a person called García, Secretary of Manolo Castro;

e) that Sr. Alfonso J. Freila C, of Chilean nationality, is responsible for enlisting the airmen who are to pilot the planes for the revolutionaries;

f) that on Rancho Boyero, near the landing strip of the Aeriel Cuban Express, the revolutionaries have a number of huts and installations for the training of the members of the International Brigades which are being organized against the Dominican Government;

g) that on that site there are work-shop and radio stations where, moreover, the mechanism and handling of machineguns is taught;

h) that from Miami a ship-load of hand-grenades, landing wheels for aircraft, fire-extinguishers and machine-guns was clandestinely embarked for Havanna, destined for the revolutionaries in Cuba in the Douglas V — 18, number 66,116;

i) that Dr. Bengachey, Lieutenant of the Havanna Police, is in the service of the revolutionaries;

j) that the person in charge of negotiating for the acquisition of planes is Dr. Rosello;

k) that various air-mechanics in the service of the revolutionaries are living in the Hotel Sevilla Billmore and in other places in Havanna; that the said mechanics have entered Cuba illegally, but with the backing of certain Cuban authorities;

l) that the revolutionaries have at their disposal in Cuba various fighter and bomber planes; a Libertador, two Venturas, one V — 17, one V — 16 and three C — 47 's, all ready for action;

m) that the revolutionaries also possess three C — 47 planes, one C — 46, ten P — 38 's and three P — 51's. One of the P — 38's was recently acquired in Miami; and

n) that even though there are many Cubans

among the airmen, the revolutionaries are determined that the bombers be manned by experienced American airmen.

As the above information may contribute to facilitating the task of the Cuban authorities, responsible for carrying out an investigarion concerning the affairs relating to the said revolutionary movement. I beg your Excellency to forward it to your Government as soon as possible.»

In spite of the gravity and detailed nature of the facts denounced in the foregoing Notes, the Cuban Government did not trouble to reply to a single one of them.

Not only its toleration, but what is still more serious, its direct participation in the preparations for invasion had been absolutely demonstrated, as was also established the brazen intervention of communist inspiration on the part of the Governments of Guatemala and Venezuela.

The wide publicity given by the Dominican Government to the above-mentioned invasion plans, by means of the press all over the world, avoided the original clandestinity of the plans, uncovered the incorrect conduct of the Government of Cuba and propagated discouragement and defeatism in the ranks of the revolutionaries.

On the other hand the heterogeneous nature of the invading army, camped at Cayo Confites, the absence of military discipline among the greater part of its members, the number of chiefs: Juan Bosch, Rolando Masferrer, Juancito Rodríguez, Eufemio Fernández, etc; the presence of bandits of several nationalities, who were only attracted by the prospect of loot and pillage —many of them had made out a list of the main jewellers and other important shops in Ciudad Trujillo— the hard conditions suffered by the rank and file while the leaders lived easily: were the cause of dissension, quarrels and mutinies which on many occasions had to be put down by force and at the cost of blood-shed.

Concerning this Jorge Yániz, journalist and war-correspondent of the expedition said the following in «Prensa Libre» on October 3rd, 1947:

«Masferrer was left at the head of the troops. During the absence of "General" Rodríguez a rather

critical situation developed in the camp. The Dominican High Command was divided between U. P. A. and the Dominican Revolutionary Party and the partisans of "General" Rodríguez. Hardly a moment passed without arguments and violent altercations, during which pistol shots and even machine-gun fire was heard.»

The pressure on public opinion exercised by the Dominican Government with the weapons of right and reason was so great, and the attitude of the conspirators in Cayo Confites was so scandalous, that the Cuban Government was morally obliged to simulate repressive measures in connection with these revolutionary activities, giving the somewhat tardy impression that it had complied with its international agreements and engagements.

Combined forces of the Cuban Army and Navy did in fact capture the ships of the expeditionaries who were taken to Havanna. There they were detained in military custody for a brief time.

On October 3rd the Judge of the Supreme Court. Dr. Evelio Tabío issued a writ ordering that first 376 members of the expeditionary force be set at liberty; on the following day 721 more were set free. The rest of the revolutionaries had never even been detained.

The large quantity of war material was appropriated by the Cuban army, but at a later date —as we shall see in due course— it was returned to the revolutionaries. with the same object of disturbing the peace of the Dominican Republic, as will be described in the next chapter.

Ramón Vasconcelos, in one of his widely read «Entreactos» which was printed in «Prensa libre» on October 3rd. 1947, among other things, says the following in connection with the abortive invasion.

«Juan Bosch has promised to make some disclosures. It would be as well for the distinguished writer to make them as soon as possible. Let him relate how, while some of the expeditionaries were eating sumptuously and drinking good wine, the others lived off sweet potatoes and cod; while the "High Command" of the apocalyptical "Colonel" treated the members of the expeditionary

forces as pariahs, the latter began to realize little by little that they had been the victims of a fraud. Let him relate why ships that should have set their course for the coasts of Santo Domingo, set sail instead for the coasts of Cuba. Let him explain how it was that the Naval authorities were not aware of the presence of a fleet of fighter aircraft located in front of the Mariel station for several weeks and how it was the military authorities never knew in Calabazar and other places there was an imposing arsenal whose destination should have been the object of concern on their part. Let him tell us how it was that the mothers who burst into tears and protests on account of the brief detention of their sons while the indispensable formalities for their release were being carried out —before letting them wander off once again to the street corners and into the park-were not aware before of the proposals of those little angels and how it was that they never said a word during their prolonged absences from home. (Oh !August shades of Mariana Grajales and of Máximo Gómez, forgive those who accuse the men who return to them, safe and sound, the children of their flesh and those who repay their supreme revolutionary sacrifice for Cuba by sending to Santo Domingo —your country of origin— "Colonel" Masferrer.) Never before did the ranks of Cuban expeditionaries contain men who had greater need of the attentions of an alienist than of the rifles proper to liberators. And the mejority of the vociferous "heros" of Cayo Confites that the Army has clothed and nourished —one might almost add, spoilt— deserve to be re-educated in special institutes for adults.»

In the Dominican Republic the news of the invasion did not produce either anxiety or doubt concerning the future fate of the Government.

The Dominican people responded as they had always done when the safety of the country had been threatened. In a unanimous and out-spoken movement, thousands of Dominicans of both sexes and belonging to all social classes, expressed their firm adhesion to the policy and

work of Generalissimo Trujillo, and their determination to take up arms to defend the Government that has so greatly benefited the Republic.

The armed forces of the country were on the alert and ready to repel any attempt at agression. On the other hand, in a gesture of natural and legitimate self-defense, large sums were invested in the purchase of modern war equipment which, combined with the determination of our armed forces and the patriotic resolution of the people, turned the possibility of a triumph for our enemies into an impossibility.

In the first week of October the failure of the invasion was announced and the Criminal Courts duly authorized to deal with the case, began to proceed in connection with the grave crimes committed against the Republic by obdurate and nefarious Dominicans.

On January 29th, 1948, the trial began against the Dominicans implicated in the criminal conspiracy of Cayo Confites (1).

The Court was presided over by the Judge Enrique Sánchez González. Representing the People, as Public Prosecutor, was Dr. José Rijo and representing the State, on civilian grounds, were Julio Ortega Frier, Gustavo Adolfo Díaz and Federico C. Alvarez.

The Cayo Confites incident had finished. Communism had experienced one of its most resounding defeats in the Caribbean area; but it was soon to lift its head once more, full of hate and agressiveness, in its proposal to subjugate the Dominican Republic — a proposal which has been maintained up to our own times.

---

(1) See Appendix number 15.

LUPERON: A FRESH FAILURE FOR COMMUNISM

Cuba did not comply with her international commitments, nor did she behave —after the failure of the piratical expedition already known by the name of «Cayo Confites»— in accordance with the traditional friendship that has always existed between the peoples and Governments of South America.

As was stated by his Excellency President Trujillo in his message of December 26th, 1949, on receiving the power granted to him by Congress to declare war in the case of any armed act of agression:

> «If, in spite of the negligence and lack of diligence with which the Government of Dr. Grau San Martín has acted in this grave affair; if, in spite of the innumerable injuries done to our country —the traditional friend of Cuba— as a result of an inexplicable attitude; if at the end of the raid carried out by the armed forces of Cuba in the zones infested by the expeditionaries, that Government had complied with its duties by, at least, interning the ring-leaders of the brigades; taking possession of the large quantity of equipment of which they disposed; bringing to justice those responsible for the boarding and kidnapping of "La Angelita", returning this ship to its legitimate owners after having repaired the damage caused and finally, offering the Dominican Government the excuses and explanations which were morally due,

the troublesome affair would have been settled without the possibility of fresh and even bitterer consequences, even though the Republic would have had to overlook the material losses already suffered.»

His Excellency the Head of the State, notwithstanding having been moved by the most justifiable patriotic indignation, still spoke in his message of the «negligence and lack of diligence» of the Government of Dr. Grau San Martín, when in effect that regime, as much as the one that succeeded it, presided over by Carlos Prío Socarrás, was guilty of condemnable complicity in all the movements directed by the communists which perturbed the Caribbean area during this turbulent period of history.

The international brigades of Cayo Confites soon recovered their freedom of action and the possession of their abundant war equipment. These brigades, after having contributed to the victory of the revolutionary movement which gave power in Costa Rica to José Figueres, were transformed into the Caribbean Legion, a military organization of an international and communist type which was the nucleous of serious trouble in Central America and, more particularly, a fresh menace for the peace of the Dominican Republic, a menace whose most dangerous manifestation occurred in the suicidal landing carried out on the night of June 19th, 1949, at the port of Luperón, on the north coast of the country.

The Caribbean Legion, with the experience of its recent failure, with a new organization and having active communists incorporatets into its ranks —mainly Spanish refugees who had established their centre of operations in Guatemala— received at that time its greatest and most effective material aid and political assistance from the Governments of Guatemala and Costa Rica.

Guatemala first under the presidency of Juan José Arévalo and then of Jacobo Arbenz, lent itself, more than any other country, to the subversive activities of the communists; these reached such a point that, as much on account of the latter as on account of the links that that Government had with Russia and other satellite countries under the communist yoke, they constituted a motive for alarm for the anti-communist nations of South America and merited the most serious attention of the State Depart-

ment of the United States of America itself. This alarming situation was fortunately brought to an end with the victory of the liberating movement led by General Carlos Castillo Armas.

It is opportune at this point to set on record the agressive and brazen manner in which the Government of Guatemala demonstrated its ill will towards the Dominican Republic.

Concurrently with the organization of piracy in Cayo Confites, President Arévalo broke off diplomatic relations between his country and ours.

The time limit fixed in 1945 by the communist mandate for the visit to our country expired precisely at the date of this rupture.

The Dominican Chancellory issued a dispatch concerning this event, which forboded the grave happenings that occurred later, this communication was published in the most important continental newspapers and the text was as follows:

> «The Secretariat of State for Foreign Affairs makes known by virtue of Decree number 4399 of June 14th of this year, published in number 6651 of the Official Gazette of the 29th of the said month, that his Excellency the President of the Republic designated our Ambassador in Guatemala, Roberto Despradel, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic to the Holy See.
>
> That by virtue of the decision to send Roberto Despradel as Ambassador to the Holy See, the assent of the Government of Guatemala was duly requested to appoint Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic to that Government. The Guatemalan Chancellory replied to this request by Note Number 286, addressed to Ambassador Roberto Despradel, on June 16th of this year, the text of which is as follows:
>
> «I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of the Note number 129, of May 26th last, in which your Excellency is kind enough to notify me that your esteemed Government has seen fit to request the

appropriate placet for its transfer, with identical rank, to the Holy See.

In the same way your Excellency adds that you have received the necessary authority to request the customary agreement, as Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Dominican Government in Guatemala, in favor of his Excellency Don Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, who has been Professor of Diplomatic Technique at the School of the Foreign Service, of the Secretariat of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Professor at Santo Domingo University, illustrious lawyer, writer and historian and who is at present Director of the General National Archives and delegate at various International congresses and conferences of a cultural nature.

In reply I permit myself to state that my Government deeply regrets your Excellency's departure, since during your stay in this Republic at the head of your mission, you have known how to deserve the high consideration and esteem of official, diplomatic and social circles, on account of your extensive culture and diplomatic tact.

At the same time I am happy to express to your Excellency that his Excellency Don Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi is extremely acceptable to the Government of the Republic for the filling of the high rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Dominican Republic in Guatemala.

I am happy to avail myself of this opportunity to express once more to your Excellency my highest consideration. (Signed.) E. Silva Peña.»

The attitude taken up now by President Juan José Arévalo, on ordering the breaking of diplomatic relations with our country, has not however given the Dominican Government any cause for surprise, due to the awareness that we have had for some time past of his demagogic tendencies and of the efforts that he is making to introduce into his Government the communist ideology that he personally professes. This decision taken by President Arévalo —a few days after the Chancellory had expressed that the new Ambassador proposed by our

Government was «an extremely acceptable person», and without any motive arising which could justify this change of criterion— makes abundantly clear President Arévalo's interest in disturbing the rhythm of collective harmony and in disrupting the unity which links the peoples and governments of this Continent, peoples and governments that are united by the same democratic ideals.

Whereas all the peoples and governments of South America enthusiastically defend the unity and rehabilitation of devastated Europe, President Arévalo, from the high position that he occupies directs his efforts, in deplorable contrast to the noble aims of the Continent, to undermining and break ing up the solidarity and union that serves as the foundation for a peaceful *modus vivendi* in this Hemisphere.»

Soon afterwards, and also without any motive that could justify its attitude, the Government of Costa Rica broke off diplomatic relation with our Government.

At the beginning of 1949, marked out beforehand by the communists for a new plan of attack against the Republic of Santo Domingo, the campaign to discredit our Government reached a scandalous pitch; its vigour and extremism were in accordance with the motives that gave rise to it and with the sinister personages that inspired it; both motives and individuals were the same as 1947 when the Cayo Confites conspiracy took place.

The objectives also were the same: to overthrow the anti-communist Government of Generalissimo Trujillo in order to convert the Dominican Republic into a second Guatemala, a den of communists from all over the world, a focus for continental disturbances and a docile and accomodating dependency of Moscow.

The Caribbean Legion acted publicly and went forward with the new plans for the invasion of the Republic; the costs were met by the Government of Guatemala and Costa Rica; the Cuban Government, now presided over by Prío Socarrás, also helped with the expenses, but this time with more dissimulation. The Cuban President, a few days before the invasion, with the object of distracting the attention of his Excellency President Trujillo, to deflect it in another direction, and to lull to sleep the

vigilance of the Dominican authorities, made a gesture of typically communist machiavelism.

When the attack on the Dominican Republic was ready to be launched —which, as we shall see further on and in greater detail, took place on June 19th— Prío Socarrás sent a confidential agent to Generalissimo Trujillo with a message to the effect that he was not to worry about the invasion preparations that were taking place at that time, and which had been denounced by our Government, because they were directed against another Central American country and not against the Dominican Republic.

Meanwhile the Chief of the Secret Police of Cuba, Eufemio Fernández, was acting as an intermediary between the Cuban and Guatemalan conspirators, and was setting himself up as one of the ring-leaders of the Caribbean Legion.

This same Eufemio Fernández, a person who was absolutely in the confidence of the Cuban Executive, never refused his co-operation in the subversive plans against the Dominican Republic, and he boasted publicly of his bitter animosity towards the undoubted leader of the Dominican people.

He expressed this in a letter which the review «Bohemia» published in its columns —a review of the extreme left and hostile to all peaceful governments maintaining order and respect— on January 8th, 1950, and which he addressed to President Trujillo himself, announcing with the ludicrousness proper to his aberrent personality that in the near future he would be in the Dominican Republic, and adding that: «everyone in Cuba knows that I have maintained, maintain and shall maintain a struggle without respite».

On the other hand, recruiting offices for reinforcing the Caribbean Legion were established in Havanna in the most central position and in other towns also, where they carried on publicly and ostentatiously with no attempt at concealment, as had occurred in the days of Cayo Confites.

The facts demonstrating the responsibility of President Juan José Arévalo and his communist Government are set out with great clarity and precision in the report which

our Government sent to the Inter-American Peace Commission, the text of which is as follows:

«*a)* the Government of Guatemala, through its Embassy in Mexico, concluded with the Government of the latter country an operation by means of which it was agreed to sell to the Government of Guatemala a consignment of armaments amounting to the sum of U. S. $588,261.10. Concerning this question the Ambassador of Guatemala in Mexico, Sr. Adolfo Monsanto, signed on February 17th, 1949, a confidential memorandum, addressed to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala in which details of this operation were given and the participation of Sr. Bonilla Atiles representative of the Caribbean Legion, was alluded to in the negotiations carried out through diplomatic channels for the acquisition of these armaments.

Even though in the said memorandum it is established, with complete clarity, that the Mexican Government imposes the condition that the armaments sold shall not be used outside Guatemala «nor be the object of international commerce» on the part of the Government of the said country, the diplomatic agents of Guatemala met several times in the Hotel Prince —situated at number 17 Luis Moya street in Mexico City—; also present at the meeting were the representatives of the Caribbean Legion and they all agreed that a part of the consignment of armaments, amounting to U. S. $278,037.40 be ceded to the revolutionaries to be used in the new attack which was being prepared against the Dominican Republic. This is demonstrated by the documents accompanying the said memorandum.

With the object of assisting the Ambassador of Guatemala in Mexico in the negotiations necessary to conclude the operation, the Government of Guatemala sent the Quarter-master General, Rubén Morales Dardón, to the Mexican capital; he was present at many of the meetings that took place at the Hotel Prince concerning this affair, in company with the representatives of the organizers of this plan of intervention.

In order to strengthen the proofs contained in this document, there is also the following circumstance: the President of the Republic and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico stated to the Ambassador of Santo Domingo in that capital —who showed to these high-ranking personages photostat copies of this document and its schedules— that in fact it had been agreed to sell to the Government of Guatemala the war material referred to in the said documents; but that the agreement between the two Governments was not put into effect and that therefore the armaments were not delivered due, apparently, to the fact that the Government of Guatemala found the price too high. Notwithstanding this circumstance, those documents, relating to an operation about which there can be no doubt in view of the statements made by these high-ranking Mexican personages —prove categorically that the Government of Guatemala co-operated with the organizers of this new attack planned against Dominican institutions.

b) In Mexico, a field where the activities of the organizers of the said conspiracy were dissimulated, José Horacio Rodríguez, of Dominican nationality, and Jacobo Fernández Alverdi, a Spanish republican exile, acquired various transport planes. On May 6th, 1949, they bought a Curtiss aircraft, XB-HUB of Mexican registration, for the sum of U. S. $30,000.00, from the engineer Alfredo del Valle, of Mexican nationality, to whom they owed a balance ce of 10,000 dollars (ten thousand) requiring him —among the other conditions to which the sale was subject— not to change the name of the proprietor until the afore-mentioned balance was paid off; as the purchasers were not able to explain satisfactorily the future use to which the aircraft was to be put. Engineer Del Valle insisted that the name of the proprietor should be changed so as to avoid possible responsibility and he was given a bill of exchange for the remaining $10,000; the original bill of exchange was sent to the Dominican Embassy in Mexico by the beneficiary; it is number 3 in the schedule attached to this document. The change of ownership was

effected with the permission of the Aeronautical Department of the Transport Secretariat of Mexico, and the aircraft was then registered in the name of the Spanish refugee, Jacobo Fernández Alverdi. Subsequently, and by agreement of both parties, all the air and ground maintenance staff that Engineer. Alfredo del Valle employed, were taken on by the new proprietor. The personnel thus transferred were as follows: Air Pilot Captain José María del Castillo Altamirano; co-pilot Mario Treviño Baxter; co-pilot José Cardona and the mechanic, Julián Valderrama Ibarra.

c) The personnel transferred by the engineer Del Valle to Sr. Jacobo Fernández Alverdi went shortly afterwards to Bronswill, Texas in the United States of America, in the course of ordinary service, and brought from there another plane, a Douglas C — 47, purchased in the United States, which was registered in Mexico under the letters XB — HOS.

d) Sr. José Horacio Rodríguez and Sr. Fernández Alverdi also purchased two other planes in Mexico: a Lookheed Hudson, with the Mexican registration XB — DOT and an Anson aircraft, model V, with the Mexican registration XB — HOB.

e) the planes described above were serviced for flying by the personnel in the employment of Engineer Alfredo Del Valle, but on account of the lack of sufficient pilots, on May 18th only the HUB and the HOS took off, reporting their destination as Pinotepa Nacional (Oaxaca, Mexico), the usual flight route of Engineer Del Valle before the operation. They stayed over the night of the 18th at this place and on the 19th both aircraft took off for Guatemala. The other two planes, the DOT and the HOB remained at the airport of Mexico, D. F. in charge of of «Servicios Aeronáuticos de México, S. A.», at which place they remained until July 21st of that year.

f) From Guatemala Sres. José María del Castillo Altamirano, José Cardona, Mario Treviño Baxter and Julián Valderrama Ibarra, who made up the crew of the HUB and the HOS planes, transferred from Mexico, wrote to their families in Mexico City

the letters —the originals of which are attached to this memoradum— and in which they express, among other things, that they found themselves at a Guatemala military base where they were receiving the necessary training to form part of a revolutionary expedition which, according to what they had been told— with the object of concealing from them till the last moment their real destination— was to be directed against Costa Rica. Relating to the information contained in those letters, and deserving of especial attention on account of their significance as evidence of the participation of the Government of Guatemala in the plot that was being prepared against the Dominican Republic, are statements made in the letters dated May 22nd and May 29th, 1949, sent from Panajachel, Guatemala, by the mechanic Julián Valderrama to his wife, The pilots who wrote those letters left on board the HB — HUB from the military base of San José, Guatemala bound for the Dominican Republic, as members of the frustrated Luperón expedition, and they had to make a forced landing on the island of Cozumel on account of a storm which took them by surprise during the flight, where they were detained by the Mexican authorities who took charge of the plane's cargo.

g) In the other civilian plane which was transferred from Mexico to Guatemala (the Douglas C-46, registration: XB — HOS) the pilots were Ralph Wells and Bob Hosford of American nationality, who were contracted in Guatemala for this enterprise. This aircraft, in the same way as the Curtiss already mentioned, made a forced landing on the island of Cozumel. due to the prevailing bad weather in the Caribbean zone, and its crew and the armaments that it was transporting were taken in charge by the Mexican authorities.

h) Two aircraft which formed part also of the revolutionary squadron that was bound for the Dominican Republic made a forced landing in El Cuyo, because of the same circumstances. On being inspected by the Mexican military authorities of that locality, the latter found out that these two planes belonged to the regular Air Force of Guatemala and

that they were loaded with a considerable quantity of armaments; this fact gave rise to a heated discussion between the pilots and the authorities who wished to intern them. These planes showed the following registration: T-1 and T-3 (DC-3). In view of the insistence of the pilots who availed themselves of their position as regular members of the Air Force of Guatemala, the authorities shortly afterwards allowed both planes to be transferred to Guatemala. These planes were transferred from El Cuyo to Mérida, where they were seen by all the travellers who passed through that city on June 20th and 21st; various American tourists later referred to the said planes in declarations made to the Miami press (U. S. A.) concerning this affair.

i) the planes that maneged to reach the Dominican coasts were two in number: a hydro-plane, the Catalina, with a capacity of 10,000 pounds, acquired in the United States, which landed in the bay of Luperón, province of Puerto Plata, in the small hours of June 19th last, with a group of expeditionaries sent by Colonel Horacio Julio Ornes Goiscou and a considerabe quantity of armaments; and a «Grumann» plane, piloted by Earl Adams of American nationality, who did not make any landing on the Dominican Republic and continued to Cuba —after having escorted the Catalina— with the object of refuelling in order to return to its place of departure. This plane is well known in Guatemala as the presidential aircraft since it is the one that Sr. Juan José Arévalo habitually uses for his journeys.

j) The Mexican pilot Miguel López Enríquez, who piloted one of the aircraft belonging to the squadron that was on its way to attack the Dominican Republic, told Sr. Carlos Denegri, Editor of the newspaper «Excelsior», that he was contracted by Ramsa (Rutas Aéreas Mexicanas, S. A.) while the preparations for the expedition were in progress; when he arrived at a Guatemalan port near Bélice. where "five planes duly loaded with armaments were waiting for him", he decided to take part in the expedition on account of its adventurous character. "If the expedition —stated this pilot— failed, it was

not our fault, but the result of bad luck. Various Central American personages who were lovers of freedom intervened because they wanted to put an end to the state of affairs prevailing in Santo Domingo".»

No further proofs are needed to demonstrate the participation of the communist Government of Guatemala in the new act of agression which was being prepared against the Dominican Republic and which was carried out, as has been said, on June 19th, 1949.

Costa Rica also engaged herself, without reserve, in the international conspiracy. The Gaceta Oficial (Official Gazette) itself, of that country revealed that the Figueres Government established a subsidy amounting to 40,000 «colones» for the benefit of the members of the «Caribbean Legion».

This fact was later confirmed by the confessions of the expeditionaries made to the judicial authorities of Santo Domingo, when the survivors of the landing at Luperón, having been taken prisoner, had to answer for their crimes.

The plan of the expeditionaries was audacious, and they thought that they held trumps in the shape of the surprise element of the attack and the favourable reception they expected from the Dominican people. This was a fatal mistake, or a piece of criminal fraud on the part of the communists, with a view to attracting and compromising in their dangerous projects many adventurers who —as the Mexican pilot López Henríquez stated— were not attracted by political motives, but by the adventurous nature of this type of expedition.

As has been demonstrated the expeditionaries were not able to count on the element of surprise, since the Dominican Government —one of the best informed of the South American Continent— followed step by step the progress of the communist conspiracy. As for the illusory favours that they expected from the Dominican people, they were also mistaken, because the energetic aversion that the Dominican people has always felt for that type of criminal enterprise has made more fervent and stable its solidarity in support of the work carried out by the Government and Generalissimo Trujillo's policy; to this must be added the natural reaction in defence

of the rich material and spiritual heritage, conquered in the present Era.

The plan of the insurgents, as has been said, was audacious: Six planes loaded with men and war material, subversive propaganda, etc., were to land at different points in the Republic. Two on the north coast, with expeditionaries under the command of «Colonel» Horacio Julio Ornes Coiscou; two at a selected place in the valley of La Vega, with men under the command of «General» Juan Rodrígues García (Juancito) and two at some point in the south of the Republic, possibly at San Juan de la Maguana, under the command of «General» Miguel Angel Ramírez.

Various ships —among them the «Alicia» and the «Patricia» which arrived from Puerto Barrios, stopping at the island of Sacrificios and at the Progreso port, in Yucatan (Mexico)— were to disembark a great number of men and a large quantity of equipment to reinforce the invasion, as soon as the expeditionaries should have a strong foothold in Luperón and Puerto Plata. These ships were seen in Cuban territorial waters on June the 19th and 20th and it is known that they returned to their port of origin as soon as the failure of the expedition was made public.

In the morning of June 19th planes left Lake «Isabál» in Guatemala, bound for the Dominican Republic.

Of the six aircraft intended to form part of the vanguard of the invasion forces two had to make a forced landing on the island of Cozumel, on account of a storm that took them by surprise during their flight. For the same reason, two more were obliged to land in Cuyo. On being inspected by the Mexican military authorities it was proved that they belonged to the regular Air Force of Guatemala, as did their crews who were allowed to leave for that country.

Only two aircraft managed to reach the coasts of Santo Domingo. One of them piloted by the American, Earl Adams, did not land but continued its course for Cuba with the object —according to what the pilot said subsequently— of refuelling. On finding out the fate of the expeditionaries who had landed at Luperón, he returned to Guatemala. So, of the six aircraft belonging to the expeditionary force, only one, the «Catalina», a hydro-plane, landed at 7.20 pm on Luperón Bay at the port of the same name.

As soon as the «Catalina» came to rest on the waters of the Atlantic, the insurgents left the plane with their wills set on their objectives. The first was Horacio Julio Ornes Coiscou, followed by Gugú Henríquez, who was the Captain in charge of the capture of Luperón, and further behind the Nicaraguan, Alejandro Selva.

The inhabitants of Luperón, attracted to the sport by the noise and the presence of the sea-plane, went down to the beach, believing that the aircraft belonged to the Government Air Force and was come on a special mission. Very soon they came face to face with a violent and unexpected reality.

Once the expeditionaries had landed they began to disembark the armaments they had brought. When this operation was finished, Horacio Julio Ornes Coiscou improvised a brief harangue. The inhabitants replied with shouts of Long live Trujillo!

«—No! Not long live Trujillo, no! —replied Ornes Coiscou. We have come to liberate the country and save the inhabitants. You will not have to pay taxes any longer.»

The inhabitants became hostile. Those men were the enemies of peace, the adversaries of the Government, the communists who had so often threatened to drown the country in a blood-bath.

There was no longer any doubt concerning the intentions of those men who expressed themselves in a language which was completely foreign to the real sentiments of the Dominican people.

Among those who had listened to the subversive harangue of the leader of the expeditionaries was a private in our Army, Leopoldo Puente Rodríguez, who happened to be on the spot while on leave.

It was he who organized and led the defense of the inhabitants of the place. Without being noticed he slipped away from the beach, to return a few minutes later armed with a rifle. The inhabitants behaved with dignity, decision and intrepidity.

A brief skirmish took place in which the expeditionaries were completely routed.

At that moment the lights of the town went out and in the prevailing confusion, two of the invaders, Alberto Ramírez and Hugo Kundhart, attacked each other and were both mortally wounded. They died shortly afterwards.

At this moment a unit of the Dominican Navy appeared and opened fire immediately against the «Catalina», which was stuck in the muddy waters of «Luperón» and made futile efforts to take off with its sorry cargo of defeated communists. The sea-plane caught fire which made the retreat of the insurgents impossible.

As well as the three American pilots —mercenaries who were remote from the political issues— the following revolutionaries were killed in the action: Hugo Kundhart, a Dominican; Salvador Reyes Valdez, a Dominican; Alberto Ramíres, a Nicaraguan; Alfonso Leyton, a Costarican; Gúgu Henríquez, a Dominican; Manuel Calderón, a Dominican and Alejandro Selva, a Nicaraguan.

Horacio Julio Ornes Coiscou, José Rolando Martínez Bonilla, Tulio Hostilio Arvelo Delgado, Miguel Angel Feliú Arzeno and José Félix Córdoba Boniche, this last of Nicaraguan nacionality, the survivors, decided to make for the mountains, with a view —as they later stated— to reaching the frontier and penetrating into the interior of Haitan territory.

While all this was going on, in the town of Puerto Plata a small group of civilians attempted to second the action of the invaders and made a stand in a house on the outskirts of the town.

Forces of the Dominican Army subdued the rebels after a brief encounter, in which the insurgent ring-leaders, Fabio Spignolio and Nando Suárez, in which the insurgent ring-leaders, Fabio Spignolio and Nando Suárez were killed.

As soon as the first reports of the landing reached Ciudad Trujillo —and when the magnitude and most important details of the revolutionary enterprise were still unknown— Generalissimo Trujillo went in person to the theatre of operations, with the promptness that he has always shown when the peace of the Republic and the happiness of its people have been in peril.

It was he who gave orders to the soldiers who were pursuing the fugitives, to aim wide, as the object was to capture them alive.

After a short chase the rebels, who were thirsty, exhausted, defeated and without provisions, were overtaken by the vanguard of the Army.

In this way, those already mentioned were taken

prisoner: Horacio Julio Ornes Coiscou, who, with the rank of Colonel was the ring-leader of the expedition; José Rolando Martínez Bonilla, Tulio Hostilio Arvelo Delgado, Miguel Angel Feliú Arzeno and José Cordoba Boniche.

They were taken immediately to the town of Santiago de los Caballeros.

Ornes Coiscou was aware that on the same night of his arrival at that town a public demonstration was going to take place, to repudiate the communist invasion, and he asked the authorities for permission to address the people.

This permission having been granted, Julio Ornes Coiscou pronounced the following words before the microphone of the Santiago Radio Station, «La Voz de la Reelección» (The Voice of the Re-election).

> «People of Santo Domingo! I speak on this occasion with my customary sincerity, to make known to the noble Dominican people the adventure into which we were thrown by a set of irresponsible and cowardly individuals who, at the decisive moment, did not care to comply with the commitments they had entered into with their comrades.
>
> Where are the other planes that were to come with the fabulous expedition? Here, it seems to me, we have treachery.
>
> Four of the bravest companions of my youth were deceived and they gave their lives because they had not inderstood in time the truth about Santo Domingo and its people; we all realize now that the Dominican people back Generalissimo Trujillo to the hilt.
>
> Our military plan was a logical one; but we were defeated, not by the military force of the Government, but because of the lack of co-operation and support from the Dominican people.
>
> Being convinced of this reality all that is left to me is to beg a thousand pardons from the Head of the State for the abnormal conditions created by us and prevailing at the moment in a part of the country. Now all that remains for me to do is to beg sincerely that the Dominican people will forgive me.

The magnanimity of President Trujillo is such that he gave orders that our lives were not to be placed in jeopardy; and here in Santiago the Generalissimo has personally confirmed to me this noble and generous attitude.

People of Santo Domingo! I am almost certain that in the future the peace of the country will not again be disturbed, because the remaining exiles, on account of their paltry aspirations and ambitions, have become political turncoats, not only in questions of Dominican politics, but concerning politics in general..

People of Santo Domingo! Rest in peace and continue to enjoy of the wonderful peace given to you by Trujillo.»

The Dominican people, in a moving plebiscite, demonstrated from one end of the Republic to the other, their unshakeable determination to keep «the wonderful peace given to them by Trujillo», as the communist ringleader, who tried to break it and failed in his criminal project, said.

At the beginning of August, 1949, the First Criminal Court of the Santo Domingo Judicial District, presided over by the Judge Dr. Homero Henríquez, and acting as Public Prosecutor, Juan Tomás Mejía Feliú, in various sessions, examined the grave crimes committed by the insurgents in Luperón and condemned them, in accordance with the Penal Code in force, to thirty years hard labour.

On August 17th of the same year Horacio Julio Ornes Coiscou José Rolando Martínez Bonilla, Miguel Feliú, Tulio H. Arvelo and José Félix Córdova Boniche addressed themselves to his Excellency the President of the Republic, Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, in a letter published by the «Caribe» on the 26th of the same month, to express to him their gratitude for the impartial manner in which their trial had been conducted. At the same time they begged the Head of the State to remit their sentences; they also made important disclosures concerning the revolutionary enterprise in which they had played leading parts.

The text of this important document is as follows:

Ciudad Trujillo, D. S. D.
August 17th, 1949.

To the President of the Republic
Generalissimo Rafael L. Trujillo Molina.
His Bureau.

Right Honourable Mr. President,

After having been condemned by the Court of this judicial district, we consider it our duty to express to your Excellency, as the Head of the State, our gratitude for the impartial manner in which our trial was conducted, our defending council having had absolute freedom to use all the methods of defense that could be presented in our favour.

We wish to place our case in your generous hands. We were basely deceived, Mr. President, not only concerning the magnitude of the revolutionary enterprise but also respecting the morale and sentiments of the Dominican people, whose adhesion to the Government we were able to prove from our own experience during the anguished moments of the frustrated invasion of the national territory. The backing of the people which we had expected for our enterprise —which was precisely the decisive factor involved in the same, and which we had been absolutely assured of— turned out to be, in practice, a manifestation of hostility and repulsion.

We wish to confirm to your Excellency what we declared during the course of the trial; that is to say: we considered that the revolutionary enterprise of which we formed part was not only gigantic but also assured of absolute success on account of the important moral and material help that the officials and Governments of Guatelmala, Costa Rica and Cuba gave to the said enterprise.

Our youth and inexperience were preponderating factors in the invasion plans directed against the national territory. Dominican politicians with whom

we were directly connected, not precisely on account of a similarity of ideas but because of an erroneous concept of what Santo Domingo stands for, took advantage of the temerity and inexperience proper to our youthfulness to launch us into this enterprise, whose epilogue has closed with a sentence from the criminal Court.

It is no secret, since it was made quite clear during the trial, that the Governments and *agents provocateurs* of Guatemala, Costa Rica and Cuba, of communist tendencies, lent their aid on a large scale to this revolutionary task against your Excellency's Government, aid which we admit was accepted by us, wi thout stopping to think —perhaps because of our inexperience that such generous protection of the political aims that inspired us had not been conceded as generous and disinterested cooperation, but as a part of a gigantic plan to impose communist ideas in the whole of South America. We repudiate such ideas with all the vigour of our youthful convictions. And we have also been basely deceived in this aspect; your Excellency may have the absolute certainty that at no moment did we have the intention of forming part of the pernicious conspiracy tending to the sovietization of the New World, a conspirancy in which are involved the officials and Governments of foreign countries that helped us. We believe that we are doing our duty as Dominicans in making known to you these circumstances; our love for our country is, and always will be, above all political questions, as is and will be our desire for the progress and happiness of the Dominican people.

Concerning José Félix Córdova Boniche, a citizen of Nicaragua, also condemned by the Criminal Court, and who also signs this document, we consider it a moral duty to inform your Excellency that the person in question, up to the moment of embarking in the sea-plane Catalina, held the belief that the object of the expedition was the invasion of Nicaragua.

Having set forth the above, on confirming our gratitude for the impartial manner in which our

trial was conducted. we wish to leave our future in the hands of your Excellency; and we permit ourselves to beg for the remittance of the sentences which we were given and we promise eternal gratitude for any decisión that may be taken in this matter.

In the hopes that your Excellency will weigh in the balance and consider up to what point we were really guilty, in this, for us, most painful affair, we remain, with all respect, your Excellency's obedient servants,

Signed by. Horacio Julio Ornes Coiscou
J. R. Martínez Bonilla
Miguel Feliú
Tulio H. Arvelo
José Félix Córdova Boniche»

The Generalissimo responded to this appeal to his generosity by granting the pardon that gave back their liberty to the prisoners.

As they also expressed the desire to return abroad, they were given every facility to do so.

The young men returned to the foreign countries from which they had come: Generalissimo Trujillo had saved their lives and returned them their liberty, but they soon forgot these considerable favours; carried away by their political passions and their communist fanaticism, they relapsed once more into serious crimes of a treasonable nature; they allied themselves to Marxists and adventurers of the lowest class, in an attempt to obscure the radiant truth of Santo Domingo and to discredit the noble figure of the illustrious leader Generalissimo Trujillo Molina.

The Luperón episode had come to an end, but it has given to the enemies of the Republic an unforgettable lesson.

NEW CONSPIRACIES AGAINST THE PEACE OF THE REPUBLIC

The Luperón failure did not put an end to communist prepararions to disrupt the Republic and to establish there a Government which would fall in with the designs of Moscow.

After the first few days, the communists, before having recovered from the blow suffered in the north of the Republic, started their activities once more, choosing this time Cuban territory, as a base for future operations.

A part of the armaments which were destined for the attack on Luperón, remained in Guatemala, for reasons which have not been established, ready to be transported when the opportunity arose to the site chosen in Cuba as a base for operations.

The said armaments were taken first from the San José Air Base to a public building in the city of Guatemala; they were later deposited in a building on the shores of Lake «Amatitlán».

Meanwhile the co-operation between Cuban and Guatemalan officials —both declared enemies of the Dominican Republic— became daily closer and more effective.

When in July 1949, as a result of the assassination of Colonel Arana —forecast with absolute precision some days before by the Ciudad Trujillo Radio Station «La Voz Dominicana» (The voice of Santo Domingo— a military insurrection took place in Guatemala, Eufemio Fernández, accompanied by a large group of Cuban military men and

known communists, veterans in the revolutionary activities of the Caribbean, flew to that central American country with sufficient war-like equipment to help in the quashing of the rebels.

At that time the Cuban Red Cross intervened in the conflict, offering its name and its resources to subversive projects directed against our country. The Cuban Red Cross was then presided over by Rodolfo Henríquez, a Cuban citizen of Dominican origin, a person who was closely linked with the revolutionary activities in the Caribbean, a brother of Enrique Cotubanama Henríquez, a known enemy of the Dominican Republic and then a member of the Cuban Chamber of Deputies.

The first denunciations in connection with the illicit activities of the Cuban Red Cross came from Cubans who saw with horror how a humanitarian institution with such a clean international record was being used for such criminal purposes as waging an unjust war against a Christian nation, a nation which was peaceful and hardworking, as are the Dominican people. José Caminero, an old official belonging this organization, and Luis Ortega Suárez a columnist of the Havanna newspaper «Prensa Libre» in his column called «Pasquín» (published on October 11th 1949), were the first to make these alarming accusations.

The situation reached desperate extremes. The Government of the Dominican Republic had tried with patience and equanimity to find, by all the means in its power, a decorous and dignified way out of the conflict in which international communism had embroiled it.

It had invoked, with absolutedly no result, all the international pacts and conferences which bind states to mutual respect and to peaceful and harmonious relations, in accordance vith the norms in force under International (South American Law. In the same way it had had recourse to the Inter-American organizations, responsible for peace throughout the Continent; but it did not achieve the cessation of revolutionary activities in the Caribbean, or even a partial solution of the problem.

The scandal provoked by the war-like preparations of the Caribbean Legion was of such magnitude that the Inter-American Peace Commission addressed itself to the representatives of the Council of the Organization of the American States on August 4th, 1949, at the request of the

United States representative so that they might ask their respective Chancellories for reports on the political activities in the Caribbean area (1).

The first report sent came from the Dominican Republic (2). On August 15th, 1949, the Dominican Government presented a detailed exposition, with an abundance of documents offering proof, concerning the bitter conflict which then seemed impossible of solution. The document was prepared by the Ambassadors Joaquín Salazar, Arturo Despradel, Julio Ortega Frier, Dr. Joaquín Balaguer and José Ramón Rodríguez, internacional experts of known prestige.

The month of August, September, October and November went past without the shadow of a solution appearing anywhere or an improvement in the international relations between the Dominican Republic and the countries engaged in the acts of agression against her.

In the middle of December the Dominican Government received reports from highly reliable sources to the effect that a new attack was on the point of being launched from Cuban territory against the Dominican Republic; It was to be made by the Caribbean Legion with the aid of the Governments of Cuba, Guatemala and Haiti.

It was therefore a case of legitimate self-defence on the part of the Dominican people. Thus it was understood by Generalissimo Trujillo who, on December 19th of the year in question, 1949, addressed a sensational message to the Legislative Assembly, requesting, according to the dispositions laid down in Section 14 of Article 49 of the Constitution, the necessary authorization to declare war on «any country that knowingly tolerates or protects concentrations of military forces which are equipped and trained on its territory in order to invade the Republic; or which, in any other manner, facilitates, aid sor makes posible the departure from its territory of invasion forces directed against the Dominican Republic; authorizing the executive power to take steps against any country which endangers the peace of the Republic, providing that the said country be duly notified by our Government of the preparations being carried out there against our country; and

(1) See Appendix number 16.
(2) See Appendix number 17.

providing that the measures adopted be in proportion to the magnitude of the preparations for agression» (3).

The Dominican people enthusiastically acclaimed Generalissimo Trujillo's request; Congress —the reflection of the people's wishes— granted the powers requested. On receiving them President Trujillo sent another message to the Legislative Assembly on December 26th of the year in question; in this message he summed up the provocations and threats suffered by the Dominican Republic since 1944 (4).

We were on a war footing. We did not wis to go to extremes but communism obliged us to. It was a question, not only of the integrity of the national territory, but also of the peace of the Republic, the dignity and self-respect of the nation.

Generalissimo Trujillo, in his message requesting these powers, said the following: «When treaties are broken and when the most elementary rules of the international community are not taken into account, when the written law proves insufficient to impose effective norms of respect and honourable co-operation between States, a supreme and natural right becomes manifest, protecting peoples and leading them along the paths of good conduct to the solution of their most arduous and difficult problems. This natural right of legitimate defence should be the basis of the powers that in this message I request from you.»

It was in these circumstances that at the beginning of January, 1950, the Council of the Organization of the American States, acting provisionally as a consultative organ, resolved to appoint a Commission to investigate on the spot the grave situation that had arisen in the Caribbean area.

This Commission carried out an arduous and effective task, visiting each and every one of the nations involved in the conflict, interrogationg politicians, persons who had been designated as the instigators of the situations, military men, etc., and making useful investigations in order to arrive at the truth.

Generalissimo Trujillo gave every possible facility to

---

(3) See Appendix number 18.
(4) See Appendix number 19.

the Commission of Enquiry for the carrying out of their mission.

So that the said Commission should not feel handicapped in their movements within the Dominican Republic, and so that they should not find an atmosphere of intolerance or hostility, and at the same time to open up possibilities for harmonious solutions, the Generalissimo himself on 19th February, 1950, sent a message in which he asked for the revoking of the powers that the Legislative Assembly had granted him to declare war (5).

With the revoking of these powers the Commission of Enquiries had fresh evidence of the pacific intentions of the Dominican Republic.

On March 20th, 1950, the Comission published in the newspaper, «El Caribe», the results of their investigations.

Even though their findings were tempered by the justified desire of the Commission for the cessation of the prevailing tension in the Caribbean, they did not fail to recognize in their full report that a vast and dangerous conspiracy existed against the Dominican Republic in order to overthrow the existing order of things by means of war and other violent proceedings.

An inestimable service had definitely been rendered to the cause of peace in South America.

---

(5) See Appendix number 20.

LAST WORDS

It cannot be forgotten that the Dominican Republic, with its valiant and unshakeable anti-communist attitude and with the determination and bravery with which it always apposed enemy agression, contributed in large measure to clearing the American Continent of hostile forces.

If the Dominican Republic had fallen when communism so decreed it, there is no doubt that democracy on the Continent would have suffered serious reverses.

Generalissimo Trujillo won a victory for the cause of democracy in South America.

History will recognize this in its own time.

INDEX OF PERSONS WHO FIGURE IN THIS WHITE BOOK, WITH THE PAGES ON WHICH THEIR NAMES OCCUR

C

CH

D

E

F

FERNANDEZ, Eufemio: 126, 134, 149.

G

H

I

J

K

T

U

V

W

Y

APPENDICES

APPENDIX NUMBER 1

The National Congress in the name of the Republic

NUMBER 1203.

RECOGNIZING THE URGENCY
HAS PASSED THE FOLLOWING LAW

CONSIDERING that even though at the present time in the Republic there are neither activities nor publications tending to give rise to practises and doctrines that are contrary to Public Morality, as this is understood and practised by all civilized countries, it is advantageous to adopt measures of a legal nature to preserve us from the danger which, in other countries, is constituted by the indifference with which is tolerated tendentious propaganda, carried out and sponsored by certain publicity agencies and foreign organizations;

Art. 1.—A sentence of from three monthe to two years of prison and with a fine of from fifty to five hundred pesos, or with one only of these penalties, will be inflicted for:

1. The publication of articles, reviews, newspapers, books, pamphlets or posters of the following character:

a) Those teaching communist or anarchist doctrines or commenting favourably the practices or activities carried out abroad by organizations professing these tendencies.

b) Those teaching doctrines or ideas contrary to public morality, as this is traditionally practised in our country and in all civilized nations.

2. The teaching or propagation of communist or anarchist ideas in any place or public or private meeting, by means of lectures, speeches or lessons;

3. The fact of having correspondence or communication in any other way with a person or corporation abroad dedicated to the propagation of communist or anarchist ideas.

4. The fact of receiving or supplying information to be applied to any end, directly or indirectly of service for the propagation of communist or anarchist ideas.

Art. 2.—The same penalties will be applicable to those who introduce into or distribute throughout the country propaganda material of the same nature, printed abroad, and to the proprietors, managers or administrators of publishing houses and printing works within the Republic, in whose workshops are printed, or in whose organs of publicity are inserted the works referred to in the preceding article.

Art. 3.—If it be proved that the publications referred to in the 1st article of this law form part of a plan or agreement whose object be to implant in the country an economic régime which may cause a change in the form of government established by the Constitution of the State, the sentence will be that indicated by article number eighty-seven of the criminal code.

Passed in the Sessions Hall of the Senate Palace in Ciudad Trujillo, District of Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, on the twentieth day of the month of October of the year one thousand nine hundred and thirty six, the 93rd year of the Independence and the 64th of the Restoration.

APPENDIX NUMBER 2

Speech made by Generalissimo Trujillo Molina making known the feelings of the Government and the Dominican people in favour of the establishment of immigrant settlers on Dominican territory; this speech was made in the National Palace on January 20th, 1940.

Gentlemen,

On more than one occasion, when I have made patriotism the reason for addressing the Dominican people, with a burning faith in the destinies of the Dominican people and the enthusiasm of a stateman that is inspired by the highest aims, when on such occasions I have lifted up my voice with the determination that it shall be heard beyond the horizons of our country, I have stated that the two most characteristic aspects of my political ideals are summed up in these all important concepts: culture and cultivation.

These two words, whose conceptual content constitutes for me a fervent credo of political ethics, can at all times be considered as the sacred motto on the shield of my convinced patriotism.

Culture, the fecund seed that gives rise to spiritual fruit in clusters that symbolize conscious good and fruitful wisdom, has always been considered by me as the basis on which the happiness of nations is built, because only on this basis are constructed the permanent advantages

of freedom and the concrete conquests of human consciousness; and cultivation because its fruits are the prize with which the fertility of our land, the favourite son of Mother Nature, rewards with generosity the noble efforts of peace and work.

The favouring of all immigratory tendencies able to co-operate with the ideals which encourage the intensification of cultivation, has ever been my most earnest desire; I have always been ready to lend my enthusiasm and my fervent collaboration to the realizing of this desire. And this is so because, at the same time as the intensification of cultivation on our land is achieved, a favourable change reflecting on our ethnical problem is also indirectly achieved, when such immigratory trends bring to our shores capables and desirable racial elements.

These facts and circumstances imply moreover a beautiful and excellent opportunity to manifest anew the noble sentiments of the Dominican people and Government, since these facts provide a wide field for the practice of humanitarianism which is the ancestral norm of conduct of the Dominican people, whose destinies I have the honour to serve.

The official support for the establishment of immigrant settlers on the soil of the Republic thus agrees with my ideals as a stateman and with the sentiments of the Dominican people and it is at the same time a universal proclamation of the favourable disposition by means of which Dominican people observe their sacred duties as a free and hospitable American nation, offering friendly refuge and generous opportunities to men of other countries and other races at this time when adversity appears to have unleashed its forces against them.

APPENDIX NUMBER 3

CABLEGRAMME which Generalissimo Trujillo addressed on June 27th, 1950, to His Excellency President Truman identifying himself with the attitude of the United States in the question of Korea.

President Truman.
Washington.

Being aware of the Presidential declarations which were made public at 12 midday today, I have the honour to express to your Excellency that my Government is completely identified with the determined attitude taken by your Excellency's Government in deciding to back up with the armed power of the United States, which are the armed powers of freedom, the decision of the Security Council of the United Nations, disobeyed by the communist Government of North Korea. Communism's aim of world domination can only be frustrated if the democracies take firm and energetic decisions, as your Excellency's Government has just taken. The sincerity of these words is confirmed by the firm line of conduct which for some time past I have adopted and proclaimed in my country in order to defend it from the aggressive action of communusm. I wish to take advantage of this opportunity to renew to your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

APPENDIX NUMBER 4

Message of Generalissimo Trujillo on the occasion of the III Youth Congress.

On the occasion of the III Youth Congress our country has received visits from delegates from all over South America. Those who have come are not old valetudinarians who might well be full of traditionalist prejudices and retrograde ideas, but fresh and youthful figures, formed by restlessness and generous ideals who have been able to witness the fervent and lively deliberations of a democratic assembly in which the flower of our youth was able to discuss, without limitations or impediments, extremely varied political, economic and cultural subjects and to take decisions and come to agreements with absolute freedom, to such a point that my re-election to the presidency was spontaneously proclaimed by them and without my being able to prevent it, since I received the news when I was travelling through districts of the national territory situated at the opposite extreme of the place where the assembly was being held.

APPENDIX NUMBER 5

Proclamation issued by Generalissimo Trujillo on June 21st, 1931, inviting the few companions of the unfortunate ring-leader General Desiderio Arias, who were dispersed and wandering through the hills of Montecristi, to accept the Government guarantees.

That outbreak of rebellion against the law, which was led by General Desiderio Arias, has been extinguished with his death, when he fell in a tragic encounter with the forces of law and order, a victim of hist houghtlessness and his lack of love for peace, which is the greatest blessing of nations. I remain faithful to the sentiments which have always inspired me and to the ideal which has always been and is the norm of all my public acts; in other words, a policy of conciliation, of cordiality and fraternity in Santo Domingo. I was the first to lament the fall of a man who was my ally and my friend, who had occasion only to feel gratitude towards my Government and myself; I have attempted, not longer than 48 hours ago, to free him from the designs which the fortunes of war had in reserve for him; I did this with every kind of generous offers. Today, when the few companions of the unfortunate ring-leader are dispersed and wandering over the hills at the utmost ends of this province, pursued and hemmed in by the forces of the National Army, I feel no rancour against any man, nor am I disposed to put into practise the reprisals authorized by our penal laws against

the blind and irresponsible agitators and I wish to offer them a last opportunity to re-establish normal conditions in their civilian lives.

Therefore: Making use of my constitutional prerogatives, I proclaim on my oath as First Judge of the Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the National Army, that all those citizens who have abandoned their homes for subversive ends have full and absolute guarantees of liberty in their lives and properties to return to their homes or present themselves to the Government authorities within a space of 48 hours.

To this effect I have given orders to all the civilian and military authorities of the Republic. In Santiago, provisional seat of the Executive Power, on the twenty first day of the month of July of the year one thousand nine hundred and thirty one.

APPENDIX NUMBER 6

Proclamation issued by Generalissimo Trujillo on July 23rd, 1932, inviting those Dominicans absent from the country for political reasons to return under all the guarantees and safeguards established by the legal Constitution.

With the approach of the day when the country will celebrate with demonstrations of civic enthusiasm the 69th anniversary of its political Restoration and which coincides with the 2nd anniversary of my taking office in the highest capacity of the State, I wish to take advantage of this historic opportunity to offer appropriate ways for the reintegration into their normal civil functions to those compatriots who, with or without subversive designs, have sought asylum under foreign skies to free themselves from the imaginary persecution of my Government.

Today my Administration is solidly established by the extraordinary efforts made to stabilize national finance, to such a point that it has been the object of high praise from personages in the political and intellectual fields of recognized international prestige, whose opinions have been made known in the most distinguished organs of publicity; today therefore the credit of my Government abroad is a fact which cannot be concealed, a fact recognized and proclaimed by illustrious foreigners during their recent visits to this country; today all public activities are controlled by the administration which leaves

nothing to be desired on account of the uprightness and zeal which I bring to bear in this sphere, in my ardent desire to reconstruct completely the social and political life of Santo Domingo; today the peace of the nations is assured not only by the guarantee of a well organized Army, such as the Republic has never had before, and equipped with the most up-to-date war material, but also on account of the confidence that the people place in my Administration and the general aversion felt for fatal alterations affecting public order; today my Government is backed by the Dominican Party, the supreme leadership of which is in my hands, and which constitutes the only organized and decisive force in the political life of the nation. Because of all these conditions that are advantageous to the nation, the following invitation —which I address to the good sense and for the reflection of some compatriots who have been blinded by error or who are at odds with the régime now in force— can only be interpreted as a demonstration of my civic desire to associate myself with the national rejoicing and to celebrate from the highest post in the State the glorious date which is drawing near; and I celebrate it with the official and joyful reiteration of my fraternity and my desires for solidarity, within the country, with all the citizens placed under my Government by the vote of the majority of my people.

I therefore proclaim, with my heart full of patriotic sincerity and by the authority of my high investiture as President of the Republic that those Dominicans who are today away from their native land on account of political questions —without taking into account the reasons that may have given rise to their voluntary exile— may freely return to the country, where they will enjoy all the guarantees and safeguards constituted by the law and the constitution, dedicating themselves to honest work, to the development of our sources of wealth which need the dynamic efforts of all good Dominicans; I await them here with my arms open, as a soldier and as a citizen, who knows no perfidy or deceit, to embrace them before the altar of the Country, for whose safety and lustre my life as a statesman is dedicated.

APPENDIX NUMBER 7

Declaration made by Generalissimo Trujillo on the occasion of the promulgation of Law number 572 of the National Congress, on October 5th, 1933.

In obedience to a constitutional mandate I have just promulgated Law number 572 of the National Congress, according to which some Dominicans have been declared traitors to the country and outside the law. It is truly lamentable that there should be men whose obstinacy has made them deserving of such severe punishment from the National Representation and that Dominicans, who could otherwise be of service to the country at this time of national revival, sharing with their fellow-citizens the moral glories of the redeeming action on which we are all determined, should have to drag the stigma of their dishonour in foreign lands and to face the perils of a situation which places them outside the law of their country.

This painful circumstance, instead of provoking in me a reaction of rebuke directed to those who, without having been included in the recently promulgated Law, remain abroad in danger of meeting the same fate, moves my generous sentiments to offer them once again the widest possible guarantees, inviting them to return to my country in order to devote themselves to the normal activities of work, protected by the peace which my Government guarantees.

Today my Administration is firmly established by the extraordinary efforts made to stabilize the National Treasury; today the credit of the Nation is established on a basis of absolute confidence; today all public activities are controlled by the Administration which leaves nothing to be desired, on account of the uprightness and zeal which I bring to bear in this sphere, in my ardent desire to reconstruct completely the social and political life of Santo Domingo; today the peace of the Nation is assured and rests, as never before, on the trust shown by the people in the Administration which I direct; today my Government is backed by the strongest and healthiest elements of the country, inside and outside the Dominican Party, which is at this time the only force that is organized and prepared to take a part in the political life of the nation.

In such advantageous conditions for the country, this fresh appeal which I make today to those few Dominicans who are at odds with the régime in force must be considered as another demonstration of my profund devotion to the principles of fraternity which must lift the conscience of the Dominican people above the level of their ancestral hatreds and rancours.

I therefore open my heart once more and I proclaim from my high position as President of the Republic, that the Dominicans who still remain outside the country, who are not affected by Law number 572, whatever the nature of the acts perpetrated against my Government and against my person, may return to their homes in the certainty that they will find all the guarantees established by the Constitution and the Law, and that protected by my authority, days filled with peace and happiness await them in this common home which is the country of Santo Domingo.

APPENDIX NUMBER 8

Declaration made by Generalissimo Trujillo addressed on July 23rd, 1943, to the Dominicans in voluntary exile, inviting them to return to their homes on the occasion of the first centenary of the Republic.

With the approach of the first centenary of the Republic I consider the occasion propitious to address a fres happeal in a cordial and cooperative spirit to all those Dominicans who have left the country for reasons which they choose to call political; whatever these reasons may be, I call them, if they choose to return to their Country in order to contribute with a noble dedication to work and a healthy civic spirit to the task of national aggrandizement which my Government has already achieved and continues to achieve with a view to further improvements.

This appeal is a sincere confirmation of the one that I made on October 5th, 1933, to the Dominicans absent from the homeland on account of ideological differences, and of the one made in 1939 in the same all embracing spirit of fraternity.

In other times the procedure of depriving citizens of their liberty was considered useful and indispensable for the maintenance of the régimes then in force; however, for the last eleven years there have been no political prisoners in the prisons of the Republic.

Throughout our history those prisons were always full; and it is opportune to point out that the exemplary

civic spectacle that the prisons of Santo Domingo now afford and will continue to afford, is a notable conquest for the norms of liberty and democracy in which we are living to the full.

It does not escape my attention that some of those Dominicans skilfully dissimulate in their dubious anti-nazism and anti-fascism their unconditional devotion to doctrines which, on account of their exaggerated liberalism, accord ill with the principles of balanced democracy which control civilized Christian life in the nations of South America; but I have confidence that, once having returned to their homeland, they will be able to weigh up serenely the sacred duties that the present tragic times impose on us all and to work disinterestedly for the victory of constructive democracy and for the true ideal of continental solidarity.

I am moved to reiterate today the appeal for harmony and for joint work in benefit of the Republic, not only by a deep feeling of generosity, which has had constant expression throughout my political career, but also on account of the grave responsibilities which the post war task of reconstruction will soon place on our shoulders: I am also and more especially moved by my fervent desire that the 27th February, 1944, shall find all Dominicans united at the foot of their glorious flag, with noble inclinations to reaffirm and increase the prestige which our country has acquired in recent times, in the harmonious development of its national life and in the cultivation of its relations with all those who form a part of the great South American Family of nations.

I am able to proclaim with legitimate pride that the Dominican Republic will celebrate this great date rejoicing at the same time in its spiritual and material redemption from all those ancestral evils that placed obstacles in the way of its progress and which, on lamentable occasions, dragged it to the edge of the abyss.

The Republic will thus begin this new century of its independence with its economic sovereignty fully re-established by the Trujillo-Hull Treaty; with its frontier territories, formerly abandoned to the danger of recurring covetousness, finally incorporated into the life of the nation as it is today, and closed —as the historic routes of dreamed-of conquests— to any absurd attempt at

fresh invasions; with the profound satisfaction of having achieved by means of the project of the League of (South) American Nations the most practical and effective contribution to good understanding among the continental nations; with its Treasury scientifically organized and its agricultural and commercial wealth in constant and increasing expansion; with true moral peace, born of the veneration in which justice is held and respect for the institutions of the State; with conscious love for the fundamental principles of democracy, for the survival of which we have contributed in the current war with the blood generously shed of our sons, with ships from our Merchant Navy and many products from our land; with the arts and sciences in full and promising flower; with our traditional hospitality at the service of the victims of racial, political and religious prejudices. The Republic will thus initiate the next century of its free and independent life with a new Dominican spirit, with this new spirit, which began to draw vital breath in 1930 and the creation of which —I confess with deep satisfaction— constitudes the most important achievement of my years of government.

Following on the cordial spirit which inspired the appeals of1 933 and 1939 I once more invite those Dominicans who find themselves in such conditions to return to the bosom of their homeland and, should they so desire it, to co-operate with their hearts free from hatred and with their minds clear of prejudices, in the work of national reconstruction in which I take such a deep and lively interest.

The Government over which I preside therefore opens its arms to those compatriots who are in voluntary exile, and offers them, today as yesterday, a safe refuge offering peace, justice and right for all honest work and for a dignified *modus vivendi*.

APPENDIX NUMBER 9

Proclamation issued by Generalissimo Trujillo on October 24th, 1945, inviting, as Leader of the Dominican Party, his political adversaries to enroll in this powerful Group or to constitute Opposition Parties in order to contest with him for the honours of victory in the electoral struggles.

To my citizens:

When in May 1930 I was constitutionally elected President of the Dominican Republic for the period 1930-1934 by 225,797 electors, the following then existing political parties went to the polls by common accord: Republicans. Liberals, Independent Workers, National Union, the Patriotic Coalition of Citizens and Nationalists, united under the name of Confederation of Parties. The Progressive Party, an old ally of the National Party and later a militant opponent to the régime of General Horacio Vázquez, instead of uniting itself patriotically with the Confederation of Parties, which represented at that historic hour the dawn of an era of reconstruction for the ruined economy of the country, renewed the old and unsuccessful alliance with the National Party to struggle in regressive collusion against the Confederation; but, realizing its impotence to fight on the civic terrain of suffrage against the powerful nucleus which was obviously constituted by the invincible national majority, it withdrew its candidature, it abstained

from voting and assumed an unjustifiably hostile attitude towards the other parties. Afterwards the parties that formed the Confederation separated by degrees.

This being the case, most of the components of the parties that had been formerly allied and which had separated, undermined by confusion and mistrust produced by ambition, formed the Dominican Party, which resisted by virtue of its real strength, that strength which the backing of public opinion imprints on political organizations; the tempest of intrigues and intolerance, and which has stood firm, day by day more robust, swelling its ranks and tightening its phalanxes.

This party was constituted on August 16th, 1931 in the city of Santo Domingo and it adopted as its emblem the upright royal palm of our woods and as its motto the following august triad: Uprightness, Freedom and Work. The Great Assembly of the said Party honoured me with its supreme leadership; I have the satisfaction of having led it along the road to victory with the enthusiastic and loyal co-operation of its well-deserving Councils, inspired by their motto.

The Dominican Party was —in agreement with the irrepressible wave of public opinion— a compact and diligent unit, which, opposing itself to my proposal —already divulged— to relinquish my power on the termination of the constitutional period of office for which I had been elected, convinced me of the necessity for me to continue in the exercise of this power in order to avoid dangers to the country and anguish for the Dominican family; It was the Dominican Party, which with significant enthusiasm constituting a clamorous expression of the national will, on May 16th of this year, 1934, deposited in the ballot-boxes the 256,423 votes which assured my re-election as President of the Republic for the Constitutional period 1934-1938 and the election of the othere lective State officials. The enormous number of voters —the greatest registered in the electoral files of Santo Domingo— who on that day went voluntarily to observe their civic duty of electing the First Representative of the Nacion and other public officials, is for me —in spite of having been elected by my Party riding without opposition in the electoral arena, and this lack of opposition was not by reason of despotic governmental obstruct-

ionism, but on account of the good sense of the immense majority of the Dominican people who are interested in the continuity of the only eminently nationalist Government which the Republic has had since the start of its constitutional life— is for me, I repeat, an evident guarantee that the party I have the honour to lead is the best organized and most powerful that the Republic has had; the Party which presses with devotion and loyalty at the foot of my banners because it is convinced that I have forged a free and prosperous country, protected by a stable peace which is inspired by my policy —a policy of love and union of all Dominicans who are lovers of progress— all Dominicans in whose hearts the love of country is deep rooted.

However, I realize that in all nations, especially in a Republic that since its foundation has proclaimed as sacred the principles of democracy, all political parties, all Government, however popular and powerful they may be, should have a party of opposition that serves as a control for the Party representing the majority, specially when the laws guarantee a fair representation for the minorities in the legislative functions of authority, both in the national and the municipal sphere.

I do not especially address myself to you, noble citizens, who have been kind enough to favour my candidature, because you saw in me a man who is ever vigilant, a loyal servant of the Republic, to you who have the patriotism to back my Government with determination, because you see in it a guarantee of peace and a certainty of progress in the Country Neither do I address you, fellow-citizens who, turning your backs on the most elementary civic duties, commit the crime of ill-treating and discrediting the country from foreign shores where you pretend to be the objects of persecution on the part of my Government and struggle in vain in your task of defamation to wrest from it the trust and consideration which its own nationals and also foreigners give it with all justice. No. The citizens whom I address more particularly and with all courtesy, and with all the good faith that seals my acts, are you who are left behind and who, without descending to the field of ignominy, are not yet affiliated to the Dominican Party; it is you whom I address, you who, for reasons that are the concern of your own consciences are perhaps my political adversaries, in spite

of the fact that on diverse occasions I have opened my arms to receive you in friendship, without mental reserves as is shown by the repeated fact that many citizens who trusted in my offer and in my solicitude, who abandoned the ranks of the opposition, today share with me in various sectors of public administration the responsibilities of Government. I address you to invite you to enroll in the Dominican Party, whose program is eloquent of patriotic ideals; or, if you prefer to continue in a position of opposition to my Government, to invite you to meet without fear and enthusiastically constitute a political party, or more than one, of opposition. I invite you under the guarantee of my word of honour which safeguards all your individual rights that are assured by the Political Constitution of the State. Your party will be able to oppose my acts and those of my Government with well defined principles in the field where ideas are swords the clash of which gives forth light and where the ballot boxes are the supreme court. You will beable to fight, but decently, correctly, nobly, as civilized men of a civilized nat ion should do.

It matters not how good the intentions and acts of a Government may be, nor does it matter how honest and brilliant may be the ideas of its officials; there will always be scope for sensible criticism from the diverse and various points of view of the multiple and often contradictory interests of humanity; and this criticism must be respected and even applauded when it is inspired by noble patriotic ideal and not by mere party motives or by niggardly personal appetites.

I therefore repeat, on my word of honour, the preceding declarations, formulated on this day when the Republic is celebrating with spontaneous acts of rejoicing the anniversary of my birthday; my soul is filled with love and gratitude for these public manifestations of affection; the preceding declarations are an expression of my fleeting thoughts and firm will; therefore, bear in mind that if you accept my invitation, far from wounding my legitimate pride of a leader who fulfils his duties, you will do it honour, because I sincerely declare to you: As a citizen and as the Head of the State I love glory, but I do not consider it magnificent if it be not favoured by democracy.

APPENDIX NUMBER 10

The reiterated invitation from Generalissimo Trujillo to voluntary exiles, June 24th, 1946, on the ocassion of requesting from the National Congress the convening of a Constituent Assembly in order to amend some of the articles of the Constitution in benefit of the economic, political and social life of the country.

Fellow citizens:

In July, 1932, in October, 1933, in 1939 and in July 1943 I made repeated appeals to all those Dominicans who, having qualified themselves as political exiles, were living abroad, so that they might return to the homeland under the legal guarantees and the freedom offered them by the Government. Many of them, taking advantage of these invitations, have been for some time past on our territory, either co-operating in the national task of my administration, or militating in the opposition camp, or devoting themselves to private business.

I believe that I should be wanting in my duty as Head of the State if, at this time when I am requesting the National Congress to convene a Constituent Assembly to amend some of the articles of our Fundamental Charter and to take an all important step concerning the economic, social, political, monetary and banking life of interest to all Dominicans alike, I did not once again invite those who, calling themselves exiles, remain outside our frontiers, to

return to their country to criticise, adhere to or oppose this project.

For these reasons I now renew these appeals and I proclaim that the Government maintains in force the guarantees which our laws offer to the human personality and to the civil and political rights of all Dominicans, with the consequent freedom of the press and of the expression of thought.

I know that some of these exiles maintain thoughout their long exile —an exile which they have known how to capitalize— comfortable living conditions, achieved by passing themselves off as persecuted exiles, without really being so in the strict sense of the word; perhaps these individuals may not feel over much disposed to return to this country, on account of the benefits that with so little effort they obtain abroad and they may be fearful of losing their easy livelihood and their life of easy vagabondage; these individuals may perhaps put forward asjustification tortuous designs on the part of the Government, as they did on other occasions, with other pretexts of a similar nature, attributing to the Dominican State objectives that are incompatible with the dignity, the decorum and seriousness which have always characterized my political decisions.

I know that others will refuse to come because, having devoted themselves with a tenacity worthy of a better end to offending, calumniating and wounding the country that gave them birth, and having unscrupulously made pacts with its adversaries, they feel naturally asamed of their behaviour and stand condemned by their own consciences; they are wondering if they are guilty of high treason.

I would wish that both groups would hear this appeal with an uplifted heart, if is possible, and with a spirit of repentance before the altar of our common historic destiny. I would wish them to reflect that we have had many figures of proven valour and of indomitable will power in the face of errors and mistakes in our much agitated political past; but they did not fight against their country from foreign lands, even though they journeyed audaciously through the national territory, assaulting villages, devastating districts, sustaining fratricidal fights; but in all this they maintained a certain elegance and sense of

honour, without losing that concept of Dominican self-esteem and dignity; they never lowered themselves to beg for foreign intervention in Dominican home affairs, because this would have meant their dishonour.

A political régime such as I preside over, which has been maintained for 16 years without a crack in its fabric, without a vacilation in its will, without the slightest flaw in the robust armour of its Government, resists and will resist all critical attacks, either from inside or out as a result of agitation from subversive sources, because it is backed up and sustained by the almost unanimous consent of the Dominican people; because its history, its culture, its way of life, its temperament and its heritage will never admit offences against its honour, nor insulting interferances affecting the dignity of the nation; and because it has been decided to pursue tirelessly its prosperous advance which is today the admiration of all who contemplate it.

Citizens, with this proclamation I have done my duty. Once more my voice and my heart call to those few lost Dominicans who remain far from this national community which today manifests itself to the eyes of the world, enriched as never before, as an example of what a nation can achieve when, after days of sorrow, it finds at last faith in itself and in its high destiny.

APPENDIX NUMBER 11

Speech made by Generalissimo Trujillo Molina at the opening of the National Workers' Congress on September 24th, 1946.

Workers:

For the second time this year I have the occasion to address you on a memorable and happy occasion. The first was, as you will all remember, at the inauguration of the District of Social Improvement on April 20th; in which the constant and fervent efforts of my policy of well-being for the working classes has been materialized in a clear and determined manner. The second is the occasion of our present meeting. I shall not conceal from you the inner joy, the spiritual contentment with which I saw the choice of this date, since you have in this way demonstrated a strong sense of unity and identification with the national significance of today's date which is one the most historic and definitive in the life of the country, because on this date the Dominican people achieved the complete conquest of its independence and sovereignty, after nearly a hundred years of tormenting vicissitudes and foreign interferance. The coincidence of this anniversary with the opening on the Workers' Congress should be for us a source of pride. I have never conceived of the working classes as being in bitter isolation and in gloomy separation from the rest of the nation, as though the proletariat

formed a cliff-bound island in respect of the other social classes. It is quite the contrary; at the same time as I began my task of national reconstruction, when by the freely expressed will of the people at the elections I was called on to fill the post of highest rank in the State in 1930, I made a firm and unshakab decision which strengthened my faith in the destiny of the country: to achieve the active and useful incorporation of the workers into my labour policy and to make their collaboration an integral and valuable part of my programme of government. The word with which I expressed that desire —today, happily realized— have become converted into a guarantee of trust: «My best friends are the working men». This was no empty phrase nor a false bait, nor an enthusiastic phrase spoken without premeditation. In 1930 the most immediate and urgent task that the Dominicans had before them was to work, to become, all of them, workmen. It was imperative that the example should not be limited to a few, it had to embrace the whole country, since only by collective effort could we save it and make it great. And from then began, first the task of encouragement. followed by social protection and finally the improvement and expansion of the working classes; an improvement that throughout fifteen years has been marked out in such an extensive, systematic and pragmatic body of laws and decrees that it can be compared with that of those nations that are most advanced in the social legislation of our times. Our Legislation was not promulgated as an artificial and inoperative bureaucratic expedient, but to be strictly applied, carried out and respected. Now then, the legislative and governmental dispositions that are promulgated in this sense must be reflected throughout the whole social and economic order. They are all linked to the life of the nation; for this reason they cannot be considered separately but as a whole, when —as is now happening— the ripe fruit of experience is gathered. The workers should not take into account in their aspirations only their own material benefits... in this sense you have obtained so many, so diverse and such substantial progress that on occasion natural expressions of anxiety have reached the public authorities from other sectors of society. But I declare that the conquests and revindication of the proletariat, cannot be the cause of jealousy when they are

just, when they take place within the framework of the law and the respect for right and when they are enclosed within the limits of the possibilities of our economy. Rather they must count on —as I have already demonstrated— the simpathy and backing of the legal Institutions, because following the material advantages is positive moral good. Our working class is productive, because it enjoys good salaries, a fair working day of limited hours, paid holidays, health and accident insurance, Social Insurance, the protection of Maternity and Infants Hospitals, dispensaries and free clinics; because it enjoys efficient Public Assistance and Health Services, Social Centres, healthy and low rental dwellings in a modernized urban sector; our working class —as the town and peak of permanent equilibrium— feels itself backed up by two State organizations: the Secretariat of State for Labour and National Economy and the National Committee for Regulating Salaries. A working class living in these advantageous conditions is in a sufficiently easy position to become a fertile source of spiritual benefits. There could only be one fear —and I do not wish to conceal it— the fear that, having received all this from the Government without any effort on your part, you should not know how to value it; the fear that you should forget all sorrows, the struggles, the bloodshed and suffering which, after a long process of organization, the working classes of the Old and New World went through in order to achieve one —and the smallest— of these revindications which you in fact enjoy, protected by a comprehensive and democratic regime. This consideration should unite you still closely to the country which belongs to all and whose problems are equally binding on all of us who are her sons. I say and I reaffirm this because the working class must defend itself from an ever—present danger which is the consequence of International Syndicalism and of the nexus with organizations that act beyond the frontiers of the country. I refer to those organizations which disintegrate the body of society while pretending to denationalize everything. This phenomenon occurs principally among the young and inexperienced members of the working classes who feel a lamentable demagogic passion and believe, accepting in good faith skilful and selfish propaganda, in the existence of an effective world solidarity. When the day of great

national crises arrives experience takes care to disillusion us profoundly. But then it is too late. For this reason you should not place any other interests before those of the nation, not even those of your own class.

The first thing that you must demonstrate at this Congress is that you possess a sense of responsibulty and moral maturity. When I signed the Decree convening it on May 27th, I placed great hopes in the idea that you would not disappoint my trust. The working class throughout the whole country has been able to devote itself to preparing for this Congress with completely free meetings and gatherings, in accordance with the exercise of civil rights which are guaranteed by our democratic regime; everywhere the workers have been able to deal with their problems and aspirations in the syndical field and in relation with the guilds; they have even had freedom to analyse critically the social legislation in force; for this reason you bring to this Congress a great body of subject matter which you are now prepared to discuss. This has never before happened in our country; it the first time in history that the Dominican people contemplate such a spectacle. Also for the first time, the worker is no longer abandoned to his fate, since from the far off colonial times up till today, we have never here witnessed the phenomenon of a Government which occupied itself with the spiritual preoccupations, the necessities and aspirations of the workers; a Government which was not only disposed to consider all these questions but to favour their organization. For this reason I see in this Congress the fruits of my policy, the fruit of my Government. It is the result of an overall national structure which presents as basic and indispensable premises the firm foundations of internal peace and order; we have achieved the integrity of Dominican soil, the plan for agricultural fomentation, the distribution of land and the scientific distribution of crops, irrigation systems, financial independence, the cleaning out of the public treasury and the constant reduction of the National Debt, the rational organization of production and economy, the extension of the activities of the Department of Health, of Hygiene and public Assistance, the struggle against illiteracy and the intensification of public education with the creation of new schools, the improvement of teaching and civic education, the extension of

the benefits of culture, the spiritual and political unification of the State, creating in the people the democratic consciousness of the spirit of Santo Domingo. Well the workers, all this which now allows you to reap the benefits, must now be sustained and improved by a common effort, since the fruit of so much effort is the heritaje of all Dominicans and no one can endanger it. The workers must be the first to defend this beautiful reality, since the enjoyment and free exercise of so many rights, of so many benefits, advantages and considerations produces also enormous duties and responsibilities. Society demands from you serenity, moderation and balance. It is necessary for the Dominican working class to produce, in the face of the disintegrating corrosives of class warfare, which is rancour and fanaticism, the constructive harmony of life among men, which is Christianity, religion, tolerance and serenity. We form a coherent nationality which must be maintained and strengthened, avoiding hatreds and linking all citizens without distinction in the common task of making a country that is greater day by day. This can only be achieved by means of civil harmony which is the result of will power and decision and which must be imposed by respect for the Law, applying always the principles of the Law with equity and without distinctions or weakness. My Government hopes for all this and I assure you —as you well know— that I have been vigilant and I shall continue to be vigilant in the cause of the strict application of justice to all, as a necessary guarantee of national happiness.

May God inspire your tasks and may they be carried out in an atmosphere of wisdom, efficiency and success, and may you obtain the best of results. With these sincere wishes I declare open this National Workers' Congress.

APPENDIX NUMBER 12

Roster of the persons who appeared as inscribed in the Popular Socialist Party, according to the registers which were found at the offices of the Central Committee, after the discovery of the criminal conspiracy, by means of which Dominican and foreign communists sought to disturb the peace of the Republic and bring the Dominican people into mourning.

1. Roberto McCabe Aristy, bearer of Indentity card number 16745 S-23.
2. Francisco Alberto Henríquez Vázquez (alias «Chito») Identity card 29019 S-1st class.
3. Héctor Ramón Ramíres Pereyra, Identity card 40241 S-1st class.
4. Luis Escotto Gómez (alias: Pepito) Identitity card 23300 S-31.
5. Félix Servio Ducoudray Jr. (alias: «El Pato») Identitity card 39726 S-F. c.
6. Freddy Valdés. Identity card 23717 S-F. c.
7. Ramón Grullón Martínez. Identity card 12848 S-56.
8. Mauricio Báez. Identity card 11984 S-F. c.
9. Antonio Soto. Identity card 18166 S-F. C.
10. Dante Neftalí Cabral. Particulars unknown.)
11. Félix Maximino Sánchez. Identity card 42453 S-F. c.
12. Bienvenido Ramírez Rosas. (Particulars unknown.)
13. Juan María Ramírez (alias: «Ramirito»). Identity card 1178 S-26.

14. Rafael Arístides Santana y de la Rosa. Identity card 1200 S-23.
15. Juan Marcos Núñez M. (Particulars unknown.)
16. Miguel A. Pérez. (Particulars unknown.)
17. Rafael Peguero. (Particulars unknown.)
18. Juan R. Rosa. (Particulars unknown.)
19. Pedro Vicente Mojica. (Particulars unknwon.)
20. Julio Armando Medina. (Particulars unknown.)
21. Elegio de la Cruz. (Particulars unknown.)
22. Mercedes Maldonado. (Particulars unknown.)
23. Luis O. R. Méndez. (Particulars unknown.)
24. Luis Elpidio Vázquez. (Particulars unknown.)
25. Agustín de la Cruz. (Particulars unknown.)
26. Ovidio Mata. (Particulars unknown.)
27. Sixto Pérez. (Particulars unknown.)
28. María Ramírez. (Particulars unknown.)
29. Andrés Aybar. (Particulars unknown.)
30. Luis Acosta. (Particulars unknown.)
31. Ramón Sully. (Particulars unknown.)
32. Ramón H. Aybar. (Particulars unknown.)
33. Ramón Enríquez. (Particulars unknown.)
34. José D. Martínez Aybar. Identity card 23005 S-F. c.
35. José Abreu. (Particulars unknown.)
36. Juan A Díaz. (Particulars unknown.)
37. Ramón Norberto Maldonado. Particulars unknown.)
38. R. Félix A. Concepción. (Particulars unknown.)
39. Santiago Bautista. (Particulars unknown.)
40. Joaquín Ramírez. (Particulars unknown.)
41. Danilo Pimentel. (Particulars unknown.)
42. Ana A. Olmos. (Particulars unknown.)
43. Félix Cabral. (Particulars unknown.)
44. Miguel López. (Particulars unknown.)
45. José Billini. (Particulars unknown.)
46. Juan Antonio Reynoso. (Particulars unknown.)
47. Pablo Rosas. Identity card 2065 S-F. c. . .
48. Ramón Fernández. (Particulars unknown.)
49. Humberto Henríquez. (Particulars unknown.)
50. Carlos Mateo. (Particulars unknown.)
51. Fidelia E. Fernández. (Particulars unknown.)
52. Rafael B. Ovalle. (Particulars unknown.)
53. Manuel Fernández. (Particulars unknown.)
54. Manuel de Jesús Domínguez. (Particulars unknown.)

55. César Sugusto Batista Turbides. Identity card 25634 S-26.
56. Josefa Pimentel. (Particulars unknown.)
57. Mercedes M. de León M. (Particulars unknown.)
58. Horacio Pagán Perdomo. (Particulars unknown.)
59. Víctor M. Ttottmans. Identity card 44819 S-F. c.
60. Felipe César Garrido. (Particulars unknown.)
41. Ramón Emilio Martínez. (Particulars unknown.)
62. Rafael Acevedo. (Particulars unknown.)
63. Marcos González. (Particulars unknown.)
64. Marcos Telesforo Pérez. (Particulars unknown.)
65. José Ramón Gonell García. Identity card 1524 S-47.
66. Félix A. Ovalle. (Particulars unknown.)
67. Dionisia Ovalle. (Particulars unknown.)
68. Ramón Vásquez. Particulars unknown.)
69. Luz Estela Escoto Gómez. Identity card 46450 S-F. c.
70. Jaime Gómez Marte. (Particulars unknown.)
71. Emilio Félix. (Particulars unknown.)
72. Luz Carmen Arias. (Particulars unknown.)
73. Abigail Silva. (Particulars unknown.)
74. Santos Figueroa Sánchez. (Particulars unknown.)
75. Rogelio Medrano Encarnación. (Particulars unknown.)
76. Julio de la Rosa Fernández. (Particulars unknown.)
77. Juan Ramírez Saliz. (Particulars unknown.)
78. Aquiles Alvarez. (Particulars unknown.)
79. Grecia M. Díaz Ferrero de Menéndez. (Particulars unknown.)
80. Thelma Díaz de Valdez. (Particulars unknown.)
81. Juan Fco. Iñiguez Ravelo. (Particulars unknown.)
82. Juan Sánchez Guerrero. (Particulars unknown.)
83. Guillero García Reyes. (Particulars unknown.)
84. Gabriel Pascual Mieses. (Particulars unknown.)
85. Medardo Mateo Sierra. (Particulars unknown.)
86. Agapita Jiménez. (Particulars unknown.)
87. Miguel Angel Báez. (Particulars unknown.)
88. Rosa Pimentel. (Particulars unknown.)
90. Luis M. Rodríguez Castillo. (Particulars unknown.)
91. José del Carmen Mejía. (Particulars unknown.)
92. Juan Apolinar Andújar Peralta. Identity card 4283 S-54.
93. Carlos Mateo. (Particulars unknown.)
94. Virgilio Romero. (Particulars unknown.)
95. Andrés Avelino Mateo. (Particulars unknown.)

96. Ricardo de los Santos. Identity card 40547 S-F. c.
97. Andrs M. Mejía. (Particulars unknown.)
98. Bienvenido Guerrero. Identity card 29973. S-F. c.
99. José Cuevas. (Particulars unknown.)
100. Bartolomé de la Cruz Peguero. Identity card 4739 S-F. c.
101. Euclides Báez. (Particulars unknown.)
102. Ernesto Tejada. Identity card 5330 S-30.
103. Vicinio Viguera. Identity card. 20408 S-23.
104. Roque F. Angel Concepción. (Particulars unknown.)
105. José Perelló. (Particulars unknown.)
106. José Francisco Sabatino. (Particulars unknown.)
107. Ramón Vásquez. (Particulars unknown.)
108. Joaquín Ramírez. (Particulars unknown.)
109. Tomás León Díaz. (Particulars unknown.)
110. Víctor R. Félix. (Particulars unknown.)
111. Bruno J. Rodríguez. (Particulars unknown.)
112. Luis E. Vázquez Arias. (Particulars unknown.)
113. Bienvenido Saldaña. (Particulars unknown.)
114. Fernando Arturo Gómez de la Cruz. Identity card 39811 S-F. c.
115. Luis Ferrer. (Particulars unknown.)
116. Andrés M. Velázquez. (Particulars unknown.)
117. Juan P. Castro. (Particulars unknown.)
117. Juan P. Castro. (Particulars unknown.)
118. Manuel Mejías Alvarado. (Particulars unknown.)
119. Bolívar Aybar. (Particulars unknown.)
120. Miguel López. Particulars unknown.)
121. Leónidas Concepción. (Particulars unknown.)
122. Arsenio Arújo. (Particulars unknown.)
123. Rafael González J. (Particulars unknown.)
124. Rafael Portez Félix. Identity card 33284 S-F. c.
125. Eleuterio Salas. Identity card 30072 S-F. c.
126. Ramón Alberto Maldonado. (Particulars unknown.)
127. Tulio Laucer. (Particulars unknown.)
128. Sergio L. Díaz. (Particulars unknown.)
129. Virgilio Briñe. (Particulars unknown.)
130. Alfredo Jourdain. (Particulars unknown.)
131. Ramón E. Martínez. (Particulars unknown.)
132. Félix Arias. Identity card 22118 S-31.
133. Nicolás Quírico Valdez. Identity card 44076 S-F. c.
134. Rafael Pequero (Bocito). (Particulars unknown.)
135. Aurelio Rodríguez. (Particulars unknown.)

136. Aurelio R. Valdez. (Particulars unknown.)
137. José Antonio Almánzar. (Particulars unknown.)
138. Aurelio Rodríguez. (Particulars unknown.)
139. Marcos Corporán. (Particulars unknown.)
140. Rufino Vásquez. (Particulars unknown.)
141. Gil Manuel Canario. (Particulars unknown.)
142. Feliciano Vargas. (Particulars unknown.)
143. Angel Mármol. Identity card 40417 S-F. c.
144. Sixto Pérez. (Particulars unknown.)
145. Andrés Aybar. (Particulars unknown.)
146. Manuel Méndez. (Particulars unknown.)
147. José Eduardo Deveaus. Identity card 31330 S-23.
148. Francisco José Grullón. Identity card 16673 S-56.
149. Guillermo Menéndez. Identity card 42801. S-F. c.
150. Manuel de Jesús Peña. Identity card. 18050 S-23.
151. Fernando Emilio Cabral. (Particulars unknown.)
152. Nicolás Abreu. (Particulars unknown.)
153. Ricardo Silva. Identity card 43936 S-F. c.
154. Alfredo Gómez. (Particulars unknown.)
155. Rogelio Paulino. (Particulars unknown.)
156. Daniel Paulino. (Particulars unknown.)
157. Alejandro Bienvenido Robinson Berroa. Identity card 6792 S-F. c.
158. Gilberto Ramírez. (Particulars unknown.)
159. Ismael Mejía. (Particulars unknown.)
160. Luis María Díaz Alcántara. Identity card 17917 S-F. c.
161. José Maldonado. (Particulars unknown.)
162. Emilio Dimas. (Particulars unknown.)
163. Ramón Amador. (Particulars unknown.)
164. Adelaida Fontana Echevarría. (Particulars unknown)
165. Nilsa María Espinosa. (Particulars unknown.)
166. Ignacio Enríquez. (Particulars unknown.)
167. Juan Pedro Castro. Particulars unknown.)
168. Ramón D. Toribio. (Particulars unknown.)
169. Otilio Peláez. (Particulars unknown.)
170. Emilio Avelino. (Particulars unknown.)
171. Teófilo Holguín. Identity card 28002 S-F. c.
172. Sergio Alejandro Díaz. (Particulars unknown.)
173. Amelio Rodríguez. (Particulars unknown.)
174. Luz Emilio Méndez de R. (Particulars unknown.)
175. Bienvenido Antonio Rodríguez. (Particulars unknown.)

176. Domingo Jacobo. (Particulars unknown.)
177. Juan José de Miguel Martín. Identity card 43428 S-F. c.
178. José Canario. (Particulars unknown.)
179. Bruno de J. Rodríguez. (Particulars unknown.)
180. Manuel del Rosario. (Particulars unknown.)
181. Moreno Nolasco. (Particulars unknown.)
182. Humberto Martínez. (Particulars unknown.)
183. Porfirio Gonell. (Particulars unknown.)
184. Porfirio Cruz Soto. (Particulars unknown.)
185. Rafael Ernesto Rivas. (Particulars unknown.)
186. Santiago Cepeda Alejo. (Particulars unknown.)
187. Manuel de Js. Troncoso. (Particulars unknown.)
188. Bienvenido Cabrera. (Particulars unknown.)
189. Eduardo Arias. (Particulars unknown.)
190. Juan González. (Particulars unknown.)
191. Rainaldo Ramírez. (Particulars unknown.)
192. Bolívar Aybar. (Particulars unknown.)
193. Emeterio Salas. Identity card 33361 S-F. c.
194. Manuel A. Guilamo. (Particulars unknown.)
195. Humberto Peguero S. (Particulars unknown.)
196. José Maldonado. (Particulars unknown.)
197. Manuel Mejías. (Particulars unknown.)
198. Diógenes Colonra .(Particulars unknown.)
199. Telesforo Pérez. (Particulars unknown.)
200. Juan M. Núñez. (Particulars unknown.)
201. Ramón E. Martínez. (Particulars unknown.)
202. Francisco Escotto Gómez. Identity card 39415 S-F. c.
203. Leandro Escotto Gómez. (Particulars unknown.)
204. Andrés B. Escotto Gómez. Identity card 39415 S-F. c.
205. Marino Escotto Gómez. Identity card 11757 S-31.
206. Juan R. Rosa. (Particulars unknown.)
207. Miguel A. Santiago C. (Particulars unknown.)
208. Marino A. Santiago C. (Particulars unknown.)
209. Juan Hernández. Identity card 8263 S-F. c.
210. José Falet. (Particulars unknown.)
211. Juan Luis Ulloa Romero. (Particulars unknown.)
212. Pablo Avelino. (Particulars unknown.)
213. Fernando González. (Particulars unknown.)
214. José Ramón Luciano. (Particulars unknown.)
215. Manuel Hasbuún. Identity card 12718. S-F. c.

It is as well to realize that many of the people who appear inscribed in the communist registers were the victims of fraud and false promises on the part of the so-called red leaders.

Most of those enrolled —with a few exceptions— returned to the ranks of the Dominican Party and many are in Government service; they are respected and they are satisfied after the «red nightmare» in to which they were led by a propaganda as skilful as it was criminal.

APPENDIX NUMBER 13

Message of the Illustrious Benefactor of the Country, Generalissimo Dr. Rafael Leónidas Trujillo Molina, addressed to the National Congress on June 8th, 1947, on submitting to the Legislative Assembly through the Senate the Bill which disqualifies communist groups and others of the same anti-democratic tendencies from forming legal parties.

Ciudad Trujillo
District of Santo Domingo,
June 8th, 1947.

Number 15347.

To the President of the Senate,

Mr. President,

For some months certain groups of individuals which, although they are few in number, are very pertinacious and agressive in spirit, have been attempting to constitute a communist party and to induce other people, principally from the humbler strata of the working classes, to join them or to second their subversive activities; for this purpose they have used extravagant promises and also threats, but without obtaining positive results, as has been demonstrated by the elections of May 16th last the totality of the national electors, both men and women,

voted in favour of more or less advanced parties as far as economic and social policy is concerned, but all within the framework of our traditional democratic doctrines.

These groups —contrary to what happens in other countries where communism limits itself to preaching its ideology without cutting itself off completely from the sentiments, interests and traditions of its nation— are incapable here of maintaining any kind of constructive doctrine and of acting with a certain disinterested idealism; they are dominated by a desire for absolute authority within a short space of time, by the aim of violently upsetting the harmony which happily reigns here between capital and labour, thanks to the advanced social legislation brought in during recent years; moreover they do not conceal their blind obedience to directing groups and centres that function from outside the country and they support with servility all that is in agreement with certain imperialist doctrines of world scope and of old style politics, attacking also with perilous insistence and using unscrupulous means all that characterizes the democratic system of South America.

Such manoeuvres have produced in the Dominican collectivity a natural movement of defence and of support for all that implies the conservation of our democratic system and of the spiritual values which are the essence and the inspiration of our system.

All over the country well qualified and representative persons have lifted up their voices requesting the intervention of the public authorities so that they should declare illegal these communist activities, not only because these attack the political ideals of the nation and the principles of all the political parties which represent these ideals in their distinctive and essential tints, but for the infraction of the explicit precepts of our Basic Charter; in fact, this establishes a democratic regime of government, in other words, institutions in which all political tendencies can be represented in a spirit of patriotic co-operation, each one according to its stength; therefore this type of Government is opposed, as a logical consequence, to any régime in which, as a fundamental principle, government institutions are monopolized by one single social class which, for this reason, will have to maintain itself by means of the quashing the slavery and the sacrifice of all the others.

In obedience to the will of the people, which is unanimous on this point and which is of interest and a preoccupation to all, I permit myself to submit for the deliberation and vote of the National Congress through the mediation of this distinguished body of the Senate the annexed Bill which disqualifies communist groups and others of the same anti-democratic tendencies from forming legal political parties, forbidding such groups and establishing penalties of a correctional nature applicable to those who form, or attempt to form them, or who induce others to take part in their activities.

In the inmost depths of my conscience as a stateman and as a patriot I am certain that as soon as the National Congress decides to approve the provisions of the Bill which I submit to the vote of their prudence and patriotism, the national spirit will experience a deep feeling of well being, pleasure and security.

APPENDIX NUMBER 14

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
SECRETARIAT OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
WHITE BOOK

(With a declaration from the Dominican Chancellory motivated by the recent attacks of Sr. Rómulo Betancourt against the Government and the people of Santo Domingo.)

I

Sr. Rómulo Betancourt has just visited various countries on our continent. The fact that he was *de facto* President of the sister Republic of Venezuela gave occasion for the Heads of Governments of the nations he passed through to offer him the attentions and tributes which it is customary to give to heads of States, with the inevitabble official courtesy.

Rómulo Betancourt, without any moderation and despising the selfcommand in matters of language which should be exercised by those who occupy such a high rank, took advantage of the occasion to launch unjustified attacks against the good name of the Dominican people and Government, without any consideration for his distinguished hosts; notwithstanding the manifest irresponsibility of these «improvisations», his insiduous declarations were the declarations of the Head of a State.

The Dominican Chancellory, although it despises these

vulgar violations of the norms of South American confraternity and of the most elementary norms of good breeding, wished to demonstrate to public opinion all over the world the behaviour of a man who owes his present, transitory and far from enviable official position, not to the constant exercise of democratic principles which must control, and do control, the conduct of civilized peoples —especially at this time when the United Nations are reaffirming the indestructible existence of these principles, giving their blood on the battle fields of Europe, Asia, Africa and Oceania— but to the simple lamentable fact of a barracks uprising against the Government legitimately established in his country.

In fact, this lack of moderation on the part of the President of Venezuela does not give cause for surprise. The reason is obvious: as soon as he «assumed» power he made a practise in all his public declarations of demonstrating an unjustified hostility towards the legitimate and constitutional Government of Santo Domingo; and he did this, not from a sense of right, of which he would seem to be incapable, but with a personal rancour which is inexplicable in questions of international scope in which the happiness of our countries, the dignity of our principles and the destiny of South America are in play.

The virulence of his shameless declarations might at the beginning have given rise to the belief that these attacks against the Dominican people would cease with the calming of the wave of vandalism that had lifted him to power.

Our generous hopes, born of a decided desire for South American unity and the mutual respect of nations, have been cruelly defrauded. Sr. Betancourt, in several speeches which should have been formal and were nothing more than poisonous «improvisations», said on various occasions the following words:

«Venezuela has broken off relations with Franco because she considers that his régime is a prolongation of Nazi-fascism. At the Río de Janeiro Conference Venezuela will propose that the Spanish and Dominican Governments be diplomatically boycotted and isolated by the nations of this Hemisphere.»

If we accept this declaration as it stands, we should also have to accept the interferance of any State in the

domestic affairs of another State, providing that this is the pleasure of the man who controls its destinies; and this is a flagrant omission of the juridical obligations entered into under contract by the nations of the Continent. And how many other extravagances we should have to accept when that man acts under the impulse of an active and disordered megalomania, as is the case with Betancourt! In this way we would reach the complete abandonment of the traditional external and political norm existing in the South American countries: the principle of non-intervention.

The Dominican people alone are the masters of their destiny, and only they, giving free rein to their convictions, may decide as to the advisability or not of maintaining a régime of government which necessarily depends on their will and autonomy.

Precisely on account of its respect for and its practice oft his universally accepted political doctrine, the Dominican Republic has never desired at any time, or in any way, to investigate the domestic political situation in Venezuela, in spite of the fact that its only instrument of authority —the Revolutionary Junta— has all the aspect and characteristics peculiar to the Dictatorships, which, when considered in the international sphere, could strongly prejudice continental unity, affecting in an irreparable manner the relations between states in this hemisphere.

II

On the other hand, what rights and qualities authorize Sr. Betancourt and the Government of Venezuela to formulate such threats against the Government of the Dominican Republic? The Dominican Government and people declared war on the Axis on the day following Pearl Harbour and theys hared the hazards of the allied forces from then till the end of hostilities. At the third meeting of Chancellors in Rio de Janeiro the Dominican Delegation assumed in vain the responsibility of proposing a joint declaration of war by all the South American nations on the Nazi-fascist powers so that the whole continent should be solidly behind the sister-nation that had been attacked by Japan. But what was the attitude of the

Venezuelan Delegation in those dark and anguished moments? Was their attitude on a par with ours?

On January 1st, 1942, the Dominican Republic signed the DECLARATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS, together with the other States that on that date were fighting for freedom and democracy all over the world. Does the signature of Venezuela appear on that memorable document? She waited till February 1945 to append her signature —the date which marked the complete and absolute collapse of the Nazi-fascist system and its military power.

By what authority does Sr. Rómulo Betancourt now pretend to propose measures for the isolation of a Government and a country which had sufficient sense of responsibility and braveryt o fulfil to the letter its Inter-American obligations (Resolution XV of the Meeting of Chancellors in Havanna) while his own stood by and contemplated with luke-warm interest thesi tuacion created by the Nazi-fascist attack on the Hemisphere?

III

An exact analysis undertaken to determine the nature of the Government of Venezuela would bring us face to face with a curious fact: if Rómulo Betancourt considers the slightest sign of what he calls, with feigned emphasis, Nazi-fascism, to be a contagious danger —impelling him to propose, legally, prophyllactic measures against the Dominican Republic, a real stronghold of democracy—, he should logically press for the establishment of a «*cordon sanitaire*» wherever the slightest attempts at subversive communist activities are apparent. This is so because Betancourt's battle cry in all the «speeches» which he saw fit, to hisd iscredit, toi mprovise during his recent «official» visit to the Republics of Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Panamá and Cuba, was «respect» for the principles of true democracy.

South American public opinion already knows the complacence of Sr. Betancourt and his favouring of an intensive campaign of pro-communist propaganda which has endangered the internal situation of the sister nation of Venezuela, as can be inferred from the petition taken

to the United States Government through the American Ambassador in Caracas and made by fifty American executives of the petroleumi ndustry. In this document prominence is given to the fact that the privileged strategic position of Venezuela and her rich sources of petroleum have caused the marxist forces to concentrate on this country in their work of «communisation», as is shown by the attacks made by Venezuelan communists (there are three groups which are getting ready to seize power) on the petroleum industry and on the Americans; these attacks, as is stated in the afore-mentioned petition, «constitute a real danger, not only to the great American financial interests in Venezuela, but also to the United States Government and to the principles of democracy» (1).

Well then, if this undoubted violation of the sacred principles of American liberty, which are deeply rooted int he truest elements of a well-defined democracy, and which the Dominican Republic has known how to maintain and defend at all times, were the cause of the loss of the American concept of political ideals and the adopting of alien doctrines with nothingt o recommendt hem, the Dominican Republic would not hesitate to offer to the cause of Democracy her material and spiritual resources, in the consciousness of her duty as a member of the American community of nations.

In order to prevent this danger, which the internal situation of Venezuela aggravates with the alarming proportions of an epidemic, it could in truth be demanded that the South American nations put into practic the prophylactic measures advised, but with no very stable political criterion, by Sr. Betancourt.

Yet these measures should not be directed against the Dominican Republic whose international behaviour is above reproach, but against the régime of Betancourt, which is at the present time the only real and effective focus of infection which is able to destroy the solidarity of the American Continent and transform democratic peace and wellbeing into the restlessness and bewilderment which is hoped for by their enemies in order to convert South America into an experimental colony for communism.

However, the Dominican Chancellory does not yet wish to present a formal accusation of the violation of these

democratic principles against the man who so bare-facedly plays with them to cover up his personal defects, neither does it desire that this declaration be considered as a formal reply to his affronteries; since this declaration is made with the sole aim of making known to nations all over the wold and more especially to those of South America, the basis facts in order to arrive at an impartial judgement of the hostile attitude of Sr. Rómulo Betancourt in his declarations which unfortunately must be considered as oficial, and to be forearmed against the possible consequences of this attitude.

But the Dominican Chancellory does wish to formulate a strong protest against this misbehaviour and make all the opportune reserves in this extraordinary case.

APPENDIX NUMBER 15

The sentence pronounced by the Judge President of the Second Criminal Chamber of the Juridical District of Santo Domingo in the case of Cayo Confites.

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION

In compliance with the provisions of Article 341 of the Code of Criminal procedure, wei nsert an extract of the sentence pronounced, the accused having defaulted, by the Judge President of the Second Criminal Chamber of the Court of Instance of the Juridical District of Santo Domingo on January 30th, 1948:

«Licenciate LORENZO E. PIÑA PUELLO, Secretary of the Second Chamber of the Court of Instance of the Juridical District of Santo Domingo,

CERTIFIES

that in his files there is a dossier of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty eight and bearing the number eighty five, containing a sentence passed by the Judge President of this Court dated the thirtieth day of January of the year one thousand nine hundred and-forty eight, to the following effect:

FINDING:

FIRST: That this Court should declare and does declare as sound the trial held in default, of the persons

named, whose respective particulars, domiciles and residences are unknown: JUAN RODRIGUEZ GARCIA (alias: JUANCITO), Augusto Correa, Patín Guerrero, Luluo Rodríguez, Vinicio Almodorrán. Heriberto Collado, Teodoro Pérez, Máximo Domínguez, Dr. Román Pérez Cabral, Marcos del Rosario, Dr. Enrique Cotubanamá Henríquez Lauranzón, Elpidio Sánchez Monzón, Miguel Angel A. Pineda, Máximo Gómez Reynoso, Félix Antonio Bergés Bordás, Plinta Woss Gil, Dra. Graciella Hereaux, Livino Martínez, Julio Lores, César Sosa, José de León, Eliseo Polanco, Mauro González, Domingo Guillén, Arístides Guillén, J. M. Díaz H.,Juan Díaz Jr., Guarocuya Cestero, Gustavo Moscoso, Clara Lluveres, Rafael Berrido, Manolo Pérez, Manuel Paulino Pérez, Mario Lora, Juan González, Rafael Guerra, Carlos Félix, Máximo Vargas, Antonio Díaz, Juan I. Díaz (alias: Juanito), Luis Córdoba, Sergio Castro, Francisco Acosta, Eustaqui Durán, Pedro Pablo Hernández, Facundo Gómez, Eliodoro Gómez, Tiburcio Rodríguez, Carlos Braison, Justo Nieves, Carlos Landerboll, Felipe Ventura, Carlos Antonio García, Valentín Tejada, Manuel Lorenzo Carrasco, Ervido Gonzalvo, Simeón Guillén, Amado Hernández (alias: Mellizo), Rafael Hernández (alias: Mellizo), José Manuel Hernández (alias: Pipí), Lucas Picharro, Francisco José Aponte, Pedro Julio del Rosario, Luis A. Vicioso, Roberto Vicioso Martínez, José Ramón Vicioso, Carlos Daniel, Dr. Leovigildo Cuello Jr., Gustavo Adolfo Mejía Maderne, Alberto Aybar, Adolfo Camarena Díez (alias: Pito), J. A. Bonilla Atiles, Juan de la Cruz Alfonseca (alias: Niño), M. L. Bernier, Radhamés Cordero, Miguel A. Ramírez, Carmita Ladestoy, Amado Soler Fernández, Ramón Gómez, Francisco A. Henríquez Vásquez, Juan Bosch, Felipe Arias, Manuel Joaquín Tabares, Rafael Salazar, José A. Moscoso Salazar, Enriquillo Santana, Sergio Román, Antonio Selín, Dr. Harry Martínez Aibar, Dr. J. E. Taveras Rodríguez, Dr. Federico Velázquez, Dr. Diógenes Martínez, Guaroa Velázquez, Dr. Tulio H. Arvelo, Martín Alvarez W., Luis Mejía, J. A. Bonilla Aibar, José Rolando Martínez Bonilla, Dr. Miguel A. Pardo, Dr. Octavio Elías Moscoso, Oscar Michelena, Manuel Alexis Liz, Dr. Juan Isidro Jiménez Grullón, Antonio A. Batista Clysanti, José Horacio Rodríguez Vásquez, Francisco Espallat de la Mota, Rafael Brache, Rogelio Jiménez, Homero Espallat Brache, Angel

Morales, Dr. Ramón de Lara, Dr. Gerardo Ellis Cambiazo, Pompeyo Alfau y Romero, Dr. Virgilio Mainardi Reyna, Rafael Mainardi Reyna, Víctor Mainardi Reyna, Octavio Castillo Herrera, Persio C. Franco, José Manuel Franco, (alias: Pepe), Angel Miolán, Dr. Federico Ellis Cambiazo, Antonio Borrell, Esteban Morel Tabares (alias: Chaván), Florián Pérez, Dr. Moisés de Soto Martínez, José Tabares, Elicio del Rosario, Dato Pagán Perdomo, Luis Roberto Castillo, Mauricio Báez, Dr. Carlos M. Lamarche, Dr. Francisco F. Castellanos, Máximo Ares, Jaime Sánchez Jr. Dr. Luis Aquiles Mejía, Dr. Crispín Grullón, Dr. Luis E. Mainardi, Manuel de J. Santana, Lamberto Lamole, Leopoldo Franco Jr., Gilberto Duvergé Jr., Julio Sánchez, Guido F. Mejía, Rafael Minaya, Antonio Duvergé, Manuel María de Olio, Carlos Nouel, Damián Duvergé, Luis Américo Lample, Francisco Ernesto Lample, Angel Acosta, José Ricardo Alfonseca, Juan Francisco Andújar, Maximiliano Almonte, Mario Alvares Izquierdo, José Rafael Salvador Asensio, Ramón Asensio Valverde, Luis Oscar Aibar, Toribio Bencosme, Juan G. Blanco, Francisco Ernesto Bobadilla, Rafael Danilo Bonnelly, Pedro Julián Bonilla Aybar, Nelson Alcides Brito, Valeriano Brito Díaz, Pedro Alfredo Brito, Pedro Bueno, Rafael L. Castillo, José Canto Rodríguez, Manuel Campos (alias: Manolo), Narciso Castillo Gautreaux, Manuel Calderón Salcedo, Francisco Chicón, Domingo Chicón, Homero Cestero, Luis Delgado, Carlos Dominici, Fernando A. Febles Castillo, Freddy Fernández Barreiro, Marino Fernández, Félix Servio Figueroa, Carlos García Fernández, Británico Guzmán, Víctor Federico Guerrero, Carlos Daniel Grullón, Eduardo Grullón, Rodríguez Objío, Donatelio Herrera, Federico Henríquez (alias: Gugú), Antonio Jiménez, L. Jiménez, Manuel F. Leonor alias: Liquito), Julio Linares, José Caonabo, Lora Martínez, Manuel A. Lora Marín, José Antonio Puello Ortiz, Pedro Cabral, Eduardo V. Vicioso, Raúl García Rivas, Manuel Calderón Fernández, Buenaventura Sánchez, Eduardo Henríquez, Virgilio Vilomar, Arístides Sanabia, Héctor Infante Ramírez, Francisco Masturzi Svelti, Américo Lora Camacho, Cristóbal Lliteras, Germán Martínez Reyna, Julio César Martínez Sobá Ricardo Mateo, Belisario Medrano Troncoso, Marino P. Miniño, Carlos F. Muya Alvarez, Alfonso Noyola, Danilo Núñez Padilla, Antonio Núñez Guzmán, Horacio Hornes

Coiscou, Pedro Pérez, Alfonso Pérez Lozano, Juan Pérez Salazar, Polibio Pineda, Adolfo Pimentel, Hipólito Pimentel Arias, Darío A Pomarol Valdez, Francisco A. Reyes (alias: Biguín), Manuel Rodríguez (alias: Papito), Hernando Rodríguez Martínez, Luis Salemí, Nicanor Saleta Arias, Papito Sánchez, Juan Sandoval Jaquez, Manuel de Js. Santana, Fredesvindo Santana, Juan Sede, Nicolás Silfas, Wilfredo Santiago Pou, Alfredo Torres, Juan Bautista del Toro, Octavio Vargas Gil, Sergio Vargas Mendoza;

SECOND: And that this Court should and does declare those named below, whose respective particulars, domiciles and residences are unknown, and who are tried in default, Juan Rodríguez García (a) Juancito, Augusto Correa, Patín Guerrero, Lulo Rodríguez, Vinicio Almodorán, Heriberto Collado, Teodoro Pérez, Máximo Domínguez, Dr. Román Pérez Cabral, Marcos del Rosario, Dr. Enrique Cotubanama Henríquez Lauranson, Elpidio Sánchez Monzón, Miguel Angel A. Pineda, Máximo Gómez Reynoso, Félix Antonio Bergés Bordás, Plinta Woos y Gil, Dra. Graciela Heureaux, Livino Martínez, Julio Lores, César Sosa, José de León, Elíseo Polanco, Mauro González, Domingo Guillén, Arístides Guillén, J. M. Díaz H., Juan Díaz hijo, Guarocuya Cestero, Gustavo Moscoso, Clara Lluberes, Rafael Berrido, Manolo Pérez, Manuel Paulino Pérez, Mario Lora, Juan González, Rafael Guerra, Carlos Félix, Máximo Vargas, Antonio Díaz, Juan I. Díaz (a) Juanito, Luis Córdoba, Sergio Castro, Francisco Acosta, Eustaquio Durán, Pedro Pablo Hernández, Facundo Gómez, Eliodoro Gómez, Tiburcio Rodríguez, Carlos Brayson, Justo Nieves, Carlos Landerboll, Felipe Ventura, Carlos Antonio García, Valentín Tejada, Manuel Lorenzo Carrasco, Ervido Gonzalvo, Simeón Guillén, Amado Hernández (a) Mellizo, Rafael Hernández (a) Mellizo, José Manuel Hernández (a) Pipi, Lucas Pichardo, Francisco José Aponte, Pedro Julio del Rosario, Luis A. Vicioso, Roberto Vicioso Martínez, José Ramón Vicioso, Carlos Daniel, Dr. Leovigildo Cuello hijo, Gustavo Adolfo Mejía Maderne, Alberto Aybar, Adolfo Camarera Didiez (a) Pito, Lic. J. A. Bonilla Atiles, Juan de la Cruz Alfonseca (a) Niño, M. L. Bernier, Radhamés Cordero, Miguel A. Ramírez, Carmita Landestoy, Amado Soler Fernández, Ramón Gómez, Francisco A. Henríquez Vásquez, Juan Bosch, Felipe Arias, Manuel Joaquín Tavares, Rafael Salazar,

José A. Moscoso Salazar, Enriquillo Santana, Sergio Román, Antonio Selim, Dr. Harry Martínez Aybar, Dr. J. E. Taveras Rodríguez, Dr. Federico Velásquez, Dr. Diógenes Martínez, Lic. Guaroa Velásquez, Dr. Tulio H. Arvelo, Martín Alvarez V., Lic. Luis Mejía, J. A. Bonilla Aybar, José Rolando Martínez Bonilla, Dr. Miguel A. Pardo, Dr. Octavio Díaz Moscoso, Oscar Michelena, Manuel Alexis Liz, Dr. Juan Isidro Jiménez Grullón, Antonio A. Batista Clisanty, José Horacio Rodríguez Vázquez, Francisco Espaillat de la Mota, Rogelio Jiménez, Angel Morales, Dr. Ramón de Lara, Dr. Gerardo Ellis Cambiaso, Pompeyo Alfáu Romero, Dr. Virgilio Mainardi Reyna, Rafael Mainardi Reyna, Víctor Mainardi Reyna, Octavio Castillo Herrera, Persio C. Franco, José Manuel Franco (a) Pepe, Angel Miolán, Federico Ellis Cambiaso, Antonio Borrell, Esteban Morel Tavares (a) Chaván, Florián Pérez, Dr. Moisés de Soto Martínez, José Tavares, Eligio del Rosario, Dato Pagán Perdomo, Luis Roberto Castillo, Mauricio Báez, Dr. Carlos M. Lamarche, Dr. Francisco F. Castellanos, Máximo Ares, Jaime Sánchez, hijo, Dr. Luis Aquiles Mejía, Dr. Crispín Grullón, Dr. Luis E. Mainardi, Manuel de J. Santana, Lamberto Lample, Leopoldo Franco hijo, Gilberto Duvergé, hijo, Julio Sánchez, Guido F. Mejía, Rafael Minaya, Antonio Duvergé, Manuel María de Oleo, Carlos Nouel, Damián Duvergé, Luis Américo Lample, Francisco Ernesto Lample, José Ricardo Alfonseca, Maximiliano Almonte, Mario Alvarez Izquierdo, José Rafael Salvador Asencio, Ramón Asencio Valverde, Luis Oscar Aybar, Toribio Bencosme, Juan G. Blanco, Francisco Ernesto Bobadilla, Rafael Danilo Bonnelly, Pedro Julián Bonilla Aybar, Nelson Alcides Brito, Pedro Alfredo Brito, Pedro Bueno, Rafael L. Castillo, José Canto Rodríguez, Manuel Campos (a) Manolo, Narciso Castillo Gautreaux, Manuel Calderón Salcedo, Francisco Chicón, Domingo Chicón, Homero Cestero, Luis Delgado, Carlos Dominici, Fernando A. Febles Castillo, Freddy Hernández Berreiro, Marino Fernández, Félix Servio Figueroa, Carlos García Fernández, Británico Guzmán, Víctor Federico Guerrero, Carlos Daniel Grullón, Eduardo Grullón Rodríguez Objío, Donatello Herrera, Federico Henríquez (a) Gugú, Antonio Jiménez, L. Jiménez, Manuel F. Leonor (a) Liquito, José Caonabo Lora Martínez, Manuel A. Lora Marín, José Antonio Cuello Ortiz, Pedro Pérez Cabral, Lic. Eduardo V.

Vicioso, Raúl García Rivas, Manuel Calderón Hernández, Buenaventura Sánchez, Eduardo Henríquez, Virgilio Vilomar, Arístides Sanabia, Héctor Infante Ramírez, Francisco Masturzi Svelti, Américo Lora Camacho, Cristóbal Lliteras, Germán Martínez Reyna, Julio César Martínez Sobá, Ricardo Mateo, Belizario Medrano Troncoso, Marino P. Miriño, Carlos F. Moya Alvarez, Danilo Núñez Padilla, Antonio Núñez Guzmán, Horacio Ornes Coiscou, Pedro Pérez, Alfonso Pérez Lorenzo, Juan Pérez Salazar, Polibio Pineda, Adolfo Pimentel, Darío A. Pumarol Valdez, Francisco A. Reyes (a) Biguín, Manuel Rodríguez (a) Papito, Papito Sánchez, Manuel de Js. Santana, Juan Sede, Nicolás Silfa, Wilfredo Santiago Pou, Alfredo Torres, Juan Bautista del Toro, Octavio Vargas Gil, y Sergio Vargas Mendoza, to be guity of the following offenses:

FIRST: At the proposal of the afore named Juan Rodríguez García (Alias: Juancito), to which the others agreed little by little, they agreed on a plot with the object of replacing, by means of methods contrary to the Constitution of the Dominican Republic, the Government presided over by Generalissimo Dr. Leonidas Trujillo Molina, inciting the inhabitants and citizens of the Dominican Republic to take arms against the legally constituted authority.

SECOND: They organized and formed an international communist brigade consisting of themselves and of citizens of Cuba, Venezuela and other countries; they provided it with the necessary armaments in order to attack the territory of the Dominican Republic by means of aereal bombardments, landings of armed troops in different regions in the Dominican Republic, attacks on positions, fortresses and villages, in order to overthrow public institutions with this procedure contrary to law and order and to the Constitution of the Dominican Republic, to provoke civil war, to change the legally constituted Government and consequently to provoke devastation and sacking, all this to the detriment of the social order, of public peace and the Dominican people;

THIRD: they executed and put into practice machinations in order to induce foreign States, more especially the Republics of Cuba, Guatemala and Venezuela, to commit hostilities against the Dominican Republic, to

declare war on her or to intervene in any way in the Government and the life of Santo Domingo;

FOURTH: They came to an agreement with the enemies of the Dominican State, conceiving and agreeing on means to penetrate into the territory of the Dominican Republic and its dependencies, and to obtain the surrender of towns, fortresses and positions, obtaining aid, arms, supplies, soldiers and food.

FIFTH: They carried out hostile acts, not approved by the Government of the Dominican Republic, which could have given rise to a declaration of war on the part of the said Government, acts which exposed the Dominicans to harm and to reprisals against their persons and goods;

SIXTH: They prepared an outrage which had as its aim the provoking of civil war, inciting the citizens and inhabitants to take up arms against each other, with the object of bringing devastation, pillage and bloodshed on the territory of the Dominican Republic; to this end they devoted themselves to the formation of armies, which were in fact formed; they trained and utilized men and soldiers in the place called CAYO CONFITES on the island of Cuba, providing themselves with supplies without the permission of the legal authorities; the aforementioned JUAN RODRIGUEZ GARCIA (alias: JUANCITO) was responsible for leading the trops and the naval and air fleets, in other words the group composed of the afore mentioned accused men; this group constituted the international communist brigade which attempted to disembark on national territory with the objects mentioned; in this manner the afore mentioned accused endangered the integrity of the Dominican Republic and her international relations;

SEVENTH: They committed acts which constitute public offences against the Head of the State, Generalissimo Dr. Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, his Excellency the President of the Republic and Benefactor of the Country; offences which tend to diminish the respect and consideration which are due to the First Authority of the Nation, attacking in this manner the honour and dignity of the State;

EIGHTH: They attempted to destroy or set fire to, totally or partially, by means of mines, bombs, explosive

mechanisms, the buildings, warehouses, docks, arsenals, ships, dykes and other preperties of the State and belonging to private individuals, to this end they organized bands, gangs and armed groups with the deliberate object of invading the property and dominions of the State, to the prejudice of the national and international credit of the Dominican Republic, since this behaviour on the part of the accused compromised the normal functioning of official and private activities in the Dominican State, and disturbing in consequence Dominican society;

NINTH: They incited or provoked the committing of crimes and offences, at times devoting themselves to making speeches and exhortations, delivering invocations and exhortations in all languages, and at others constituting associations the purpose of which was to procure aid from abroad, either officially or privately in order to act politically against the established social order, the peace, the Government and the tranquility of the Dominican people; and

TENTH: They took part materially and morally in gangs or bands whose activities were directed against the security of the nation and of the Dominican Government facilitating reciprocally lodgings, hide-outs and meeting-places to plan their delinquencies and to determine the means of putting into practice their numerous criminal projects. In consequence I condemn each one, applying to this case the principle of THE NON-ACCUMULATION OF PENALTIES, to THIRTY YEARS (30) HARD LABOUR, which must be carried out in the Public Prison of Ciudad Trujillo.

THIRD: That the following persons must be exempted, as in fact they are exempted, from the accusations brought against them, as indicated in the Second paragraph of these provisions, because of an insufficieny of proof: Rafael Brache, Homero Espaillat Brache, Angel Acosta, Juan Francisco Andújar, Valeriano Brito Díaz, Bartolo González, Julio Linares, Alfonso Noyola, Hipólito Pimentel Arias, Juan Sandoval Jáquez and Fredesvindo Santana.

FOURTH: That this Court should and DOES DECLARE as RIGHT AND SOUND the CONSTITUTION of the CIVIL part for the State of this COURT;

FIFTH: That this Court should and DOES CONDEMN the accused named in the second paragraph of the Provisions, to pay in solidum to the Dominican State, as just indemnization, the sum of THIRTEEN MILLION TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY SIX THOUSAND GOLD PESOS (RD$ 13,256.000.000) to indemnify the costs effected by the Government of the Dominican Republic, as a direct and immediate consequence of the infractions on account of which the said persons have been accused and condemned;

SIXTH: That this Court should and DOES CONDEMN the said accused who are named in the Second paragraph of this sentence to the payment in solidum of the costs, both criminal and civil; and

SEVENTH: That this Court should and DOES DECLARE that the costs are chargeable to the following persons: Rafael Brache, Homero Espaillat Brache, Angel Acosta, Juan Francisco Andújar, Valeriano Brito Díaz, Bartolo González, Julio Linares, Alfonso Noyola, Hipólito Pimentel Arias, Juan Sandoval Jáquez and Fredesvindo Santana.

This our sentence is pronounced, ordained, ordered and signed. (SIGNED: Licenciate Enrique Sánchez González, Judge President.—Licenciate Lorenzo E. Piña Puello, Secretary.

The above sentence has been GIVEN AND GIGNED by the Judge-President of this Chamber, having given a public hearing on the same day, month and year mentioned; it was read, signed made public by myself, the Secretary who certifies. SIGNED: Licenciate Lorenzo E. Piña Puello, Secretary.

I CERTIFY: that this is a faithful copy and in agreement with the original and that it is issued in Ciudad Trujillo, District of Santo Domingo, capital of the Dominican Republic, the thirty first day of the month of January of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty eight, at the request of the Judge Attorney for the Prosecution of the Second Criminal Chamber of the Juridical District of Santo Domingo:

LICENCIATE LORENZO E. PIÑA PUELLO
Secretary.»

In Ciudad Trujillo, District of Santo Domingo, on the thirteenth day of the month of February of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty eight.

DR. JOSE RIJO
Attorney for the Prosecution of the Second Criminal Chamber of the Juridical District of Santo Domingo.

APPENDIX NUMBER 16

Note addressed by the Inter-American Peace Commission to the representatives of the Couucil of the Organization of American States to negotiate with their Chancellories for the data relative to the delicate situation in the Caribbean.

Washington. August 4th, 1949.

Your Exellency:

The Inter-American Peace Commission has met at the suggestion of the Representative of the United States of America to study a question of an urgent nature and of common interest for the South American States; this question is the political situation in the Caribbean area.

The Commission has not hesitated to express its interest in the affair under consideration. For this very reason, and in order to fulfil its obligation to watch permanently for the peace and the solution of all conflicts, this Commission would be grateful for the valuable co-operation that your Excellency's Government may be willing to offer it in this task of serving the cause of continental peace.

The co-operation that we wish for from your Excellency's Government consists of your informing us of all suggestions and information relating to the problem set out for our consideration.

With the object of organizing reasonably the conditions

of our work and the means of carrying it out, we address ourselves to the distinguished Government of your Excellency in the hopes of receiving your honoured reply which will contribute to the better appreciation of the problem with which this Commission is encharged.

I wish to take advantage of this occasion to present to your Excellency, and through you to all the members of your distinguished Government, my sentiments of esteem and respect.

ENRIQUE V. COROMINAS
Ambassador for the Argentine
Acting President of the Inter-American
Peace Commission

APPENDIX NUMBER 17

Statement made on August 15th, 1949, signed by the Ambassadors Dr. Joaquín Salazar, Dr. Arturo Despradel, Dr. Julio Ortega Frier, Dr. Joaquín Balaguer and Dr. José Ramón Rodríguez, by means of which the Dominican Government replied to the request made by the inter-American Peace Commission of August 4th, 1949, at the suggestion of the Representative of the United States of America, with the object of investigating and considering the grave situation existing in the political areas of the Caribbean.

Your Excellencies, Ambassadors:

The Government of the Dominican Republic has entrusted us with presenting to the Inter-American Peace Commission composed of your Excellencies the information which further on will be set out in detail, concerning the international situation in the vicinity of the Caribbean, which for nearly four years has been responsible for a state of virtual war, and which at this moment presents an imminent danger of a conflagration for the countries in that region of the Continent. This information and the suggestions formulated as a result of it are presented to you by the Dominican Government in reply to the request made in the note of August 4th instant, addressed by his Excellency the Acting President of this peace organization to the representative of the Dominican

Republic at the Council of the Organization of (South) American States, Ambassador Joaquín E. Salazar.

The Dominican Government, on acceding to the request made by that Distinguished Organization, does not do so in an egoistical spirit inspired by a desire to make accusations, but in the interests of pointing out with all due accuracy the perilous character taken on by the existing situation in the Caribbean zone, and to give once more proofs of its devotion to the principles which serve as a basis for Inter-American relations.

Although some of the facts determining the grave situation to which we have referred, are already known to the Peace Commission and the attention of the Governments of South America has been repeatedly drawn to them, we consider it our moral and juridical duty to draw attention also to their, origins, so that that Distinguished Organization may be able to appreciate the connection existing between them and the deplorable consequences to the relations between the nations that share political power in the Caribbean zone.

The events which have been unfolding for some time past in this region are now affecting the international sphere with such alarming intensity that it would be unreasonable not to recognize the danger that they constitute for the peaceful modus vivendi of the nations directly affected and for the whole of the South American community.

The revolution which in 1945 brought the Democratic Action party to power in Venezuela, perpetrated the most scurrilous violations, the object of which was the Legation of the Dominican Republic in Caracas; afterwards the *de facto* Government, which arose as a result of that revolution and which supplanted the constitutional Government of that country, broke off dipolmatic relations with the Dominican Republic, without any legitimate motive, since there has been no cause on our part which could have justified this measure. This attitude of gratuitous hostility towards the Dominican Republic was maintained by the said Party throughout the whole time that it directed the foreign affairs of that country, in other words, until the coming to power of the present Government, with which the Dominican Government has renewed and maintained the cordial relations which have traditionally

linked the Dominican people to the noble people of Venezuela.

The Democratic Action Party made its influence felt abroad in an action which was divergent from the national interests which should have guided its actions; this action consisted of ostensibly creating in this zone «an international spirit» of an imperialistic type and incompatible with the essence of the Inter-American System. Considerable sums of money were invested by the said Party in this project calculated to upset continental order; an attitude of increasing hostility to the Dominican Government was constantly maintained; national merchant ships were captured while they were navigating on lawful and peaceful commercial business towards the neighbouring island of Curaco in waters which were not the territorial waters of Venezuela; the whole cargo of the ships thus captured was lost and the members of their crews were thrown into prison without the Dominican Government being given any explanation at all of these events.

This official hostility of the Party that then governed in Venezuela, manifested in the events already alluded to, could legitimately have led the Dominican Government to adopt a similar attitude, which would doubtless have led to a state of war between the two countries. But the Dominican Government always avoided, with good sense and necessary calmness, the danger that this attitude would have implied for the peace of South America; and, far from adopting such an attitude, on the occasion of a magnificent opportunity which it had to do so, it allowed the immediate departure, without putting any obstacles in their way, of two Venezuelan ships which arrived at the Bay of Puerto Plata, an arrival which had been imposed by their own crews.

When on Cuban territory, especially on the little island called Cayo Confites, the well known conspiracy was planned against the peace and the legal institutions of the Dominican Republic, the Democratic Action Party contributed with men and money to the preparation of this subversive enterprise. The said political party then sent to Cuba Sr. Luis A. Dubuc, representing the interest of its participation in these machinations; this person kept in contact there with the leaders of the projected expedition.

So that your Excellencies may better understand the

situation which has given rise to the intervention of the Inter-American Peace Commission, some references are indispensable to the events leading up to this conspiracy.

Since the middle of 1947 large groups of unemployed and mercenaries of all nationalities began to congregate on Cuban territory; these groups proceeded from Venezuela and Guatemala or were publicly recruited on the spot; they stated that they had been summoned to form an international army to impose «democratic régimes of the type already obtaining in Venezuela, Guatemala and Cuba» by force of arms in the South American nations which, according to their criterion, were in need of them. The said army was to go first to Santo Domingo where, once the authorities constituted by the Dominican people were overthrown and annihilated, a Government in sympathy with interventionist ideas would be created; afterwards they had the plan of launching themselves against other continental nations to carry out the same projects, using the conquered territory as a base for operations.

The execution of this plan, inconceivable in present times, was to coincide with the Río de Janeiro Conference which had been convened precisely to secure peace and security in South America.

The buccaneers who met to carry out this enterprise, if they came from other countries, were transported to Cuba by means of facilities given by the Governments of Venezuela and Guatemala; once on Cuban territory they were maintained, given uniforms and equipment with funds proceeding from the Cuban Treasury; they were then trained in landing manoeuvres, assault tactics, bayonet and sabre charges and other military exercises, first in the public squares of Havanna, on ground belonging to the Cuban Government, afterwards in Holguín and finally on the islet of «Cayo Confites»; in general the training was in the hands of active or retired members of the Cuban Armed Forces, and occasionally by Spanish refugees of communist affiliations. The Governments of Guatemala and Venezuela —the latter of the Democratic Action Party— contributed to the enterprise with funds from their respective national Treasuries, and also with armaments, ships and planes which they took from their own armed forces and in some cases proceeding from

loans or hire-contracts with the Government of the United States of America for the defence of the Continent.

The planes acquired in the United States by agents of the Cuban Government and for the conspirators landed at Cuban military air-fields, where they were used for tactical exercises in connection with the expeditionary force. The Cuban police witnessed the movements of this army and openly favoured its activities. When at the end of July 1947 the ring-leaders of the movement, preoccupied by the continual desertions which reduced the expeditionary forces in Oriente, believed it necessary to confine them in a safer place than the Military Academy of Holguín, the then President, Grau San Martín, facilitated for this purpose the uninhabited island of «Cayo Confites» where they were under the surveillance of a patrol of the Cuban Navy. From this islet the conspirators carried out their main attack against the Dominican Republic, capturing the motor-ship «Angelita» from the Dominican Merchant Navy when she was engaged on a legitimate commercial voyage to Miami, without stopping at Cuba. This capture was effected by means of a dramatic piratical manoeuvre with a surprise boarding from one of the conspirators' ships which was flying the United States flag in order not to make the crew of the Dominican ship suspicious. The members of this crew were taken to the Cuban Naval Barracks in the port of Nuevitas, under the threat of death; they remained there under arrest until they were taken to Havanna under military escort. The captured motor-ship became one of the bucaneer's flotilla and then passed under the control of the Cuban Government which still unjustifiably retains her, without taking into account the fact that the said ship belongs to a friendly nation, linked to Cuba by the duties deriving from continental relations.

After this state of things had been prolonged for more than three months, President Grau San Martin's Government, which up till that time had remained indifferent to the diplomatic representations made by the Dominican Government and to the consequent international scandal, opted for a change of attitude as a result of the pressure of public opinion at home and the members of the expeditionary forces were transported from «Cayo Confites» to Havanna. From that moment different tactics were adop-

ted in the subversive activites directed against the Dominican Republic and other countries in the Caribbean.

With the failure of this attack against the Dominican Republic the leaders of the interventionist activities in the Caribbean devoted themselves to the task of acquiring a new base of operations in Central America for the carrying out of their plans.

The Republic of Costa Rica was selected for this purpose; from that moment the so-called «Caribbean Legion» began to develop, it was composed of individuals who had taken an active part in the frustrated «Cayo Confites» expedition, its numbers increased by adventurers from Central American and other nations. Concerning the revolution and its final result against the Government of Dr. Teodoro Picado, it is not necessary to give any information because the overthrow of that Government is now an event which belongs to the contemporary history of South America. But we do consider it a duty to make some elucidations as to the means employed for this act of violence and in relation to the attitude of the Cuban Government, because this data is worthy of the attention of that Distinguished Organization, in order to prove that the Cuban Government did not fulfil its obligation to disarm the members of the «Gayo Confites» expeditionary force. Sr. Horacio Julio Ornes Coiscou, who was one of the «Cayo Confites» expeditionaries and later led the capture of Puerto Limón during the revolution in Costa Rica, gives us invaluable evidence in this matter which is added to the other proofs to demonstrate that the armaments of the said expedition were transported to Guatemala and later used in the movement which overthrew the Goverment of President Picado. (In this connection see the declarations made on July 3rd, 1949, by Sr. Ornes Coiscou in the course of this interrogation by the Judge in charge of the case which was opened in relation to the Luperón expedition. Document I, Letter B.)

It is important to point out that the declarations made by Sr. Ornes Coiscou are corroborated by those which were made to the Judge by his other companions who were also taken prisoner in Luperón. (Consult the records F. G. H. I. and J, of Document number I).

After the triumph of the revolution in Costa Rica the reorganization took place there, protected by the new

régime, of the so-called «Caribbean Legion», composed of individuals who received official remuneration from the Government which was *de facto* presided over by Sr. José Figueres. At that time adventurers from Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, Santo Domingo, Cuba, Venezuela made their way to the capital of Costa Rica. All these and others from other nations went there attracted by the desire for adventures which later took place in that country which had been so peaceful till then. One of the first measures taken by the new Government was to break off the diplomatic relations which had traditionally existed between that country and the Dominican Republic, for a mere caprice and without there being any motive to justo fy this attitude which was so contrary to the spirit figood relations between the continental nations.

The international atmosphere in the Caribbean became even more dense and confused on account of the announcement to which wide publicity was given to the effect that Government of Costa Rica was disposed to back a armed movement against the legitimate Government of Panama in favour of the candidate who had just lost the presidential elections. Then came the conflict between Nicaragua and Costa Rica, on account of an accusation made by the latter country against the former; the evidence obtained then by the Investigating Commission of the Provisional Consultative Organization was to the effect that the so-called «Caribbean Legion» existed on the territory of Costa Rica, not only in a state of organization but in full activity.

«The events to which we shall refer demonstrate that the war equipment used in «Cayo Confites» and in the Costa Rica revolution constitute a heritage *sui generis* only conceivable in the chaotic situation reigning in the Caribbean.»

«It is now indispensable to regress in the chronology of events to refer, from its beginnings, to the extremely active participation of the Government of Guatemala in the said events, and to continue the clear demonstration of the story of the «Cayo Confites» armaments, after having been used against the constitutional Government of Sr. Teodoro Picado. Yn July 1947, while the military preparations, of «Cayo Confites» were in train, the Government of Guatemala broke off in an unwonted fashion diplomatic relations

with the Government of Santo Domingo, without the slightest motive and in spite of the fact that the Dominican Republic maintained a Diplomatic Mission with the rank of Embassy in the capital of that country. But this unilateral measure was not kept within the limits of moderation by the Government of Guatemala —as it was natural to expect since it was a question of a country that had not inflicted the slightest injury on Guatemala— quite the contrary, it was immediately followed up by a series of hostile manifestations which demonstrated aims that were clearly contrary to the national interests of Guatemala.

«The official press and the radio in Guatemala immediately unleashed the bitterest campaign against the Dominican Government and since then the efforts made by Guatemala in order to disturb the peace and the normal rhythm of life in Santo Domingo became evident. The "Cayo Confites" conspiracy offered to the Government of Sr. Arévalo the first opportunity to pass from verbal attacks to armed hostility against the legitimate Government of Santo Domingo. With the frustration of the "Cayo Confites" conspiracy the Government of Guatemala participated in the plan to obtain another base of operations in Central America; for this reason it received the "Cayo Confites" armaments and sent a part of the same to the revolutionaries in Costa Rica in order to prepare in that country the establishment of a régime on whose collaboration it could count for its interventionist undertakings. After the conflict between Nicaragua and Costa Rica, on account of the inconveniences which the sojourn of the Caribbean Legion on Costa Rican territory occasioned to the Government of Nicaragua, the transfer was started of these individuals to Guatemala, a nation which then became the principle focus of activities against the Dominican Government.

»During the interrogation of the Luperón expeditionaries very significant details came to light concerning the functioning of the "Caribbean Legión" in Costa Rica, as also concerning their transfer to Guatemala after the arrival at San José of the Investigating Commission of the Provisional Consultative Organization. The data collected from the afore-mentioned interrogation coincides with publications that appeared in the "Official Gazette" of Costa Rica and reveals that the *de facto* Government of that

country established a subsidy of 40,000 colones in favour of the "Caribbean Legion", (See Document 1, Letter «f», which contains the first juridical interrogation of the expeditionary José Rolando Martínez Bonilla.)

»When the greater part of the forces of the "Caribbean Legion" were concentrated in Guatemala, preparations began for the new movement against the countries of Central America and especially against the Dominican Republic. The activities leading up to the carrying out of this plan took place on Guatemalan territory over a period of several months with the complete collaboration of the Government of that country. The proofs of the aid given by the Government of Sr. Juan José Arévalo to the organizers of the plot against the Dominican Republic are deduced from the events that will now be examined in detail.

a) The Government of Guatemala, through its Ambassador in México, concluded with the Government of the latter country a commercial operation by means of which a sale to the Government of Guatemala was agreed on a consignment of armaments at the cost of US «588,261,10. Concerning this affair the Ambassador of Guatemala in Mexico, Sr. Adolfo Monsanto, signed on February 17th, 1949, a confidential memorandum addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affrairs of Guatemala; in the said memorandum details are given concerning this operation and the participation is alluded to of Sr. Bonilla Atiles, representative of the "Caribbean Legion" in the negotiations carried out by the said diplomat for this purchase of armaments.

»Even though in the said memorandum the condition established by the Mexican Government is expressly stated to the effect that the armaments sold should not be used outside Guatemala "nor be the object of international commerce by the Government of the said country" the Guatemalan diplomats on various occasions met the representatives of the Caribbean Legion in the Hotel Prince at number 17 "Luis Moya" street in Mexico City; they there agreed that a consignment of arms should be ceded to the revolutionaries to be used in the new attack that was being prepared against the Dominican Republic, this consignment of arms amounting to US $278,037.40. The documents annexed to the said memorandum demonstrate all this.

»With the object of helping the Ambassador of Guatemala in Mexico with the negotiations necessary to carry out the operation, the Government of Guatemala sent to the Mexican capital the Quarter Master General, Sr. Ruben Morales Dardón, who was present at many of the meetings that took place at the Hotel Prince in connection with this affair.

»In order to strengthen the proofs contained in this document the following circumstancie exists: The Dominican Ambassador in that capital showed photostat copies of that document and its schedules to the President of the Republic of Mexico and to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who in fact confirmed the existence of the contract of sale with the Government of Guatemala of the war material referred to in the said documents; but that agreement between the two Governments was not reached because, or so it would seem, the Government of Guatemala considered the price of the said armaments to be very high. they were therefore not delivered. In spite of this, these documents relating to an operation whose existence cannot be put in doubt, in view of the declarations of such distinguished Mexican personages, categorically prove the assistance given by the Guatemalan Government to the organizers of this fresh assault against Dominican State Institutions. (See Document number 2 and its two schedules which were found among the papers taken from the Lupurón expeditionaries.)

b) In Mexico, a field where the activities of the organizers of the said conspiracy were dissimulated, José Horacio Rodríguez, of Dominican nationality, and Jacobo Fernández Alverdi, a Spanish republican exile, acquired various transport planes. On May 6th, 1949 they bought a Curtiss aircraft, XB-HUV —of Mexican registration, for the sum of US $30,000.00 from the engineer Alfredo del Valle, of Mexican nationality, to whom they owed a balance of 10,000 dollars (ten thousand) requiring him— among the other conditions to which the sale was subject— not to change the name of the proprietor until the aforementioned balance was paid off; as the purchasers were not able to explain satisfactorily the future use to which the aircraft was to be put, Engineer del Valle insisted that the name of the proprietor should be changed so as to avoid possible responsibility and he was given a bill of

exchange for the remaining $10,000; the original bill of exchange was sent to the Dominican Embassy in Mexico by the beneficiary; it is number 3 in the schedule attached to this document. The change of ownership was effected with the permission of the Aeronautical Department of the Transport Secretariat of Mexico and the aircraft was then registered in the name of the Spanish refugee, Jacobo Fernández Alverdi. Subsequently, and by the agreement of both parties, all the air and ground maintenance staff that Eng, Alfredo del Valle employed, were taken on by the new proprietor. The personnel thus transferred were as follows: air-pilot Captain José María del Castillo Altamirano; co-pilot Mario Traviño Baxter; co-pilot José Cardona and mechanic Julián Valderrama Ibarra.

c) The personnel transferred by the engineer del Valle to Sr. Jacobo Fernández Alverdi went shortly afterwards to Bronswill, Texas, U. S. A. in the, course of normal service, and brought from there another plane, a Douglas C-47, purchased in the United States, which was registered in Mexico under the letters XB-HOS.

d) Sr. José Horacio Rodríguez and Sr. Fernández Alverdi also purchased two other planes in Mexico: a Loo-Kheed Hudson, with the Mexican registration XB-DOT and an Anson aircraft, Model V, with the Mexican registration XB-HOB.

e) The planes described above were serviced for flying by the personnel in the employment of Engineer Alfredo del Valle, but on account of the lack of sufficient pilots, on May 18th only the HUB and the HOS took off, reporting their destination as Pinotepa Nacional (Oaxaca, Mexico), the usual flight route of Engineer del Valle for the operation.

They stayed over the night of the 18th at this place and on the 19th both aircraft took off for Guatemala. The other two planes, the DOT and the HOB remained at the airport of Mexico, D. F. in charge of «Servicios Aeronáuticas de Mexico, S. A.) at which place they remained till July 21st of that year.

f) From Guatemala Sr. José María del Castillo Altamirano, José Cardona, Mario Treviño Baxter and Julián Valderrama Ibarra, who made up the crew of the HUB and HOS planes, transferred from Mexico, wrote to their families the letters —the originals of which are attached

to this memorandum— in which they express, among other things, that they found themselves at a Guatemalan military base where they were receiving the necessary training to form part of a revolutionary expedition which, according to what they had been told —with the object of concealing from them till the last moment their real destinations— was to be directed against Costa Rica. Relating to the information contained in those letters, and deserving of especial attention on account of their significance as evidence of the participation of the Government of Guatemala in the plot that was teing prepared against the Dominican Republic, are statements made in the letters dated May 22nd and May 29th, 1949, sent from Panajachel, Guatemala, by the mechanic Julián Valderrama to his wife. The pilots who wrote those letters left on board the HB-HUB from the military base of San José, Guatemala, bound for the Dominican Republic as members of the frustrated Luperón expedition; they had to make a forced landing on the island of Coztumel, on account of a storm which took them by surprise during the flight, where they were detained by the Mexican authorities who took charge of the plane's cargo.

g) In the other civilian plane which was transferred from Mexico to Guatemala (the Douglas C-46, registration: XB-HOS) the pilots were Ralph Wells and Bob Hosford of American nationality, who were contracted in Guatemala for this enterprise. This aircraft, in the same way as the Curtiss already mentioned, made a forced landing on the island of Coztumel, due to the prevailing bad weather in the Caribbean zone, and its crew and the armaments that it was transporting were taken in charge by the Mexican authorities.

h) Two aircraft which formed part also of the revolutionary squadron that was bound for the Dominican Republic made a forced landing in El Cuyo, because of the same circumstances. On being inspected by the Mexican military authorities of that locality, the latter found out these two planes belonged to the regular Air Force of Guatemala and that they were loaded with a considerable quantity of armaments; this fact gave rise to a heated discussion between the pilots and the authorities who wished to intern them. These planes showed the following registration: T-1 and T-3 (DC. 3). In view of the insistence

of the pilots who availed themselves of their position as regular members of the Air Force of Guatemala, the authorities shortly afterwards allowed both planes to be transferred to Guatemala. These planes were transferred from El Cuyo to Mérida, where they were seen by all the travellers who passed through that city on June 20th and 21st; various American tourists later referred to the said planes in declarations made to the Miami press in the United States concerning this affair.

i) The planes that managed to reach the Dominican coasts were two in number: a hydroplane, the Catalina, with a capacity of 10,000 pounds, acquired in the United States, which landed on the Bay of Luperón, province of Puerto Plata, in the small hours of June 19th last with a group of expeditionaries sent by Colonel Horacio Julio Ornes Coiscou and with a considerable quantity of armaments; and also a Gruman plane piloted by Earl Adams of American nationality who did not make any landing in the Dominican Republic and continued to Cuba after having escorted the Catalina— with the object of refuelling in order to return to its place of departure. This plane was well known in Guatemala as the Presidential aircraft since it is the one that Sr. Juan José Arévalo habitually uses for his journeys.

j) The Mexican pilot Miguel López Henríquez who piloted one of the aircraft belonging to the Squadron that was on its way to attack the Dominican Republic told Sr. Carlos Denegri, Editor of the newspaper «Excelsior» that he was contracted by Ramsa (Rutas Aereas Mexicanas, S. A.) while the preparations for the expedition were in progress; when he arrived at a Guatemalan port near Belice, where «five planes duly loaded with armaments were waiting for him» he decided to take part in the expedition on account of its adventurous character. «If the expedition» stated this pilot «failed, it was not our fault but the result of bad luck. Various Central American personages who were lovers of freedom intervened because they wanted to put an end to the state of afrairs prevailing in Santo Domingo.»

»(The preceding declarations are from a cutting from the newspaper "Excelsior" of July 13th, 1949 and are annexed to the document. Document number 5.)

»From the preceding statements it can be deduced the

that the plan contrived in Guatemala against Dominican State institutions was destined to facilitate the landing of the expeditionaries, who had been transported by plane, at different points on Dominican territory; these contingents were to be later reinforced by fresh troops who were to be transferred by sea to the theatre of operations. Various ships —among them the "Alicia" and the "Patricia" who sailed from Puerto Barrios, stopping at the island of Sacrificios and at the port of Progreso in Yucatán, Mexico— were seen in Cuban territorial waters round about the time of the Luperón landing, and it is known that they returned to the port that they had sailed from when they received news of the failure of the above-mentioned expedition.

»Coinciding also with the attack on Luperón, fresh contingents were publicly recruited in Havanna and in other Cuban cities, with the object of reinforcing the expeditionary forces, which were to be transported in planes and ships proceeding from Guatemalan territory.

»In order to put this plan into execution various planes left the military base of San José ,near the city of Guatemala and Lake Izabal, on the 18th and 19th of June of the present year, taking a considerable quantity of armaments, as well as the expeditionaries who were to initiate the attack; but of these airships only the hydro-plane, "Catalina" managed to reach the creek at Luperón (the north coast of the Dominican Republic) with the group of adventurers led by Colonel Horacio Julio Ornes Coiscou. In this connection it is opportune to draw the attention of this Distinguished Organization to the data given by Colonel Horacio Julio Ornes Coiscou in his statements made to the Examining Magistrate concerning the events that preceded the departure of the "Catalina" from Lake Izabal.

»These declarations are as follows:

«About four days before arriving on Dominican soily was at Lake Izabal in Guatemala and the plane that was to transport us here were placed at my disposal. At that time I went to Puerto Barrios, Guatemala, in another of the planes belonging to the expedition, a C-46, on Friday June 18th of this year; in Puerto Barrios I embarked with the men, the armaments and the gasoline for the hydro-plane and we left the lake for Estór. During Saturday we loaded the plane; at 6.30 on that day we tried five times to take

off, but on account of the excessive load, the tranquility of the water and the scarcity of wind we were unable to take off and it was necessary to unload a part of the cargo and the gasoline and wait, as it was then very dark, for Sunday morning to take off. On Sunday June 19th at 6.30 a. m. we tried again to take off but we were unable to for the same reasons and we had to unload more of the cargo till at last at eight o'clock the plane took off and we set our course straight for Santo Domingo; we passed over the Swan islands, we checked a point on Jamaica, we crossed the northern part of Haiti and we reached Luperón at 7.15 pm where we landed on the bay."

»The expeditionaries on board the "Catalina" disembarked at Luperón the major part of the armaments that they had brought and when they were on the point of taking poseession of this place they met with an unexpected and violent resistence movement from the inhabitants of the place who made use of the very armaments that the insurgents had brought, obliging the latter to return to their plane. The appearance of a coast-guard launch on duty in that sector caused the expeditionaries to abandon the plane, which had become a target for this unit of the Dominican Navy, and they sought shelter in the woods round Luperón. Of the invaders composing this group some died from wounds inflicted by their own companions as a result of the reigning confusion, others died in action and in the destruction of the hydro-plane "Catalina"; the rest were taken prisoner, they were duly attended to and then placed at the disposal of the legal authorities.

»The gravity of the situation created in the Caribbean by the series of events referred to above, was further accentuated by the circumstance that the frustrated Luperón expedition did not put en end to the attacks made on the Dominican Republic and other countries in the same zone, since everything goes to show that the generating forces of this situation continue with ever increasing intensity to work at subversive activities.

»In fact, when the expeditionaries who had taken part in the attack on Luperón were still interned in Mérida in charge of the Mexican authorities, they boasted of continuing their activities against the stability of the legally constituted institutions of Santo Domingo and after having landed on the island of Cozumel they signed an affidavit

in Mexico on June 22nd, 1949; in the said affidavit they made an emphatic reaffirmation of their aims, which were as follows. This document was photostated and published in the Cuban review "Bohemia", of July 3rd of the current year. (See file of press cuttings marked with the number 6, pages 18 and 19.)

»The manifestations alluded to have been strengthened activities which have continued to be developed with growing intensity by the organizers of the plan which aimed at imposing certain political ideologies on the nations of the Caribbean zone. Among these activities, the following are worthy of special mention on account of their importance as evidence of the persistence of the said leaders in their subversive plans.

»1. The expeditionaries who were detained by the Mexican authorities in Mexico left that country one by one in order to make their way to Havanna, some went there directly and others first crossed other countries, with the object of joining the revolutionary groups which are concentrating in Cuba. Besides those detained in Mérida many individuals known as active agitators and as members of the Caribbean Legion have left for Cuba —after the failure of the Luperón expedition— from the United States of America, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, Panama, Mexico and other neighbouring countries. The Domminican Government possesses reliable information on this question which shows that the gathering of all these groups on Cuban territory is the result of a new plan of action which it is hoped to carry out within the shortest possible space of time. Some of the leaders of this plot have transferred recently to Guatemala and Costa Rica with the object —an object which is clear enough— of making preparations for a new attack on the peace of the Dominican Republic.

»2. The same agents who set to work in Mexico to acquire in that country war material destined for the unsuccessful Luperón expedition against the Dominican Republic, the same who all the time carried out there their activities in conjunction with the diplomatic representatives of the Government of Guatemala and with representatives of Mexico itself, are now negotiating for the acquisition of fresh war material; they have already purchased three large transport planes and they are also negotiating to

obtain a Mosquito aircraft which has been at the airport of Mexico City since July 18th last. This aircraft belongs to John C. Crosby, although the negotiations for its sale have been carried out by the American pilot John Riyers; it is a war plane which cannot be used for other purposes. This Mosquito plane arrived at Mexico on the date mentioned, having proceeded from Canada; the organizers of the subversive Luperón attack had formerly negotiated its purchase, but the plane was not able to take part in this assault because it arrived at Mexico City on the same day that the other planes used for that expedition left Guatemala. (See the photograph of this aircraft in the attached Document number 7.)

»3. The Dominican Government also possesses reliable information to the effect that the pilots of different nationalities who took part in the air operations during the unsuccessful expedition against the Dominican Republic —among whom were Sr. José María del Castillo Altamirano, Mario Treviño Baxter and Julián Valderrama, all of Mexican nationality and now resident in Mexico City— continue to receive a monthly salary from the Caribbean Legion to maintain them at its disposal for the new movement which is planned. This data has been supplied to the Dominican Embassy in Mexico by the Engineer, Sr. Alfredo del Valle, proprietor of the Curtiss plane C-46 which was sold to Sr. José Horacio Rodríguez and Jacobo Alverdi and which was among the aircraft detained in Cozumel by the Mexican authorities. (See the photograph of this aircraft which also shows the pilot José María del Castillo Altamirano, Document number 8.)

»4. Reports collected by the Dominican Government show that the leaders of the Caribbean Legion have acquired in Czechoslovakia armaments amounting to a considerable sum whic hare destined for the movement which is being prepared against the Dominican Republic and other South American cointries. The press Agency United Press has voiced these reports, according to a cable sent by the said agency from Mexico City on July 30th last. According to these same sources of information it has come to our knowledge that leaders of this group of insurgents acquired in the United States a ship which is at the port of Amsterdam in order to take on armaments and transport them to to Guatemala, the present centre of the main activities

which are being carried out towards the subversive ends already expressed. The information of the Dominican Government coincides with that of United Press and also reveals that the Caribbean Legion acquired in Czechoslovakia some months before the unsuccessful skirnish at Luperón war material of Czech manufacture, especially rifles and light machine guns. This information is fully confirmed because amongst the armaments captured by the Dominican Government form the Luperón expeditionaries were rifles and machine-guns of Czech manufacture.

»The events which are outlined above show without any doubt that the imperialist intervention which has been upsetting the peace in the Caribbean zone persists in its plans of attack against the Dominican Republic and other countries in the same region and that it does not cease in its determination to impose by force the ideology that is the spirit of all this revolutionary movement.

»But independently of the facts already mentioned certain evidence exists which has a close connection with these and which could be considered as data of undeniable interest in order to demonstrate the plans to carry out a fresh attack against the Dominican Republic and other nations, plans inspired by the disturbers of the peace in the Caribbean. Among the said data the declarations made in Havanna to the Cuban review «Bohemia» (on 26th June last) by the President of Cuba are worthy of mention; Dr. Ramón Grau San Martín, President of Cuba, declared that during his Government he encouraged the revolutionaries and he gave them every assistance against the Dominican Republic and that he maintains this attitude in favour of any fresh attack that may be carried out with the same object.

»Sr. Eufemio Fernández, Chief of the Secret Police of Cuba, who took part in the «Cayo Confites» and Luperón expeditions, also made some statements on his return to the capital of Cuba after having been interned in Cozumel and in Mérida; in the said declarations, published by the newspaper «Avance» (on July 9th last) he said that the failure of the last movement against the Dominican Republic did not mean any thing for the achievement of its final objects, since the conspirators «are disposed to lose all the battles that may be necessary» and he underlined the fact that at the present moment a fresh attack is

being prepared against the Dominican State institutions.

»This object is stated even more clearly in the declarations made to the Cuban press by the Governor of Oriente province, Dr. José Maceo; the Havanna newspaper «Prensa Libre» of June 25th of the current year published a synthesis of these declarations. The gentleman in question emphatically states that he applauds «the decision reached by the Mayors of his Province to the effect that Cuba should break off relations with Trujillo's Government; but he goes further still and considers that Cuba should declare war on the Dominican Republic».

»The professional agitators who are preparing this new attack against the Dominican Republic are anxious to create an ever increasingly propitious atmosphere for the carrying out of their plans and to foment an increasingly hostile spirit towards the Dominican Republic in the neighbouring counties where they are actively at work; for this reason they do not even stop short of committing repulsive acts of violence against the Dominicans who do not share their extremist ideology, this is shown by the crime committed against the Dominican citizen, Sr. Antonio Jorge Estévez, who was recently assassinated in the city of Havanna. The victim of this crime left the Dominican Republic bound for Puerto Rico on a voyage undertaken for reasons of health; in that place he accidentally came into contact with an individual who was in sympathy with the revolutionary group, who, availing himself of execrable manoeuvres persuaded him to go to the capital of Cuba; he then handed Sr. Estévez over to his fellow conspirators who assassinated him in such a mysterious way that the circumstances of his death have not yet been cleared up by the autorities.

»All these facts and proofs, both strengthened by many others which it would be too long to ennumerate, eloquently demonstrate the degree of abnormality prevailing in the Caribbean situation; protected by such abnormal conditions the professional agitators of this region are preparing a fresh attack against public order and the State institutions of Santo Domingo; they no longer even bother to cover up their activities, on the contrary they act openly and even boastfully as has been demonstrated both by the declarations made by the leaders of the revolutionary movement to the press in

Cuba and other countries, and by the unscrupulousness which they are publicly carrying out the preparations for their plans of intervention.

»The Dominican Republic, on acceding to the request made by the Inter-American Peace Commission, is determined above all to underline as accurately as possible a situation which —as this Distinguished Organization has recognized— implies grave dangers for peace in the Caribbean zone and which is of evident interest to the whole South American community.

»In view of such an alarming situation —which even more tham a simple threat to peace on the Continent means eventual war against certain South American countries— the Dominican Republic has believed it to be its duty to abstain, at least for the moment, from making a formal protest to the Government responsible for the acts of agression of which it has been the victim, because it believes, in accordance with its traditional policy, that the higher interest of maintaining peace cannot be subordinated to private quarrels. As a result of this criterion the Dominican Government does not intend on this occasion to lay any responsibility at the doors of the Government who have not fulfilled the obligations imposed by International Law in their relations with the Dominican Republic. The Dominican Republic, on acceding to the petition made by the Inter-American Peace Commission, has been inspired above all by the common interests of South America and it has been especially careful, on presenting the present report, not to make any allegations which would tend to diminish the objetivity and the universality of the criterion with which the situation should be examined. Thus, it does not wish to create new motives for friction between the Parties that are most directly concerned.

»Although the Government of the Dominican Republic appreciates the high mora worth and the laudable inclinations of the Governments represented at the Inter-American Peace Comission to carry out the most important of the lofty functions incumbent on that Organization, in other words, the ceaseless vigil for peace in the South American hemisphere, it is also fully convinced that the gravity of the situation and the imminence of the threat of war which exists in the Caribbean are not susceptible

to an efficacious solution except by the aplication of the measures which the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance places among the special attributes of the Consultative Council; the present situation cannot be solved by methods and initiative which by their essence only tend to facilitate the reconciliation of States involved in disputes and controversies and which will lack efficiency to put an to end situations of such magnitude and complexity as the one obtaining in the Caribbean.

»No situation is better adapted to the provisions laid down in Articles 30 and 60 of the Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of Río de Janeiro than the situation referred to in the data contained in the present exposition: the inviolability of Dominican territory and the sovereignty of its people have been affected by events of the greatest gravity which have taken place on various occasions on its soil or against its flag, and which at this moment continue to be carried out by agents who are acting with the support of other American Governments; these circumstances, given their nature and notoriety, not only come absolutely within the province of the conditions established in Article 60 of the afore-mentioned International Agreement, but they also come under the concept of armed attack referred to in Article 30 of the same document; on the other hand the threat which hangs permanently over the Dominican Republic and other Caribbean nations makes the situation one of great urgency that demands the most immediate and energetic collective attention.

»As a result, even though the Dominican Government is disposed to collaborate with the efforts of the Inter-American Peace Commission by al means within its power in order to find an adequate solution to the said international situation, and it is also disposed to make all possible adjustments in order to fall in with the advice of the Commission, it finds itself obliged to place on record with all clarity that that attitude does not in any case imply the intention of renouncing the right to have recourse to the Consultative Organization, when it considers this to be necessary, or to any of the international organizations whose intervention it considers to be efficacious in order to finish once and for all with the said international situation.

»Taking into account all that has been set out here,

the Government of the Dominican Republic has given us instructions to accede to the request of that Distinguished Organization; it is however of the opinion that in the present case the logical step would be to convene the Consultative Organization for an immediate meeting, in accordance with the procedure established to organize the urgent measures required by the international situation which prevails in the Caribbean zone.»

APPENDIX NUMBER 18

MESSAGE addressed to the Legislative Chambers on December 12th, 1949 requesting powers to declare war in the case of any act of armed agression.

Tho the President of the Senate.

Mr. President:

As the National Congress knows, the peace today enjoyed by the Republic has been menaced for more than three years by the subversive action which well known groups of extremist ideas and of an absolutely international type have been carrying out from abroad with the aid and support of certain Governments that are interested in supplanting the political régime and the public institutions of our country.

Between the months of July and September of 1947 a large scale military expedition whose object was to invade the Republic was got ready in Cuba under the avowed protection of the Government of Dr. Ramón Grau San Martín. The Dominican Government denounced to Cuba at the opportune moment the progress of the preparations made by that concentration of military forces which, on the other hand, could not be undertaken without the assistance and agreement of the authorities of that country and without the backing of their treasury funds. The requirements and warnings of this Government were not able to prevent the organizations of the expedition

down to the last detail, and the collection of the necessary equipment for the complete carrying out of its plans.

In view of the lack of diligence and the calculated negligence with which the Government of Cuba failed to comply with the obligations which, in face of the Dominican accusations, were imposed by the Treaties which serve as a base for the juridical Inter-American peace system, the Government of the Republic saw itself inevitably obliged to reinforce by its own means the national defence; as is natural it incurred considerable expenditure and sacrifice and it had to draw on funds which were destined for the extensive programme of social and economic recuperation on which my Government has been determined since its foundation.

The defence measures taken by the Executive Authorities to safeguard Dominican territory from the attack which had been announced gave rise —at a given moment, when the technical uselessness of the concentration of troops was already evident, on account of the resources of our defence— to the ostensible dispersal of the troops by regular contingents of the Cuban Navy. However this resolve did not obey any desire to remove the dangers which those military preparations implied for the tranquility of our country, had it been so the Government of Cuba would have interned the revolutionaries and it would have seized the important consignments of war equipment which these had managed to collect at «Cayo Confites»; however the revolutionaries were left in a position to continue to carry out their subversive designs against the Republic and against other countries in the Caribbean zone; for this reason they were able to carry them out at a later date to the alarm of the Continent.

The circumstance that the Government of Cuba failed to comply with its international engagements on that occasion gave the Dominican Government cause some time later, on June 19th of the current year, to be lamentably obliged to repel the attack which the 1947 conspirators carried out at the port of Luperón, where they used the same war material which the Cuban authorities had left in their hands.

Unimpeachable proofs have come to our hands that the attack suffered by our country in June last was organized and prepared in Guatemala with the co-operation

of the Government of that country, which suppllied funds to the insurgents who had come from «Cayo Confites», it protected their military concentrations, it directed and planned the military training of their contingents, it gave facilities for the permanence of their air units on Guatemalan territory and it finally protected and organized the departure of these latter for Dominican territory in open and unashamed aggression.

The Dominican Government also knows —and the Cuban press itself has voiced this knowledge— that now fresh and more powerful expeditionary contingents directed against the Republic are being organized on Cuban territory to the prejudice of our unalienable rights of sovereignty and against the pacific structure of the Inter-American régime of harmonious political relations.

As you will realize all this situation has become, and is, possible because from its beginnings it has been linked to the expansionist programme of powerful political influences from abroad which have no roots in the consciousness of our people, but which are fatally determined on its destruction and misfortune. No historical or juridical circumstances authorize those Governments in interfering in the home affairs of the Republic, whose supreme leadership is of interest and concern only to the Dominican people. In spite of this though, for some time past we have had to face the serious dangers of the impact of armed intervention in our country, merely because our regime and way of life is incompatible with the imperialistic designs that threaten and outrage us.

I consider it opportune and necessary also to inform the National Congress that this alarming state of affairs has come about and is maintained in spite of the appeals addressed to the appropriate International organizations by the Dominican Government with praiseworthy patience and with the object of obtaining a solution to the existing situation by conciliatory means, The Government has complied in every way with the obligations imposed by the System, but so far the juridical weapons of the Inter-American organization have not been able to dispel the ever-present danger of agression to which our country is exposed. For the information of the Congress I have attached to the present Message a collection of documents prepared to this end by the Chancellory which refer to

the diplomatic procedure employed by the Government to bring this serious abnormality to the attention and investigation of the competent international organizations.

Neither my Government nor I have cause to mistrust the results of this procedure. We place absolute faith in the lofty and peaceful aims of those international conciliation centres and on them we centre our hopes for a better world, but the exaggerated pressure brought to bear by the enemy forces that surround us obliges me to ponder deeply on the elements of the situation in order to be able to face it with the sense of responsibility that is required of us.

Against my prodoundest convictions as a statesman and leader, against the peaceful and constructive course of my political history, against the whole structure of my political programme, I am now obliged to address myself to you, not only to inform you of the grave events to which I have referred above, but to request from your constitutional powers the appropriate autorization, so that the Government may be able in the face of a fresh attempt at attack— to take up the attitude that national dignity and the preservation of the Dominican people demand.

By reason of the provisions of Paragraph 14 of Article 49 of the Constitution I address myself to that organization so that it may authorize the Executive Authority by means of the appropriate decree to declare war on any country which knowingly protects or tolerates on its territory concentrations of forces that are trained, equiped and organized for military action, with the object of invading the Republic; or which facilitates, assists or makes possible in any other manner the departure of invasion troops from its territory directed against the Dominican Republic; the said decree must moreover authorize the Executive Authority to take measures against any country which endangers the peace of the Republic by the said means, providing always that the said nation has been duly notified by this Government of the preparations being carried out there against our country, and providing always that the measures adopted are in proportion to the magnitude and importance of the preparations in progress for aggression.

From all that I have set forth the state of grave peril to which the Republic is exposed can be clearly deduced.

The repetition of events and situations which are so completely contrary to the spirit of the Pacts of Reciprocal Security which control the relations between the countries of South America and the inefficiency with which, up till now, the system of guarantees assured by those pacts functions in respect of our demands, places our country in the necessity of adopting legitimate defence measures; this necessity authorizes her, without any shadow of doubt, to seek her own means of defence and the necessary elements to ensure her own safety.

When Treaties are broken and the most elementary rules of the international community are not taken into account, when the written Law is not sufficient to impose effective norms of respect and honourable co-operation between States, then a supreme right arises, a right which is immanent and natural and protects and leads nations by the paths of right behaviour towards the solution of their most ardouous and difficult problems. It is this natural right of legitimate defence which must serve as a base for the resolution which, in this message, I request from you.

APPENDIX NUMBER 19

MESSAGE of December 26th, 1949, on receiving the powers conceded by the Legislative Chambers to declare war in the case of any act of armed agression.

Gentlemen, Members of the National Congress:

On receiving the powers which this distinguished Legislative Body has judged opportune to concede to me in reply to the Message which I addressed to it on the 12th of this month, I consider it my duty to appear before you to make absolutely clear the intentions which motivated that request. We are living through an extremely important moment in our history and grave responsibilities surround us, for which reason it is necessary for me to speak to the Nations in the deep realization of the realities that surround us.

Since the middle of 1945 alarming reports began to reach my hands through various channels concerning the seditious activities which in some of the countries of the Caribbean were taking place with the object of fomenting civil war in the Republic by means of one or more armed expeditions on a large scale destined to produce a change of the present régime in this country.

The end of hostilites at the conclusion of the Second World War left a considerable excess of war material within reach of the insurgents for whom it would be relatively easy to supply themselves with the necessary equipment for their invasion plans.

On October 19th, 1944, Dr. Grau San Martín was inaugurated President of Cuba. During the electoral campaign preceding his election he publicly expressed his unfriendly sentiments towards the Dominican Government. Notwithstanding this I decided to accept the invitation which was given to the Government requesting their presence at the inaugural ceremony; with this object a large Dominican delegation presided over by the Secretary of State for Foreign affaire then visited Havanna.

On March 15th, 1945, Dr. Juan José Arévalo was inaugurated President of Guatemala. The Government of the Dominican Republic was also present at the functions organized to celebrate this occasion, represented by a Special Mission. At one of the festivities that took place at that time President Arévalo, according to information given by the head of our Delegation, inappropriately and to the great surprise of the Dominican diplomat said the following: «Tell your Government that within two years I shall visit your country.» Though, on account of the remoteness of the date, the Minister could not promise to accompany him during his journey, he could and did assure him that «his visit would be received with the greatest pleasure by President Trujillo, the Government and the Dominican people.» Our diplomatic representive left the reception without being able to make up his mind as to whether «Arévalo is a rebellious and ironic wit or a man who says things sincerely and honestly.» Events following on that conversation cleared up the enigma of President Arévalo's intentions when he promised to visit this country.

In October 1945 the riot of Democratic Action supplanted in Venezuela the constitutional regime established there and Rómulo Betancourt took over the reins of Government in that country. The events that took place as a result of that change are too well known for me to pause to relate them. Immediately after the sacking of the Dominican Legation in Caracas Betancourt broke off diplomatic relations between Venezuela and the Dominican Republic instead of duly apologizing for that outrage. In July 1946 the Head of the Revolutionary Government Junta carried out an ostentatious and conspicuous visit to various countries in the Caribbean basin, with the object of undermining the international position of our

country and to propose its isolation from the hemisphere. The Dominican Chancellory protested over this scandalous and extraordinary action which was against all juridical norms, against the firmest principles and the best established rules of the whole International South American system. Since then a new spirit —visibly induced by the demagogic, seditious and subversive temperament of the presumptive Head of the Venezuelan Government— became manifest; this new spirit which he desired to infuse into inter-continental relations, a spirit the consequences of which are being felt by the Dominican Republic with the gravest injuries of all kinds.

Towards the end of the same year, 1945, it came to my knowledge that agents of the Governments of Cuba, Venezuela and Guatemala were transferring to «Port-au-Prince» encharged with the mission of proposing to the President of Haiti a plan of attack against the Republic; that country would only have to contribute to the carrying out of the plan by allowing the free transit through its territory of the invasion forces which were to be organized in Cuba with common resources. The President of Haiti was overthrown without having had the opportunity to come to a decision concerning the proposal.

While these conspiracies were afoot and the preparations for war to which they tended were being carried out, the Government and the country became the victims of the most insulting and outrageous press campaign, organized and paid for by these enemies. The tendentious propaganda which was unleashed against us was aimed not only at creating for us an atmosphere of hostility and hatred abroad, but also to prepare international puhlic opinion for the moment when the force of arms would begin its fateful work of devastation.

During the course of 1946 numerous reports continued to come to the ears of the Government concerning the constant efforts and preparations which in Venezuela as well as in Cuba and Guatemala were being undertaken with the object of invading our country with the collaboration and backing of the Governments of those nations. In October of that year there was no longer any doubt concerning the nearness of the attack. In the first few days of November I gave instructions to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for him to convene the diplom-

atic Corps accredited to this capital in order to inform it of the situation. This measure was of particular interest in respect of the Cuban Chargé d'Affaires because, from that moment on, his Government was officially notified of the events that were taking shape there against the security of the Republic.

At the beginning of 1947 the gathering of the international brigades who were to be engaged in the attack was begun at different points on Cuban territory. The contingents arrived mainly from Venezuela and Guatemala and they were composed of individuals of the most heterogeneous extraction. To refer to all the details of those times would be too lengthy and for this reason I shall limit myself to the most fundamental aspects.

During the first half of 1947 some 1,600 men of different nationalities gathered in Cuba and went into training there with the sole object of invading the Republic; of these less than 6 % were Dominicans. The Technological Institute of Cuba was the centre of military training for the recruits enrolled in the expedition. The ports of the northwest, specially Nuevitas, served as bases for the expeditionaries and their ships, one of which, hoisting illegally the American flag, looted and captured, in front of the Cayo Lobo lighthouse in British waters, a Dominican merchant ship, the motorship Angelita, having lowered that flag and hoisted the Cuban as soon as this act of vandalism was concluded.

Up till this moment the Government of Cuba has given no explanation of this typical actot piracy, nor has it returned the ship which remains at one of the ports of that country, nor has it proferred the apologies due to this Government.

The quantity of armaments that the insurgents managed to collect was considerable: some twenty-eight planes, six ships, more than three thousand five hundred Mauser rifles, a number of machine-guns, cannons for attack and anti-aircraft guns, hand-grenades, bombs, etc., etc. The final concentration of the expeditionaries took place at one of the keys adjacent to Cuban territory called Cayo Confites where they were ready to begin their enterprise in the first fortnight of August, 1947.

In order to organize, train and put into fighting trim all these individuals it was necessary to take precautions

and to carry out preparations which could not by any means pass unnoticed by the Government of Cuba. But it is not only this; those complicated preparations for war could not have been effective without the complicity of the Cuban authorities and without help of all kinds from that Government. I do not consider it necessary to enlarge on this point as the President himself ,Grau San Martín, confessed to this active participation in all these events during an interview that he gave to the review Bohemia, which appeared on June 26th, 1949.

The fact that the Head of State should compromise his country in acts which are so completely at variance with the spirit of the basic principles of the international community and to the letter of the organic laws of the society of nations, is evidently inconceivable within the framwork of co-operation and reciprocal respect in which the International Juridical System functions, and also within the framework of the juridical system of good relations throughout the world. The Dominican Republic, faced with the unjustified attitude of the Government of Cuba, prepared all its means of defence; because the nation that leaves its orbit in this way and breaks the firmest laws of international conscience and of governmental morals places itself outside the bounds of sanity and the consequences resultant on this are therefore unforeseeable.

In spite of this the Government of the Republic behaved —as it has always behaved— with the greatest equanimity.

As soon as these plans were revealed and the part played by the Government of Cuba in their execution was established before the tribunal of public opinion, the Cuban Government had no option but to dissimulate its responsibility by means of last-minute procedures which however could not avoid the large-scale damage that the attempt at invasion caused to the Republic.

I cannot pause now to mention one by one the continnous requests and petitions that the Dominican Government addressed to that of Cuba so that it should nullify the invasion preparations, in accordance with the pacts in force between both countries. The most significant of these appeals was the one that I personally addressed to President Grau San Martín in the lengthy cablegram of August 20th, 1947 and which only received an evasive and purely formal reply of no interest or practical use.

However at that moment the gravest threat of war in our history was hanging over our country.

If in spite of the negligence and lack of diligence with which Dr. Grau San Martín's Government acted in this grave affair; if in spite of the numberless injuries which that inexplicable attitude caused to our country, a traditional friend of Cuba, that Government had fulfilled its obligations, when its regular armed forces entered the areas infested with the expeditionaries, if it had then interned at least the ring-leaders of the brigades, it it had then seized the large amount of war material in their possession, if it had at that time justly punished those responsible for the boarding and kidnapping of the ANGELITA, if it had then returned this ship to its legitimate owners, after repairing the damage suffered, and if finally it had then offered to the Dominican Government the apologies and explanations which were due in both the moral and juridical orders; that offensive affair would then have been resolved without the possibility of fresh and bitterer consequences, even though the Republic had already suffered serious damage which it would have been prepared to forget.

But things did not happen in that way. The brigades remained at large and in the possession of their war equipment; and after Cayo Confites they were allowed to transform themselves in what was later called the Caribbean Legion, a military organization of an international type, which was also destined to carry out fresh invasion plans directed against the Dominican Republic, such as the one that was put into practice on June 19th of current year at the port of Luperón.

All these extremely abnormal circumstances caused my Government to negotiate through the appropriate diplomatic channels the reparations which were due to the nation and the cessation of hostilities of which it was such a gratuitous victim. As the Government of Cuba took no account of the applications made directly to it and requesting an explanation of the events that had occurred recently, showing itself to be deaf to all demands for a direct agreement concerning the questions that these events motivated, we decided to use the means that the International peace and Conciliation organizations placed at our disposal. The obvious move was to take the matter

before the International Court of Justice in order to obtain in this way a judgement which would satisfy the honour of the nation and the responsibility of the Government. This way though could not be followed, because Cuba did not then belong to this obligatory Court, and therefore that nation could not be obliged to appear before that distinguished Tribunal without its own consent.

Neither was it possible for us to have recourse to the world organization, because the Second Article of the Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of Rio de Janeiro forbids it; according to this article no South American country can use the channels of the world organization without first exhausting those offered by the Regional System in order to resolve disputes and difficulties between its member States. The possibilities of a compromise by arbitration between the Dominican Republic and Cuba were also out of the question because Cuba refused to deal with us directly in this question.

Left open to us therefore was the conciliation procedure established under the Inter-American Juridical System. However, the System has not yet produced a system of justice, properly speaking, that can be compared with the world Court, where the interests of the parties can be debated far from the influence of the passions and political ideas of the moment. When it is a question of problems giving rise to friction, the deliberations and solutions of the Inter-American organization are always, of necessity, exposed to political influences and interests which often obscure the juridical aspect of the dispute or irregularity. These facts did not escape the consideration of the Government, but even at the risk that the far from disinterested interference of those countries that had shown their hostility to us —even going the length of using arms against us— would pervert the clear juridical position on which we based the defence of our interests, the Government decided to take its dispute with Cuba to one of the conciliation organizations of the continental system.

In July 1948 the Dominican Government submitted the question arising from the invasion preparations made in Cuba against this country to the consideration of the Inter-American Peace Commission constituted by Resolution 14 at the Conference of Chancellors which took place in Havanna in 1940. The result of this measure merely

amounted to a recommendation made by the organization on September 9th, 1948 to both parties to the effect that they should adjust their differences by direct negotiations. As the Government of Cuba had already expressed its intention of not negotiating with us in the affair under discussion, this latter stood exactly as it had at the beginning and the state of the question has remained the same up to now. For the Dominican Republic the Recommendation of September 9th involved a simple avoiding of the issue. From that date till now we have uselessly exhausted diplomatic methods in an endeavour to obtain Cuba's conformity to the Declaration of the Pead Commission. Throughout nearly fifteen months it has proved impossible for us to draw the attention of that Government to the consideration of the affair.

During that interval fresh events occurred as alarming and grave as those which we had already put before the Inter-American Commission, these were also directed to the disturbing of the peace existing in our country.

Concurrently with the organization of piracy at Cayo Confites, President Arévalo of Guatemala broke off diplomatic relations between his country and ours; the same thing happened in Costa Rica, when José Figueres, who had been raised to power by the Caribbean Legion, took over the reins of government in that Central American sister Republic. The time limit fixed in 1945 by President Arévalo for his visit to our country came to an end with his breaking off of the diplomatic relations between the the two nations. No occurrance imputable to the Dominican Republic gave any motive for this diplomatic rupture.

The Caribbean Legion acted publicly in certain countries and its expenses were borne by the Governments —as has been proved in relation to those of Guatemala and Costa Rica— and at last it managed to deliver the blow which we received, as I have said, on June 19th, 1949. Already in my first Message I explained how this *coup* was organized and prepared on Guatemalan territory, probably with the co-operation of President Arévalo and other authorities in his Government. The Plan was not executed on the scale envisaged, owing to lack of time. The participation of the Head of the Secret Police of Cuba in the preparations for the Luperón attack is already known to everyone. Sr. Eufemio Fernández was one of

the brigade ring-leaders who were to arrive in this country last June. There is no doubt that he acted as a liaison agent between the Cubans and Guatemalans concerned in the plan of attack.

The events which surrounded and followed the Luperón affair are also generally known. A few days before the blow fell I received a visit from a confidential agent of President Prío Socarrás, who sent word to tell me not to worry about the invasion preparations of which I had informed him before, because these were not directed against the Republic, but against another Central American country. The individual who paid me this visit handed me a note written in President Prío's own handwriting which I attach for the information of the Congress.

When the Cayo Confites preparations were at their culminating point, on July 19th 1947, the Dominican Minister in Cuba visited President Grau San Martín in order to take his leave on account of having been appointed elsewhere. The President retained our representative longer than the latter had expected, only to enlarge on assurances of friendship towards myself and the expression of affectionate feelings towards the Dominican people. I also attach here the original letter written to me on that same date by the Dominican Minister. In this way you will be able to compare the terms of that communication with those of the declarations that later on Dr. Grau San Martín himself made to «Bohemia», when he was no longer President.

The scandal promoted by the seditious activities of the Caribbean Legion and by the disastrous results of the Luperón frustrated attack gave rise to the convening by the Government of the United States itself —under its sole responsibility— of the Inter-American Peace Commission with the object of observing, studying and watching over the grave situation prevailing in this zone, thus making public its concern for the reigning state of affairs.

The Commission, which was in possession of all the facts, implications, origins and effects of the problem, after a suitable period for consultation, issued by unanimous consent a public declaration on September 14th, 1949, in which it set out its points of view concerning the situation and fixed with great clarity and precision, its criterion concerning the same. In his speech made before the Pan-

american Society of New York on the following day, September 15th, the Secretary of State of the United States also affirmed in no uncertain terms the attitude of the Government in respect of that crisis.

The contents of these two declarations, of an essentially political nature, should have been sufficient to ensure a readjustment of the abnormal state of affairs to which I have referred. The Dominican Government saw in these solemn and admonitory statements the beginnings of a new policy of good will and it got ready to contribute firmly and loyally to its complete carrying out.

We adhered without reserve to the aims of the readjustment drafted by the Peace Commission and the Secretary of State of the United States, knowing however that the complete accomplishment of those norms —on account of their being purely political— would not bring the Dominican Republic satisfaction on any of the aspects of the emminently juridical problem with which she was confronted on account of the state of agression obtaining on the part of certain neighbouring Governments.

It is opportune to state that the country has suffered deeply on account of the effects of the situation described. In the last three years we have distributed more than twenty million pesos, which amounts to twenty million dollars, for national defence. As these investments have had to be made abroad and in dollars, our foreign currency reserves have diminished by a considerable sum. The state of war in which we are virtually maintained obliges us to reinforce the costs of defence with proportionate sacrifices; the indefinite prolongation of such an abnormal state of affairs will end by seriously debilitating our nascent economy, however healthy it is.

The Dominican Government has endured this situation with patience and equanimity since 1945. It has given clear proofs of moderation and serenity of spirit in extremely difficult moments, but this discord has reached such a pitch that I feel myself obliged to share with the other authorities of the State the accumulated responsibility of this affair.

Last October, before four months had passed since the Luperón attack, we received evidence that in Cuba, with the assistance given by the Red Cross of that country, a fresh act of warlike agression was being prepared against

the Dominican Republic. The sad experience of former occasions convinced me that in a short time this new menace would become converted into an all too evident reality in the realm of facts and that the country would return again to the anguish and uncertainty of an attack.

This means that in the Caribbean there are forces that refuse to take into account the proposals —worthy of all respect— made by the Inter-American System, forces which remain on the margin of all the norms, written and unwritten, and which are determined to discredit the System and render useless its peaceful and conciliatory proposals and aims.

Our position in this conflict, up to this moment, has been very disadvantageous. Meanwhile the enemies of the Country turned their backs on the System in all bad faith; and in this way they create for us a dangerous situation from which we have no exit except by acting according to the circumstances of each case; the Republic cannot take refuge in juridical coercion, which does not in fact exist and which for this reason cannot impose the cessation of the activities which hem us in nor determine with clarity the juridical effects of these attacks.

The present state of legitimate defence derives therefore and obligatorily from this very special situation; the Republic cannot free itself from this state until a set of guarantees is forthcoming which will safeguard it from the possibilities of attack to which it is now exposed.

As the right to employ legitimate defence, individually or collectively, is a prerogative of a natural and necessary order, of which no person or State can be deprived, all the statutes of international organizations, both universal and regional, have taken this into account to legislate for it in an especial manner and without restrictions. The Pact of the League of Nations, the United Nations Charter, the Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of Río de Janeiro and the Charter of the Organization of (South) American States have recognized the existence of the right which all their members have to defend themselves against all aggression which may endanger their safety of sovereignty.

The Republic has been the back-bone of the System. We have spent millions to defend it and to preserve its high ideals; we have made the pathetic sacrifice of our

economy and we are also disposed to sacrifice our human reserves. If circumstances impel us into a pitiless war, we shall join battle against all our most ardent desires, only to sustain the principles of good inter-American relations and the noble concept of reciprocal respect and equality on which these are founded. Far from wishing to separate ourselves from that harmonious whole, we are on the contrary disposed to sacrifice ourselves in the holocaust of these principles and ideals.

The consequences of a fresh attack on the Republic, prepared abroad by means of the assistance which official foreign institutions may be able to give, would have enormous and unforeseeable repercussions. We must avoid at all costs and without counting the cost, this attack. We have been made the pretext to introduce into our Continent the whole enigmatic contents of that struggle of passions and ideas which at this time divides the world; and this is made to take on the appearance of an internal movement. If we succumb the firmest postulates of the South American organization will succumb with us, especially that which is most closely linked to the juridical history of the Continent: THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION.

On appearing before this august assembly I wish to warn the world in a most solemn manner of the necessity we all feel that the perilous state of affairs in which we find ourselves should cease for ever, that the grave results which may be derived from this state should be conscientiously measured and weighed up and that we should make a common effort to reach an agreement in order to readjust anew in this zone the spirit of fraternity which up till recently presided over the relations in our Hemisphere.

Neither you nor I, nor anyone in this country desires war or is in ignorance of its disastrous results. In order to avoid it we have borne with patience and serenity the most unjust outrages. But we cannot guarantee that the others, those who direct the acts of agression that up to now we have tolerated, will not lead us beyond the limits of tolerance and place us at the cross roads. If that happens we shall have to defend ourselves with ferocity, since we can renounce all save honour.

May you be convinced, gentlemen of the Congress,

that the powers you have just granted me, and for which I am grateful —as signifying complete trust in my sense of responsibility— will never be used in acts of aggression, nor will they compromise the Republic in any enterprise which is not one of scrupulous, legitimate and necessary defence of its interests, of its dignity and of its history. I wish at the same time to solemnly declare to you that these powers will not be used to the prejudice or disregard of the international engagements which the Republic has contracted, nor against the spirit that informs the juridical system of international South American relations. The Government is always disposed to appear at conciliation reunions, but with the express reserve that no one may condemn us to die of hunger and of shame.

APPENDIX NUMBER 20

MESSAGE to the National Congress, on February 19th, 1950, requesting the revocation of the powers granted to him (the President) to declare war.

Gentlemen, Members of the National Congress:

It is for me a motive of legitimate satisfaction to address myself again to this distinguished Legislative Body in order to inform you concerning the events that have recently occurred in relation with the state of affairs prevailing in the Caribbean zone. As I had occasion to communicate to you in the messages which I addressed to you on December 12th and 20th last, the trend taken by the international situation in which the Republic was involved obliged me to request extraordinary powers from the National Congress in order to face the accumulated responsibilities of an adequate defence of our national interests and sovereignty which were being seriously threatened by the intrusion of foreign Governments and forces leagued against us in the determination to pervert the legal order established in this country.

You saw fit to concede to me these powers, thus sharing with the Executive Authorities the responsibilities of the case. From the very beginning I established clearly and specifically in my messages to Congress that the measure I had requested —a measure directed to the preservation and legitimate defence of the Republic— was based on the pacts regulating the international commun-

ity, both in its world aspect and in its South American modality. At that time I expressly referred to the United Nations Charter, to the Río de Janeiro Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and to the Charter of the Organization of (South) American States, in as much as those bodies establish and organize the natural and necessary right to legitimate defence which aids the members of the community in the face of any acts of agression of which they may be the victims.

On January of the current year, through orders which I expressly transmitted to our representative on the Council of the Organization of (South) American States, the Consultative Organ instituted by the Regional System was informed of all the aspects of the abnormal and chaotic situation at the moment in which relations in this region of South America are evolving. The first step taken, motivated by the Dominican Government's request, was the designation of a Commission of Enquiry responsible for investigating the events that had been denounced in the place where they had occurred; this Commission was encharged to hand in a report concerning the same to the Consultative Organ.

The Commission, in the discharge of its duties, visited Haiti, The Dominican Republic, Cuba and Guatemala. Its members are now in Washington and are in the process of terminating their important pacifying mission. On their way through our country I had occasion to converse at length with the distinguished members of the Commission, both jointly and separately. I am completely convinced of the probity, independence of judgement and objectivity with which they are endeavouring to carry out the delicate task that was entrusted to them and I greatly hope that this task will be of the greatest service in arriving at a definitive solution of the prevailing difficulties.

Following on the pro-American course of the whole of my public life and the notable part played by the Republic in the elaboration of the Inter-American Juridical System, as soon as I came into contact with the distinguished members of the Commission of Enquiry, I engaged with them to collaborate frankly and openly in the lofty aims they pursue for achieving pacification and readjustment in the concert of continental relations. Before them, I solemnly engaged to aid, by my influence

in the Government and the country, in the maintenance and security of the System, as being the only means of preserving the spirit of Inter-American fraternity and harmony, as it has existed up till now.

In that altruistic enterprise and in the confidence which the decisions of the Consultative Organ inspire in me, I aspire to see a sure guarantee of our dignity and of our sovereignty and in this we shall place our trust for the future. The Dominican Republic and her Government will never be deaf to an appeal for solidarity and we shall never at any time fail to make all possible efforts for conciliation.

This is the right moment for demonstrating this. It is therefore my sincerest desire that —in order to facilitate the tasks of the Commission that visited us only a few short days ago, and in this way to open up for the Consultative Organ the channels for a definitive solution of the affair submitted to it by our own Government, on January 6th of this year— you should revoke in all its clauses and unconditionally the Decree of December 26th, 1949, by means of which you saw fit to concede to me extraordinary powers for the defence of our country in the case of aggression.

APPENDIX NUMBER 21

List of persons of Dominican nationality who registered in the archives of the intelligence service of the armed forces of the Dominican Republic, who figured as having participated or helped in the organization of the international brigaide of cayo confites,

1. ACOSTA MONTAS, Luis.
2. ALFONSECA, José Dolores.
3. ALFONSECA, Puro.
4. ALMONTE, Juan.
5. ALVAREZ VALVERDE, Br. Manuel Ramón.
6. ARIAS, Palmolo.
7. AYBAR, Lino.
8. BAEZ, Andrés Julio (a) Grillo «B».
9. BONILLA AYBAR, Pedro Pablo.
10. BONILLA, José A.
11. BONNELLY, Danilo.
12. BORDAS, Luis Manuel.
13. BORDAS HERNANDEZ, Diego Emilio.
14. CABRERA, Vicenta.
15. CANTO RODRIGUEZ, Dr. Francisco.
16. CAPELLAN DIAZ, Persio Ladislao.
17. CARRASCO, Clemente.
18. CASTELLANOS, María.
19. CASTRO RECIO, Raúl Enrique.
20. CASTILLO CRUZ, Agraciado (a) Espuela de Gallo.
21. CAVARI, Luis.
22. COHEN FERNANDEZ, Cruz Felipe.
23. CORONA, Mario.
24. CRUZ, Bruno de la.
25. CRUZ, Rafael de la.
26. CRUZ, Luis.
27. CUELLO, Leovigildo.
28. DALMAU FEBRES, Luis H.
29. DIAZ CALCAÑO, Luis.
30. DUCODRAY MAN- Félix Servio.
31. ESPAILLAT DE ALFONSECA, Felisa (a) Fela.
32. ESPINAL O ESPINAL MARTINEZ, Julio o Julián Salvador.
33. FELIU ARZENO, Miguel Angel.
34. FERNANDEZ, Gregorio E.
35. FERNANDEZ MARMOL Gabriel E. (a) Pipí.

36. FERNANDEZ, Rafael Ponpilio.
37. FIALLO, René.
38. FROMETA PEREYRA, Luis María (a) Billo.
39. GIL, Santiago.
40. GOMEZ RODRIGUEZ, Víctor Antonio.
41. GRULLON, José Diego.
42. GUERRERO, Rafael Andrés.
43. GUERRERO, Andrés.
44. GUERRERO, Filoné.
45. HADDAD, Nassim.
46. HERNANDEZ, Marino.
47. HOLGUIN GUZMAN, Francisco José (a) Chichí.
48. JIMENEZ, Enrique.
49. KINGSLEY, Dr. José Ramón.
50. LEAL, Guillermo.
51. LEON ELIAS, Alberto.
52. LEONOR MERCADO, Manuel A.
53. LOPEZ CESTEROS, José Ramón (a) Chimbilín.
54. LOPEZ CESTERO, Mamelo.
55. LOPEZ VALDEZ, Manuel
56. LOZADA SANCHEZ, Aníbal.
57. LUPERON FRANCO, Antonio.
58. MAINARDI REYNA, L. Moreno, Dr.
59. MAINARDI REYNA, Silín.
60. MARTINEZ, Ramón.
61. MARTINEZ SANCHEZ, Luis.
62. MEJIA BAEZ, José María.
63. MEJIA DEL CASTILLO, Ramón Emilio (a) Pichirilo.
64. MEJIA GUZMAN, Luis Aquiles.
65. MENDEZ LAZALA, José Altagracia (a) Barón.
66. MODESTO CAMINERO, Víctor.
67. MOREL, Marino.
68. MORETA MORENO, Andrés Julio.
69. MORERA SILVERIO, Mario.
70. MOSCOSO SALAZAR, Rafael.
71. MOYA GRISANTY, Luis.
72. NAZAR, Miguel Angel (a) Nakle.
73. NIVAR DE LOS SANTOS, José (a) Pepe.
74. NUÑEZ HIJO, Juan.
75. ORTIZ ARZEÑO, Rafael.
76. ORTIZ DEL ROSARIO, Víctor Manuel (a) Pipí.
77. PAULINO BAEZ, Manuel Cosme.
78. PEREZ, José Danilo.
79. PEGUERO, Catalina.
80. PEREZ VENTURA, Billo o José.
81. PEREZ CABRAL, Ramón.
82. PICHIRILO, Ramón Emilio.
83. RAMIREZ, Cristiana.
84. REYNOSO, Chepito.
85. RICARDO RICO, Herminio.
86. RIVERA, Ferdinand.
87. RODRIGUEZ Y RODRIGUEZ, Román Neomicio.
88. RODRIGUEZ ROMERO, Rafael Reinerio.
89. RODRIGUEZ, Abraham.
90. RODRIGUEZ, Rafael Ramón.
91. ROMAN, Abraham.
92. SANTANA, Francisco (a) Liquí.
93. SANTINI ORTIZ, Luis Nicolás.
94. SANTIAGO, Reinaldo.
95. SANTIAGO, Wilfredo (a) Willy.
96. SIMO, José A. (a) Papito.
97. SIMO, Ramón.
98. SOLANO PINEDA, Enrique.
99. SOLER FERNANDEZ, Rafael Ramón.
100. SOTO, Miguel.

101. TEJEDA SALAZAR, Ulises.
102. TEJEDA, Eliseo.
193. TORO, Sergio del
104. VALENZUELA ACEVEDO, Rafael Eudoro.
105. VARGAS, Félix María.
106. VARGAS LIMA, José A.
107. VELAZCO VARGAS, Luis María.
108. ZAPATA NUÑEZ, Gabino A. (a) Aramís.
109. ZARLETA, Nicanor.
110. ZARLETA, Juan.

List of persons of dominican nationality who are registered in the archives of the intelligence service of the armed forces of the Dominican Republic.

1. ABREU, Ramón Antonio.
2. ABREU, Ramón Antonio.
3. ABREU, Ramón.
4. ABREU, Ramón.
5. ABREU, Ramón.
6. ACEVEDO, Benito.
7. ADAMES Y MEJIA, Carolina (a) Negra.
8. AGUILERA, Francisco.
9. ALCALA VARON, Salvador.
10. ALCANTARA MARTINEZ, Casiano Federico.
11. ALMONTE FERNANDEZ, Mercedes Sobeida (a) Matila.
12. ALONSO PICHARDO, Pablo Augusto.
13. ALVARES FADUL, MIGUEL.
14. ALVAREZ IRIARTE, Manuel Gerardo.
15. ALVARES TINEO, Oscar Rafael.
16. ALVAREZ VALENCIA, René Augusto.
17. ALVAREZ VALENCIA, Rubén Francisco Antonio.
18. ANDREU IGLESIA, César.
19. ANDUJAR HERNANDEZ, Angel.
20. ANTUÑA SUAREZ, Rufino.
21. ARAUJO VALDEMORA, Andrés.
22. ARIAS MENDOZA, Bienvenido.
23. ARIAS, Julia Estela (a) Julita.
24. ARIZA SIMO, Adolfo.
25. ARIZA HERNANDEZ, José Manuel.
26. ARZENO BRUGAL, Jorge.
27. BAEZ ENCARNACION, Antonio Eurípides.
28. BAEZ KERMES, Pedro Julio.
29. BAEZ, Pablo.
30. BAEZ PEREZ, Julio César.
31. BALTASAR, Miguel Angel.
32. BALLESTER FERRER, César Vinicio.
33. BARN, José.
34. BARREIRO MOLINA, José Rafael.
35. BARREIRO LAJARA, Rafael.

36. BARRIENTOS, Santos.
37. BATISTA DELGADO, Guillermo Amado.
38. BATISTA SANTOS, Manuel.
39. BATISTA CLISANTE, José Manuel.
40. BATLLE MOLINA DE HERNANDEZ, Manuela.
41. BENCOSME RODRIGUEZ, Toribio.
42. BERGES, Gustavo.
43. BLASCO, Angel.
45. BOBADILLA, Pedro Alvaro.
46. BONILLA AYBAR, Mercedes Carmen.
47. BONILLA ATILES, Rafael Víctor (a) Fello.
48. BOOM ANGLADA, Milagros Lilian.
49. BORREL, Antonio.
50. BORREL, Laly.
51. BUJOSA, Antonio.
52. BURGOS CASTILLO, Arístides (a) Negro.
53. BURGOS VANDERLINDER, Alfonso.
54. BURGOS VANDERLINDER, Carmencita.
55. BURGOS, Federido Rafael (a) Fello.
56. CABALLERO, José María.
57. CABRAL MANZANO, Carlos Luis.
58. CABRILA MEJIA, Tobías Emilio.
59. CALLEJO, Mauricio.
60. CAMPOS HERNANDEZ, Manuel.
61. CANO URBAEZ, Brigo.
62. CANTOS DINZEY, Alfonso.
63. CANTOS ROSARIO, Bienvenido (a) Machito.
64. CANTOS ROSARIO, Juan.
65. CARBONELL DE DIAZ, Leticia.
66. CARELA, Manuel (a) Lico.
67. CASILDA, Nicolás.
68. CASTELLANOS VARGAS, José Tiberio.
69. CASTILLO, VIUDA PICKT, Ana (a) Anita.
70. CASTILLO DE FORNIA (FORTENER), María.
71. CASTILLO GAUTRAUX, Moisés.
72. CASTILLO, Ramón Antonio (a) Bani.
73. CASTILLO, Ramón Antonio.
74. CASTILLO CURIEL, Luis Enrique.
75. CATINCHI, Margot.
76. CESTERO ALCALA, Julio Alberto.
77. CIMAN HIJO, Pedro.
78. COISCOU WEBER, Rodolfo Juan.
79. COLON, Luis A.
80. COLUMNA TEJEDA, Andrés Julio (a) Nepe.
81. CONCEPCION, Enriqueta.
82. CORADIN, Conrado.
83. CORADIN ESTRELLA, Víctor M.
84. CORADIN ESTRELLA, Roberto Antonio.
85. CORDERO RAVELO, Julio César.
86. CORDERO SALETA, Medardo Emilio.
87. CORDERO SALETA, Amiro o Américo.
88. CORDOVA DAVILA, Rafael.
89. CREALES MORCELO, Adán.
90. CREALES, Guarionex.
91. CRISTIAN, Héctor.
92. CRUZ, Ana Celeste.
93. CUELLO, Pablo.
94. CUELLO HIJO, Leovigildo (a) Momo.
95. CUEVAS VASQUEZ, Manuel.
96. DELANCE, Vicente Antonio (a) Vicentico.
97. DEVERS, Adriano.

98. DIAZ, Dulce María.
99. DIAZ TOLENTINO, Pedro Manuel (a) Pepe.
100. DOOMINGUEZ HERNANDEZ, César Persio.
101. DOMINGUEZ CHARRO, Darío.
102. DOMIGNUEZ, Luis María.
103. DOMINGUEZ CHARRO, Rafael (a) Fellito.
104. DUCOUDRAY MANSFIELD, Yolanda.
105. DULUG HERNANDEZ, Tancredo Anselmo.
106. DURAN, Carlos.
107. DUVERGE GUERRERO, Héctor Alcidds.
108. DUVERGE Y DUVERGE, Víctor Manuel (a) Chino Grimbert.
109. ELIAS RIJO, Manuel.
110. ELLIS, Wilberto.
111. ELLIS CAMBIASO DE CANTO, Esperanza.
112. ELLIS GUERRA, Rolando.
113. ERICKSON ALVAREZ, Floricer.
114. ERICKSON, Parmenio.
115. ERICKSON, Tomás Joaquín o Juan.
116. ESPAILLAT, Ardo.
117. ESPAILLAT RODRIGUEZ, José E.
118. ESPINAL JAVIER, Alfonso (a) Cabo Largo.
119. ESPINAL DE LEAL, Concepción Dolores (a) Lolita.
120. ESPINOLA REYES, Jovino Antonio.
121. ESTEVEZ CABRERA, Julio Raúl Rafael.
122. ESTEVEZ WEBER, Gerardo Rafael.
123. ESTEVEZ WEBER, Leda Mercedes Herminia.
124. FABIAN, Luis.
125. FANEYTE BRENES, Francisco J.
126. FEBLES hijo, Ramón (a) Mon.
127. FEDERO MERCEDES, José.
128. FELIZ MELO, Pedro Urbano.
129. FELIZ MOYA, Ana Rosina.
130. FERRE VELAZQUEZ, José Pablo.
131. FIALLO FIALLO, Fabio Alberto.
132. FIALLO Y FIALLO, José Arístides.
133. FIALLO SUAZO, Oscar Roberto.
134. FINKE GONZALEZ, Carlos Manuel.
135. FRIAS, Bienvenido (a) Black Bill.
136. FRIAS JAQUEZ, María Altagracia (a) Cuchín.
137. FRIAS DE BELLIARD, María Elena (a) Tinto.
138. FUERTE DUARTE, Héctor Bienvenido.
139. FUERTE VELOZ, Miguel Tomás.
140. GARCIA CARRASCO, Eladio de Jesús.
141. GARCIA CARRASCO, Félix de Jesús.
142. GARCIA DE QUEVEDO, Germán.
143. GARCIA, Luis Emilio.
144. GARCIA ROMAN, Miguel Angel.
145. GARCIA Y GARCIA, Ramón Bernardino (a) Ramoncito.
146. GENAO DE ACOSTA, María.
147. GIL MORALES, Félix.
148. GIL MORALES, Julio.
149. GIL, Julio.
150. GINER Y GARCIA, Alberto.
151. GOICO, Aura Enércida.
152. GOMEZ MEDINA, Porfirio.
153. GONZALEZ Y GONZALEZ, Manuel.

154. GONZALEZ PEGUERO, Santiago Eugenio (a) El Chino.
155. GRAFFER ANDUJAR, Rafael Eugenio.
156. GRANADO GRULLON, José Fernando.
157. GRAU, Carlos o José (a) Chicho.
158. GRISOLIA POLONEI, Carlos.
159. GRULLON MARTINEZ, Cecilio José (a) Cilo.
160. GUERRERO, Ramón (a) Bususo.
161. GUERRERO DEL ROSARIO, Teófilo.
162. GUILLIANI, Filipo.
163. GUILLIANI, Francisco Javier (a) Frank.
164. GUILLIANI, Ney.
165. HAZELL DE SASTRE, Hilda Estervina.
166. HENRIQUEZ SVELTY, Enrique Leo (a) Leito.
167. HENRIQUEZ GARCIA, Enriquillo (a) Quilito.
168. HENRIQUEZ, Hipólito.
169. HENRIQUEZ GARCIA, Angel Porfirio.
170. HENRIQUEZ SANCHEZ, Noel (a) Noelito.
171. HERNANDEZ, Obispo.
172. HERNANDEZ STHEVEND, Segundo.
173. HERNANDEZ PEREYRA, Teófilo (a) Telo.
174. HERNANDEZ SANTELISES, Luis A.
175. HERNANDEZ VASQUEZ, Juan (a) Carlos.
176. HERRERA MONTAS, Rafael Ulises (a) Chacho.
177. HUED HERNANDEZ, Nassin Julián (a) Nasin Howed.
178. JAZMIN, Florencio.
180. JIMENEZ, Héctor Augusto (a) Cutún.
181. JIMENEZ VALDEZ, Carlos Manuel.
182. JIMENEZ, Emilio.
183. LARA GARCIA, Francisco (a) Frank.
184. LARA ORTEGA DE PI, Doris.
185. LASSIS PEÑA, Carlos.
186. LEON, José de.
187. LEAL, Gabriel.
188. LEBRON PUMAROL, Diana.
189. LEBRON, Manuel.
190. LEON PUMAROL, Abraham Carlos.
191. LEDESMA ESCOLASTICO, Manuel Horacio.
192. LINARES, Vicente.
193. LIZ, Ulises (a) El Veterano.
194. LIZARDO, Manuel.
195. LOPEZ MOLINA, Máximo Antonio.
196. LOPEZ, Amalio.
197. LOPEZ CESTERD DE ALVAREZ, Estela.
198. LOPEZ VARGAS, Manuel (a) Manolo.
199. LORA, Mario.
200. LORENZO Y CARRASCO, Modesto Antonio.
201. LLUBERES BERMUDEZ, Vinicio.
202. SACARRULLA GRULLON, Víctor Lisandro.
203. MACHADO hijo, Manuel.
204. MACHADO, Pablo Alberto.
205. MADERA, Rafael A.
206. MADURO SANABIA, Felipe Gregorio.
207. MAINARDI SILVA, Rafael.
208. MANZUETA, Rodolfo.
209. MAÑON Y RIOS, Ramón.
210. MARCHENA ELLIS, D'Anunzzio E. de.
211. MARTY TAVAREZ, Marino Emilio.
212. MARTINEZ RODRIGUEZ, Pablo Antonio.

213. MARTINEZ REYNOSO, José.
214. MARTINEZ, Mercedes María (a) Profesor.
215. MARTINEZ, José Elías.
216. MARTINEZ AYBAR, Freddy (a) Picho.
217. MARTINEZ BONILLA DE ROQUES MARTINEZ, Carmen Isabel.
218. MARTINEZ BONILLA, Carmen Julia.
219. MARTINEZ BONILLA, José Antonio.
220. MARTINEZ BONILLA, José Andrés.
221. MARTINEZ hijo, Virgilio.
222. MARTINEZ, Fausto.
223. MARTINEZ GARCIA, Tancredo Eloy.
224. SARTINEZ AYBAR, Andrés.
225. MATOS DIAZ, Eduardo.
226. McCABE ARISTY, Miguel Angel.
227. MEJIA SANCHEZ, Félix Antonio o Antonio Sánchez.
228. MEJIA, Tomás.
229. MEJIA, Julio.
230. MEJIA SOLIERE, Luis Felipe.
231. MEJIA VALERA.
232. MEJIA, Abigail.
233. MEJIA, Santos.
234. MEJIA, Abigail.
235. MELLA, Víctor.
236. MENCIA FERNANDEZ, Manuel Antonio (a) Abejita.
237. MENDOZA MOYA, Samuel.
238. MERCADO MARTINEZ, Eddy.
239. MERCEDES ESPINAL, Marcelino.
240. MICHEL TAMAYO, Carlos José.
241. MICHEL, Tito.
242. MINIÑOMARION LANDIS, Manuel Mariano Marino de Jesús (a) Leonte.
243. MIR FLORES, Luis Eduardo.
244. MIRANDA, Santiago Francisco (a) Beby.
245. MIRANDA, Luis Antonio (a) Niño.
246. MOLANO MERCEDES, Daniel.
247. MONTERO, Isaías.
248. MONTES DE OCA CASTILLO, Luis Emilio (a) Cayacoa.
249. MORALES CISNEROS, Marino.
250. MOORE DE MIÑAMBRE, María.
251. MOORE GARRIDO, Edna.
252. MORALES JIMENEZ, Manuel.
253. MORENO MARTINEZ, Luis Gonzaga Ramón Antonio.
254. MORENO RECIO, Luis.
255. MORENO MARTINEZ, José María (a) Vilía.
256. MORENO MARTINEZ, Ramón Alfonso.
257. MORETA MORENO, Rafael Leónidas.
158. MORETA MORENO, José Antonio.
259. NADAL, Alfonso (Cocoliso).
260. NUÑEZ, Heriberto.
261. ORDOÑEZ ARGUELLO, Alberto.
262. ORSATELLI, Víctor.
263. ORTIZ SANTANA DE ESPAILLAT, Dominicana.
264. OUAIS LAJAM, Edmundo.
265. OVANDO PERALTA, Rafael.
266. OZUNA, Bienvenido.
267. PACHECO, Augusto.
268. PACHECO, Rafael (a) Fafá.
269. PADRON PIMENTEL, Felipe Vinicio.

270. PADRON PIMENTEL, Guarionez.
271. PADUA FALET, Jovina.
272. PAULINO ISALGUEZ, Diógenes.
273. PAULINO SANTOS, Candelario (a) Lalo El Chino.
274. PASCACIO FARIAS, Teófilo Antonio.
275. PATEN MORALES, Emiliano.
276. PEREZ GARCIA, Rafael Arquímedes.
277. PEROZO CHICON, Ramón Faustino (1) Chon.
278. PEREZ CAMBIASO, Sócrates.
279. PEREZ Y PEREZ, Emilio C.
280. PEREZ, Dantón.
281. PEREZ, Ramón.
282. PEREZ, José Danilo.
283. PEREZ CAMBIASO DE MIKE, Patria.
284. PEREZ Y PEREZ DE BONILLA, Dorotea Anotnia de la Asunción
285. PERELLO Y COU-Luis Emilio.
286. PEREZO CHICON, Carlos Nicolás.
287. PEREZO FERMIN, Alfonso Edmundo.
288. PEREZO CHICON, Manuel de Jesús.
289. PELAEZ MOLINA, Rafael.
290. PICHARDO, Pedro Alonso.
291. PICHARDO ALCANTARA, Luisa Estela.
292. PINEDA, Ramón Octavio.
293. PICHARDO VARGAS, Julio Bolívar (a) E. Pollo.
294. PICHARDO DIAZ, Federico Augusto.
295. PIMENTEL GONZALEZ, Alcibiades (a) Ciro.
296. PIÑA HIJO, Manuel Leovigildo (a) Toñito Puntillita.
297. Pineda, José.
298. PIO VARONA, José.
299. POLANCO, Rafael.
300. POLANCO, Jesús María.
301. PORTUONDO G., Augusto.
302. PORTELA, Magnérico (a) Eduardo (José Pellerano).
303. POU SALETA, Poncio Rafael.
304. PUIG ORTIZ, José Augusto.
305. QUEZADA, Salvador.
306. REYES VARGAS, Rafael Fremio.
307. RAMOS PEGUERO, Andrés Marcelino.
308. RAMOS PEGUERO, Francisco Eleuterio.
309. RAMOS ROJAS, Francisco.
310. REYES VARGAS, Ana Mercedes.
311. REYES CERDAS, José Tomás.
312. REYNOSO CRUZ, Manuel Joaquín.
313. RICHARDSON, Manuel Francisco.
314. RIJO, Pedro Adolfo.
315. RIJO, Pedro.
316. RIVAS, Rosaura A.
317. RIVAS DIAZ, Leopoldo Wenceslao.
318. RIVERA BATISTA, Domingo Ramos.
319. ROBLES CESTERO, René.
320. RODRIGUEZ, René.
321. RODRIGUEZ, Fabio.
322. RODRIGUEZ JIMENEZ, Julio Alberto (a) Yuli.
323. RODRIGUEZ, Alfonso (a) Caco.
324. RODRIGUEZ, Francisco Eugenio.
325. RODRIGUEZ Y VASQUEZ, María Mercedes (a) Pucha.

326. RODRIGUEZ VASQUEZ, Juan Porfirio.
327. RODRIGUEZ, Abelardo.
328. RODRIGUEZ, Felipe (a) Papito.
329. RODRIGUEZ, José Benigno.
330. RODRIGUEZ, Carmelo.
331. RODRIGUEZ, Sergio.
332. RODRIGUEZ, José Amadeo (a) Cepín.
333. RODRIGUEZ LOPEZ, Mauro.
334. RODRIGUEZ HIJO, Juan.
335. RODRIGUEZ CABRAL, Ninín.
336. RODRIGUEZ RODRIGUEZ, María Esperanza.
337. ROJAS RIVERAS, Armando A. (a) Armandito.
338. ROJAS PEREZ, Purificación Candelaria.
339. ROMAN GARCIA, Miguel Augusto.
340. ROMERO, César L.
341. ROQUES MARTINEZ, José Ricardo.
342. ROQUES MARTINEZ, Eurípides Vinicio.
343. ROQUES MARTINEZ, Rolando Alberto.
344. ROQUES MARTINEZ, Eliseo Bienvenido.
345. ROSARIO MADERA, Joaquín Antonio (a) Maderita.
346. ROSARIO ARIAS, Juan I. del.
347. RUIZ TORRES, Rafael.
348. RUSSO AGUIA, Domingo.
349. RYMER, Mariana.
350. SALAZAR, Horacio.
351. SALETA DE CORDERO, Dulce María.
352. SALVUCCIO NOVA, Antonio.
353. SANTIAGO POU, Wilfredo (a) Willy.
354. SANCHEZ, Jaime.
355. SANCHEZ FELIZ, Buenaventura.
356. SANCHEZ CORDOVA, Mario Emilio.
357. SANCHEZ BAEZ, Francisco.
358. SANTANA, Mario.
359. SANTANA, Mario Emilio.
360. SANTILLANO PEROZO, José Tiberio.
361. SANTOS, Aníbal de los.
362. SANTOS RODRIGUEZ, Manuel Augusto.
363. SANTOS SALCIE, Emilio de los.
364. SAVIÑON, Ramón.
365. SAVIÑON ALMANZAR, Alvaro (a) Diamante y Jorge Negrete.
366. SENIOR SOTO, Rafael Odilón.
367. SENIOR, Juan O.
368. SILVA SANTOS, Juan Arístides.
369. SILVERIO, Juan.
370. SOLANO COLOME, Isaías.
371. SOLER HERRERA, Efraín Estanislao.
372. SOÑE FELIU DE HENRIQUEZ, María Consuelo.
373. SOÑE NOLASCO, Merilio Altagracia.
374. SOÑE PEREZ DE PATIÑO, Mireya Brunilda.
375. SOSA, Antonio.
376. SOTO FELIZ, Altagracia.
377. SOTO MENDOZA, Manuel de Jesús.
378. SOTO DE TORRES, Marieta.
379. SUERO, Miguel.
380. TAVAREZ CABRA, Víctor Manuel (a) Vituco.
381. TAVAREZ LOPEZ, Félix María.
382. TEJADA LLUBERES, Manuel (a) Mala Punta.

383. TEJADA GUZMAN, Cornelio Jorge.
384. TEZANO DE VOIGHT, Adelaida.
385. TINEO CAMILO, Pedro Antonio (a) Perucho.
386. TORRES, Rafael (a) Fellito.
387. TORRES DE GONZALEZ, María.
388. TORRES, Ramón E.
389. TORRES SOTO, Oscar.
390. TUMA, Manuel.
391. TUMA, Elías.
392. VALDEZ, Danilo.
393. VALERIO DE CASTILLO, Altagracia.
394. VALENZUELA LOPEZ, Roberto.
395. VALERA, Benigno Jerónimo (a) Niño.
396. VANDERLINDER, Ernesto.
397. VANDERLINDER DE BURGOS, Consuelo.
398. VASQUEZ JIMENEZ, Aníbal E.
399. VELAZQUEZ, Rafael.
400. VELAZQUEZ MAINARDI, Miguel Angel.
401. VERGES LAMARCHE, Rafael Emilio.
402. VICIOSO DELMONTE, Francisco Arturo.
403. VOIGT RODRIGUEZ, Herman.
404. VOIGT RODRIGUEZ, Guillermo.
405. ZORRILLA BERAS, Luis.

APPENDIX NUMBER 22

Letter addressed by German Ornes Coiscou to Generalissimo Trujillo, in which he professes his communist beliefs.

Ciudad Trujillo.
September 26th, 1946.

His Excellency Generalissimo
Dr. Rafael Leónidas Trujillo Molina.
President of the Republic.

Your Excellency Mr. President:

In accordance with your esteemed wishes, expressed through the Under Secretary of State, M. Celito Peña Morres, I have the pleasure to inform you concerning my political ideas which, owing to circumstances, led me to be militant temporarily in the opposition camp.

1. On May 2nd of this year —1946— I was sent to prison at the «Ozana» Fortress in this city, having been accused of engaging in activities contrary to the established order; my sentence lasted till the 19th of the same month, on which date Major General Federico Fiallo had me brought before him to inform me that I would be set at liberty, in compliance with express orders to that effect from your Excellency. On that occasion I begged General Fiallo to transmit to your Excellency the expression of my sincere gratitude, an expression which today I am happy to reiterate.

2. Before continuing it seems to me to be suitable to

inform your Excellency concerning my past and the circumstances which culminated in my imprisonment in May this year. At the age of fifteen, when I had completed my studies at the High School in this city I began to be interested in the study of social problems and Political Economy, subjects which, since then, with the exception of a few interludes, have been my main preoccupation. To begin with I carried out my studies without following any method and in an absolutely eclectic manner, but later on my inclinations as well as the knowledge that I had been acquiring caused me to gravitate towards the sphere of marxist ideas, even though, because of an excessive individualism and the inability to adjust myself to the iron demands of marxist militancy, I could never bring myself to join any communist party. However, I have reached the conclusion, as a result of these same studies, that given the present state of science and the world situation today, there are only two ways of studying economic questions and that everyone who thinks and is concerned about these problems must decide for one of two antagonistic schools: the bourgeois or the marxist. It was thus, as a result of my studies that I became a marxist and continue to be one today, since I consider that this doctrine provides those who know it with the necessary instruments to carry out an exact and scientific analysis of present day capitalist society.

Later on, when I was studying at the Law Faculty of our University, I made friends with a group of students and intellectuals who shared my ideas; I established with friendly relations that still exist, in spite of the fact that many of those friends militate in political parties of opposing tendencies, some of them being members of the recently created Poular Socialist Party, and others loyal collaborators in the Government presided over by Your Excellency, a fact which has served to demonstrate to me that when political differences are of an ideological and not of a personal nature, a basis for discussion and even for understanding can always exist, even for those who sustain the most opposing theories.

At a later date, attracted by the prospects of a journalistic career, I began work in the editorial department of the newspaper «La Nación», and I can say that this marked the beginning for me of a stage of fruitful practical

training, even though, perhaps on account of my youth and my absolute lack of experience, I was not able to combine it with a continuance of my theoretical studies, both at the University and outside it; my studies were thus interrupted for a few years. What made me return to reality was a trip to the United States at the end of 1943, at the invitation of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and what I saw there of the notable war-effort of that country and its great progress in all spheres. I then returned home, determined to continue my university career and to understand thoroughly the social and economic problems of the Republic.

I abandoned the exhausting demands of journalism on a daily newspaper and I started work at the Dominican Publicity Agency, from which I was unexpectedly dismissed in August, 1944. This was the last job I had that was in some way related to the Government of your Excellency. My chiefs in the positions that I occupied in Dominican journalism can bear witness to my loyal behaviour and to the way in which I faithfully carried out my obligations.

After losing my employment at the Dominican Publicity Agency and being in great economic difficulties, I attempted to get into contact with men connected with your Excellency's Government, but I did not find a single door open. It was even insinuated that I was a failure, whatever position I might hold, since I was «persona non-grata» with your Excellency. Later on I was offered the job of translator on the newspaper «La Opinión», a job which I held till January of the present year when I was given the post of Editorial chief on the said paper, a job which I held at the time of going to prison. While working on «La Opinión» I completed my university studies, basing my thesis on the economic subject of Monopolies.

In spite of all my political ideas and the circumstances that I have related, during that time I never militated in clandestine political organizations and I was always opposed to this type of struggle, because it is repugnant to my character and because I consider that in political matters the most convenient and efficacious form of opposition is the legal. For this reason I never had connections of any kind with clandestine organizations. However, at the beginning of this year I contacted indiv-

iduals who considered —as I did— that the moment had come to establish in our country a legal system of party opposition; these individuals considered that I could be of service in this type of political campaign. It was then that I joined the National Democratic Party as a representative of Revolutionary Youth, in spite of the fact that I had never been a member of that organization; at that time, this group was in the throes of final disintegration, due to the fact that its leaders and most if its militant members were abroad or were serving sentences for attempts made against national security.

The National Democratic Front had as its exclusive aim —at least, during the time when I was a member— the establishing of bases and the drawing up of a program for its constituent organizations, in other words: Revolutionary Youth, the Revolutionary Democratic Party of Santo Domingo (Now the Popular Socialist Party) and the Patriotic Revolutionary Union, made up —or so I understand— of the small bourgeois and the professional classes. The Front only met some half a dozen times during the period January —April of last year, and no positive results were forthcoming, possibly on account of its heteregeneous composition. I am certain that this organization would have disintegrated without leaving a trace of its existence, if it had not been for the fact that between the end of April and the beginning of May its members were been sentenced to terms of imprisonment, as a result of a series of investigations undertaken by the military authorities. I have no doubt that what I am now relating to your Excellency is confirmed by the declarations made by the members of that organization to the military authorities-statements which must be in the central archives of the Army High Command. I can therefore affirm that at no time the Popular Front was an orgaization destined to prepare outrages, revolts, riots or *coups d'état*, as it was later accused of doing.

Well then, what was the reason that impelled me to take part in those activities? The following: I have always considered that your Excellency's Government has been a national necessity to put an end to the misfortune of our country, and to my way of thinking only such a Government could establish the material, cultural and economic bases necessary for the practice of democracy

and to prevent it from being a myth in our country; however, the moment was propitious to strengthen those great conquests by means of the exercise of the constitutional right of political association. I was convinced that once these bases were established in a firm and solid manner by means of your strenuous efforts, it was necessary to give the people an opportunity to participate in party struggles on a purely ideological foundation (not following Caudillos, caciques or ring-leaders) the only way in which a democracy on bourgeois and constitutional lines such as ours can express itself.

I know that there are people amongst us who consider these ideas to be subversive and that a school of thougth exists which sustains that our people is not yet prepared for democracy; this school evidently forgets that no people can be prepared for democracy if it is not offered the opportunity to exercise it. Those who think in this way also forget that this is the best opportunity to give democracy a trial, now that the country is controlled by a responsible and strong government. I participated in the negotiations to constitute a political party, as a reaction against those who opine in this way, and because I believed it to be necessary at that time; the negotiations were not clandestine in any way, even though they were not carried out with the accompaniment of all the publicity apparatus. It may well be that I was mistaken but my conscience is satisfied in so much as I was inspired by the soundest intentions, since, in my humble opinion the formation of a political party of opposition does not in any way imply a danger for the democratic institutions of our country; very much the contrary; it may well serve to strengthen them and secure them on a firm basis and to make the work of your Excellency's Government durable and not merely the transitory effect of a well meant and firm effort on the part one of the greatest figures of our history.

3. During my term of imprisonment I was made to appear as an individual who attempted to overthrow the Government by the force of arms, something which was absolutely foreign to my intention and, I would even state, to the intentions of the other members of the Front, at least in their role as members. Even though I could not assert the same in as far as they were members of political organizations, concerning whose specific activities I knew

—and know— nothing. However, on manifesting in my declarations that I had no intention of using violence as a political weapon, those in charge of the investigation stated that my assertion in this respect did not convince anyone, a statement which is justified by the fact that, for the first time, they were faced by a group of prisoners who were not preparing either riots or outrages; which seemed incomprehensible and strange in a country such as ours where, up till now, the only form known of political struggle has been that of arms.

Not having been able to obtain any proof of my support of violent action, recourse was had to the statutes and to the name of the organization that I represented in the Front, and as a basis of the accusations levelled against me the word «revolutionary» was used.

The officials in charge of clearing up the case, faced with a new type of political opposition, which was completely foreign to riots, conspiracies and to the other forms of violent action of long-standing in our country, could only produce, in support of their accusations the statement that I represented Revolutionary Youth in the National Democratic Front. Using syllogistic arguments they reached the conclusion that it was a question of an attempt to overthrow the Government by means of force and violence. In my case the said arguments took more or less the following form: All revolutionaries advocate force and violence; Ornes is a «revolutionary» (On account of his membership of Revolutionary Youth); therefore Ornes is in favor of using force and violence.

Such forms of argument are, to a certain extent, understandable; since —it is necessary to repeat— the only meaning that the word revolution had for us in the past was that of a military uprising, *coup d'état* or riot, etc. This caused us to make certain reflections which, in our opinion, are the same as those which, at this moment, are disturbing the minds of all men and women who are concerned for the present state of this world we live in.

What is a revolutionary? That is the great question of our times, and in order to answer it recourse has been had to the most diverse proceedings. Undoubtedly the meaning given to this word in our country is, up to a point, the correct one, since all our revolutionaries in the past were of the type who wish to overthrow governments

by the force of arms in order to later enjoy themselves the fruits of power. But is this what being a revolutionary means? In accordance with modern political concepts this is the least revolutionary of all and it can even happen that it becomes a reactionary manifestation, when the state of things which it is desired to overthrow is evolutionary and progressive in character.

So, this is not the meaning of the word revolutionary when it figures in the name of any party of modern ideological tendencies. Because, if this were so, how could the strongest organization that supports the Government of Mexico be called the Institutional Revolutionary Party?

The word «Revolution» in its purest sense and in the sense in which the parties calling themselves revolutionary now use it means the transfer of political power from one social class to another, a transfer which need not necessarily be violent. In history there have been many examples of the transfer of political power which have been carried out without recourse to violence. These revolutions have been called pacific; and the most outstanding example in universal history is the transfer of the power of the British aristocracy to the middle or capitalist classes of that country by means of the celebrated «Reform Bill» of 1832.

Using the word in this sense the work carried out by your Excellency's Government over the last sixteen years can be considered as eminently revolutionary, since it has completely transformed the bases of our social order and has put an end to a state of things which —had it continued in force— would have dragged all Dominicans into the chaos of the abyss. However, this same revolution which was initiated and directed by your Excellency bears within it forces which, once set in movement, must impel it ever forward. It is for this reason that the new generations of Dominicans, which perhaps felt inclined to accept and justify the absence of a «political democracy» during the first sixteen years of your Government, today consider that the firmest guarantee of durability of the great conquests achieved during this time is to be found in a climate of political democracy. It is for this reason too that the youth of today, marxists and non-marxists, are disposed to discuss all political ideologies and even to throw doubt on certain traditional procedures. But this does not mean —as it has at times been suggested—

that they do not feel grateful for what you have done in the sphere of Government, or that there are violently anti-Trujillo sectors. None of this is true. The new generations of Dominicans, which I may presume to understand since I belong to them, know that they are a product of the times and of the reigning conditions, and that if it were not for this state of affairs they would not be in a position to fill the historic role to which they feel called.

I repeat again, since I consider it necessary for the understanding of my political philosophy and perhaps for that of many of the young people of today; if these young people depart from traditional methods it is not on account of any animosity towards your Excellency, but because they consider that, precisely in order to conserve and increase this patrimony which your Government has created, it is necessary to leave the old ways behind; but in spite of this —and they, better than anyone, know it, understand it and proclaim it— this patrimony is the result of your efforts and sacrifices, a result which your Excellency may well be proud of.

Those who study social sciences well know that certain prior conditions of a social, economic and educational nature must be realized for the exercise of a true democracy (whatever may be the meaning given to the word democracy, and it must be remembered that it has many in modern political sciences) and so that this democracy may not be sterile. Without a minimum of economic power, without a certain degree of social development, without a definite level of education and instruction democracy is not possible, and any attempt made to implant it may be justly qualified as demogogic. The lack of these conditions made democracy more or less a myth during nine decades of our life as an independent nation. These prior conditions have only been realized after sixteen years of strenuous effort on the part of your Excellenc'ys Government. years during which the struggle had to be undertaken against the load of traditional ballast which for so many years weighed down the ship of the Dominican State in the swamps of fratricidal struggles.

If Trujillo's Government had not existed and as a corollary of it the notable progress which is evident in all spheres in our country, this same youth which today is so deeply concerned for the social and economic prob-

lems of the Republic, and which dedicates all its efforts to the study of the same —either from a marxist or from a purely juridic and scientific point of view— would be now, as it was formerly for several decades, at the mercy of unscrupulous leaders, and given over to the defence of the illegitimate interests of vain and selfish petty leaders, who stole for their own benefit and to the detriment of the country the energy and even the lives of young idealists who were lacking all the attributes that only a lengthy process of training and education could give them; and that process was impossible at that time, given the backwardness of our country.

The panorama has completely changed, and there exist in our country all the possibilities for everyone to exercise to the full his capacities and to demonstrate in just and legal struggle his political aptitudes and his right to exercise his faculties in any other branch of scientific knowledge, within a framework of respect for the ideas and opinions of others. The political or ideological shade with which certain sectors of our youth is painted is therefore without importance, since the whole of this youth can be considered as being the creation and fruit of your Excellencys work. However, it would be asking a lot —once the bases of this great work had been established and the state of things created was propitious for the youth of Santo Domingo who are well prepared to take part in public life— for these to do so following the worn-out patterns laid down by their elders, patterns against which your Excellency has fought so hard.

The Dominican youth of today is perhaps the most conscious of its rights, duties and responsibilities of any of the young generations of our country, and this is the best proof that your Excellency has not been preaching in the desert. The new generation is the fruit of your policy and no honest person can deny this, even when he demands the right to recognize it in the form which he considers to be most convenient and in best accord with his ideology and way of thinking. Perhaps the lack of comprehensión of some of these reasons on the part of well-intentioned individuals but individuals who are little accustomed to problems of this nature —individuals who occupy positions in your Excellency's Government— is

responsible for the fact that certain sectors of our young people have felt obliged to carry out their political activities clandestinely, in spite of the fact that this type of political struggle is repugnant to their inmost convictions.

It is undeniable that your Excellency has given proofs on diverse occasions of being the most broad-minded of Dominicans. For this reason there are so many people who, disposed to be faithful to their own ideals, can so easily and geadly co-operate in the work of your Government. It is for this reason too that I have allowed myself to embark on all these considerations, since I know very well that your Excellency will know how to inderstand and appreciate them for what they are worth and that you will realize that they are purely the result of good faith.

I am loyal and faithful to my principles and as I know that your Excellency will give me the opportunity to continue to be so I am happy to repeat once again the sincere offer of my loyal co-operation in your work of Government.

I repeat my gratitude for your interest in knowing my ideas, and I remain your obedient servant,

GERMAN E ORNES C.