

UNITED STATES' OPINION AND  
THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC,  
1956-1958

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## PREFACE

This thesis traces events that resulted in a change in opinion in the United States towards the dictatorship of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina in the Dominican Republic. Opinion toward the dictatorship shifted from favoring cooperation to disgust with the dictator as the public in the United States became familiar with the nature of his government in the three years dealt with in this paper. During this time a policy of favoring dictatorships in Latin America was reevaluated and discarded. The unfavorable publicity attending the Trujillo regime was a factor in this shift in American foreign policy.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the assistance and guidance of my thesis adviser, Dr. John Andrew Sylvester. I would also like to thank Dr. Michael M. Smith for reading this work and making many valuable suggestions; and to Dr. Homer Louis Knight for encouraging the completion of this work after several years in which other activities filled my time.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE BACKGROUND UNTIL 1956

1956 to 1958 was a turning point for United States policies toward Latin American dictators. The publicity that surrounded the bizarre regime of Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina of the Dominican Republic during this period played an important part in preparing American opinion for the shift from a stated policy of non-intervention to one of greater involvement and discrimination toward the variety of governments existing in the hemisphere.<sup>1</sup> One aspect of the movement toward change was a struggle for public opinion in the United States. Enemies of the Trujillo dictatorship worked hard in the light of a series of spectacular occurrences to overcome the powerful public relations machine supported by the dictator in the United States. Their efforts alienated Trujillo from the good opinion he sought and left him with few supporters in the United States.

The Dominican Republic that Rafael Trujillo dominated for over thirty years had suffered periods of invasion and occupation by the armed forces of Haiti, Spain and the United States in its tortured history. When free of foreign aggression the country had suffered periods of near anarchy and dictatorship since declaring its independ-

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<sup>1</sup>George Pope Atkins, "The United States and the Dominican Republic During the Era of Trujillo" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, The American University, 1966), p. 321.

ence in 1821. In 1930 Rafael Trujillo assumed the presidency and gave the country its longest period of stability. The price of stability, however, was the loss of all political freedom.<sup>2</sup>

During his long rule Rafael Trujillo established in his small country the most totalitarian regime ever created in the Americas with the possible exception of the regime of Fidel Castro in Cuba.<sup>3</sup> The term "near totalitarianism," has been used to describe the system that included control over education, communications, the economy, a modern and efficient police mechanism, a single political party with an official ideology, and the subjugation of all intermediate organizations to the will of the tyrant.<sup>4</sup> The military forces of the country were personally subordinated to Trujillo and kept loyal through rewards and privileges. They were, therefore, a caste superior to civil authority.<sup>5</sup> The only political party allowed throughout the period was the Partido Dominicano. It grew extremely wealthy drawing funds both directly from the government and from a compulsory ten percent deduction from the salaries of all government employees, except the military, over the thirty-year existence of the regime.<sup>6</sup> Constitu-

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<sup>2</sup>T. D. Roberts et al., Area Handbook for the Dominican Republic (Washington, 1966), pp. 34-41.

<sup>3</sup>Howard J. Wiarda, "The Aftermath of the Trujillo Dictatorship: The Emergence of a Pluralistic Political System in the Dominican Republic" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1965), p. 4.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 6-9.

<sup>5</sup>Roberts, Area Handbook, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup>Organization of American States, Inter-American Committee on Human Rights, Report on the Situation Regarding Human Rights in the Dominican Republic (OEA/Ser. L/V/II.4. Doc. 32), May 22, 1962, p. 58.

tional guarantees were meaningless under the dictatorship as large numbers of people were arrested and held for months or even years without trial. During Trujillo's rule, many people disappeared from the country's prisons without leaving records of entry or departure.<sup>7</sup> The dictatorship was brutal and predatory. Trujillo ran the country as a personal family estate for three decades.<sup>8</sup> By 1956 the regime had existed for over a quarter of a century under Trujillo's wily control.

Trujillo early recognized the importance of public opinion in the United States for the survival of his rule, especially the opinion of vocal and influential groups in American society.<sup>9</sup> In the early years of his regime Trujillo concentrated on meeting the financial obligations of the Dominican Republic towards its foreign creditors. In 1933, when Dominican government revenues reached only \$8,415,432, Trujillo found \$178,000 to pay on external debts.<sup>10</sup> In its negotiations with the Foreign Bondholders Association the Dominican Republic was represented by well known Democratic politicians Joseph E. Davies, later Ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Oliver P. Newman, who served as director of publicity for the Democratic

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>8</sup>U. S., Senate, Compilation of Studies Prepared Under the Director of the Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States-Latin American Relations, S. Doc. No. 125, 86th Cong., 2nd sess., 1960, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup>Atkins, "The United States and the Dominican Republic," p. 322.

<sup>10</sup>"Summaries of Presidential Messages," Bulletin of the Pan American Union, October, 1934, pp. 758-759.

National Committee.<sup>11</sup> In 1934, while over \$700,000,000 worth of bonds were being defaulted in Latin America, the Dominican Republic was arranging to pay its obligations of \$16,000,000.<sup>12</sup> At that time Trujillo revealed two techniques he would continue to favor in the following years. He worked closely with important United States political figures and gave careful consideration to American business and financial interests.

The importance of international opinion, especially that of the United States, and many of the techniques Trujillo used in trying to control it were observed after the tragic events of 1937. Haiti shares the island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic. The historic relationship between the two countries has been one of bitter antagonism. Haitians have always been drawn towards the less densely populated and comparatively richer Dominican territory. Even in colonial days refugees from French slavery found they could better their lot under the ineffective Spanish rule in what was to become the Dominican Republic. In October, 1937, Trujillo ordered the slaughter of an estimated 15,000 Haitian agricultural workers and squatters occupying Dominican territory.<sup>13</sup> At first the outside world found the scattered news concerning the massacre difficult to believe, but reporters soon verified it after seeing wounded survivors.

As the news of this act spread Trujillo placed a full page

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<sup>11</sup> Germán Ornes, Trujillo: Little Ceasar of the Caribbean (New York, 1958), p. 65.

<sup>12</sup> "Americans to Collect Dominican Bonds," Newsweek, IV, August 25, 1934, p. 38.

<sup>13</sup> Roberts, Area Handbook, p. 212.



advertisement in the New York Times to clarify the position of the Dominican government. It stated that some disturbances between Haitians and Dominicans who resented their encroachment had occurred along the frontier, but they had occurred without Dominican governmental approval or encouragement.<sup>14</sup> It has been estimated that Trujillo spent as much as \$2,000,000 in lobbies, advertisements and public relations in an attempt to counter the wave of indignation that swept the United States as evidence of the atrocity mounted.<sup>15</sup> The Dominican government refused to accept any responsibility for the mass murders, but it did agree to pay the Haitian government \$750,000 for distribution among the heirs and survivors of the massacre.<sup>16</sup>

One result of the furor raised over the incident was the placing of a puppet, Jacinto B. Peynado, in the presidency in 1938. Peynado had gained attention earlier by placing a neon sign flashing "God and Trujillo" on his house. Another measure to ameliorate foreign opinion was the publication of three official biographies of Trujillo in 1939. The biographies, however, were little more than truckling panegyrics. One, by Laurence Besant, appeared in English for distribution in the United States.<sup>17</sup>

Another of Trujillo's methods was revealed in the behavior of United States Congressman Hamilton Fish, Republican of New York. Fish

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<sup>14</sup>Albert C. Hicks, Blood in the Streets: The Life and Rule of Trujillo (New York, 1946), p. 119.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 122.

<sup>16</sup>"Settlement of the Dominican-Haitian Controversy," Bulletin of the Pan American Union, September, 1939, pp. 152-156.

<sup>17</sup>Hicks, Blood in the Streets, p. 137.

early denounced the Dominican massacre of resident Haitians. In 1939 Fish was given as a reference by public relations man George Jambar Djangaroff when he registered as a \$50,000 a year agent for the Dominican Republic. Later in the year Hamilton Fish showed a further change of heart by speaking at a banquet held in Trujillo's honor at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City. Later revelations showed \$25,000 had been transferred from Rafael Trujillo's bank account in Ciudad Trujillo to that of Hamilton Fish in the National City Bank of New York. Two withdrawals of \$2,000 each and the purchase of \$8,000 worth of stock in the Nepaugh Oil Company of Houston, Texas were made before the remainder of the account reverted to Trujillo. Congressman Fish informed the Internal Revenue Service that he had been acting as an agent for Trujillo. He never explained, however, why the stock purchases had been made in his name, or why he had not registered as a foreign agent as required by law.<sup>18</sup> Trujillo found that he could influence the behavior of the most aristocratic and high-born men in the United States. Hamilton Fish, the grandson of an American Secretary of State, willingly served as an agent of a dictator regarded by much of the world as a mass murderer.

The turmoil and hatred unleashed by Adolf Hitler in Europe served Trujillo in his efforts to escape his image in the Americas. In 1938 when most of the world was ignoring the plight of Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria Trujillo spectacularly announced that the Dominican Republic would be happy to accept 100,000 of them. The fact that the offer was in no way practical or realistic for such

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., pp. 126-127.

a small and poor country did not detract from its propaganda value. Trujillo thereafter often assumed the pose of a great humanitarian who offered refuge to the needy while the rest of the world ignored their dilemma.<sup>19</sup> The Dominican Republic, however, did serve as a stepping stone for several thousand European Jews who generally preferred to move on to the United States or other countries after a short stay on the island. A settlement at Sosúa on the Atlantic coast was made, and held about 350 Jewish settlers in 1950.<sup>20</sup> Trujillo was more than repaid in favorable publicity for his efforts in behalf of the refugees.

The Roman Catholic Church held the faith of the vast majority of the Dominican people. Trujillo showered benefits upon the church, and until 1959 it remained closely connected with his regime. In return for clerical support Trujillo restored the juridical personality of the church in 1931. In 1936 he permitted the Jesuits to return to the country for the first time since the Colonial period. In 1954 he signed the republic's first Concordat which granted the church control over most education and charitable works, tax-exemptions on its properties, and other advantages.<sup>21</sup> Between 1930-55 the Dominican government built 130 churches for the Catholic community.<sup>22</sup> In this manner Trujillo sought to constrain the church and circumscribe its independent behavior. The tyrant's strategy succeeded for a long while.

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<sup>19</sup>Ornes, Trujillo, p. 94.

<sup>20</sup>Ronald Hilton, ed., Hispanic American Report, IV, February, 1950, p. 19. (Hereinafter referred to as H.A.R.).

<sup>21</sup>Wiarda, "The Aftermath of the Trujillo Dictatorship," p. 41.

<sup>22</sup>Robert D. Crassweller, Trujillo: The Life and Times of a Caribbean Dictator (New York, 1966), p. 288.

The United States found itself allied for hemispheric defense with the Dominican Republic during World War II despite some misgivings about Trujillo. Ellis Briggs, a former Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, states that Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles had tried to dislodge Trujillo after the Haitian massacres. Briggs relates with relish his own needling of Trujillo that included attending parades dressed in a simple white suit and the refusal to open a fresh bottle of Trujillo's favorite brandy, Carlos Primero, at every visit from the Generalissimo as it had been customary.<sup>23</sup> During the war the United States bought surplus Dominican food supplies to insure the provisioning of Puerto Rico. The rates paid for the Dominican food was higher than local prices. This led to problems because the supplies were purchased through the Dominican government with the understanding that the higher prices would be passed on to Dominican producers thereby gaining favorable opinion for the U.S.A. and insuring future sources of supply. The Trujillo regime continued to monopolize the profits, while promising to publicize the American prices. When no action was taken despite the repeated promises of the Dominican government Ambassador Briggs reports he had the Embassy purchase local newspaper space to inform the Dominican public of the prices being paid by the United States. The prices paid to the producers thereafter increased.<sup>24</sup>

Briggs became Chief of the Division of American Republics after Trujillo declared him a persona non grata in 1944. He later played an

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<sup>23</sup> Ellis Briggs, Farewell to Foggy Bottom: The Recollections of a Career Diplomat (New York, 1964), p. 221.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 222.

important role in shaping the policy of marked coolness toward dictators in the immediate post war years.<sup>25</sup> The pressures created by the Cold War lead to this policy's abandonment until it was revived in the last years of the Eisenhower administration. In an interview with Chicago Times reporter Chesley Manley in 1953 Trujillo recalled the period as one in which the State Department's policies largely nullified the Good Neighbor Policy of Cordell Hull and opened great rifts among the nations of the hemisphere.<sup>26</sup>

The policy most opposed to Trujillo's desires was a restriction on arms sales to Latin American nations. During his visit by yacht to Washington in 1954 he told a House Committee investigating communism in the Americas that he had outlawed Communism in 1947 and then had been unable to buy arms in the United States.<sup>27</sup> By 1947, however, the policy of not rearming Latin American states was already being discarded. The State and War Departments joined in a policy that agreed on the desirability of selling arms in order to maintain a United States' arms monopoly in the area.<sup>28</sup>

Trujillo quickly grasped the opportunity to display a vigorous anti-Communist posture in order to ingratiate himself with his large Northern neighbor. As a foe of Communism he could even attempt to

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<sup>25</sup>Hicks, Blood in the Streets, p. 91.

<sup>26</sup>U.S., Congress, House, "Extension of Remarks by George H. Fallon," 83rd Cong., 1st sess., July 30, 1953, Congressional Record, XCIX, A4860-4861. (Hereinafter cited as Congressional Record with volume, date and page when speaker is mentioned in text).

<sup>27</sup>H.A.R., VIII, November, 1954, pp. 21-22.

<sup>28</sup>Edwin Lieuwen, Arms and Politics in Latin America (New York, 1960), pp. 242-243.

repeat his success with refugees by accepting exiles who would supply skilled labor for his small arms factory at San Cristóbal.<sup>29</sup> The posture provided a convenient screen against embarrassing charges of political murders. It also served as a means to smear old enemies such as former presidents Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela, José Figueres of Costa Rica, Juan José Arévalo of Guatemala, and Carlos Prio Socarrás of Cuba as either Communists or dupes of Communism.<sup>30</sup> The Macarthyite atmosphere was one in which Trujillo felt at home. He telegraphed congratulations to Senator Alexander Wiley, Republican of Wisconsin, when the Senator proposed to investigate anti-American feelings in Latin America. The Dominican Military Intelligence charged that U.S. Assistant Secretary of State John Moors Cabot was contacting and visiting leftwing agitators against the governments of Venezuela, Cuba and the Dominican Republic.<sup>31</sup> The same intelligence group reported the discovery of a Communist plot to subvert soldiers returning to Puerto Rico from Korea.<sup>32</sup> The amount of propaganda emitted from the Dominican Republic prompted the editor of the Hispanic American Report to remark that, "It would be easier to keep informed on the Dominican Republic if the world received more news and less propaganda."<sup>33</sup> The Dominican Republic's anti-Communist propaganda efforts went to extremes.

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<sup>29</sup> H.A.R., III, October, 1949, p. 32.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., VII, January, 1953, p. 17.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., VII, June, 1953, p. 16.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., VII, November, 1953, p. 19.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., VII, October, 1953, p. 2.

The year 1954 offered many opportunities for Trujillo to denounce his opponents throughout the hemisphere as Communists. Dominican Intelligence reported that Costa Rica had given asylum to thirty Russian spies early in the year, and warned that President José Figueres was planning to confiscate the property of the United Fruit Company.<sup>34</sup> In March, Dominican Foreign Minister Joaquín Balaguer strongly supported U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in pushing a firm anti-Communist resolution at the 10th Inter-American Conference in Caracas.<sup>35</sup> In May, La Voz Dominicana, the Trujillo family's radio system, announced that it would broadcast a series of programs to countries behind the Iron Curtain to encourage the spirit of resistance.<sup>36</sup> Trujillo also became involved in Guatemalan affairs by contributing \$60,000 to \$150,000 to the revolutionary movement of Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas before the United States Central Intelligence Agency took charge of his movement. Dominican agents reportedly appeared among Guatemalan police and security forces under the administration of Castillo Armas and remained even during the regime of Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes.<sup>37</sup>

Even during this period while Trujillo was achieving his closest relationship with the policies of the United States and trying to achieve protective coloration from this association, the forces opposed to dependence on dictatorial allies were speaking out in the forums of

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., VIII, March, 1954, p. 20.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., VIII, April, 1954, p. 19.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., VIII, June, 1954, p. 20.

<sup>37</sup>Crassweller, Trujillo: The Life and Times of a Caribbean Dictator, pp. 335-340.

the Americas. Jesús de Galíndez, writing in the prestigious Mexican journal, Cuadernos Americanos, clearly stated the position of the democratic opposition. Galíndez declared that change was essential in Latin America where a system existed based on foreign and Creole privilege. The elements opposed to change played the Communists' game by labelling change as Communism, but the major error for sincere democrats would be to accept this thesis.<sup>38</sup>

The United States had not yet accepted the idea that Trujillo might be more of a liability than a creditable ally. In March, 1955, Vice-President Richard M. Nixon was warmly received when he visited the Dominican Republic.<sup>39</sup> In a speech to a joint session of the Dominican Congress Nixon expressed his government's appreciation for the Dominican government's and people's support in the United Nations and the Organization of American States in combatting the forces of Communism.<sup>40</sup>

Trujillo's career had been built through control of the armed forces, and he carefully maintained his military establishment. His prospects in life had been poor until the United States Marine Corps accepted him into the Dominican Constabulary during the 1916-1924 occupation. Trujillo remained sentimentally attached to the Marine Corps throughout his career.<sup>41</sup> Under Trujillo the Dominican Republic

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<sup>38</sup>Jesús de Galíndez, "Revolución Socio-Económica en Iberoamérica," Cuadernos Americanos, LXXIV, Marzo-Abril, 1954, pp. 7-10.

<sup>39</sup>H.A.R., IX, April, 1955, p. 119.

<sup>40</sup>New York Times, March 2, 1955, p. 25. (Hereinafter cited as N.Y.Times).

<sup>41</sup>Crassweller, Trujillo: The Life and Times of a Caribbean Dictator, p. 48.



built the strongest military force in the Caribbean. By 1956 the country maintained a 12,000 man army and 60,000 trained reserves. Trujillo often boasted he could field 100,000 men if needed. By the mid-1950's the Dominican naval force was second only to the United States in Caribbean waters. The Air Force was built into an elite corps of 3,000. It controlled the country's tanks as well as 132 combat and training planes, including several British Vampire jets. In addition, the National Police consisted of a force of 3,000 well armed and trained men.<sup>42</sup> A small arms factory, managed by a former Hungarian refugee, Dominican General Alexander Kovacs, produced high quality small arms.<sup>43</sup>

Trujillo displayed his independence in a manner which frequently caused concern in the United States. During American maneuvers in the Caribbean during 1950 he warned all American planes not to approach closer than thirty miles from Dominican shores because his pilots were under orders to shoot down all foreign aircraft entering a zone around the country.<sup>44</sup> In spite of American policies aiming at a standardization among the military forces of the hemisphere, Trujillo accepted a group of Spanish Army instructors and a contingent of Spanish Police following a 1954 visit to Spain.<sup>45</sup> These acts did not fit well into the concept of hemispheric self-sufficiency and coopera-

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<sup>42</sup>Howard J. Wiarda, "The Politics of Civil-Military Relationships in the Dominican Republic," Journal of Inter-American Studies, VII, October, 1956, pp. 469-470.

<sup>43</sup>H.A.R., XI, June, 1955, p. 218.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., IV, April, 1950, p. 16.

<sup>45</sup>Ornes, Trujillo, p. 279.

tion as envisioned by the United States.

The U. S. Navy was the embarrassed host to a Dominican good will visit in 1949 in Puerto Rico. Civilian Governor Muñoz Marín angrily left the island and pickets forced the Dominicans to leave Fort Brooks by a back entrance. The Navy pointed out that the visit had been arranged by the State Department in spite of Puerto Rican criticism.<sup>46</sup> Despite earlier misgivings, however, by April of 1955 Trujillo signed an agreement to secure U. S. military equipment under the Military Assistance Program.<sup>47</sup>

A number of loyal trujillistas in the U. S. Congress defended the Generalissimo even as events went against him in his last years. During a Trujillo visit to Washington in 1953 Representative Harold C. Hagan, Republican of Minnesota, informed his colleagues of Trujillo's many achievements that included one of the highest paid diplomatic services in the world.<sup>48</sup> Congressman John McCormack, Democrat of Massachusetts who would later become the Speaker of the House of Representatives, made the first of several insertions of an often quoted pro-Trujillo article, "The Dominican Republic: Twenty-Five Years of Peace and Prosperity," by the Reverend Father Dr. J. F. Thorning. Father Thorning held an honorary professorship at the University of Santo Domingo.<sup>49</sup> Dominican hospitality may have accounted for some of the good feeling expressed in Congress toward

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<sup>46</sup>H.A.R., III, November, 1949, pp. 16-17.

<sup>47</sup>U. S. Department of State Bulletin, XXXIII, September, 1955, p. 406.

<sup>48</sup>Congressional Record, XCIV, January 13, 1953, A324-A326.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., CI, June 13, 1955, A4166.

the Trujillo government. In 1955, during the intensive lobbying to increase the Dominican sugar quota, Chairman Harold D. Cooley, Democrat of North Carolina, and the entire House Agricultural Committee were invited to visit the island at Dominican expense. Nine Congressmen accepted. Although Congressman Cooley did not go, his sister, daughter, and son-in-law went along on the excursion.<sup>50</sup>

The close control exercised over domestic news had an effect on the outside world's knowledge of the Dominican Republic. From 1948 until 1961 only three subservient newspapers operated in the country. General Arismendi Trujillo, a brother of the tyrant exercised a near monopoly over radio and television.<sup>51</sup> Laws provided prison terms for any Dominican who defamed or spread false or malicious information among foreigners residing in or passing through the country. In 1956 all agents of foreign news-services and publications were required to register with the authorities as well. Since the country was small international news-services relied on local correspondents to provide occasional reports. When inquiries were made to these local agents in the Dominican Republic, they ordinarily asked for and received "safe answers" from the national palace.<sup>52</sup> Visiting journalists enjoyed special treatment including lavish parties and free transportation about the country by car or plane. Herbert Matthews reported that after the treatment ". . . it is made to seem

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<sup>50</sup>James Deakens, The Lobbyists (Washington, 1966), p. 85.

<sup>51</sup>Wiarda, "The Aftermath of the Trujillo Dictatorship," pp. 55-56.

<sup>52</sup>Ornes, Trujillo, pp. 205-207.

the height of ingratitude to be critical. . . ."53

Helpful aid was another ploy Trujillo used to influence foreign reporters. Even the bitter Trujillo critic, Jules Dubois of the Chicago Tribune, credited the Dominican Republic with always furnishing accurate and prompt statistical data when requested.<sup>54</sup> If a reporter persisted in finding fault with the country and wrote a critical story he usually received a request to leave the country and found it impossible to obtain a visa for a return.<sup>55</sup>

Foreign newspapers and magazines were checked at the airport and barred if found objectionable. Time magazine reportedly received this distinction four times between December, 1952 and March, 1953.<sup>56</sup> The struggle against foreign criticism could reach a low comical level at times. At the 1953 meeting of the Inter-American Press Association German Ornes, later an enemy of and defector from the Trujillo regime, physically hit a Peruvian delegate with a 300 page, one-pound freedom-of-the-press report for calling his country a "stomach turning dictatorship."<sup>57</sup> The vicious attack in print was a technique that worked on the regimented local scene, but failed when tried on an international level. The letters to the editor of Foro Público, a section of the daily El Caribe, became one of Trujillo's most feared weapons in

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>54</sup>John William Maxwell, The Foreign Correspondent: His Problems in Covering the News Abroad (Iowa City, 1954), pp. 17-18.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>56</sup>Ornes, Trujillo, p. 120.

<sup>57</sup>Mary A. Gardner, The Inter-American Press Association: Its Fight for Freedom of the Press, 1926-1960 (Austin, 1967), p. 73.

keeping control over the men around him. Whether innocent or guilty of the charges made against them, Dominicans mentioned in letters which Trujillo personally sent to the paper under a variety of pen-names were required to publish profuse apologies. Germán Ornes, who edited El Caribe until October, 1955, said,

If such slanderous and vindictive material were to be submitted to any newspaper of a free country it would be considered the work of a neurotic and tossed into the wastebasket.<sup>58</sup>

The labor movement had reason to dislike Trujillo from the earliest days of his rule. In 1930 several workers were killed by machine-gun fire while protesting the dissolution of the Confederation of Dominican Workers. In 1942 Trujillo used a force of 600 soldiers and three airplanes to suppress a sugar mill strike. One of the strike's leaders, Francisco Lantigua, was killed. According to a U.S. labor official his body was hung in front of the La Romana mill's machine shop. A sign attached to the corpse declared, "This worker collected his wage increase."<sup>59</sup> In the post-World War II period the American Federation of Labor refused to regard the Dominican Confederation of Labor as a legitimate representative of Dominican workers because of its subservience to Trujillo and its affiliation with the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL). The leader of the CTAL group, Vincente Lombardo Toledano, had praised Trujillo for permitting Communists to operate openly in the country during 1946-1947.<sup>60</sup> In the

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<sup>58</sup>Ornes, Trujillo, p. 208.

<sup>59</sup>Serafino Roumaldi, Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America (New York, 1967), pp. 384-385.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 65.

early 1950's the American Federation of Labor did aid in the formation of the Inter-American Regional Workers Organization (ORIT) as an anti-totalitarian regional affiliate of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). At the founding meeting in Mexico City in 1951 the new labor group called attention to the disappearance in Cuba of Dominican labor leader Mauricio Báez and directed a resolution condemning his "monstrous kidnapping" at the Trujillo government.<sup>61</sup> Báez had been Secretary of the Dominican Labor Organization and had fled his country following strikes in 1947. In Cuba, Báez wrote a detailed report on Dominican labor conditions and sent it to the Geneva offices of the International Labor Organization (ILO). He requested an investigation and offered his services even at the risk of his life.<sup>62</sup> The ILO joined with the Inter-American Regional Workers Organization in sending a mission in February, 1951. The mission, however, was denied permission to enter the Dominican Republic.<sup>63</sup> When this refusal produced criticism, the Dominican Republic invited another investigation one year later. The ILO's Committee on Freedom of Association agreed to send a study group on the condition that they receive formal guarantees of complete liberty in their investigation, and that in time the report would be made public. On November 24, 1952, Trujillo himself withdrew the invitation.<sup>64</sup>

The need to build a democratic coalition among Latin Americans and

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<sup>61</sup>George Meany, "Mexico City Conference," American Federationist, LVIII, February, 1951, p. 21.

<sup>62</sup>H.A.R., V, February, 1951, p. 21.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., VII, April, 1953, p. 16.

<sup>64</sup>Romualdi, Presidents and Peons, pp. 391-393.

sympathetic citizens of the United States became apparent when opponents of military and Communist authoritarianism met in 1950 at the Inter-American Democratic Conference in Havana, Cuba. Approximately 150 delegates from North and South America attended the conference. One of Trujillo's oldest foes, Dr. Angel Morales, who served as Ambassador to the League of Nations and to the United States before Trujillo seized power was present. Others attending included past and future presidents Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela, Juan Bosch of the Dominican Republic, Eduardo Frei of Chile, Jose Figueres of Costa Rica, and United States delegates such as Max Ascoli of Reporter magazine, novelist Pearl Buck, Professor Sidney Hook, and Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.<sup>65</sup> The large representation from the United States was made possible through a special travel grant by Nelson Rockefeller.<sup>66</sup> The consensus of the conference was that United States policy tended to favor neo-facist military dictatorships in Latin America and thereby served the purposes of Communist agitators. One action of the conference was to organize the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom with offices in Washington and New York. It would serve as a liason between Latin American and North American groups. The organization would also collect information and publish facts and reports to serve democratic interests.<sup>67</sup> By 1950 an alliance emerged that helped to change the climate of international toleration towards the Trujillo

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid., pp. 451-453.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., pp. 441-442.

<sup>67</sup>Serafino Roumaldi, "For Freedom and Democracy in the Americas," American Federationist, LVII, June, 1950, pp. 24-26.

regime.

In 1955 an elaborate World's Fair of Peace and Brotherhood in the Free World was planned to mark the twenty-fifth year of Trujillo's regime. It was planned to glorify the dictatorship and publicize its achievements. This required a confrontation of hostile international criticism. The worker's confederation met in a show of activity<sup>68</sup> that could help cover the regime from criticism about its labor policies. In its May meeting in San José, Costa Rica the ORIT group had charged that the Dominican Republic was involved in another political murder in the death of Dominican labor leader Manuel de Jesús Hernández.<sup>69</sup> The pattern was repeated when the Dominican Press Association demanded that the Inter-American Press Association send a commission to investigate after it had charged that freedom of the press did not exist in the country.<sup>70</sup>

A large number of activities were undertaken in the United States to create interest in the upcoming fair and encourage what was hoped would be a flood of tourists. When the New York County Republican Club met early in 1955 Dominican Ambassador Joaquín E. Salazar occupied a prominent seat on the Speakers' platform. To publicize tourism in his country he had purchased \$2,000 of the \$2,250 worth of advertising in the twenty-eight-page dinner program.<sup>71</sup> Magazine stories appeared

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<sup>68</sup>International Labor Organization, Industry and Labor, XVI, January-June, 1956, pp. 47-48.

<sup>69</sup>Serafino Roumaldi, "Meeting in Costa Rica," American Federationist, LXII, June 19, 1955, pp. 24-26.

<sup>70</sup>H.A.R., IX, August, 1955, p. 317.

<sup>71</sup>N. Y. Times, April 1, 1955, p. 19.



in a number of publications to announce the upcoming events. One reported that the Dominicans were the "Yankees of Latin America," and their country had progressed from oxcarts to electronics in twenty-five years.<sup>72</sup> Newsweek reported that the whole year in the island country pointed toward the climatic opening of the world fair on December 20, 1955. Pan-American World Airways inaugurated a new route from New York to Ciudad Trujillo in order to transport the thousands of expected tourists to the \$25,000,000 show.<sup>73</sup> Another magazine commented on Trujillo's unique social experiment, by which he owned and operated everything, and wondered if it might not be worth-while.<sup>74</sup> Trujillo even promised Time magazine a fair share of the advertising for the fair despite its often expressed hostility.<sup>75</sup>

Trujillo seized the opportunity presented by flooding in the United States to secure further publicity. In August, 1955, the Dominican Republic announced the allocation of \$200,000 for flood relief if used in the purchase of Dominican products. Generalissimo Trujillo gave his personal check for \$100,000 in addition to help the unfortunate.<sup>76</sup> Charity taken care of, Trujillo purchased the yacht of his ex-lawyer and friend Joseph E. Davies. He reportedly paid

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<sup>72</sup>Jack Long, "Columbus Landed Here," American Magazine, CIXL, April, 1955, pp. 104-108.

<sup>73</sup>H. B. Markland, "For Travelers," Newsweek, IVL, October 24, 1955, p. 50.

<sup>74</sup>Mr. Harper, "El Benefactor Wants to See You," Harper's, CCXI, December, 1955, pp. 83-84.

<sup>75</sup>H.A.R., IX, September, 1955, p. 366.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

\$500,000 for the ship.<sup>77</sup> The campaign continued with a full page advertisement in the New York Times wishing the Generalissimo a happy birthday.<sup>78</sup>

The fair was a large project for such a small country. Seventy-one luxurious buildings graced a large tract of land at the edge of Ciudad Trujillo. Over 100 English-speaking guides were recruited to help the expected tourists.<sup>79</sup> One of the exhibits required a spectacular last minute airlift of 750 prize cattle from Peoria, Illinois; Miami and St. Petersburg, Florida; and Camaguey, Cuba.<sup>80</sup> As the opening day for the fair approached even the usually critical New York Times wished it success and noted that peace, prosperity and a friendly and co-operative foreign policy were positive points despite the dictatorship.<sup>81</sup>

The Trujillo regime ended 1955 with a number of confirmed foes among democratic leaders of the hemisphere along with labor, press and exile organizations. It had won acceptance, although not always warm, from United States government, and elements of the business, religious and press communities. The new year opened with Trujillo at his highest point of acceptance in the United States since the days of the Second World War. He appeared firmly in control of the Dominican Republic, and secure enough to plan a grand event such as the fair.

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<sup>77</sup> N. Y. Times, October 7, 1955, p. 49.

<sup>78</sup> H.A.R., IX, November, 1955, p. 469.

<sup>79</sup> N. Y. Times, December 25, 1955, II, p. 17.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., December 30, 1955, p. 36.

<sup>81</sup> "Editorial," N. Y. Times, December 21, 1955, p. 28.

The disappearance and supposed kidnapping of Professor Jesús de Galíndez from New York City in the first months of 1956, however, soon revealed the dark nature of his rule. The enemies of Trujillo found this case an opportunity to stem the rising fortunes of the dictator and force him back into a steadily weakening position before world opinion.

Significantly, 1955 ended with a major defection from the Trujillo establishment. Dr. Germán Ornes appeared before the Inter-American Press Association. He reported having fled the Dominican Republic leaving behind his home and the newly purchased newspaper, El Caribe. Ornes claimed he had left in fear after an error in his newspaper had labelled a new statue of Trujillo as his tomb.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>N. Y. Times, December 30, 1955, p. 10.

## CHAPTER II

### UNWELCOMED ATTENTION: 1956

The year 1956 began well for the Trujillo regime. The Fair received much favorable attention in the United States, and Trujillo's policy of seeking a close identification with the policy of the United States in foreign affairs was apparently successful. An article placed by the Dominican Information Service in New York City reported that a record budget was planned for the year with expenditures expected to reach \$122,729,500. It was hoped the Fair would attract 3,000,000 tourists and climax a drive for a greater share of the Caribbean trade.<sup>1</sup> In this flush of optimism the embassy in Washington began publishing a monthly magazine called A Look At The Dominican Republic in January.<sup>2</sup>

Concurrent with the International Fair in Ciudad Trujillo was an International Catholic Cultural Conference for World Peace. Francis Cardinal Spellman was present as a personal representative for Pope Pius XII.<sup>3</sup> In May the Dominicans showed their appreciation for the Cardinal's visit by awarding him the highest decoration of the country. During the ceremony Ambassador Salazar stated that Spellman's visit

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<sup>1</sup>New York Times, January 5, 1956, p. 72. (Hereinafter cited as N. Y. Times).

<sup>2</sup>J. Fred Rippy, Globe and Hemisphere (Chicago, 1958), p. 240.

<sup>3</sup>N. Y. Times, February 29, 1956, p. 12.

was, ". . . one of the most auspicious events in our recent history."<sup>4</sup>

The U. S. State Department was still pursuing the shortsighted policy of favoring Latin American dictators. In February, 1956, Assistant-Secretary of State Henry Holland even discouraged Romulo Betancourt from meeting with José Figueres in Puerto Rico. The outspoken Figueres reportedly warned the State Department of its folly in favoring dictators at the expense of democrats.<sup>5</sup>

The Trujillo government signed numerous agreements throughout the year with the United States. On June 15, 1956 an agreement was signed under the Atoms for Peace Program.<sup>6</sup> In September another was reached to establish a rawinsonde observation station to track missiles at Sabana de la Mar in the Dominican Republic.<sup>7</sup> This accord was given definite approval by an exchange of notes in July and August.<sup>8</sup> An agreement on the United States Naval Mission was also signed and placed into operation on December 7, 1956.<sup>9</sup> The need for friends was brought home to Trujillo when Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza was assassinated. Trujillo sent 118 men and four planes to the funeral with the instructions that they were available if needed to

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., May 6, 1956, p. 85.

<sup>5</sup>Serafino Roumaldi, Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America (New York, 1967), pp. 475-476.

<sup>6</sup>U. S. Department of State Bulletin, XXXIV, No. 887, June 25, 1956, p. 1071.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., XXXV, No. 899, September 17, 1956, p. 460.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., XXXV, No. 912, December 17, 1956, p. 970.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., XXXV, Nos. 913 and 914, December 24 and 31, 1956, p. 1006.

stabilize the position of the Somoza family.<sup>10</sup>

The Dominican Republic maintained a large lobbying and public relations operation in the United States. The sugar industry was largely owned by the Generalissimo and actively sought advantages under the quota import system. An information agency was operated by a New York public relations man who served with many others of his profession to portray the regime in a favorable light. In 1956 twelve United States citizens or organizations registered as agents for the Dominican Republic and reported receiving \$576,591.68 for their services. Among the most prominent of these were Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., and his law partner, Charles P. Clark. Tourist promotion was the main task at the beginning of the year and it proved highly lucrative. International Services, Inc., headed by retired U. S. Army Major General George Olmstead, received \$270,000.<sup>11</sup> General Olmstead had served as head of the U. S. military assistance program in the Dominican Republic before retiring to head International Services.<sup>12</sup>

Dominican publicity efforts quickly shifted to a defense against charges relating to the disappearance of a refugee Spanish scholar. Because of its intensity this effort would cause comment by the Attorney General in his annual report to Congress on the activities

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<sup>10</sup>N. Y. Times, October 1, 1956, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup>U. S., Department of Justice, Report of the Attorney General to the Congress of the United States on the Administration of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, for the Calendar Year 1956. (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1967), Appendix VII. (Hereinafter cited as U. S., Department of Justice, Report on the Administration of the Foreign Agents Registration Act for 1956).

<sup>12</sup>Robert D. Crassweller, Trujillo: The Life and Times of a Caribbean Dictator (New York, 1966), p. 325.

of foreign agents.<sup>13</sup> On the night of March 12, 1956, Professor Jesus de Galíndez disappeared after meeting his classes at Columbia University. Galíndez was a Spanish Basque who had fled to the Dominican Republic in 1939 after Franco's victory in the Spanish Civil War. Until 1946, when he secured a visa and moved to the United States, Galíndez earned his living as a teacher and advisor on labor affairs to the Dominican government. Fascinated by Trujillo and his regime, Galíndez wrote a 750 page Ph.D. dissertation, The Era of Trujillo: 1930-1955, while attending Columbia University.<sup>14</sup> Galíndez, a promising scholar, had published articles concerning Latin American politics and government, the situation of Puerto Rican migrants in New York, and the Dominican Republic. His publications appeared in several journals, including The Journal of International Affairs, in which he contributed an article on "Anti-American Sentiment in Latin America," and Cuadernos Americanos, where he published "Puerto Rico en Nueva York," "Un Reportaje Sobre Santo Domingo," and "Revolución Socio-Económico en Iberoamérica," between 1952 and 1955. His articles also appeared in journals and magazines in Cuba and Colombia.<sup>15</sup> Galíndez was a liberal, humane, and democratic man horrified at the nature of Trujillo's regime. As Galíndez's research into the Trujillo era deepened, his dissertation advisor, Professor Frank Tannenbaum said,

In time de Galíndez came to resemble nothing so much as a walking one-man intelligence bureau. He knew more about

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<sup>13</sup>U. S., Department of Justice, Report on the Administration of the Foreign Agents Registration Act for 1956, p. 14.

<sup>14</sup>"Critic Vanishes," Time, LXVII, April 2, 1956, p. 41.

<sup>15</sup>Pan-American Union, Index to Latin American Periodical Literature, 1929-1960, Vol. III. [page number illegible].

Trujillo than anyone else in the whole wide world.<sup>16</sup> Galíndez had told friends and students that he feared for his life because newspapers in the Dominican Republic had been attacking him. In the three months before his disappearance he had been threatened by anonymous letters and phone calls more vicious than any others he had experienced.<sup>17</sup>

The Galíndez case has remained an unsolved mystery although substantial evidence indicates that he was another victim of the Trujillo regime. His disappearance opened the way for a full scale attack on the dictatorship by its enemies. Within forty-eight hours after Galíndez' disappearance was reported, ten organizations, including the American Civil Liberties Union and the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, were joined by AFL-CIO representative Serafino Roumaldi in urging Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., to use the FBI to investigate what they were convinced was a political crime.<sup>18</sup> The Inter-American Press Association quickly joined the call for the FBI to enter the case. Its president, James Stahlman, publisher of the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner, stated that the disappearance was probably related to Galíndez's newspaper work and the prospective publication of a book ". . . reportedly exposing a foreign government where freedom of expression and freedom of the press

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<sup>16</sup> German Ornes, Trujillo: Little Caesar of the Caribbean (New York, 1958), p. 310.

<sup>17</sup> M. D. Jay, "Kidnapping of Galíndez," New Republic, CXXXIV, April 30, 1956, p. 29.

<sup>18</sup> N. Y. Times, March 21, 1956, p. 29.



have been made impossible."<sup>19</sup>

In a letter to the Editor of the New York Times dated March 27, 1956, Francis R. Grant, Secretary-General of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, Norman Thomas, and Serafino Rounaldi joined by five others asserted that the Galíndez case resembled other Trujillo sponsored assassinations. They called attention to a Cuban complaint before the Organization of American States that Dominican agents had carried out an assassination on Cuban soil.<sup>20</sup> The following day Reginald Parker, Professor of Law at Willamette University in Salem, Oregon, expressed shock and wondered if the United States had " . . . become a Balkan nation where foreign agents may kidnap foreign dissenters with impunity?"<sup>21</sup>

The FBI did not enter the case immediately. In the early stages of the case Galíndez' friends concentrated on bringing the federal agency into the investigation. Writing to James Stahlman of the Nashville Banner, Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney, III, explained that the FBI was following the case, but felt no evidence had been produced to justify entering the investigation.<sup>22</sup>

In an editorial on March 27 the New York Times expressed its suspicion that the Dominican Republic was involved in the disappearance and urged the authorities to press the investigation.<sup>23</sup> The Board of

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., March 22, 1956, p. 71.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., March 29, 1956, p. 26.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., April 2, 1956, p. 22.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., March 28, 1956, p. 9.

<sup>23</sup>"Editorial," N. Y. Times, March 27, 1956, p. 34.

Directors of the Inter-American Press Association meeting in Bermuda noted that in recent years five mysterious assassinations or disappearances of Trujillo opponents had occurred in the United States and Cuba, and urged President Eisenhower to look into the case.<sup>24</sup> Senator William Langer, Republican of North Dakota, inserted into the Congressional Record " . . . a resolution adopted by the friends, associates and colleagues of Dr. Jesús de Galíndez, relating to the administration of Generalissimo Trujillo in the Dominican Republic." The resolution requested that the local police pursue the case and that the press seek out and publish its every detail. It also requested public and private support for Galíndez's writings, especially The Era of Trujillo, and greater protection of political exiles.<sup>25</sup> The clamour for federal action continued as Commonweal, the liberal Catholic journal, expressed its profound distress that such a tragic disappearance could occur in the United States.<sup>26</sup> Professor Sidney Hook, joined by several New York University colleagues, urged the Justice Department to allow the FBI to investigate the case regardless of jurisdictional limitations. They mentioned that Latin American newspapers and magazines had already decried an apparent lack of concern over Galíndez in this country.<sup>27</sup> An acrimonious question and answer session occurred at a luncheon held by the Overseas Press Club in New York City to

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<sup>24</sup>N. Y. Times, April 8, 1956, p. 27.

<sup>25</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, 84th Cong., 2nd sess., Congressional Record, CII, April 16, 1956, 6296. (Hereinafter cited as Congressional Record, with volume, date and page when speaker is cited in text).

<sup>26</sup>"Galíndez Case," Commonweal, LXIV, April 20, 1956, p. 66.

<sup>27</sup>N. Y. Times, April 24, 1956, p. 30.

discuss the Galíndez case. Exile Germán Ornes bitterly denounced Trujillo. When Cornelius Ryan of Collier's magazine questioned his recent change of heart, Ornes angrily accused Ryan of insulting him and called the reporter a disgrace.<sup>28</sup> Despite the publicity, President Eisenhower, when asked to comment on the case at his news conference on April 25 said, "I don't know a thing about it."<sup>29</sup>

On April 27 the ten groups that had originally requested an investigation by the FBI again appealed to the Attorney General to act in the Galíndez affair.<sup>30</sup> The next day the New York Times editorialized its wish for the FBI to enter the case and warned that the reputation of American police authorities was at stake in the eyes of Latin America.<sup>31</sup> On the same day James E. Stahlman made public a letter urging the President to order an immediate and thorough investigation by the FBI. He stated that foreign agents had violated U. S. sovereignty and that the case was causing unfavorable reaction in Latin America.<sup>32</sup> In his news conference of May 9 President Eisenhower was again asked if he had looked into the Galíndez case as requested by the Inter-American Press Association. He answered,

The Attorney General went after the case as quickly as it arose, went into New York City. The FBI is standing by . . . The city police of New York have it in hand. As the

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., April 25, 1956, p. 14.

<sup>29</sup>U. S., President, Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, 1956), Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1956, pp. 440-441.

<sup>30</sup>N. Y. Times, April 27, 1956, p. 18.

<sup>31</sup>"Editorial," N. Y. Times, April 28, 1956, p. 16.

<sup>32</sup>N. Y. Times, April 29, 1956, p. 43.

case stands now it is . . . not a case where the FBI has any right to step in.<sup>33</sup>

On May 28 the American Foreign Law Association joined in urging that the investigation take place on federal, state and local levels of law enforcement.<sup>34</sup> The original group that had requested the FBI enter the case continued their campaign. Francis Grant wrote a letter praising the New York Times for not accepting the slur that Galíndez was a Communist.<sup>35</sup>

On June 12 memorial services for Galíndez were held in twelve countries. In the New York meeting Norman Thomas read notes from an address Galíndez had prepared before his disappearance.<sup>36</sup> In September Thomas made public a letter accusing the government of adopting a hands-off policy towards Galíndez out of fear of causing distress to Trujillo.<sup>37</sup>

Grayson Kirk, President of Columbia University, in a letter to the New York Times on May 9 expressed his concern and sorrow over the case. He explained that he had not communicated earlier for fear of prejudicing the case. Kirk now felt he should mention the respect Galíndez had among his colleagues and the warm affection felt for him by his students.<sup>38</sup> On June 5, 1956, Galíndez was awarded a doctorial degree in absentia from Columbia for his work in political science.

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., May 10, 1956, p. 16.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., May 28, 1956, p. 22.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., May 31, 1956, p. 26.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., June 13, 1956, p. 22.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., September 13, 1956, p. 33.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., May 11, 1956, p. 26.

In a break with customary procedure, Jacques Barzun, Dean of the Graduate Faculty, pointedly mentioned "The name of our colleague, Jesús de Galíndez, whose unexplained absence for three months we all lament." The statement was explained as an expression of interest and concern by a university spokesman.<sup>39</sup>

The adverse publicity attending the Galíndez case soon sparked a defensive campaign by the Dominican Republic. Dr. Manuel De Moya Alonso, Secretary of State Without Portfolio, telegraphed the New York Times that a Dominican pamphlet titled Belated Recognition contained a warning by Generalissimo Trujillo that Galíndez was "Communist inspired." He stated, "The Trujillo government does not murder professors when it can succeed in exposing them to public opinions and thereby prove its own cause."<sup>40</sup> Answering De Moya's charges on April 5, Clifford Forster of the International League for the Rights of Man, stated that Galíndez was a Roman Catholic and a Christian Democrat, and that the attempted slur on his name was typical of Latin American dictatorships.<sup>41</sup>

On April 28 a long letter signed by Dominican Archbishop Ricardo Pittini and highly placed officials of the Dominican Supreme Court, Rotary Club, Red Cross, Protestant churches, and cultural organizations appeared praising Trujillo for his services to the country and criticizing his detractors with the charge that, ". . . the majority of

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., June 6, 1956, p. 28.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., April 4, 1956, p. 10.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., April 11, 1956, p. 32.

whom are known or hidden Communists . . . "42 On May 1 a similar letter from Joaquín Balaguer, Secretary of State of the Presidency, was published in the Times. Balaguer thought the attitudes expressed by the newspaper could:

. . . only be attributed to a plan of Communist inspiration intended to depreciate a Government whose strong anti-Communist attitude is well known.<sup>43</sup>

The Trujillo regime was never able to rise above a McCarthyite and simplistic propaganda campaign in its attempts to evade the charges raised by the Galíndez case. It would probably have been better served by a discreet silence.

The propaganda effort included placing full-page advertisements portraying the Dominican Republic as a friendly and progressive country in the Spanish language papers La Prensa and Diario de las Américas, and the Times in New York City.<sup>44</sup> In the Dominican Republic a tight censorship kept all but the ruling clique unaware of the publicity the country was receiving. Six editions of the Miami Herald's Clipper Edition were quietly purchased by the Dominican government through commercial channels because they contained information relating to the Galíndez case. This sophisticated form of censorship almost escaped notice.<sup>45</sup>

Dominican exiles rushed to use the Galíndez case as a means to

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., April 28, 1956, p. 16.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., May 1, 1956, p. 32.

<sup>44</sup>Hispanic American Report, X, May, 1956, p. 177 (Hereinafter cited as H.A.R.).

<sup>45</sup>"Censors Buy Up Entire Edition," LXXXIX, Editor and Publisher June 30, 1956, p. 15.

carry home their fight against the dictator. Exile leader Nicolás Silfa made public a letter to Pope Pius XII expressing his shock at Archbishop Pittini's signature on the letter supporting Trujillo. Silfa also expressed dismay at President Eisenhower's statement that the FBI had no right to enter the case.<sup>46</sup> Eager to press the offensive, Silfa reported on May 30 that he had information that Galíndez had been thrown into the furnace of the Dominican ship Fundación on the night of March 12. The story would have been difficult to verify in the best of circumstances because the Fundación had since made three trips to the Dominican Republic.<sup>47</sup> Dominican Consul General Arturo Espaillet quickly challenged Silfa's statement.<sup>48</sup> Agents for the steamship line declared it would have been impossible to stuff Galíndez into the boiler since the ship was an oil burner and only contained small peek-holes in the boiler fronts.<sup>49</sup> On June 6 the New York City Police made a four hour search and investigation of the Fundación but failed to produce any evidence of foul play.<sup>50</sup> The trail was cold thus far.

Dominican efforts to reverse the growing wave of adverse publicity continued with the charge that a Spanish refugee, José Almoína, had offered to sell Galíndez's work to the Dominican Ambassador in Mexico for \$500,000 in 1954.<sup>51</sup> Newly named Consul General Felix Bernadino,

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<sup>46</sup>N. Y. Times, May 14, 1956, p. 2.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., May 30, 1956, p. 1.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., May 31, 1956, p. 1.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., June 1, 1956, p. 9.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., June 7, 1956, p. 5.

<sup>51</sup>H.A.R., X, June, 1956, p. 237.

replacing Arturo Espaillet, announced that he would file a suit for \$500,000 against Look magazine for an article by Wenzell Brown in the May 29 issue. Describing the dangers and fears of Trujillo's foes in the United States, the article implicated Bernadino in the unsolved murder of Dominican exile Andres Requena in 1952.<sup>52</sup> Bernadino's threat failed to keep the Reader's Digest from republishing the article in August.<sup>53</sup>

In New York City an action group for the Trujillo forces appeared when some 250 members of the Dominican Cultural Society met to endorse a telegram to the Generalissimo protesting the "campaign of vilification" being waged against him. Exiles picketing the downtown meeting place were attacked with eggs, and three people were arrested. The police found a carton full of over-ripe tomatoes, blackened bananas and eggs near the meeting site. The society's cable claimed that the New York Post, Times, and several other publications were involved in a ". . . deceitful complicity with elements of mistaken tendencies."<sup>54</sup> A pro-Trujillo supporter received a five-day jail term for throwing eggs and a warning that similar behavior in the future would result in a flat six month jail term.<sup>55</sup> The New York branch of the Cultural Society also sent forty-five pickets to protest the award of a degree to Dr. Galíndez by Columbia University. They appeared with red, white and blue signs proclaiming that Galíndez was "a poor Roman Catholic,

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>Wenzell Brown, "Terrifying Story of New York's League of Threatened Men," Reader's Digest, August, 1956, pp. 81-84.

<sup>54</sup>N. Y. Times, June 6, 1956, p. 1.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., July 6, 1956, p. 45.



a thief and a Communist."<sup>56</sup> The Cultural Society's activities lead the Justice Department to investigate the organization and consider prosecution under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.<sup>57</sup> In August the Cultural Society joined the Pan-American Anti-Communist Association to field a 100-man force of pickets outside the Times building. One picket's sign asked, "Is the Times liberal or liberal?" with the second "liberal" painted in red.<sup>58</sup> Earlier in the year a similar group had picketed the New York Post while it was publishing a series of articles about Trujillo entitled, "The Postage Stamp Emperor."<sup>59</sup> On August 11 an estimated 150 people representing the same organizations returned to the Times.<sup>60</sup>

In July one of Galindez' colleagues complained bitterly of the federal authorities' failure to enter the case. Robert Clements, Jr., commented that the case had inspired Chilean Communist and Nobel Prize winning poet Pablo Neruda to write poems describing an Eisenhower-Trujillo axis. Clements said the giant billboards in New York City and full-page advertisements in newspapers revealed a Trujillo personality which would put Stalinists to shame. He went on to describe the case of another Chilean writer, Waldo Ross. In April Ross

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid., July 4, 1956, p. 8.

<sup>57</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations. Activities of Nondiplomatic Agents of Foreign Principals in the U.S.A., Hearings, Senate, 88th Cong., 1st sess., 1963, pp. 18-19 (Hereinafter cited as U.S., Senate, Activities of Nondiplomatic Agents of Foreign Principals, Hearings, 88th Cong., 1st sess.).

<sup>58</sup>N. Y. Times, August 7, 1956, p. 9.

<sup>59</sup>"Dominicans Picket," Editor and Publisher, LXXXIX, August 11, 1956, p. 34.

<sup>60</sup>N. Y. Times, August 12, 1956, p. 88.

had attacked Galíndez in the Spanish language press in New York as a yellow journalist, political opportunist, foreign spy, intellectual mediocrity, and exhibitionist. By July he was teaching philosophy at the University of Santo Domingo.<sup>61</sup>

In 1949 Galíndez had registered as an agent for the Basque Government in Exile. In the following years he reportedly collected over \$1,000,000 for the group.<sup>62</sup> The Dominicans claimed an apparent discrepancy between the amount he received and the amount he forwarded to the Paris office of José Antonio Aguirre, President of the Government in Exile. Aguirre quickly cleared Galíndez of any charge of misbehavior by explaining that the money was distributed to Basque organizations all around the world, especially in the Americas.<sup>63</sup>

Publication of Dr. Galíndez's dissertation had been arranged before his disappearance by a firm in Chile. A copy at Columbia University was withheld from publication on the grounds that the author's signature was first required. Another copy was held by the public administrator of unclaimed property of New York County.<sup>64</sup> The book was rushed to publication in Chile in an abridged edition. In it Galíndez charged Trujillo with destroying all internal opposition, ruling the country like a family estate, and masterminding over 140 political assassinations since 1930.<sup>65</sup> In an editorial the Times

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<sup>61</sup> Robert Clements, Jr., "Events That Judge Us," New Republic, CXXXV, July 2, 1956, pp. 9-10.

<sup>62</sup> N. Y. Times, July 3, 1956, p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., July 4, 1956, p. 8.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., May 11, 1956, p. 13.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., May 29, 1956, p. 1.

commented that the Galíndez book added little to what had been reported before and commented on the irony of the attention focused on it by the author's disappearance. The editorial concluded that the sheer repetition of accumulated facts does add up to a pounding denunciation of tyranny.<sup>66</sup>

Perhaps another irony was the damage caused to other people who had associated with Trujillo. One political career injured by the case was that of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. Roosevelt had accepted a \$30,000 a year position as a Dominican agent only eleven days before Galíndez disappeared. When Dominican exiles threatened to picket a Democratic fund-raising dinner where Roosevelt was toastmaster on April 12, he protested, "I never heard of Galíndez." Time magazine immediately seized on this statement and printed a photograph of him with Galíndez placing a wreath on Franklin D. Roosevelt's tomb at Hyde Park in 1955.<sup>67</sup> When Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., requested that the FBI enter the case, Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney, III, suggested that he make a similar request of his client.<sup>68</sup> Dominican exiles, carrying a symbolic black coffin, picketed the offices of Roosevelt and his law partner Charles P. Clark in protest of the firm's affiliation with the Dominican Republic.<sup>69</sup>

Adolph A. Berle described in the New York Times Magazine the damages being done to the United States reputation in Latin America

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., May 30, 1956, p. 20.

<sup>67</sup> "Missing Man," Time, LXVII, June 4, 1956, p. 45.

<sup>68</sup> N. Y. Times, May 22, 1956, p. 16.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., May 30, 1956, p. 16.

by the Galíndez case. He asserted that America's inaction against such brutality was credited to Trujillo's extensive lobbying and public relations effort in Washington. The article charged that a friendly letter from President Eisenhower declining a cruise on Trujillo's yacht was freely displayed in Ciudad Trujillo to prove United States approval of the regime.<sup>70</sup>

The exchange of letters that followed exposed a larger problem than that posed by Galíndez for the United States. Dominican Secretary of State without Portfolio J. M. Troncoso declared Berle's report on the Eisenhower letter was a falsehood. He declared that Berle's policies toward Latin America were formulated in the official residence of Muñoz-Marín in Puerto Rico, where Rómulo Betancourt and Aprista elements known for their consistent attacks against the most anti-Communist bastion of Latin America were present. He said, "This gives an indication of why Mr. Berle's comments about the Dominican Republic are the same that are used against her by the Communists." Troncoso accused Galíndez of mismanaging Basque funds, and ended by recalling Berle's holding Trujillo's hat, coat and cane during a 1939 visit to the United States.<sup>71</sup> Berle replied that in 1939 many chiefs of state were received in Washington with courtesy as the problem of continental defense was being resolved. In those days, he said, there was hope that the Dominican Republic would develop along normal democratic lines. He answered Troncoso's slur of communism by saying

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<sup>70</sup> Adolph A. Berle, "To the South: A Continent of Problems," New York Times Magazine, July 15, 1956, p. 37ff.

<sup>71</sup> "Letter to the Editor from J. M. Troncoso," N. Y. Times, July 25, 1956, p. 28.

he failed to see where devotion to democracy implied communist influence.<sup>72</sup> Both letters were printed side by side, and were soon followed by another from Rómulo Betancourt who denied that he had been present at the meeting which Troncoso alleged took place in Puerto Rico. He charged the real purpose of Troncoso's letter was to discredit Dr. Galíndez whose Era of Trujillo had gone through six reprints in four weeks making it the most successful Spanish-language political publication in this century.<sup>73</sup> Dominican reaction to Berle's article showed how sensitive the Trujillo regime was to criticism from the United States.

Evidence that the publicity caused a great deal of concern to the Generalissimo appeared in a memorandum issued through the Dominican Republic Information Service. Trujillo reported Galíndez had offered him the manuscript for \$25,000. The memorandum continued that Galíndez was either a swindler or a paymaster for Communist secret operations, and the Dominican Republic was innocent of any wrongdoing.<sup>74</sup> The Times commented that Trujillo's statement revealed the extent he had been hurt by the Galíndez disappearance. The charge that Galíndez was a Communist or a confidence man was called slanderous and beneath contempt. The Times again expressed its surprise that the FBI had not entered the case, and noted the lack of progress on the case.<sup>75</sup> Three

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<sup>72</sup>"Letter to the Editor from A. A. Berle," N. Y. Times, July 25, 1956, p. 28.

<sup>73</sup>"Letter to the Editor from Rómulo Betancourt," N. Y. Times, August 9, 1956, p. 24.

<sup>74</sup>N. Y. Times, September 12, 1956, p. 17.

<sup>75</sup>"Editorial," N. Y. Times, September 13, 1956, p. 34.

Dominican cabinet members replied that the Times was the libelous party. They claimed Dominican rectitude was best shown by the action of Dr. Maurice B. Hexter, President of the Dominican Resettlement Association. At Trujillo's request Hexter asked the New York Bar Association to investigate the case and clear their nation's name. They mentioned the matter only to show their government's sincerity although the Bar Association felt it should not participate.<sup>76</sup> This letter was followed by a full page advertisement on September 20 in the Times entitled "The Other Side of the Galindez Story." It showed a large picture of Trujillo and a map of Florida and the Dominican Republic sharing the Caribbean Sea without any neighbors. The text described the country as a prosperous, strongly anti-Communist neighbor at the gateway to the Panama Canal, but suffering from a Communist-leftist conspiracy to destroy good relations.<sup>77</sup> Trujillo continued his protestations of innocence and slanderous accusations. He then tried to gain support and lessen embarrassing publicity by identifying himself with the defensive posture of the United States toward the Panama Canal.

As the year closed, the Galindez case dropped from the news. It appeared that Trujillo's latest campaign had silenced most of his critics. In November a quiet memorial was held by his colleagues including Germán Arciniegas and Frank Tannenbaum in the Casa Española

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<sup>76</sup>"Letter to the Editor from J. Balaguer [currently President of the Dominican Republic], et al.," N. Y. Times, September 15, 1956, p. 16.

<sup>77</sup>"Advertisement," N. Y. Times, September 20, 1956, p. 27.

on the campus of Columbia University.<sup>78</sup> The case was quiet, but far from closed.

In July the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) expressed its concern with Dominican affairs at its meeting in Brussels. All international affiliates and trade union secretaries were asked to join in a worldwide campaign against the murderous attacks on Trujillo's foes and the general policy of crime, terror and persecution of the regime. The organization accused Trujillo of suppressing the free labor movement, failing to enact adequate social legislation, interfering in the affairs of other countries, especially Cuba, maintaining a monopoly position in many fields of industry, and practicing leniency toward Communism. This last charge probably referred to the short lived legalization of the Communist Party in 1946 and 1947. Regional organizations were asked to consult on a possible boycott of the Dominican Republic.<sup>79</sup> The Dominican Labor Secretary predictably charged that the threat of a boycott was unjustified and Cuban-inspired.<sup>80</sup>

The ICFTU's action was followed by an American States Labor Conference meeting in Havana that barred the Dominican delegation in a move to dramatize the suppression of trade unions and civil rights under Trujillo, and joined the call for a moral boycott of the Dominican Republic.<sup>81</sup> Reacting to criticism the Dominicans registered

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<sup>78</sup>H.A.R., X, November, 1956, p. 80.

<sup>79</sup>N. Y. Times, July 8, 1956, p. 7.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., July 9, 1956, p. 4.

<sup>81</sup>Serafino Roumaldi, "We Defended Union Rights," American Federationist, LXIII, October, 1956, pp. 15-16.

ratification of six International Labor Conventions with the ILO in December.<sup>82</sup> This sort of gesture failed to lessen labor movement antagonism toward Trujillo.

The dislike of the press was one of the Trujillo regime's major problems. It could be handled at home, but the governments actions created a "credibility gap" in the eyes of many foreign newsmen. One example of this was shown in an incident involving the Oversea's Press Club of America. The club owned a building in New York City and followed a policy of renting its unused halls to the public. Rafael Herrera, who had succeeded Germán Ornes as editor of El Caribe, spoke to an organization reported in press releases as the Oversea's Club on January 4, 1956. The speech was an attempt to discredit Ornes, who had become an enemy of Trujillo.<sup>83</sup> The effort to create the impression that Herrera spoke before the legitimate Oversea's Press Club was a glaring example of deception on Trujillo's part that angered newspapermen. The president of the club attempted to clarify what he considered a false impression given in reports of the speech by saying it was not made before his organization.<sup>84</sup>

One of Trujillo's most relentless antagonists was the Inter-American Press Association (IAPA). The IAPA quickly supported refugee Germán Ornes' claim to ownership of El Caribe.<sup>85</sup> When the Dominican

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<sup>82</sup>International Labor Organization, Industry and Labor, XVII, January-June, 1957, p. 66.

<sup>83</sup>N. Y. Times, January 5, 1956, p. 7.

<sup>84</sup>"Letter to the Editor from Louis P. Lochner," N. Y. Times, January 16, 1956, p. 20.

<sup>85</sup>N. Y. Times, January 17, 1956, p. 20.



Republic sought Ornes extradition, Executive Chairman John R. Reite-  
meyer and reporter Herbert Matthews personally interceded to block  
the action.<sup>86</sup>

The IAPA launched an inquiry into the ownership of El Diario de  
Nueva York and to reports that its editor Stanley Ross had sought aid  
from Trujillo in buying the paper.<sup>87</sup> In October the association met  
in Havana with many delegates eager to discuss Dominican press charges  
that the organization and a large part of the United States press  
were communistic. Stories quoting recently convicted Communists in  
New York as being connected with the association had appeared in the  
controlled press of Colombia and the Dominican Republic.<sup>88</sup> At the  
meeting Stanley Ross was ousted from membership under charges of having  
offered to serve Trujillo.<sup>89</sup> Ross denied the charges and claimed that  
even when he had been editor of El Caribe he had never written anything  
favoring the dictator. Despite protests Ross remained at the meeting  
as the delegate from his newspaper.<sup>90</sup> His action contributed to the  
approval of a resolution making it easier to expel member publications  
that defended dictators guilty of suppressing the press.<sup>91</sup>

The newspapermen further showed their disgust with the Dominican

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<sup>86</sup> Mary A. Gardner, The Inter-American Press Association: Its  
Fight for Freedom of the Press, 1926-1960 (Austin, 1967), p. 81.

<sup>87</sup> Editor and Publisher, LXXXIX, August 25, 1956, p. 68.

<sup>88</sup> Robert U. Brown, "Shop Talk At Thirty," Editor and Publisher,  
LXXXIV, October 20, 1956, p. 92.

<sup>89</sup> Gardner, The IAPA, pp. 30-32.

<sup>90</sup> Editor and Publisher, LXXXIX, November 3, 1956, p. 13.

<sup>91</sup> N. Y. Times, November 2, 1956, p. 32.

dictatorship at the Havana meeting. A report was submitted condemning the Dominican press by Daniel Morales, editor and publisher of the Mexican paper Mañana. Morales had travelled to the Dominican Republic at his own expense to gather material for his report to the meeting.<sup>92</sup> In a dramatic, or perhaps melodramatic confrontation, Jules Dubois of the Chicago Tribune and Chairman of the Freedom of the Press Committee refused to shake hands with Dominican editor Ramón Marrero Aristy, who had recently written in Dominican papers that Dubois was a Communist. Marrero challenged Dubois to a duel and was accepted. The duel was to take place in Uruguay, the only place where it was legal within thirty days; but cooler heads prevailed and the duel was cancelled.<sup>93</sup> On November 21, 1956, the New York Herald Tribune carried an advertisement paid for by the Dominican Republic accusing the IAPA of interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The newly elected President of the IAPA reported the association's 500 newspapers with 50,000,000 readers would wage a war without quarter against hemispheric dictators and their henchmen.<sup>94</sup>

One opponent of Trujillo at the IAPA meeting found his return to the United States complicated by a wide range of charges levied against him through the State Department.<sup>95</sup> Germán Ornes was denied

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<sup>92</sup> Gardner, The IAPA, pp. 76-77.

<sup>93</sup> Robert U. Brown, "Shop Talk At Thirty," Editor and Publisher, LXXXIX, November 3, 1956, p. 84.

<sup>94</sup> Editor and Publisher, LXXXIX, December 1, 1956, p. 48.

<sup>95</sup> Germán Ornes and J. McCarters, "Trujillo: Little Ceasar on Our Front Porch," Harper's Magazine, CCXLIII, December, 1956, pp. 67-72.

a return visa to the United States after the conference despite protests by six national organizations.<sup>96</sup> The State Department took four months to check out the charges levied against Ornes before granting him a visa. It was finally granted in Havana after numerous protests by the IAPA and other organizations.<sup>97</sup>

Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1963 revealed the value Trujillo placed on North American public opinion and some of his efforts to influence it.<sup>98</sup> A major cog in the organization was the Dominican Information Service founded in 1946 and operating until 1959.<sup>99</sup> The Information Service was able to distribute propaganda as ordinary news without labelling it by dealing closely with the Special Services Department of one major news service between 1953-1958. The practice only stopped when the International News Service merged with and adopted the practices of United Press to form United Press International.<sup>100</sup> One activity that Trujillo was willing to support on a three-month trial basis was a round-up of Latin American news, edited to present a suitable viewpoint, called "On Guard." International News Service prepared and distributed the round-up to its regular subscribers, and then printed the material for distribution among opinion-makers in the United States, Canada and Latin America. Trujillo's sponsorship of this publication was not

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<sup>96</sup>N. Y. Times, December 4, 1956, p. 30.

<sup>97</sup>Gardner, The IAPA, p. 81.

<sup>98</sup>U. S., Senate, Activities of Nondiplomatic Agents of Foreign Principals, Hearings, 88th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 285-299.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., pp. 271-272.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., pp. 285-299.

revealed at the specific request of the Dominican Information Service.<sup>101</sup> Testimony showed that conventional public relations afforded greater success. Dominican viewpoints were placed in American papers by hiring editorial writing services which prepared and mailed editorial comment and furnished it free of charge to small daily and weekly newspapers across the country. Another technique was to use matrix printing plates to provide easily used material already prepared through a number of firms. The materials were not labelled as to source and provided a real convenience for their users.<sup>102</sup>

The audience that could be reached by these activities was suggested in the testimony of witness Robert Nelson Taylor of the United States Press Association, Inc. Mr. Taylor said his organization reached 1,399 small daily and weekly newspapers in 1963, and estimated the use of his freely furnished materials averaged ten per-cent. This was in roughly the same time period as Trujillo's effort to escape his bad press in the larger news sources. Taylor said he quit dealing with the Dominican Republic Information Service in October, 1957, because he disagreed with the content of material they furnished him. On May 19, 1961, however, he accepted work from Dominican sugar lobbyists Selvage & Lee, Inc., in writing an editorial called "How To Woo Communists."<sup>103</sup> Trujillo spent a great deal of money and effort in his attempt to create a favorable image in the United States.

The Dominican sugar lobby labored with some success in Washington.

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<sup>101</sup>Ibid.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., pp. 306-311.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., pp. 654-664.

They sometimes failed and the full story of their activities will probably never be known. Attempts were made to gain influence with Senator Harry F. Byrd, Democrat of Virginia, by offering work to a law firm thought to be close to him politically, and records revealed a complex plan to gain the friendship of Senator Robert Kerr, Democrat of Oklahoma. Senator Kerr was to be offered an invitation to visit the Dominican Republic followed by an invitation to dinner with the Ambassador. This was to be followed by a visit from ex-Ambassador to Brazil and Peru William Pawley, who now had extensive business interests in the Dominican Republic. Finally Kerr was to be presented with a book, Enriquillo, a biography of an Indian hero of the colonial era.<sup>104</sup> The plan to influence Senator Byrd was turned down by Virginian Bernard M. Fagelson, who reported he thought it inappropriate to approach the senator in the manner suggested.<sup>105</sup> The hearings on the Dominican dictator's activities were handicapped by the destruction of the lobbying firm Surrey, Karasak, Gould and Efron's records for the period 1950-1961, the year of Trujillo's assassination, despite legal requirements that such records be kept for at least three years. The three years had not expired at the time of the hearings for the more recent records.<sup>106</sup>

The first evidence of strong Congressional support for Trujillo despite the charges and evidence against him appeared in 1956. This support would continue despite the growing evidence of his guilt. In

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<sup>104</sup>Ibid., pp. 368-426.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., pp. 467-483.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., p. 368.

July, 1956, in the midst of the furor raised by Galíndez's disappearance Representative B. W. (Pat) Kearney, Republican of New York,<sup>107</sup> and Senator Olin Johnston, Democrat of South Carolina,<sup>108</sup> gave what proved to be rather standardized speeches of Trujillo's friends in the following years.

The year 1956 had begun as one of triumph for Trujillo. The furor raised over the disappearance of Galíndez, and Trujillo's efforts to counter it brought the regime into the light of public examination. The examination revealed little to recommend the dictatorship. The publicity led Trujillo to continue a wide range of public relations activities in the United States. Labor, press and other organizations working for Latin American democracy maintained their efforts against the dictatorship and gained a more sympathetic audience throughout the year. The stage was set for the intensification of the struggle in the coming year when dramatic new developments would occur.

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<sup>107</sup>Congressional Record, CII, July 24, 1956, 14316.

<sup>108</sup>Congressional Record, CII, July 25, 1956, 14349-14350.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE UNBROKEN CYCLE: 1957

In 1957 the Galíndez case took on a renewed life because it was linked with what appeared to be a chain of murders undertaken to ruthlessly eliminate witnesses to the fate of Galíndez. Any warmth felt for the Dominican Republic vanished from the formal statements of the State Department as attention was drawn to the affair in a number of spectacular portrayals by newspapers, magazines, radio and television. Congressman Charles O. Porter of Oregon emerged during the year as a fierce enemy of Trujillo as he demanded some solution to the fate of the son of two of his constituents.

Gerald Lester Murphy, a young pilot from Eugene, Oregon, was employed by the Dominican Air Lines from February to November, 1956. On December 3, 1956 he disappeared in Ciudad Trujillo. The United States Embassy in Ciudad Trujillo was especially concerned over the disappearance because it had recently informed Dominican authorities that Murphy was having bad relations with Octavio de la Maza, another employee at the airlines. De la Maza was arrested on December 17, 1956, and the American Embassy was informed on January 7, 1957 of the death of de la Maza by hanging himself in his cell after writing a suicide note saying that he had killed Murphy by knocking him into

the shark infested sea.<sup>1</sup> On the next day the United States asked for documents relating to the case including the original of the de la Maza suicide note. This request was repeated on the 16th, and on the 28th the Embassy received a photostat of de la Maza's death certificate and a copy of Murphy's flights. On February 9, the Dominicans produced other documents including a photostat of the alleged suicide note, augmented later by Scotland Yard reports on the detention of de la Maza for drunken driving while air attaché in London.<sup>2</sup> Secretary of State Dulles was questioned on the situation and reported the receipt of voluminous documents that were being investigated as well as the possibility of any domestic complications.<sup>3</sup> The Foreign Agent's Registration Division of the Justice Department was urging the investigation of a suspected connection between the Murphy and Galindez cases. This finally prompted the FBI to enter the case.<sup>4</sup>

The situation was brought to the attention of a large audience in the United States by a seven-page article in Life magazine. The article traced Murphy's career as he quit his job with an air-taxi service in Miami to move to Ciudad Trujillo. He was then hired as

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<sup>1</sup>U. S., Department of State Bulletin, XXXIV, February 11, 1957, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, Foreign Relations Committee, Nomination of Roy R. Rubottom, Jr., to be Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Hearings, 85th Cong., 1st sess., Washington, 1957, pp. 6-8. (Hereinafter cited as U. S. Congress, Senate, Nomination of Roy R. Rubottom, Hearings).

<sup>3</sup>U. S., Department of State Bulletin, XXXIV, March 11, 1957, pp. 405-406.

<sup>4</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, Foreign Relations Committee, Activities of Nondiplomatic Agents of Foreign Principals in the U.S.A., Hearings, 88th Cong., 1st sess., 1963, pp. 18-19. (Hereinafter cited as U.S. Congress, Senate, Activities of Nondiplomatic Agents, Hearings).



a co-pilot on the direct order of Generalissimo Trujillo despite the airline manager's initial refusal because he lacked experience. Suddenly affluent, Murphy rented apartments in Ciudad Trujillo and Miami and purchased two new cars for transportation in either city. He wrote home that he was earning \$800 a month plus overtime, far more than the salary paid by the airlines. Suddenly, on November 17, 1956 he decided to return home and began making preparations. Murphy was last seen by his airline stewardess fiance on December 3. The next day his car was found parked beside a slaughter-house at the edge of the sea. The investigation by Life was reported as having paralleled that of the FBI.<sup>5</sup> Time magazine had already reported that both Murphy and de la Maza had told friends of flying Galindez to the Dominican Republic. Time had also reported the earlier death of a girlfriend of the Dominican agent suspected of arranging the kidnapping of Galindez in a single passenger automobile accident although she reportedly never knew how to drive.<sup>6</sup> These magazine articles appeared more credible when the State Department informed the Dominican Ambassador in Washington that it did not consider the case of Murphy closed.

On March 16, 1957, the State Department expressed its doubt as to the authenticity of the de la Maza suicide note. The Dominican position that Murphy had no more than ordinary and casual relations

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<sup>5</sup>"Story of a Dark International Conspiracy," Life, XIII, February 25, 1957, pp. 24-31.

<sup>6</sup>"Case of the Missing Pilot," Time, LXIX, February 11, 1957, p. 21.

with high Dominican officials was also questioned.<sup>7</sup> On May 2, the United States delivered another note to the Dominican Ambassador saying,

. . . sufficient evidence has now been uncovered to indicate that Mr. Murphy may have been connected with the disappearance of Dr. Jesús de Galíndez in New York on or about March 12, 1956, acting on behalf of or in association with certain Dominican and American Nationals.

The note mentioned that General Arturo Espailat, at the time Dominican Consul General in New York City, had been mentioned repeatedly in the inquiry and requested that he waive diplomatic immunity to assist the investigation. On May 4, General Espailat returned home,<sup>8</sup> and the Dominican Government refused to allow his return to the United States.<sup>9</sup>

The circumstantial evidence on the fates of Galíndez and Murphy suggested death in the Dominican Republic. This was confirmed further when a former Dominican prison warden testified before ex-Congressman Porter and U. S. Embassy personnel that he had seen Murphy strangled with a rope. The warden also testified that one of his friends had been present when Dr. Galíndez was shot to death on the Trujillo estate Estancia Fundación.<sup>10</sup>

In 1957 Charles O. Porter, Democrat of Oregon, was a newly elected Congressman and a friend of Gerald Murphy's family in Eugene,

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<sup>7</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, Nomination of Roy R. Rubottom, Hearings, pp. 10-11.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>9</sup>New York Times, July 3, 1957, p. 2. (Hereinafter cited as N. Y. Times).

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., April 6, 1967, p. 12.

Oregon. He eagerly plunged into the case and almost single-handedly kept it before the Congress. Porter also assumed a larger role as an advocate of a reversal of American policy in order to align it with the democratic elements in Latin America. An interview with the Dominican Ambassador was one of Porter's first moves. Afterwards he told reporters that he had received a twenty minute run around and expressed his concern at the continuing lack of co-operation by the Dominican authorities.<sup>11</sup>

On February 28, 1957, Porter rose in Congress to make an expected speech attacking Trujillo and the United States policy of toleration and condonation of the dictatorship for their respective roles in the death of his constituent. A number of Congressmen attacked Porter for his speech as he concluded. The security precautions were extraordinary for the expected speech. Officers prevented the entrance of Dominicans into the Congress; customary tours of the House side of the chambers were cancelled; and plain-clothesmen were scattered about the Capitol.<sup>12</sup> The Dominican Cultural Society in New York loaded 125 people onto three busses after a dinner on February 28 for a trip to Washington to protest Porter's speech.<sup>13</sup> One week later Porter said that on the advice of the Washington police force he was not carrying a pistol in case of an attack ordered by Trujillo.<sup>14</sup>

March 12 was the first anniversary of the Galíndez disappearance.

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., February 12, 1957, p. 12.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., March 1, 1957, p. 8.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., February 28, 1957, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., March 8, 1957, p. 49.

Porter joined with 500 others representing fifty Basque, Spanish, Dominican and American organizations at a memorial where he delivered a speech deploring the attitude of the Eisenhower administration toward the case. Outside the meeting were pickets from the pro-Trujillo Pan-American Anti-Communist Association.<sup>15</sup> Memorials were held in several other cities around the world, and Porter was already being identified as a hopeful sign in the United States by Latin Americans.<sup>16</sup> Each year until the death of Trujillo would see similar expressions of sympathy for Galíndez taking place in many cities.

Some U. S. journals furnished Latin Americans an outlet for expressing their resentment of American policies. One criticized the United States for laughing off the crudities of men like Trujillo, and wondered at acts such as the granting of a doctor honoris causa to the tyrant by the University of Pittsburg.<sup>17</sup>

Life opened its pages to letters from two of the Dominican Republic's spokesmen in March. Harry C. Klemfuss, director of the Information Center in New York accused the magazine of printing a ridiculous story and sensationalism. He claimed that documentary evidence had refuted the charges against Espailat. He noted that Espailat was a West Point graduate and belonged to one of his country's most respected families.<sup>18</sup> Espailat wrote that the story was

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., March 13, 1957, p. 24.

<sup>16</sup>"Editorial," La Prensa, Buenos Aires, Argentina, March 12, 1957 p. 6.

<sup>17</sup>Jaime Potenze, "A House Divided," Commonweal, LXV, March 1, 1957, pp. 559-560.

<sup>18</sup>"Letter to the Editor from Harry C. Klemfuss," Life, VIIIIL, March 18, 1957, p. 16.

fiction. He claimed that since no flight plan was filed, and since the "United States is protected by an airtight radar screen and also an alert fighter plane command, it would be impossible . . . to have spirited Galíndez away from an American airport." He suggested that some communist connection should be checked as well as the missing one-half million dollars. Life noted that very few private planes flying from Florida are checked and that the Basque Government-in-exile had cleared Galíndez of any wrong-doing.<sup>19</sup> The attempt of the Dominican Republic to challenge its critic in its own pages only provided Life the opportunity to further publicize the apparent Dominican involvement in the Murphy and Galíndez cases.

Publicity was brought to bear on the case from other sources. The Americans for Democratic Action condemned the Trujillo regime at their tenth annual meeting for setting up a system of extraterritorial terror and intimidation using the diplomatic immunity of consular and ambassadorial posts as the focal points for the organization.<sup>20</sup> In May the Columbia Broadcasting System produced an hour long documentary over the Galíndez-Murphy case. Moderator Edward R. Murrow reported that fifty persons had refused to give statements for the program from fear for their personal safety. At the end of the program Norman Thomas, speaking for the International League for the Rights of Man, offered a \$10,000 reward for the arrest and conviction of anyone

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<sup>19</sup>"Letter to the Editor from Arturo Espaillet," Life, VIII, March 18, 1957, p. 16.

<sup>20</sup>U. S., Congress, House, "Resolution of Americans for Democratic Action, inserted by Charles O. Porter," Congressional Record, CIII, 85th Cong., 1st sess., April 8, 1957. A2775. (Hereinafter cited as Congressional Record, with volume, date, and page when speaker is cited in text).

implicated in the disappearance of Dr. Galíndez.<sup>21</sup> The Dominican Information Center attacked the presentation for its ultraliberal commentary and demanded equal time for a presentation of the Dominican Republic's story.<sup>22</sup> The request was refused by C.B.S. on the grounds that extensive efforts had been made to secure Dominican contributions in the preparation without receiving any replies.<sup>23</sup> While wider and wider segments of the American public became conscious of Trujillo's style of operation, the Dominicans had not found an effective means of presenting themselves to the American public as a friend or ally in the glare of publicity over Galíndez and Murphy.

The technique of seeking favor through association with famous names and connections with people in the United States close to the centers of power were brought to the public's attention. The unhappy relationship with Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. and his law firm was broken after one year when Roosevelt resigned the position of representative for the Dominican government. The Dominicans denied that Roosevelt had resigned with some bitterness, and said that the contract of Roosevelt's firm had been rescinded because its services had been of little value.<sup>24</sup> Newspaper columnist Drew Pearson reported that Trujillo's favors had even penetrated into the family of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Robert Hinshaw, Dulles' son-in-law, reportedly offered to help the Dominicans get an increased

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<sup>21</sup>N. Y. Times, May 21, 1957, p. 26.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., May 26, 1957, p. 50.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., May 29, 1957, p. 55.

<sup>24</sup>Hispanic American Report, XI, April, 1957, pp. 132-133. (Hereinafter referred to as the H.A.R.).

sugar quota in 1954. His family then flew to the Dominican Republic in Trujillo's own luxury airplane. The Hinshaw family spent three months as the Generalissimo's guests at the luxurious Hotel Jaragua with all bills paid by Trujillo. Hinshaw later reported that he had not registered as a foreign agent because he had not done any work for the dictatorship. The same story charged that Henry Holland, ex-Assistant Secretary of State in Charge of Latin American Affairs, had aided in sugar-lobbying for Trujillo immediately after resigning from his government position. Holland also failed to register as a foreign agent on the grounds that he worked for former Ambassador to Peru and Brazil William Pawley, who had extensive business interests in the Dominican Republic, and not for the Dominicans. Pearson reported that even President Eisenhower's brother-in-law had been involved in importing "green sugar" from the Dominican Republic as hog and cattle feed, and that the Customs Service had reversed itself in granting Colonel Gordon Moore, U. S. Army, retired, favorable rates on the imported sugar. Trujillo controlled the greater part of Dominican sugar production at the time, but Pearson does not delve further into the connection on this count.<sup>25</sup> Some of these connections were more valuable than others for Trujillo. The association with Henry Holland was certainly mutually advantageous. The least that can be inferred from the dealings with Trujillo of Americans related to high office holders is that they were guilty of serious indiscretions.

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<sup>25</sup>Congressional Record, CIII, "Drew Pearson's Washington Merry-Go-Round article of June 5, 1957, inserted by Charles Porter," June 5, 1957, A4393.

Another prominent political figure who would continue to play a role in Dominican affairs was Senator George Smathers, Democrat of Florida. Smathers received an honorary Ph.D. degree from the University of Santo Domingo in 1957. The degree was revoked after Trujillo's death on the grounds that it had only been awarded because of Smather's collaboration and friendship with Trujillo.<sup>26</sup>

Porter continued to use the House floor to attack Trujillo and demand further investigation of the Murphy case.<sup>27</sup> He also wrote an article for Coronet magazine which criticized the U. S. Ambassador's personal friendship with the dictator and retold the ugly history of the Trujillo regime.<sup>28</sup> In June Porter travelled to Puerto Rico as the guest of the Puerto Rican Society of Newspapermen and again accused Eisenhower and Dulles of "coddling dictators." He commented that the security people in San Juan had advised him not to make the trip since the Generalissimo was so upset there was no telling what he would do.<sup>29</sup> Porter thought that friendship with dictators was illusory, and worse perhaps in Latin American eyes, hypocritical and cynical.<sup>30</sup>

The Latin Americans certainly did welcome an American spokesman who expressed their convictions. According to Drew Pearson:

. . . all over Latin America Porter has been hailed as a hero. El Tiempo, long suppressed newspaper in Bogotá has invited him to visit Colombia. The Honduran, Ecuadorian,

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<sup>26</sup> N. Y. Times, January 26, 1962, p. 18.

<sup>27</sup> Congressional Record, CIII, March 18, 1957, 3843.

<sup>28</sup> Charles O. Porter and Geoffrey Bocca, "Butcher of the Caribbean," Coronet, XIII, June, 1957, pp. 50-66.

<sup>29</sup> N. Y. Times, June 9, 1957, p. 14.

<sup>30</sup> Congressional Record, CIII, June 26, 1957, 10371.



and Uruguayan Governments have invited him to visit their countries. Two newspapers in Panama have invited him to be their guest.

The State Department quickly reversed its initial opposition to Porter's travels when a crowd of 2,000 people turned out to meet him in Costa Rica. The Department's representatives were genuinely hospitable in the face of the Costa Rican enthusiasm.<sup>31</sup>

Support from small newspapers in the United States was not lacking for Porter's efforts. The Manchester (New Hampshire) Union Leader criticized the government's routine handling of the Galíndez-Murphy cases and called for the end of all aid to Trujillo.<sup>32</sup> In Oregon, the Coos Bay Times noted receiving more pro-Trujillo material through the mail calling Porter a "left-wing McCarthy conducting a one-man war against the friendly governments of Franco, Batista, Trujillo and Somoza." The paper said it could hardly be called a one-man campaign since people all over the country were opposed to regimes like Trujillo's.<sup>33</sup> The Medford Oregon Mail Tribune mentioned the frequent mailings it received from Trujillo's public relations including glossy magazines, press releases, and copies of "authorized biographies" of Trujillo. The editor commented further on the fortune the dictator was spending in his attempt to gain favorable public

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<sup>31</sup>Congressional Record, CIII, "Drew Pearson's Washington Merry-Go-Round article of June 23, 1957, inserted by Senator Richard Neuberger," June 26, 1957, A5113.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., "Editorial from Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader of April 3, 1957, inserted by Rep. Porter," April 16, 1957, A3011.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., "Editorial from Coos Bay (Oregon) Times, [undated] inserted by Rep. Porter," April 8, 1957, A2773.

opinion.<sup>34</sup> Many small newspapers were joining the campaign to present a realistic picture of Trujillo and his regime to their readers.

In the face of so much criticism Trujillo increased his efforts to cultivate a favorable image in the United States. Sixteen registered agents for the Dominican Republic reported earning \$777,163.18 for their services in 1957.<sup>35</sup> Not all the agents were registered, and their activities could be insidious and penetrate into unexpected places. Pierre Huss, chief of the International News Service Bureau at the United Nations arranged with Harry Klemfuss of the Dominican Information Center to furnish news material and film to La Voz Dominicana for \$502.20 a week. Grateful, and perhaps realizing the generosity of his employer for well executed coups, Mr. Huss acted to change the content of an editorial scheduled to be published in the Hearst chain of newspapers concerning the Galíndez case. Harry Klemfuss wrote to the Dominican authorities in Huss's behalf:

Mr. Huss informed us -privately- [sic] that he succeeded in changing the wording of original copy and that, after numerous consultations and counter-proposals, the editorial came out in the final, published form in order to comply with the recommendations of Mr. Huss who thought that the first copy was not at all favorable to the interests of the Dominican Republic. We beg to comment that it is unusual that the Hearst (chain) should editorialize on a subject such as that with which we are concerned.<sup>36</sup>

Pierre Huss was eager to let his friends share in the Dominican

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., "Editorial from Medford Oregon Mail Tribune of June 4, 1957, inserted by Senator Richard Neuberger," June 12, 1957, A4602.

<sup>35</sup>U. S., Department of Justice, Report of the Attorney General on the Administration of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, January 1, 1955-December 31, 1959, Appendix VI.

<sup>36</sup>U. S. Congress, Senate, Activities of Nondiplomatic Agents, Hearings, pp. 286-290.

gratitude. He asked for an official-type guest treatment for the managers of radio stations in Milwaukee and Baltimore, certain that they would respond with favorable comment on the country if granted. Richard Klemfuss, son of the founder of the Information Center, explained that official treatment meant that the Dominicans provided a guide, car and possibly paid the expenses of the visitors.<sup>37</sup> The Trujillo propaganda network was able to penetrate deeply into the information media despite the adverse publicity surrounding the regime.

The general revulsion felt towards the Dominican regime was shown in its failure to find support despite its great efforts to present a favorable image. The only general circulation magazine in the United States that was willing to support the Generalissimo in 1957, according to Richard Klemfuss, was the American Mercury. Reprints of favorable articles it printed were purchased for wider distribution and mutual benefit. This friendly periodical was alienated when its publisher grew angry over the Dominican failure to accept his full proposals on reprints.<sup>38</sup> If the articles printed by the American Mercury did not resemble ordinary Dominican propaganda so closely one could almost hope that good taste played a part in this rupture. The material, however, was the usual sort of conspiracy, character assassination and wild conjecture that characterized Dominican propaganda. One original suggestion by the American Mercury was that perhaps Galíndez had been spirited away by the M.V.D. to Russia.<sup>39</sup> The failure

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 290.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., pp. 302-306.

<sup>39</sup> Harold L. Varney, "What Is Behind the Galíndez Case?" American Mercury, LXXXIV, June, 1957, pp. 34-42.

to gain wider support among the periodical press and the necessity to resort to a policy of buying reprints to gain a favorable press from a magazine noted for its extreme position would indicate the distaste for the Trujillo regime among American opinion-makers.

The publicity was causing aggravation and concern to the Generalissimo personally as the tourist trade continued to decline drastically. No official press or radio mention of the Galíndez-Murphy cases in the Dominican Republic was allowed, but news was entering the country through radio broadcasts from Puerto Rico, Cuba and the United States.<sup>40</sup> Perhaps hoping to buy silence, advertising was purchased in critical publications.<sup>41</sup> Scathing attacks were made on critics accusing them of being Communists or dupes. One such attack by newly designated Ambassador Manuel de Moya before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco was so violent that on April 23, the State Department asked for a copy of the speech.<sup>42</sup> Representative Porter was charged with incitement to armed violence by the Dominicans after he spoke before exile groups in Puerto Rico.<sup>43</sup> In his ire, Trujillo did not answer the May 2 note of the State Department for some time. This prompted the New York Times to comment that, "not even Iron Curtain countries are so discourteous as to refuse to answer a formal communication from the United States Government."<sup>44</sup> Trujillo was angry because of the publicity he was re-

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<sup>40</sup>N. Y. Times, June 10, 1957, p. 10.

<sup>41</sup>"Advertisement," Editor and Publisher, XC, May 5, 1957, pp. 36-37.

<sup>42</sup>H. A. R., XI, May, 1957, pp. 189-190.

<sup>43</sup>N. Y. Times, June 18, 1957, p. 4.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., June 23, 1957, p. 24.

ceiving and realized the dangerous implications.

The Congress of the United States provided a stage where Representative Porter would confront a small but persistent group that found the regime of Rafael Trujillo admirable for a mixture of reasons. In the Senate a long-time Trujillo admirer, Alexander Wiley, Republican of Wisconsin, saw the danger of a new imperialism emerging under the cloak of idealism and feared it was endangering relations with the governments of Cuba, Nicaragua, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic.<sup>45</sup> Senator Olin Johnston, Democrat of South Carolina, concurred with Wiley and wanted an investigation of the "troublemakers in the United States as well as in the Caribbean."<sup>46</sup> Johnston continued to defend Trujillo and used his influence to help a gambler friend maintain his concessions with the regime of Trujillo's followers within a month of the dictator's assassination.<sup>47</sup> Johnston later admitted to having been misled by Trujillo's lobbyists into accusing Rómulo Betancourt of communist activities in 1957 when he planned and then postponed hearings on Latin American anti-Americanism.<sup>48</sup>

Congressman John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, a Democrat, and Representative Donald L. Jackson, Republican of California received decorations from the Dominican Ambassador in 1957.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps this

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<sup>45</sup>Congressional Record, CIII, June 21, 1957, 9982-9984.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., July 15, 1957, 10299-10300.

<sup>47</sup>N. Y. Times, December 18, 1963, p. 20.

<sup>48</sup>Serafino Romualdi, Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America (New York, 1967), p. 482.

<sup>49</sup>Fletcher Knebel, "How Trujillo Spends a Million in the U.S.A.," Look, XXI, August 20, 1957, pp. 61-63.

influenced their position of defending Trujillo in Congress. In May, McCormack rose to praise the humane rule of the Generalissimo.<sup>50</sup> When Porter offered an amendment to stop foreign aid to Latin American countries governed by dictators Jackson was shocked into a personal attack on his colleague.<sup>51</sup> He followed this by a speech attacking Porter for what he called "shirttail diplomacy," which he defined as telling foreigners what they want to hear and leaving the damages for others to pick up. Jackson favored nonintervention and accused exiles of being troublemakers if not outright Communists.<sup>52</sup> The close relationship maintained by Dominican officials and Congressional supporters would continue to provide aid and comfort for the Trujillo government until the death of the tyrant.

Four Jewish Congressmen made an unofficial visit to the Dominican Republic over the Easter holiday in 1957. They spent several days at the Jewish colony at Sosúa, and reported they had witnessed an historic event when Alfred Rozenzweig, an immigrant Jew, was sworn in to serve in the Dominican Congress. He was the first man of the Jewish faith to ever serve in Trujillo's servile Congress. When they returned to the United States, the American Congressmen were either naive or cynical enough to report the incident as though it marked a democratic advance instead of typical Trujillo public relations. They probably were not as impressed with the fortune of Alfred Rozenzweig as appearances suggested. While in Ciudad Trujillo they brought up the plight of Egyptian Jews with Trujillo. They discussed the unfortunate situation

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<sup>50</sup> Congressional Record, CIII, May 8, 1957, A3496.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., July 19, 1957, 12224-12225.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., August 1, 1957, 13394-13403.

caused by President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles' refusal to grant the Egyptian refugees the same treatment afforded to Hungarians. Trujillo was always eager to play the humanitarian for publicity purposes. He told the Congressmen that the doors of the Dominican Republic were always open to all oppressed people and that 5,000 Egyptian Jews could be admitted immediately.<sup>53</sup>

George S. Long, Democrat of Louisiana, was one of the House's most vocal Trujillistas. He expressed disbelief that a people who had resisted Napoleon I would ever accept Dictatorship:

I can and do believe that they would proudly honor good and efficient public servants, even as they are so honored in our own land, by returning them to public office again and again for the glory and honor of their country and their God.<sup>54</sup>

Commenting on the Murphy case, Long declared that it appeared Porter wanted to portray his vanished constituent as a "criminal, a kidnapper, a criminal conspirator, a man who flouted the laws of his own country as well as the laws of God . . . ." Long said he did not want to enter the controversy, but he would not " . . . hesitate to stand up and be counted on the side of Christianity, patriotism and righteousness."<sup>55</sup> In a reasoned reply Porter questioned Long's character assassination of Murphy and himself. He wondered why Long ignored the evidence presented by United States authorities, and said that while the United States should not directly intervene in the Dominican Republic, " . . . we can see to it that they do not make so bold as to carry on

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<sup>53</sup>Congressional Record, CIII, "Remarks of Herbert Zelenko," April 29, 1957, 6137.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., April 1, 1957, 4944-4946.

<sup>55</sup>Congressional Record, CIII, April 17, 1957, 5935-5938.

their sordid intrigues within our territory or against our citizens."<sup>56</sup> Long then expanded his position to charge Muñoz-Marín in Puerto Rico of harboring dangerous exile groups and the ". . . renegade Romulo Betancourt. . . . probably the most dangerous Communist or leftwinger in our hemisphere. . . ." <sup>57</sup> Long also inserted an excerpt from a Dominican author, J. A. Osorio Lizarazo's book, El Libro De Galindez, Una Obra Cínica y Procáz published in 1956:

History will surely regard the life and work of Rafael L. Trujillo Molina as that of a great genius and a great statesman. If history remembers such of his unimportant detractors as Jesús de Galíndez and Jules Dubois, they will only rate a brief and passing notice as human monsters, traitors to all mankind.<sup>58</sup>

In August Long was happy to report to his fellows that he had just returned from six days in the Dominican Republic where he attended the inauguration of President Hector Trujillo and had enjoyed a pleasant visit even meeting with the Generalissimo so that:

Henceforth when I have occasion to speak about our great friend and ally, the Christian Dominican Republic, I can assure my colleagues that I will be able to speak with the authority gained from firsthand investigation—not from facts gained from hearsay, or even upon the advice of the experts on the Caribbean who are always available to me.<sup>59</sup>

In June Congressman B. Carroll Reece, Republican of Tennessee, deplored the terrible campaign being levied on the Dominican Republic in the Congress, press, radio and television.<sup>60</sup> He found Porter

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., May 7, 1957, 6461-6463.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., May 27, 1957, 7793.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., June 3, 1957, A4275.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., August 22, 1957, 15710.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., June 11, 1957, 8868.



irresponsible and noted Dominican cooperation in providing guided missile and radar bases.<sup>61</sup> Reece also was concerned because Porter had taken a Library of Congress employee assigned to reference work with him on a trip to Costa Rica. Reece inferred that the woman was in an improper relationship with Porter although he carefully avoided any direct statements to that effect.<sup>62</sup> Reece felt the need to defend himself from a July 16 editorial in the Washington Post accusing him a "scurrilous personal attack" on Porter. He tried to do so by quoting a former Commandant of the Marine Corps that friendly relationships should be maintained with Latin America.<sup>63</sup> Porter, fighting his Congressional critics on several fronts, noted that Reece had recently been called "one of the noble patriots of the nation," by the anti-Semitic magazine, The Cross and the Flag.<sup>64</sup> Reece accused Porter of seeking publicity by appearing on the nationally televised "Meet the Press" program and discussing testimony given before a Washington grand jury investigating the Galíndez case with reporters.<sup>65</sup>

Representative Albert Morano, Republican of Connecticut, joined the fray by repeating, among other things, the old Dominican charge that Galíndez had served Communism in Spain and was responsible for the execution of eleven Catholic bishops and countless others. He wondered at Porter's defending such a man. Morano was asked if he had

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., June 14, 1957, 9219.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., July 12, 1957, 11538-11539.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., July 19, 1957, 12232-12234.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., July 22, 1957, 12388-12389.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., August 22, 1957, 15711.

notified Porter before his speech as was customary. He replied that he had not, but would be glad to repeat the charges in Porter's presence.<sup>66</sup> Porter answered Morano charging that his speech contained twelve errors of fact and nine unsupported opinions. He then challenged the tactics being followed by the pro-Trujillo advocates of avoiding open debate on the floor of the House by speaking only when they were not likely to be confronted.<sup>67</sup> Morano found himself in an unexpected encounter after denouncing Porter on the floor and undertaking a question and answer session in which he was trying to lead a supposedly sympathetic Congressman Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan to agree in his charges against Porter. When Porter entered the hall Hoffman immediately yielded the floor to him so he could answer Morano's accusations. Porter sharply asked Morano if he had corrected his thirteen [sic] errors from the earlier speech. A flustered Morano searched for support again from Hoffman who struck a note of humor in evidencing his distaste for Morano's behavior by saying:

The gentleman continues to ask me questions. I have never expressed and I do not intend to express an opinion about the views of other Members of the House. That is their business. I have trouble enough of my own.<sup>68</sup>

The tactics of the Trujillista bloc of Congressmen instead of gaining support for the dictator were alienating many members of Congress who found their behavior repugnant.

Another opponent of Porter, Representative Gardner Withrow, Republican of Wisconsin, noted that Porter was not being massively

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., August 14, 1957, 14754-14755.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., August 15, 1957, 14957-14958.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., August 16, 1957, 15082-15083.

repudiated and expressed his fear:

It is the same atmosphere of silence, of suggested resistance, and suspected motives, which produced the challenge of my good friend, the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, of Wisconsin. McCarthyism never quite reached the real hard core of communism, but he certainly evaporated the pink fringes here in the United States, and he forced a more open and firm foreign policy we could all know and understand.

Withrow then quoted direct information he had from Dominican sources that Governor Muñoz-Marín of Puerto Rico was aiding Communists, and that the FBI had adopted a policy of favoring dangerous revolutionary groups and harrasing Dominican friends of the United States.<sup>69</sup> Porter replied that the real danger was that regimes like Trujillo's were preparing a climate for the growth of Communism, and Withrow should not be a party in the vilification of Muñoz-Marín or the libelling of the FBI.<sup>70</sup> To clarify the issue Withrow had written to Dominican Archbishop Ricardo Pittini about Porter's statements, and the Archbishop assured him that the linking of Trujillo with communism was without foundation. Withrow hoped that his efforts had contributed to a greater union with the Dominicans against the communists.<sup>71</sup> Representative Withrow continued to accept Dominican statements at face value and often repeated them. Because he openly identified his sources he was one of the least dangerous of the Trujillo forces.

The number of Congressmen willing to speak for the Trujillo regime despite its growing notoriety was probably due to several factors including deception, ideological affinity and gratitude for

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., August 16, 1957, 15082-15083.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., August 22, 1957, 15575.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., August 30, 1957, 16866.

favors given or sought from the dictator. General Arturo Espaillat, who served as head of Trujillo's secret police organization after his recall from the United States, said from exile after the tyrant's death that Trujillo maintained a regular price-list for members of the United States Congress; \$25,000 for a Senator or a Committee Chairman, and \$10,000 for a Congressman.<sup>72</sup> Espaillat was a disreputable character at best, and his credibility is certainly open to question. His charges were unproven, but they brought a request for clarification by the Justice Department from one concerned Senator, Republican John J. Williams of Delaware. Williams feared the records might be used to coerce members of Congress if they fell into the hands of the administration following the assassination of Trujillo.<sup>73</sup>

Unsatisfied with the interpretation being given to the investigations of the Galindez-Murphy cases by United States authorities, the Dominican Republic created a sensation by the announcement of an independent investigation to be undertaken at its expense by liberal lawyer Morris Ernst and former New York Supreme Court Justice William H. Munson under the direction of the Sidney S. Baron advertising agency.<sup>74</sup> Ernst especially surprised Trujillo's critics in accepting a job which was seemingly so divorced from his past services in liberal causes such as general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union from 1929-1955, and service on President Truman's Civil Rights

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<sup>72</sup> Arturo Espaillat, Trujillo: The Last Ceasar (New York, 1963), p. 80.

<sup>73</sup> Congressional Record, CVIII, October 9, 1962, 22874-22875.

<sup>74</sup> N. Y. Times, July 21, 1957, p. 1.

Commission.<sup>75</sup>

The association of Sidney S. Baron with the Trujillo regime was an embarrassment for the Democratic Party Tammany Hall organization. Baron had handled publicity for the New York County Democratic Committee since 1951, but due to the nature of his new employment he was asked to resign. The party leaders expressed friendship and cordiality towards Baron as he entered his new and much more lucrative employment.<sup>76</sup> Baron, Ernst, and Munson registered as foreign agents in order to avoid any complications.<sup>77</sup>

Time magazine felt that by hiring men of the character of Ernst and Munson, Trujillo was placing himself on trial in an unprecedented manner after having failed to co-operate in the past with United States authorities.<sup>78</sup> Sidney Baron, who spoke no Spanish and had never before been in Latin America, said on a trip to Ciudad Trujillo that he was satisfied that the Generalissimo understood that the investigation must be thorough and the results revealed no matter what they showed.<sup>79</sup> Despite Baron's reassurances, Trujillo stated in an interview on August 12, that the case was a matter for the New York police. Dominican newspapers carried nothing about the hiring of Baron, Ernst and Munson.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>Ibid., June 2, 1958, p. 14.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., July 25, 1957, p. 1.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., July 24, 1957, p. 1.

<sup>78</sup>"On Trial," Time, LXX, July 29, 1957, p. 25.

<sup>79</sup>N. Y. Times, August 8, 1957, p. 21.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., August 13, 1957, p. 1.

Many observers were less charitable in assessing the Ernst investigation than Time. Wenzell Brown, who headed the Requena-Galíndez Memorial Committee, joined with Norman Thomas in wondering if eighteen months had not been enough time to cover any evidence. They also commented on the irregularity of the investigators being in the pay of the defendant.<sup>81</sup> Exile spokesman Nicolás Silfa said his organization would not co-operate in ". . . an arrogant publicity scheme of the Trujillo regime to supersede the authority of American governmental agencies."<sup>82</sup> New York City District Attorney Frank S. Hogan announced his force would only co-operate with legal bodies or investigations and not with the Ernst inquiry.<sup>83</sup> Representative Porter decided not to turn over information of Dominican terror operations after receiving letters requesting him not to give the material to Ernst for fear it would fall into Trujillo's hands.<sup>84</sup> The State Department also denied its files to Ernst since they contained classified information only available to governmental employees.<sup>85</sup> The New York Times summed up much of the feeling about the Ernst investigation by describing it as a strange maneuver when the obvious and easier method would be to co-operate in investigations presently underway by the New York Police, a Federal Grand Jury, the FBI, and the State Department.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Ibid., July 22, 1957, p. 39.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., July 23, 1957, p. 2.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., July 26, 1957, p. 4.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., August 5, 1957, p. 6.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., August 9, 1957, p. 5.

<sup>86</sup>"Editorial," N. Y. Times, July 24, 1957, p. 24.

The Grand Jury investigation produced one indictment, and later a federal court convicted former FBI agent and CIA employee John Joseph Frank of acting as an unregistered agent for the Dominican Republic. Frank had served as the officer in charge of security for Trujillo's personal safety on a trip to Spain in 1954 and to the United States in 1955. The trial established that Frank had carried out an investigation of Galíndez for Trujillo and submitted a bill for the service.<sup>87</sup> The prosecution also produced telephone company toll slips for calls made on March 4, 6, and 7, 1956, to prove Frank had held conversations with Murphy. In addition, a friend of Murphy's testified to having seen Frank and Arturo Espaillat with Murphy before the Galíndez disappearance.<sup>88</sup> The Court of Appeals reversed the conviction of Frank on the grounds that the prosecution had linked Frank with the Galíndez-Murphy cases and prejudiced the trial. A new trial led to conviction on two of the four counts, fines of \$500 for each count, and an order that Frank file the missing registrations as a foreign agent.<sup>89</sup>

United States-Dominican relations had grown closer as the Cold War developed. The United States moved to secure Dominican co-operation in hemispheric defense programs. Trujillo was eager to secure good relations, especially with the American military establishment, but only within limits that would guarantee him freedom to act as he

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<sup>87</sup>H. A. R., XI, December, 1957, pp. 599-600.

<sup>88</sup>Herbert Matthews, "John Joseph Frank Conviction," N. Y. Times, IV, December 15, 1957, p. 6.

<sup>89</sup>U. S. Congress, Senate, Activities of Nondiplomatic Agents, Hearings, p. 71.

pleased. One suspects nationalism and self-aggrandisement were never separate concepts in Trujillo's mind. He was willing to permit another American installation in March, 1957, when agreement was reached to establish a Long Range Radio Aid to Navigation Station to be manned by U. S. Coast Guardsmen at Cape Francis Viejo on the North coast of the island.<sup>90</sup> The military assistance program was well received and effective in 1957 as one might expect, although other areas of the small aid program were criticized as unsatisfactory.<sup>91</sup>

During 1957 Trujillo reportedly grew concerned over the influence that United States Air Force Colonel Samuel Hale was gaining over his son, Rafael Trujillo Martínez, who commanded the Dominican Air Force. The dictator arranged Hale's transfer. The younger Trujillo, called "Ramfis" by the Dominicans, was removed from direct command of the Air Force in order to attend the United States Army's Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.<sup>92</sup> The younger Trujillo's presence in the United States would add fuel to the fire consuming what remained of good relations between the two countries. Porter quickly questioned the wisdom of giving such training to men who will never contribute anything substantial to American defense. The army made a laconic statement that the Dominican Republic had requested and has been allocated two spaces at the school.<sup>93</sup> The military was

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<sup>90</sup>U. S., Department of State Bulletin, XXXVI, April 8, 1957, p. 574.

<sup>91</sup>U.S., Congress, Senate, Special Committee to Study the Foreign Assistance Program, Report on U.S. Foreign Assistance Program, Report on U.S. Foreign Assistance Programs, Central America and the Caribbean Areas, by James Minotto, Government Printing Office, 1957, p. 23.

<sup>92</sup>Germán Ornes, Trujillo: Little Caesar of the Caribbean, (New York, 1958), p. 135.

<sup>93</sup>Congressional Record, CIII, August 13, 1957, 14632-14633.



out of step at this time with American public opinion, but its experience with "Ramfis" as a scholar would help bring it in line.

Trujillo tried to appeal to the business community in the United States as long as it did not interfere with his own extensive business interests. In 1957 the price of sugar was still rising and the country appeared prosperous despite a drastic decline in tourism and the disastrous failure of the International Fair.<sup>94</sup> The situation did not deter the hotel division of Pan American Airways from investing \$9,000,000 in two Dominican hotels.<sup>95</sup> The Miami Herald reported that the strong-arm tactics of the government were obviously not bothering U.S. businessmen whose consciences were guided by a search for "cold-blooded profits." Encouraging this, the Dominican government was planning to build factories for lease, and to grant ten-year tax exemptions to foreign capital.<sup>96</sup> The major American investors in 1957 were William D. Pawley and Henry F. Holland, both former high State Department officials who were engaged in a project to exploit oil and nickel resources.<sup>97</sup>

The sugar lobby had successfully raised the Dominican quota in the U. S. market, Trujillo moved to consolidate his position of control over local production by the purchase of the Barahona mill from the American-owned West Indies Sugar Corporation.<sup>98</sup> The overall trend,

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<sup>94</sup>N. Y. Times, June 11, 1957, p. 21.

<sup>95</sup>Business Week, August 3, 1957, p. 102.

<sup>96</sup>Congressional Record, CIII, "Insertion by Representative George Long," August 28, 1957, A7182.

<sup>97</sup>N. Y. Times, September 2, 1957, p. 2.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid.

however, despite the mining investments, was reported to be toward a withdrawal of American capital. The sugar interests accounted for the larger part of the movement.<sup>99</sup> One magazine reported the Export-Import Bank had shelved a request for a loan by the Dominican government,<sup>100</sup> and the Republican candidate for Mayor of New York City was called on to explain his past business connections with the Dominican Republic. Candidate Robert K. Christenberry replied that he had only run hotels and had no political connections or influence there.<sup>101</sup> Trujillo was willing to permit private capital that complimented his holdings into the Dominican Republic, but the country was becoming more and more his private business monopoly.

There was little change in religious opinion toward the dictatorship in 1957. The Catholic hierarchy remained allied to Trujillo within the country.<sup>102</sup> Outside the Dominican Republic accusations by the Dominican consul could still lead to the cancellation of a mass scheduled at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York by exiled Dominicans.<sup>103</sup> However, the Dominican reputation for religious tolerance was revealed to be hollow in the summer of 1957 when foreign Jehovah's Witness sect members were expelled. This followed an attack launched by a Jesuit priest on the group. Ten United States citizens were expelled, and several Dominicans were severely beaten and required to

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<sup>99</sup>Ornes, Trujillo, p. 236.

<sup>100</sup>"Latin America: Things Are Stirring All Over," U. S. News, XIII, August 9, 1957, p. 83.

<sup>101</sup>N. Y. Times, August 6, 1957, p. 16.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., September 18, 1957, p. 6.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., August 6, 1957, p. 16.

write letters to the newspapers recanting their membership in the sect.<sup>104</sup> The alliance with the Catholic Church was still working for mutual advantage, but the excesses towards the Jehovah's Witnesses gave the regime's enemies another issue to discredit it.

Evidence of Trujillo's interference in the affairs of his neighbors continued to be reported throughout the year. Puerto Rico charged that assaults and threats were being made from the Casa Dominicana Cultural Center in San Juan against Trujillo's foes.<sup>105</sup> An assassination plot against Costa Rican President José Figueres was traced to Trujillo with the arrest and conviction of three Cuban gunmen who claimed Trujillo had promised them substantial funds and weapons to use against the Batista regime in Cuba if they succeeded.<sup>106</sup> Another attempted assassination of an exile opponent was blamed on the Dominican Republic when a Dominican, Tancredo Martínez García, was shot by a suspected Cuban professional gunman in a downtown Mexico City office building. The bullet passed through Martínez's cheek and neck but did not kill him.<sup>107</sup> Guatemala continued to produce charges of Dominican interference throughout the year. An escape from prison by another Cuban gunman, Gildardo Montufar Gutiérrez, was blamed on Dominican connivance. He left his cellmate behind dead. Charges were also made that the Dominican Republic was involved in the assassination of

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<sup>104</sup>Ornes, Trujillo, p. 92.

<sup>105</sup>Dan Wakefield, "Puerto Rico: Rebels Find a Welcome," Nation, CLXXXV, November 23, 1957, pp. 384-386.

<sup>106</sup>N. Y. Times, November 13, 1957, p. 23.

<sup>107</sup>"Long Arm of Hate," Time, LXX, October 7, 1957, p. 40.

President Castillo Armas,<sup>108</sup> and that Dominican Military Attaché Major John Abbes García had participated in the murder of a Guatemalan truck-driver on the outskirts of Guatemala City.<sup>109</sup> The quantity of accusations against the Dominican Republic added to the growing conviction that Trujillo was operating a major terror operation throughout the Americas.

The Inter-American Press Association continued to condemn the absence of press freedom in the Dominican Republic.<sup>110</sup> Stung by this criticism the Dominicans ordered all consular officials to refuse visas if requested by Jules Dubois, who headed the Freedom of the Press Committee. They claimed Dubois had become a "continental agitator whose activities constitute a menace against the free institutions of the American peoples and against good neighborliness and hemispheric unity."<sup>111</sup> Later in the year the IAPA's Board of Directors voted to expell the Dominican newspaper La Nación as an instrument of a totalitarian regime.<sup>112</sup> The Freedom of the Press Committee continued to urge a hemispheric campaign against the restrictive policies of dictators by all editors and newsmen.<sup>113</sup> Now more aware of Trujillo's techniques, the IAPA also urged that news agencies send correspondents to dictatorships instead of relying on local employees who were easily

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<sup>108</sup> H.A.R., XI, August, 1957, p. 439.

<sup>109</sup> N. Y. Times, December 5, 1957, p. 23.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., March 31, 1957, p. 20.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., April 4, 1957, p. 13.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., October 16, 1957, p. 30.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., October 18, 1957, p. 11.

controlled, and that news placed for a fee be labelled as to its source.<sup>114</sup>

The labor movement's opposition increased as the year progressed, and the criticism stung the regime into a costly error in permitting an inspection team to enter the country. In the United States the year began with Rómulo Betancourt praising the role of American labor in Latin America at a luncheon before the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom. Norman Thomas reported that the pickets outside the building belonged to the Pan-American Anti-Communist Association and were in the pay of Trujillo.<sup>115</sup> The International Labor Organization (ILO) followed the instructions of its Committee on Freedom of Association by calling attention to the absence of freedom of association in the Dominican Republic. Only the delegate from the U.S.S.R. dissented.<sup>116</sup> Meeting in Mexico City the Inter-American Regional Organization (ORIT) of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) reiterated its strong opposition to military dictatorships in Latin America because of their constant threat to the democratic way of life.<sup>117</sup>

Trujillo was unable to avoid repeating his old pattern and asked for another inspection from the ICFTU. The issue was debated and it was decided to send a preliminary study group to Ciudad Trujillo on

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<sup>114</sup>Editor and Publisher, XL, October 26, 1957, p. 9.

<sup>115</sup>N. Y. Times, January 13, 1957, p. 27.

<sup>116</sup>International Labor Organization, Industry and Labor, XVII, January-June, 1957, p. 308.

<sup>117</sup>William F. Schnitzler, "Progress Through Partnership," American Federationist, LXIV, April, 1957, pp. 20-21.

October 14, 1957. This was followed by an investigation that took place from November 16 until December 3, 1957. The Dominicans reeled under the report when it was issued. It charged that no freedom of association existed, that trade unions were linked to employers and the government, that collective bargaining did not exist, and that forced labor existed on sisal plantations and in the rice fields.<sup>118</sup> Trujillo had finally permitted members of the free trade union movement to look at his carefully guarded preserve, and they condemned it as a forced labor camp.

The American labor movement co-operated with the attack on military aid to Latin American dictatorships when the Mutual Security Act of 1957 came before Congress. The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations stated its support of efforts to "nourish democratic institutions in other nations," and its opposition to giving "military and economic aid to Latin American nations . . . firmly in the grip of dictators."<sup>119</sup>

The year 1957 ended with the Trujillo regime under increasing attack from a wide-ranging group of opponents. The United States government had grown annoyed with the dictator and under pressure from public opinion demanded a more satisfactory accounting for the disappearance of Galíndez and Murphy. Trujillo continued to demonstrate his ability to recruit the services of respected American leaders to work for him and maintained a close relationship with the United States

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<sup>118</sup> Romualdi, Presidents and Peons, pp. 394-398.

<sup>119</sup> Congressional Record, CIII, "Letter from C.I.O. Legislative Counsel Andrew J. Biemiller inserted by Charles Porter," July 19, 1957, 12224.

military and elements of the business community. However, more and more Americans came to resent the highhanded behavior of Trujillo, and despite his publicity efforts were moving toward agreement with the New York Times opinion that "there is no people in the world with less freedom than the Dominicans."<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>120</sup>"Editorial," New York Times, May 21, 1957, p. 34.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE VERDICT IS IN: 1958

The year 1958 was crucial for Trujillo. The losses he had suffered in good will and favorable opinion would increase and worsen in the light of closer examination. The ascendancy of democratic governments in Latin America would be pronounced, if only temporary, and the policy of the United States would shape itself according to the new circumstances. Despite his great wealth and pervasive power Trujillo would find himself unable to escape becoming the symbol of totalitarian reaction throughout the hemisphere. Trujillo would survive for a few more years in his isolated fortress state, but outside the Dominican Republic his power dwindled.

Foreign opinion turned even more solidly against the regime during 1958. In early January the New York Times indicated the sort of year the regime was entering. One hundred and twenty Hungarian refugees were reported to have arrived in England on an Italian liner from the Dominican Republic. They described the Dominican political situation as "lower than Hungary."<sup>1</sup> Of the five hundred and eighty Hungarian refugees who went to the Dominican Republic three hundred and twenty had returned to Austria by January, 1958. Many of the refugees compared their Dominican experience with life in a concentration

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<sup>1</sup>New York Times, January 7, 1958, p. 3. (Hereinafter cited as N. Y. Times).



camp.<sup>2</sup> The death of the refugee Dominican General Kovacs aroused suspicions that led his widow to write to Senator William Langer, Republican of North Dakota, denying any mystery in his death. She assailed the refugees alleging they had lied in swearing that they wanted to be farmers before coming to the Dominican Republic.<sup>3</sup> This letter was soon followed by one from the Dominican Ambassador and another from some thirty-six satisfied Hungarians still in the Dominican Republic.<sup>4</sup> The distaste shown by the Hungarians for the dictatorship in the Dominican Republic and the pattern of life they found there was an embarrassment for Trujillo scarcely covered by the protestations of gratitude of those who chose to remain since the world was now aware of the pressures they were subject to.

The year began ominously in Venezuela for the Dominican dictator, and worsened throughout until in December an archenemy came to power. The dictatorship of General Marcos Pérez Jiménez had appeared to be successful in crushing a revolt in Caracas on January 2. Instead it provoked a general strike and rioting that forced the dictator to seek asylum in the Dominican Republic on January 21. In the elections held later that year Rómulo Betancourt won.<sup>5</sup> He was an implacable foe of

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<sup>2</sup>Hispanic American Report, XII, January, 1958, pp. 664-665. (Hereinafter cited as H.A.R.)

<sup>3</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, "Letter from Rosa Batta Viuda Kovacs to Senator Langer," 85th Cong., 2nd sess., February 17, 1958, Congressional Record, CIV, 2213-2214. (Hereinafter cited as Congressional Record with volume, date, and page when speaker is mentioned in text).

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., "Letters from Manuel A. Moya and Others," April 21, 1958, 6736-6737.

<sup>5</sup>"Chronological Events, 1958," The American Annual, 1959: An Encyclopedia of the Events of 1958, p. xxxvi.

Trujillo.

Ex-dictator Juan D. Perón was the senior resident of a growing colony of ousted dictators in the Dominican Republic. Argentina broke off diplomatic relations with the Dominican Republic in April charging that Peronista activity by refugees was not being curbed, justifying the break.<sup>6</sup>

In Guatemala a Congressional investigation committee implicated the Trujillo regime in the murder of the former Guatemalan President Carlos Castillo Armas and requested a break in relations. Trujillo's friend, President Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes refused the request, but the Guatemalan Attorney General reported he was looking into Armas' murder and eight other unsolved deaths, possibly implicating Dominicans.<sup>7</sup> The Dominican government tried to clear its name by publishing a series of letters from Castillo Armas to Trujillo written in 1953 seeking support. The letters showed, the Dominicans hoped, that both men were common fighters against Communism.<sup>8</sup> The reaction in Guatemala against Dominican involvement suggested that Trujillo had over-reached himself by continuing Dominican interference after the 1954 revolution of Castillo Armas.

Trujillo also acted against the newly elected regime of Honduran liberal leader, Dr. Ramón Villeda Morales. After a period of military training and operation of a rebel radio station along the Honduran-Nicaraguan border a mixed force of Hondurans and Dominican and Nicaraguan agents acted. They bribed Honduran military and police officials

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<sup>6</sup>N. Y. Times, April 10, 1958, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., August 10, 1958, p. 27.

<sup>8</sup>H.A.R., XII, March, 1958, p. 148.

to permit their entry into Tegucigalpa where they seized the police headquarters and the military school without opposition. The attempted coup was crushed when the public rallied behind the elected government.<sup>9</sup>

The opposition in the United States to the regime of Dr. François Duvalier in Haiti worsened as the Haitians delayed the return of five American citizens killed in a fantastic eight man invasion led by former Haitian Army officers. Trujillo also opposed Duvalier initially and permitted a clandestine radio station to operate from Dominican territory managed by anti-Duvalierists. Trujillo's motives were thought to spring from his anger at having lost his strong influence over the Haitian government.<sup>10</sup>

Trujillo moved to frustrate a United States arms embargo by rushing five planes full of arms and ammunition to his neighboring dictator Batista when the United States blocked the export of 2,000 rifles ordered by Cuba.<sup>11</sup> This news was quickly followed by the defection of eleven Cuban airline pilots who refused orders of their Consulate in Miami to fly arms to Cuba from the Dominican Republic. The pilots reported that all Cuban pilots had been drafted in the recent upsurge of revolutionary fighting.<sup>12</sup> Trujillo realized the arms embargo marked a significant change in American policy and determined to support Batista, although he despised him, in the hope of stopping

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<sup>9</sup>Robert D. Crassweller, Trujillo: The Life and Times of Caribbean Dictator (New York, 1966), pp. 340-342.

<sup>10</sup>N. Y. Times, August 10, 1958, p. 32.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., April 3, 1958, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., April 4, 1958, p. 2.

the revolutionary currents in the Caribbean area.

The year found the United States still poorly served in the news available and the attention paid to Latin America by the media providing information. The New York Times with three full-time correspondents, the Chicago Tribune and the New York Herald Tribune with one correspondent each, Time magazine's bureaus, and the local news representatives, easily controlled by dictators, were the only sources of news directly serving the United States before Vice-President Nixon's enlightening visit.<sup>13</sup> The scarcity of news sources made the role of an organization such as the Inter-American Press Association (IAPA) especially important. IAPA kept pressing for the pursuit and prosecution of the guilty parties in the Galíndez-Murphy cases.<sup>14</sup> The president of the association refused to go to the Dominican Republic while on a tour of the Caribbean with a group of editors and journalists charging that the regime suppressed freedom. When told that the Dominicans had barred him from future visits as an undesirable, President John T. O'Rourke reportedly replied, "I am delighted: it is like being declared by the devil unwelcome in hell."<sup>15</sup> The Dominican Republic was again cited by the IAPA as having no freedom of the press.<sup>16</sup>

The international labor movement's opposition continued and showed

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<sup>13</sup>Richard P. Schaedel, ed., Social Change in Latin America, (Atlanta, Georgia, 1968), p. 75.

<sup>14</sup>N. Y. Times, April 16, 1958, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup>Mary A. Gardner, The Inter-American Press Association: Its Fight for Freedom of the Press, 1926-1960 (Austin, 1967), p. 48.

<sup>16</sup>Byron Lindsey, "4 Non-Democratic Countries Receive Protests From IAPA," Editor and Publisher, XCIX, October 18, 1958, pp. 9, 67.

increasing influence during 1958. Another inspection tour was undertaken by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and it again found that no freedom for workers existed in the Dominican Republic. Worse, the inspectors again found the regime guilty of using and permitting forced labor. Trujillo attempted to counter the charges by requesting ICFTU aid in rebuilding the labor movement in the country, but he never bothered to reply to a request for guarantees of freedom of action and the return of Dominican trade union exiles.<sup>17</sup> Another bad sign for Trujillo was his foe, Serafino Romualdi advising Vice President Nixon on trade union affairs before the Vice President's trip of May, 1958 to Latin America. Romualdi expressed the labor movement's attitude on the Dominican Republic and strongly urged the Vice President to not attend or become involved with any Dominican labor events. Nixon agreed to these recommendations.<sup>18</sup> The long struggle of the trade union movement was now being heard in the halls of the national government where a reversal of Latin American policy was under consideration.

The Catholic Church reflected the changing scene in Latin America by adopting a more critical position towards dictatorships. One periodical reflecting Catholic opinion, America, urged that the outburst of demonstrations against Vice President Nixon on his visit be regarded as signals of the need for the United States to examine its past policies. The past ignoring of Latin American problems with falling commodity prices and tariff restrictions, along with American

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<sup>17</sup>Christian Science Monitor, February 3, 1960, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup>Serafino Romualdi, Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America (New York, 1967), p. 173.

support of dictatorships had resulted in anti-American feeling in Latin America.<sup>19</sup> The Catholic World said that dictators had been supported as the only alternative to anarchy, but recent history showed the church taking a stand against dictatorship. With the exception of Trujillo, the age of the dictators seemed finished.<sup>20</sup>

The public relations effort of the Trujillo dictatorship continued in 1958. Twenty-seven registrants as agents for the Dominican Republic included only two opposition agents for the year. Trujillo's agents reported receiving \$759,659.50 for their services in 1958.<sup>21</sup> Press releases from the regime and propaganda booklets continued to flood opinion makers in the United States. One editor mentioned having received the eleventh booklet in nine months from the Dominican Secretary of State attacking Communists, this time the head of Venezuela's governing junta for following the wishes of Rómulo Betancourt. The editor agreed with and quoted Guatemalan Archbishop Mariano Rossell Arellano as saying, "The unworthy social conduct of anti-Communist pharisees engenders hundreds of Communists."<sup>22</sup>

Many American editors, writers, and publishers continued to enjoy what Dominican agents called "the official treatment". Representatives of such diverse publications as the Boston Globe, New York Journal of

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<sup>19</sup>"Mr. Nixon and Our Good Neighbors," America, XCIX, May 24, 1958, p. 251.

<sup>20</sup>Gary MacEoin, "Dictators in Latin America," Catholic World, CLXXXVII, September, 1958, pp. 422-427.

<sup>21</sup>U. S., Department of Justice, Report of the Attorney General on the Administration of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, January 1, 1955-December 31, 1959, Appendix VI.

<sup>22</sup>"Calling the Kettle Black," America, C, January 3, 1959, p. 389.

Commerce, Miami News, Miami Herald, Business Week, International Trade, Vision and the American Mercury enjoyed this sort of Dominican hospitality in 1958.<sup>23</sup> A willingness to try different techniques was shown in a contract to purchase monthly productions of the By-Line Newsreel Productions company on the condition that the films portraying Dominican progress be exhibited in nine hundred movie houses across the United States.<sup>24</sup> Trujillo continued to spend large amounts of money in the attempt to create a favorable image in the United States. He was convinced of the value of these efforts.

The events of the year were disastrous for Trujillo, but he continued to find a faithful band of supporters in the Congress of the United States. The mounting criticism led Senator Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina to call for an investigation by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the possibility of Communist activity, and accuse the Eisenhower administration of turning its back on the Good Neighbor Policy in Latin America.<sup>25</sup> He rose again to specifically defend the Dominican Republic and insert an editorial of a Charleston newspaper from which he took his theme entitled "Dangerous Do-gooders."<sup>26</sup>

The House member most taken with the Dominican Republic in 1958 was Representative Gardner R. Withrow of Wisconsin. He gave and received help from the Dominican Embassy on a variety of problems through-

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<sup>23</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, Foreign Relations Committee, Activities of Nondiplomatic Agents of Foreign Principals in the United States, Hearings, 85th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 300-301.

<sup>24</sup>Douglas Cater and Walter Pincus, "The Foreign Legion of U. S. Public Relations," The Reporter, XXIII, September 22, 1960, pp. 15-16.

<sup>25</sup>Congressional Record, CIV, May 15, 1958, 8800-8802.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., July 2, 1958, 12898-12899.

out the year. One difficulty Withrow sought help on was the problem of the American dairy farmer:

I telephoned the Dominican Republic Embassy and learned theirs is a specialized dairy production and distribution. Free milk and cheese and milk products are actually gotten to the children and others that may be in need. They not only produce, but they market that production on an orderly plan . . . . Our Department of Agriculture might well become the rounded marketing outlet which the government of the Dominican Republic has . . . .<sup>27</sup>

Withrow's ignorance or lack of regard for the truth was remarkable. He later praised the Dominican Republic for having a Social Security System superior to that of the United States, a government of law and order, and for not having a national debt. He also thought it worth mentioning that in the Dominican Republic eggs could be purchased for the equivalent of fifty cents a dozen and cost twice that in Puerto Rico.<sup>28</sup>

Withrow fought for Dominican interests when it appeared that the country might be denied participation in the Mutual Security Program for 1958. He proposed giving the Trujillo regime an additional \$3,100,000 to acquire and repair surplus United States Navy destroyer-escorts and patrol boats. This was rejected.<sup>29</sup> The following day Withrow again spoke in favor of the dictator provoking Congressman Porter to question him asking, "Do the trains run on time?" The sarcastic reference to Mussolini did not escape Withrow, who continued his praise of Trujillo and refused to yield the floor to Porter for a

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., January 30, 1958, 1398.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., August 5, 1958, 16279-16281.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., May 13, 1958, 8620-8621.



reply.<sup>30</sup> Later, in an attack accusing Rómulo Betancourt of taking money from Pérez Jiménez's Venezuelan dictatorship, Withrow mentioned the tribulations faced by being a friend of the Dominican Republic, saying, "It has been my sad education to learn that if anyone speaks well or favorably of the Dominican Republic he is promptly visited by Time magazine. He may also be accused of being in the pay of the Dominican Republic. That has been my fate also."<sup>31</sup>

German Ornes, the former pro-Trujillo editor who had joined the opposition to the dictator, was the target of the Wisconsin Congressman. Withrow inserted six full pages in the Congressional Record with letters dating from 1946 by Ornes in an effort to denigrate his character. Character assassination was one of the jobs Withrow undertook for the Trujillo regime.<sup>32</sup>

Congressman B. Carroll Reece of Tennessee thought the public should have easy access to a speech made by Dominican Ambassador Manuel A. de Moya before the Army-Navy Club in Washington and inserted it into the Congressional Record the very day de Moya spoke. De Moya said,

It is a credit to that wonderful organization, the Marine Corps, that they conducted themselves in such a manner as to merit the eternal respect of all Dominicans, and one of our main thoroughfares in the Ciudad Trujillo proudly bears the name Avenida de United States Marine Corps.<sup>33</sup>

Despite occasional protests the street still bears this name in 1971. Reece continued to attack Porter for identifying himself with Rómulo

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., May 14, 1958, 8734.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., June 19, 1958, 11810.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., July 2, 1958, 16022-16028.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., January 9, 1958, A115.

Betancourt and the Latin American democratic left claiming they were dangerously radical and communistic.<sup>34</sup> Lacking new material, or perhaps thinking a good work improves with maturity, Reece inserted Father Thorning's article praising the Trujillo regime written before the 1955 fair into the Congressional Record again. He observed that if time only permitted he would like to properly deflate Porter, but could not because he was so busy serving his constituents.<sup>35</sup>

Abraham J. Multer of New York found the Christmas holiday in 1957 a good time to visit the Dominican Republic. He dedicated a new Jewish Center while in Ciudad Trujillo and returned full of praise of the Generalissimo to share with his fellow Congressmen.<sup>36</sup>

John W. McCormack of Massachusetts came into possession of a proposal made by the Generalissimo to the Papal Nuncio in Ciudad Trujillo for a high Pontifical Mission to visit all the capitals of the New World to help in the spiritual strengthening of the people and governments against Communism. In calling it to the attention of the Congress McCormack showed no surprise that Trujillo proposed the Mission begin its labors in Ciudad Trujillo.<sup>37</sup>

When the behavior of Trujillo's son led to failure at the Army's Command and General Staff College, Representative Overton Brooks, Democrat of Louisiana, objected to the attacks being made on a firm ally who had long "protected our southeastern sea frontier. . . ."

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., July 25, 1958, 15185-15187.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., August 8, 1958, 16758-16764.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., January 20, 1958, 682.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., August 16, 1958, A7389.

Brooks lamented that the Dominican Republic had been driven to object to attacks made upon its leader's son:

General Rafael Trujillo, Jr., who is the highest military authority in his country, and who, in the past few months, has shown a propension [sic] to carry on a friendship with and associate himself with the highest circles of society existing on our west coast.<sup>38</sup>

Unfavorable publicity had attended the project for his attending the United States Army school from the beginning. Time magazine reported on the elaborate security arrangements and comforts provided for the young Trujillo, who was widely known by his nick-name, "Ramfis." The top floor of Kansas City's Ambassador Hotel was rented and remodeled from its old state of providing six apartments. A security force of thirty detectives worked under former Justice Department agent Walter Bradford to man a system which included alarm devices and other measures to guarantee the weekend retreat. During the workweek a house was rented near Fort Leavenworth for \$450 a month and provided with six private guards who watched the house and patrolled the near-by streets.<sup>39</sup> When one considers the number of people who had suffered in the past at the hands of Trujillo the security measures seem reasonable. Life magazine dedicated a two page picture story to the arrangements.<sup>40</sup>

Congressman Wayne Hayes, Democrat of Ohio, soon objected to Congress being asked to furnish \$1,300,000 in aid to a country where a dictator's son would seem to be spending a similar sum attending school

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., June 18, 1958, 11658-11660.

<sup>39</sup> "Guarding the Heir," Time, LXXI, February 17, 1958, p. 38.

<sup>40</sup> "Well Guarded School Days for Trujillo's Son," Life, XLIV, February 17, 1958, pp. 59-60.

in the United States.<sup>41</sup> The protests grew as "Ramfis" displayed an aptitude for comical and irresponsible behavior. Life soon carried another two-page picture spread with the first featuring two Dominican playboys - "Ramfis" with actresses Kim Novak and Zsa Zsa Gabor, and Dominican diplomat Porfirio Rubirosa with his fifth wife, juxtaposed by the second page showing "Ramfis's" wife and six children.<sup>42</sup> "Ramfis" had purchased a new Mercedes-Benz automobile to replace his Cadillac, and on a generous impulse also purchased new automobiles for Miss Novak and Miss Gabor, whom he also surprised with a \$17,000 mink coat. The two ladies naturally thought well of young Trujillo. Miss Gabor reportedly called him "One of the finest men I've ever met." Since "Ramfis" was missing much of his course, the army announced that he would finish it by mail and graduate in June with his classmates to satisfy public curiosity on his progress.<sup>43</sup>

The young Trujillo, who died in an automobile accident in 1970 in Spain, had already enjoyed an unusual career. He was a full colonel in the Dominican Army at the age of three. At the age of eight he received the Military Merit Medal for his exceptional virtues. He became the non-flying head of his country's air force at the age of twenty-three.<sup>44</sup>

The romantic ambitions of Ramfis created even more of an uproar as he appeared in Los Angeles on a nation-wide television program and

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<sup>41</sup>N. Y. Times, March 21, 1958, p. 5.

<sup>42</sup>"Real Nice Party Group," Life, XLIV, May 26, 1958, pp. 153-154.

<sup>43</sup>"Ramfis Conquests," Time, LXXI, May 19, 1958, p. 30.

<sup>44</sup>"That Generous General," Newsweek, LI, May 26, 1958, pp. 36-37.

said of Miss Novak, "I plan to continue to know her better. Yes, I am in love with Kim." He went on to publicly discuss his plans to go home and divorce his wife and return to court Miss Novak.<sup>45</sup>

The relatively small amount of foreign aid furnished to the Dominican Republic opened the regime to attack when a storm broke over the publicity given to "Ramfis." Senator William C. Proxmire, Democrat of Wisconsin, voiced his agreement with an editorial from the Milwaukee Journal:

There's something wrong here. . . . Proper aid is one thing. Aid to help those whose leaders squander a nation's competence is something else.<sup>46</sup>

Representative Porter joined with Wayne Hayes to protest giving aid to a country where it was possible for that aid to find its way back to the United States in the form of fur coats and automobiles for actresses.<sup>47</sup> Hayes demanded that Pérez Jiménez be banished from the United States where he had sought refuge, and:

I think another thing that would be helpful would be for the man who is currently running the Dominican Republic to take his son back to the Dominican Republic and make him quit handing out \$17,000 fur coats and \$10,000 automobiles as a sort of reverse lend-lease to movie stars.<sup>48</sup>

Even Trujillo's friend, Representative Morano of Connecticut, thought a lesson in "Yankee thrift" would be valuable to the younger Trujillo.<sup>49</sup>

Representative Hayes was surprised, but delighted when he received

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<sup>45</sup> H.A.R., XII, May, 1958, pp. 260-261.

<sup>46</sup> Congressional Record, CIV, April 15, 1958, A3323.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., May 13, 1958, 8600.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., May 14, 1958, 8719.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., May 14, 1958, 8734.

a telegram delivered during the debate on the Mutual Security Act. The Dominican Ambassador objected to the statements Hayes had made earlier in the day about "Ramfis" saying, "The Dominican Government does not accept either gifts or cash money from others." The money young Trujillo was spending was from his \$50,000 a month allowance for attending school in the United States. Hayes commented,

I submit to you that if he keeps on fooling around with Zsa Zsa Gabor, who apparently is the most expensive courtesan since Madame de Pompadour, the old man is going to have to raise the ante.

Hayes then caustically apologized for being so rough on "Ramfis," who did seem to be following the "buy-American plan." Hayes proposed the exclusion of the Dominican Republic from the Mutual Security Program, but the proposal was defeated by a vote of seventy-nine to thirty-two.<sup>50</sup>

The uproar surrounding "Ramfis" led an embarrassed U. S. Army to issue another statement saying that General Trujillo had not finished his course successfully after all:

Therefore, he will not be issued a certificate of graduation, but will be given a certificate of attendance only.<sup>51</sup>

The reaction of so proud a father as the Dominican dictator was quick in coming. A new position was created for "Ramfis" as Chief of Staff of the Dominican Combined Chiefs of Staff.<sup>52</sup> This showed Trujillo's contempt for Yankee scholarly judgments that failed to take into account Dominican realities. Thirty Dominican students studying

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., May 14, 1958, 8739-8740.

<sup>51</sup>N. Y. Times, June 14, 1958, p. 19.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., June 14, 1958, p. 19.

in the United States were ordered to return home immediately as well.<sup>53</sup> Trujillo told a reporter that the Good Neighbor Policy of Cordell Hull was gone without hope of revival. He said the diploma conferred by the United States Army Command and General Staff College no longer conferred honor because it had been converted to political purposes.<sup>54</sup>

The puppet Dominican Congress quickly passed a resolution threatening the end to all co-operation with the United States.<sup>55</sup> Senator Victor Garrido said the proposals were in order because the United States had shown no appreciation for Dominican co-operation since 1930, and the \$600,000 received as aid had made the country a target for certain United States Congressmen. The Dominican Ambassador to Mexico thought the situation serious enough to propose moving the seat of the Organization of American States from Washington to Mexico City because Mexico enjoyed political stability, culture, human potential and economic resources.<sup>56</sup> Rafael Trujillo's younger brother, the Dominican President, was careful to promise to honor all the country's commitments to the United States despite the expressions of discontent.<sup>57</sup>

The charade of angry democratic Dominican Congressional reaction continued until Senators James E. Eastland and William Jenner appeared to speak before it. Senator Jenner told the Dominicans that their

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., June 18, 1958, p. 2.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., June 17, 1958, p. 59.

<sup>55</sup>George P. Atkins, "The United States and the Dominican Republic During the Era of Trujillo," (Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, The American University, 1966), p. 193.

<sup>56</sup>H.A.R., XII, July, 1958, pp. 381-382.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

country was the only place he had found in the entire hemisphere ". . . where everybody seemed to have a clear idea of what this fight with Communism is all about."<sup>58</sup> When "Ramfis" then recommended that U. S. technical and military aid be accepted for one more year to see if the American deficiencies could be corrected, the meaningless game ended with the Dominican Congress agreeing.<sup>59</sup> The real decision was that of Trujillo who recovered from his anger short of the point of breaking openly with his gigantic neighbor.

The younger Trujillo had played the role of a spoiled rich child when he heard of his failure. He checked out of his Kansas City hotel, and loaded thirty-five pieces of luggage aboard his private railway car for a trip to Los Angeles. There his father's \$500,000 yacht was waiting with an eighty-man crew that included a twelve piece band.<sup>60</sup> "Ramfis" refused to follow international protocol and recognize United States Independence Day on his yacht, officially a Dominican naval vessel. The yacht failed to hoist full colors, and the band played calypso tunes in place of the "Star Spangled Banner" when sailing from Los Angeles harbor on the Fourth of July.<sup>61</sup> This sort of behavior did nothing to lessen the critical attitude that was coming to dominate American thinking towards the Dominican Republic.

The last chapter in the comedy of "Ramfis" at school would come with the revelation that Trujillo was attempting to purge the critics

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<sup>58</sup>"Jenner's General," Reporter, XIX, October 30, 1958, pp. 2-3.

<sup>59</sup>H.A.R., XII, September, 1958, pp. 499-500.

<sup>60</sup>"Young Man Goes West," Time, LXXI, June 30, 1958, p. 28.

<sup>61</sup>H.A.R., XII, July, 1958, p. 381.



from the United States Congress. Four Congressmen were targets of letters sent to the governors and chambers of commerce in their states threatening possible trade reprisals if the Congressmen were re-elected. The State Department reported it had complained to the Dominican Embassy and to Dominican Foreign Affairs Minister Porfirio Herrera Báez over the situation.<sup>62</sup> The Dominican Minister replied that it was not a question of Dominican interference in the United States elections, but of the "irresponsible conduct of certain United States Congressmen."<sup>63</sup> The behavior of the aging dictator sometimes seemed irrational.

The corruption of the Trujillo regime was publicized in the United States Congress when Senator John J. Williams of Delaware spoke out in anger at revelations that the Dominican government had collected some \$1,810,000 in bribes from the Lockjoint Pipe Company of East Orange, New Jersey, and the company had later deducted the bribes from its taxes as a legitimate business expense. This sort of procedure was accepted by the U. S. Treasury Department, and Senator Williams was outraged that the government would recognize and condone the payment of bribes and kickbacks. The Dominicans had asked that bids be increased on several contracts with the understanding that the increases would go to high officials including Trujillo.<sup>64</sup> Senator Williams sought to exclude the Dominican Republic from the Mutual Security Program of 1958 in the Senate, but the proposal lost forty-six votes to

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<sup>62</sup>N. Y. Times, September 27, 1958, p. 1.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., September 28, 1958, p. 30.

<sup>64</sup>Congressional Record, CIV, February 13, 1958, 2028-2029.

thirty-three.<sup>65</sup> The almost solid support in the Congress that Trujillo had enjoyed before Representative Porter began his efforts in 1957 had seriously eroded.

Trujillo was unable to elude the charges made against him in the Galíndez-Murphy cases. On March 12, memorials in honor of Dr. Galíndez were again held in many cities around the world. In the New York memorial meeting, Congressman Porter called for an intensified investigation, the prosecution of unregistered Dominican agents, and the end of all military assistance.<sup>66</sup> The Basque communities of Buenos Aires and Rosario conducted well attended memorials,<sup>67</sup> and the Latin American press continued to praise Porter's investigation and efforts in the case.<sup>69</sup>

In June the eagerly awaited report by Attorney Morris Ernst came out. The public relations firm of Sydney S. Baron, which had directed the preparation, distributed the report.<sup>70</sup> The report was supposed to clear the name of the Dominican Republic of any inference of guilt in the Galíndez-Murphy disappearances. However, the report did little more than repeat past Dominican assertions and distortions. It was quickly criticized for adding nothing to what was already known in

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid., June 5, 1958, 10266-10267.

<sup>66</sup>N. Y. Times, March 13, 1958, p. 11.

<sup>67</sup>La Prensa, Buenos Aires, Argentina, March 12, 1958, p. 5.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>69</sup>"Editorial," N. Y. Times, March 12, 1958, p. 30.

<sup>70</sup>N. Y. Times, June 2, 1958, p. 14.

the case.<sup>71</sup> Representative Porter labelled the report as a "biased, paid for, lawyer's brief unworthy of Morris Ernst."<sup>72</sup> The Washington Post and Times Herald first speculated and then concluded in an editorial titled "Brief for Trujillo":

Suppose the chief suspect in a murder case refused to co-operate with an official investigation but instead hired his own judge and jury to prove his innocence . . . . The mystery still remains unsolved, as does the equally strange mystery that two free men could willingly co-operate with a dictator's attempt to perfume his reputation.<sup>73</sup>

The Washington Daily News was not so impressed:

It doesn't strike us as fantastic . . . . All we can say is that it simply proves that there are a lot of ways to make a living. If you can believe the Dominican story, you can believe Mr. Ernst.<sup>74</sup>

The Nation summed up the general reception of the report:

It is not often that a rascal, even one as rich and arrogant as Trujillo, finances a study which—its conclusions to the contrary—neatly substantiates the charges it was designed to refute.<sup>75</sup>

The report was further discredited as people cited or referred to in it repudiated its allegations and inferences. Author Albert Hicks had resigned from the investigation in January charging it was only a whitewash for Trujillo, but the report cited him without mentioning his resignation to try and establish its impartiality.<sup>76</sup> An affidavit by a

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<sup>71</sup>"Editorial," N. Y. Times, June 2, 1958, p. 26.

<sup>72</sup>N. Y. Times, June 3, 1958, p. 18.

<sup>73</sup>Congressional Record, CIV, "Inserted by Representative C. O. Porter," June 3, 1958, A5054-A5055.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., June 4, 1958, A5089.

<sup>75</sup>"Ernst Report," Nation, CLXXXVI, June 14, 1958, p. 526.

<sup>76</sup>"Importance of Being Ernst," The Reporter, XVIII, June 26, 1958, p. 2.

Long Island woman that her father had told of helping Murphy load a rich cancer patient for a flight to Florida on March 12, 1956, cited in the report, was repudiated. Mrs. Virginia Wulfing reported that she had signed the statement on the insistence of three men posing as New York Daily News reporters, and her father, who had since died, had not told her the information cited in the report.<sup>77</sup> Allegations in the report that half of the money Galíndez had collected had been for the Spanish Government in Exile were denied by a Basque Government in Exile representative. He said that Ernst misquoted him and that all the funds Galíndez had reported were for the Basque Government in Exile.<sup>78</sup> Another Spaniard, Francisco Abresqueta, presented himself in Bogota, Colombia, to dispel inferences that he had disappeared in connection with the funds Galíndez had collected for the Basque groups.<sup>79</sup> The Cuban Government, after a search of its records, denied the Ernst Report's statement that Cuban intelligence had a report of Murphy's landing at a Cuban airfield in an operation with a rebel group on March 13, 1956.<sup>80</sup> The report was hardly delivered before it was discredited. Life magazine threw a challenge in the face of Ernst's allegations that libel had been committed in the reports of the affair saying that although a foreign government might find it difficult to sue a firm in the United States:

This, however, does not apply to private persons such as Espaillat or even Trujillo himself. If Espaillat

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<sup>77</sup>N. Y. Times, June 25, 1958, p. 1.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., June 26, 1958, p. 11.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., June 28, 1958, p. 15.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., June 30, 1958, p. 23.

and Trujillo believe the allegations are unjust—as hinted and not proved by the Ernst report—They can come to the U.S. and under the laws sue various T.V., radio, and press groups, including Life, for libel. It's up to them.<sup>81</sup>

The scepticism that had greeted the announcement of the report was fully justified by the quality of the final product.

Spectacular new evidence completed the discrediting of the Ernst Report. The Justice Department released to Murphy's parents a pilot's log book, a notebook, and a piece of paper in Murphy's handwriting that described a flight similar to the one theorized for the Galíndez kidnapping. The names of Galíndez and Arturo Espaillat appeared twice.<sup>82</sup>

The Washington Star reported that the release of the material was a contrived affair with the Justice Department suggesting to reporters that they ask Murphy's parents to request the papers in order to free them for public examination. Reporter William Hines said,

The Justice Department's leak of vital papers in the Murphy-Galíndez case involving the Dominican Republic can be read as a sign of a stiffening United States attitude toward Latin American dictators in general and the hemisphere's No. 1 strongman in particular.

Hines cited other evidence such as the no-nonsense attitude of the army in failing "Ramfis," the poise which the State Department showed when threatened with the cut of \$600,000 from mutual aid funds for the Dominican Republic, and perhaps most important:

The willingness—bordering on eagerness—of military men here to discount the importance of Generalissimo Trujillo's contribution to hemispheric defense after the Dominican Government threatened to cancel a missile-tracking station

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<sup>81</sup>"Costly Whitewash of Black Charges," Life, XLIV, June 9, 1958, pp. 105-106.

<sup>82</sup>N. Y. Times, June 23, 1958, p. 10.

agreement.<sup>83</sup>

The Justice Department's action was evidently sparked by the end of a Washington grand jury investigation into the affair.<sup>84</sup> When the department had new evidence, there was a new grand jury impaneled in New York City to investigate charges of kidnapping and conspiracy to perform an offense against the United States.<sup>85</sup>

The Ernst investigators may have found their reputations soiled, but their finances improved by the experience. The Dominican Government paid the Sydney Baron Agency over \$562,000 for the investigation. Morris Ernst reported receiving \$201,793 for his labors spread over the years.<sup>86</sup> The proven ability of Trujillo to buy the services of reputable and not so reputable Americans is one of the disheartening aspects of the period.

One of the most significant indicators of United States policy toward the dictators remaining in Latin America was in the provision of arms. The growing warfare in Cuba and general Caribbean instability led the State Department to stop the granting of arms and munitions export licenses to the area in March, 1958.<sup>87</sup> This was a direct blow to the Batista regime in Cuba and a potential danger to the Trujillo

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<sup>83</sup>Congressional Record, CIV, "Insertion by Representative C. O. Porter," June 25, 1958, A5810-A5811.

<sup>84</sup>N. Y. Times, July 1, 1958, p. 64.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., October 12, 1958, p. 1.

<sup>86</sup>U. S., Department of Justice, Report of the Attorney General on the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as Amended, for the Period January 1, 1955-December 31, 1959 (Government Printing Office, 1960), Appendix VI.

<sup>87</sup>Crassweller, Trujillo: The Life and Times of a Caribbean Dictator, p. 346.

regime. The Dominican Republic had already been experiencing difficulties in satisfying its armaments needs. Senator George D. Aiken mentioned that the United States had refused to sell fighter planes and naval craft to the Dominicans after a study tour of the Caribbean in December, 1957.<sup>88</sup> Senator Allen J. Ellender found the Dominicans appreciative of the United States Naval mission, but reported,

I was informed that the Air mission is not wanted by the Dominican Republic. We furnished airplanes . . . at one time, and now that they are no longer needed, the government wants to return them to us at once, I was informed. We do ourselves no good keeping a mission here that is not wanted. In addition Colonel Thornhill was frank in telling me he has nothing to do and sees no reason to stay.<sup>89</sup>

The arms embargo would lead to frantic efforts to evade it on the part of both Cuba and the Dominican Republic, especially after the regime of Fidel Castro seized power in Cuba. In the period 1958-1959 over one hundred and ninety convictions were handed down in the United States, but customs agents admitted that forty percent success in preventing smuggling of arms would be a high claim. American diplomatic officials also maintained widespread pressure on European governments trying to lessen the arms traffic from that quarter.<sup>90</sup> The Dominican sensitivity on arms was shown when the United States customs officials seized a C-46 airplane loaded with arms manned by twelve Dominicans

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<sup>88</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Committee Print 99982, Study Mission in the Caribbean, December, 1957, Report of Senator George D. Aiken, 85th Cong., 2nd sess., (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1958, p. 12.

<sup>89</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, A Review of United States Governmental Operations in Latin America, by Honorable Allen J. Ellender, Document No. 13, 86th Cong., 1st sess., (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1959), p. 486.

<sup>90</sup>N. Y. Times, November 1, 1959, p. 1.



and four other passengers.<sup>91</sup> The next day the Dominican air force forced down a United States Navy plane returning to Guantánamo Bay, Cuba after flying a sports team to Puerto Rico.<sup>92</sup> The United States was not yet willing to abandon the official doctrine on non-intervention, but it was moving toward a more valid form of nonintervention by refusing to arm the Caribbean dictators.

The shock of the poorly informed American public at the outpouring of anger that confronted Vice President Nixon on his May, 1958 journey to Latin America gave Latin spokesmen such as José Figueres of Costa Rica the opportunity to speak before a Congressional Committee and voice their anger:

If you talk human dignity to Russia, why do you hesitate so much to talk human dignity to the Dominican Republic? You have some investments there. You get your bauxite practically free. Your generals and admirals and your high civilian officials and your businessmen are royally entertained there. Furs and automobiles used to break the fragile virtue of Hollywood heroines are paid for by the American taxpayers, as are deductible expenses of United States firms who must bribe the royal family to operate in their preserves. But our women are raped, our men are castrated and our professors are kidnapped from the classrooms of Columbia University. This is what some of your lawmakers call co-operation to fight communism.<sup>93</sup>

The scarcely veiled anger of Figueres' testimony drove home the point that Latin American democratic leaders might no longer be willing to support United States policy if it persisted in its support of Trujillo. Times had changed since 1954 when Trujillo's evidence had been accepted

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<sup>91</sup>Ibid., July 30, 1958, p. 13.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., August 1, 1958, p. 8.

<sup>93</sup>U. S., Congress, House, Committee on Foreign Affairs, A Review of Relations of the United States and Other American Republics, Hearings, 85th Cong., 2nd sess., June 10, 1958.



as credible in Congressional investigations.

Trujillo was well aware of the changing scene, and Dominican anger was displayed in attacks on the United States in the Trujillo monopolized radio and press for its racism. A very different note from Ambassador de Moya's eulogy of the United States Marine Corps in January was struck in an address by the eminent Dominican historian Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi. He bitterly criticized the corruption and cruelty of the United States occupation authorities in an address before the cadets of the Dominican Military Academy. The address was translated and published under the title United States Military Intervention.<sup>94</sup> In a totalitarian state such as Trujillo's Dominican Republic there could be no doubt that these attacks reflected official viewpoints.

The new position of the United States that particularly concerned the Trujillo dictatorship was in Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower's report made to his brother:

I believe the suggestion of Vice President Nixon is sound and would be applauded by Latin America itself—that we have an abrazo for democratic leaders, and a formal handshake for dictators. Trivial as this may sound, I recommend that it be our official policy in relations with Latin American leaders and nations.<sup>95</sup>

The democratic aspirations of Latin Americans had finally made an impression on the government officials in charge of United States policy. Steps had begun to escape dependence on ruthless and irresponsible dictatorial allies in the Caribbean, but events were moving

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<sup>94</sup>H.A.R., XII, December, 1958, p. 672.

<sup>95</sup>U. S., Department of State, American Foreign Policy: Current Documents, 1958, Document 116, "Report to the President, U.S.-Latin America Relations," December 27, 1958, pp. 431-454.

faster than American policy and one of the fruits of the old policy, the victory of the Fidel Castro government in Cuba, would soon introduce new tensions and problems into the Caribbean region.

Both nations ended 1958 with a strong sense of distrust and injury toward the other. The years that remained to Trujillo did not see any basic changes in this situation. The dictator pursued policies that complicated the growing Caribbean crisis and frustrated American efforts to modify his rule. Trujillo's enemies in the United States and in Latin America refused any concessions to the tyrant, and the tragedy played itself out at the expense of the Dominican people until Trujillo died by assassination.

#### Postscript:

On February 13, 1959, Rómulo Betancourt, Trujillo's archenemy, was inaugurated as President of Venezuela. Two weeks later President Eisenhower pointedly praised Betancourt's election in a truly democratic contest. Eisenhower spoke at the dedication of a statue of Simón Bolívar in Washington, D.C.<sup>96</sup>

In June Trujillo's forces destroyed a quixotic invasion by one hundred and forty men. Many of the invaders were executed after capture and torture. These men became martyrs to Dominicans, but Trujillo asked a group of American reporters after a tour of his military installations, "Was it not foolish to attack a military establishment like mine with 140 men?"<sup>97</sup> The terrible reprisals against the invaders

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<sup>96</sup> N. Y. Times, February 28, 1959, p. 1.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., June 29, 1959, p. 8.

led to the first reports of the Dominican church's disaffection with the regime.<sup>98</sup>

Trujillo had actively supported the dying Batista dictatorship in Cuba although he held its leader in contempt. He now began to recruit a Foreign Legion to threaten the revolutionary Cuban Government with reprisals. In August the Dominicans were tricked into a premature invasion fiasco when a report was radioed that a planned counter revolutionary attempt was successfully underway. Trujillo rushed an airplane loaded with arms and ten agents into a carefully laid Cuban trap. Trujillo had poured over \$500,000 in cash, arms and ammunition into the project according to Cuban sources.<sup>99</sup>

This adventure occurred while the Organization of American States was holding consultations in Santiago, Chile to examine the causes of Caribbean unrest, the problems of achieving political democracy in the area, and means to insure respect for human rights.<sup>100</sup> While the Organization of American States was considering these problems the Dominican Republic's behavior drew attention to it on all these counts.

Trujillo's disgust with the United States was shown again at the end of 1959. The United States Naval mission to the Dominican Republic was asked to withdraw. This was the last United States military mission in the Dominican Republic.<sup>101</sup>

Mass arrests and increased repression followed the discovery of

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<sup>98</sup>Ibid., July 12, 1959, p. 1.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., August 17, 1959, p. 3.

<sup>100</sup>"OAS In Action," Americas, XI, October, 1959, p. 2.

<sup>101</sup>N. Y. Times, December 5, 1959, p. 1.

an assassination plot against Trujillo in January of 1960. The plotters were generally from the higher social classes and professional groups.<sup>102</sup> The regime's measures led the church to issue a Joint Pastoral letter signed by all six of the bishops. Even the past Trujillo apologist, Ricardo Pittini, condemned the suppression of rights and freedom of conscience as a grave offense against God.<sup>103</sup> Trujillo reacted to this move with a campaign against the church so severe that Bishop Francisco Panál Ramírez compared it with that in Red China.<sup>104</sup>

The United States continued to favor the democratic regimes in Latin America, especially Venezuela, where the government pressed the Organization of American States to hear accusations of mass arrests and violations of basic human rights in the Dominican Republic.<sup>105</sup> The Venezuelans demanded that Trujillo be dealt with before giving any consideration to collective action against the regime of Fidel Castro in Cuba. Venezuela held that the Organization of American States had no moral authority to confront Cuba as long as the Trujillo dictatorship denied basic human rights.<sup>106</sup> The OAS acted in an unprecedented report condemning the Dominican Republic for "flagrant and widespread violations of human rights," and specifically listed the "denial of free speech, arbitrary arrests, cruel and inhuman treatment of political prisoners, and the use of intimidation and terror as politi-

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<sup>102</sup>Ibid., January 29, 1960, p. 1.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., February 3, 1960, p. 1.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., June 8, 1960, p. 11.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., February 6, 1960, p. 1.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., April 1, 1960, p. 8.

cal weapons . . . ."107

The United States continued to show concern over Dominican armaments. A small amount of military aid under the Mutual Security Program was delivered to both Cuba and the Dominican Republic during 1960. The State Department explained that this was material allotted before May, 1959, and included no planes, vessels, weapons or ammunition. Although the Joint Chiefs of Staff felt Latin American participation was still important in the Mutual Security Program they made no requests for Cuba or the Dominican Republic in 1961.<sup>108</sup> The Dominican Consul General in Miami was expelled for attempting to smuggle arms out of the United States.<sup>109</sup> Five B-26 bomber aircraft sold to a Chilean citizen were discovered in the Dominican Republic. The United States demanded their return and sparked a Dominican reply that none of them were any longer serviceable.<sup>110</sup> In May Ambassador Farland was recalled for the second time in 1960 for consultations after the Dominican government's expulsion of a public-affairs officer from the embassy.<sup>111</sup> On his return Farland found the embassy picketed by protestors against his "interventionist conduct" and "Yankee racial discrimination."<sup>112</sup> Events were moving toward an open break in relations. Trujillo realized that the United States' efforts to deny him

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid., June 9, 1960, p. 1.

<sup>108</sup> U. S., Department of State Bulletin, XLII, No. 1086, April 18, 1960, pp. 628-629.

<sup>109</sup> N. Y. Times, January 1, 1960, p. 7.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., March 17, 1960, p. 14.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., May 7, 1960, p. 1.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., May 25, 1960, p. 7.



weapons was a serious danger to his standing in the Dominican Republic where an opposition had already been discovered. He could only wait and hope that circumstances would change in his favor as had happened in 1939 and 1947 when the United States had warmed relations to secure solidarity in its defense posture.

Trujillo could not tolerate the existence of the openly hostile government of President Betancourt in Venezuela. The climax of a long history of interference in the affairs of neighboring countries came on June 24, 1960, when an attempt was made on the life of Betancourt at the direction of Dominican authorities. The Venezuelan president escaped with painful injuries. In his first public statement after a partial recovery, he warned the Soviet Union to keep its hands off America and repeated that the democracies had no moral authority to reproach Cuba until Trujillo was ousted:

Trujillo is like a homicidal maniac loose with a machine gun in his hands. He is a police problem for the Americas. The Organization of American States must show that it can act collectively to put an end to this threat.

Venezuela would be satisfied with nothing less than a collective break in diplomatic relations and economic sanctions.<sup>113</sup> President Eisenhower realized that Cuba and the Dominican problems were linked in Latin America's eyes when he answered a reporter's question on what he would like to see the Organization of American States do regarding Cuba:

. . . Both . . . Trujillo . . . and the Cuban problem are cited as two of the items they must study, and decide among themselves what to do . . . . If we can't

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<sup>113</sup>Ibid., July 23, 1960, p. 17.

solve it on a co-operative and general basis, then indeed it would look quite bad.<sup>114</sup>

The United States joined the other members of the OAS in severing relations with the Dominican Republic on August 26, 1960. The Dominican mission in the United States was asked to withdraw although Consular functions continued.<sup>115</sup>

One part of President Eisenhower's policy toward Trujillo was to prevent the Dominican Republic from reaping benefits from the redistribution of the Cuban sugar quota. This policy showed that Trujillo still had powerful friends in the United States Congress capable of partially frustrating the President's foreign policy. Under the sugar law the Dominican Republic stood to receive a 322,000 short-ton bonus in the redistribution. This was avoided for a time by the use of technical devices because, as Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs Douglas Dillon explained,

To reduce the sugar quota of a country with a leftist dictator only to grant a substantial portion of that quota to a dictator whose activities have been formally condemned by all American States would seriously hinder the conduct of our foreign relations throughout the hemisphere.<sup>116</sup>

This angered N. C. Democrat Harold D. Cooley, Chairman of the House Agricultural Committee, an old Trujillo friend, who asked, "Are you proposing this action against the Dominican Republic as some sort

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<sup>114</sup>U. S., Presidential Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1960, "News Conference, August 17, 1960," p. 641.

<sup>115</sup>U. S., Department of State, American Foreign Policy, Current Documents: 1960, pubn. No. 7624 (1964).

<sup>116</sup>U. S., Congress, House, Agricultural Committee, Extension of the Sugar Act of 1948, as Amended, Hearings, 86th Cong., 2nd sess., (Government Printing Office, Washington: 1960), p. 28.

of punishment of Mr. Trujillo or the Government of the Dominican Republic?" Dillon replied,

We are proposing this because we feel that this man has been examined, his administration and what he had done personally, and he has been found guilty by all the American States of deliberate involvement in trying to murder the President of a friendly American State.<sup>117</sup>

Dillon was speaking of Venezuela, not of the convictions in Costa Rica of Trujillo's agents or the accusations made in Guatemala against Trujillo in past assassinations and attempted assassinations. Senator Allen J. Ellender was furious and charged that the sugar legislation had been "twisted, tortured and perverted" into a "venomous" campaign against the Dominican Republic.<sup>118</sup>

President Eisenhower, embarrassed at the prospect of having to buy the Dominican sugar, asked Congress for discretion in the purchases since it is ". . . embarrassing to the conduct of our foreign relations throughout the hemisphere."<sup>119</sup> Senator Ellender, seconded by Senator James E. Eastland of Mississippi, denounced President Eisenhower and the State Department on the sugar issue:

. . . The deliberate flouting of the law . . . in the overwhelming desire to wreck vengeance upon the people of the Dominican Republic . . . pursuant to a half-baked scheme concocted by certain so-called leaders in some Latin American countries, principally the dictator Betancourt in Venezuela.<sup>120</sup>

Mr. Cooley's opposition was crucial, and he refused to yield even on

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<sup>117</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>118</sup>N. Y. Times, August 11, 1960, p. 11.

<sup>119</sup>U. S., Congress, House, Document No. 451, "Message From the President," 86th Cong., 2nd sess., August 23, 1960.

<sup>120</sup>Congressional Record, CVI, 86th Cong., 2nd sess., August 24, 1960, 17403.



the President's request. He explained his refusal by claiming change might be disastrous:

There's not a man in this House who can . . . explain the sugar program in detail: not one . . . . You will have to take it on faith.<sup>121</sup>

Cooley repaid Trujillo for the good treatment his family had received in the Dominican Republic.

Venezuela was offended at the Congressional defense of the Trujillo regime. They announced their intention to maintain pressure on Trujillo in the OAS. American residents in the oil rich Venezuelan capital cabled their concern about the Venezuelans' reaction to President Eisenhower.<sup>122</sup> The Venezuelans insisted that the United States' action in placing a two cents a pound special import duty on Dominican sugar was inadequate.<sup>123</sup>

The price of Trujillo's influence in Congress would be paid in the refusal of Venezuela to support the United States in efforts to deal with Cuba in the final months of 1960 despite a mutual dislike for the Fidel Castro regime.<sup>124</sup> President Eisenhower asked Congress for discretionary power on the purchase of Dominican sugar again on December 16, 1960,<sup>125</sup> and on January 17, 1961.<sup>126</sup> Congressional leadership, especially that of the House Agricultural Committee, con-

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid., September 1, 1960, 19150-19151.

<sup>122</sup> N. Y. Times, October 1, 1960, p. 5.

<sup>123</sup> Business Week, October 15, 1960, p. 150.

<sup>124</sup> N. Y. Times, December 7, 1960, p. 25.

<sup>125</sup> U. S., Presidential Papers, 1960-1961, #374, p. 877.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., No. 418, p. 1031.

tinued to frustrate the sincere efforts of President Eisenhower to show United States good faith to Latin Americans. The new administration would also find itself initially tied by the sugar legislation.

The Dominican aspects of the Caribbean crisis would be simplified by the assassination of the dictator Rafael Trujillo by a group of his trusted associates on the evening of May 30, 1961. The death of Trujillo would mark the end of a dictator who had applied modern totalitarian methods on his own country and modern public relations to the United States on a scale unprecedented in the Western hemisphere. The extent of United States involvement in the assassination of Trujillo has not been documented, if it exists, but at least one careful student of the country found that the Central Intelligence Agency appeared to have aided the plot.<sup>127</sup>

A long path led from the warmth exhibited by American government, business, and religious leaders toward Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina in the days of his ascendancy to his isolation and death at the hands of assassins. The courage of his opponents and the outrage engendered by his arrogance and contempt for civilized behavior had led to an almost universal condemnation of Trujillo as a symbol of totalitarianism.

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<sup>127</sup>Howard J. Wiarda, "Aftermath of the Trujillo Dictatorship: The Emergence of a Pluralistic Political System in the Dominican Republic," (Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1965), p. 59.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

Although many sources were used in this work some were of more value and interest than others. This essay will discuss the more valuable sources consulted. U. S. governmental sources were used for much of the study. The Congressional Record was valuable, and the years 1953-1962 were utilized. House Agricultural Committee Hearings on the Extension of the Sugar Act of 1948, 86th Congress, 2nd session; and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs Hearings, A Review of Relations of the United States and Other American Republics, 85th Congress, 2nd session provided insight into the power the Trujillo regime exercised on the United States government and the extent of Latin American disillusionment with the policy of favoring Trujillo by the United States.

Senate documents and Committee prints by Senators Allen J. Ellender and George D. Aiken provided information on the depth of distrust between the Dominican Republic and the United States in 1957 and 1958. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Hearings on the Activities of Nondiplomatic Agents of Foreign Principals in the U.S.A., 88th Congress, 1st session in 1963 provided a large amount of valuable information on the extent of Trujillo's efforts to keep a favorable public image in the United States through a wide variety of methods. Other Hearings by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the Nomination of Roy R. Rubottom, Jr., to be Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs in 1957 revealed a definite cooling of United States friendship towards the dictatorship.

The U. S. Justice Department's Reports by the Attorney General on the Administration of the Foreign Agent's Registration Act of 1938, as Amended, lists the names and amounts paid to the agents of Trujillo who complied with the law and registered with the Justice Department.

Reference was made to the Department of State's Current Documents for 1956 and 1958, and to the Department of State Bulletin for several items.

One of the invaluable reference sources in dealing with this topic was the Hispanic American Report. This digest of news from throughout the Hispanic world was very useful. Volumes III to XV dealing with the years from 1949-1962 were reviewed for the reports carried on the Dominican Republic. The New York Times provided a great deal of material for this work, and was read through for all citations on the Dominican Republic for the years 1955-1960. Other scattered references at later dates revealed valuable insight into the extent of Trujillo's influence in the United States Congress.

Two unpublished Ph.D. dissertations were valuable in casting light onto the subject. The foreign relations of the United States and the Dominican Republic during the thirty-one years of Trujillo's rule are traced in George Pope Atkins' "The United States and the Dominican Republic During the Era of Trujillo." Howard J. Wiarda is the most notable scholar currently writing on the Dominican Republic in the United States, and his "The Aftermath of the Trujillo Dictatorship: The Emergence of a Pluralistic Political System in the Dominican Republic," was useful even though its emphasis lies with the post-Trujillo period.

Trujillo was a fabulous character and a number of authors have written about him and his regime. The best work of a general nature

is beyond doubt Robert D. Crassweller's Trujillo: The Life and Times of a Caribbean Dictator. The notorious Trujillo henchman Arturo Espailat has produced a sensationalist, but interesting book, Trujillo: The Last Caesar. Albert C. Hicks wrote Blood in the Streets: The Life and Rule of Trujillo in 1946. Hicks deals with the early period of the dictatorship with indignation. The inside workings of the regime are described in Germán Ornes Trujillo: Little Caesar of the Caribbean. Much of this literature obviously was produced by active opponents of the Trujillo government.

Two books written as memoirs were very helpful. Ellis Briggs' Farewell to Foggy Bottom: The Recollections of a Career Diplomat is useful to dispel any idea of a consistent United States policy toward the Trujillo dictatorship. The book by Serafino Roumaldi, Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America, is a first hand report by one of the active participants in the labor movements' struggle to ameliorate the repressive labor policy of Trujillo's government.

Many other periodicals were referred to in the research for this paper. Editor and Publisher was helpful in following newspapermen's opposition, especially that of the Inter-American Press Association, to Trujillo. The American Federationist served the same purpose for the labor movement. Time and Life magazines among the more popular publications were consistently hostile to the Trujillo regime and provided a valuable public service in publicizing and keeping the abuses and sometimes ridiculous antics of the Dominican dictatorship before the American people.

Limited reference was made to foreign sources for this thesis.

La Prensa of Buenos Aires, Argentina was used, and the citation from Dr. Jesús de Galíndez was found in the Mexican journal Cuadernos Americanos.

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