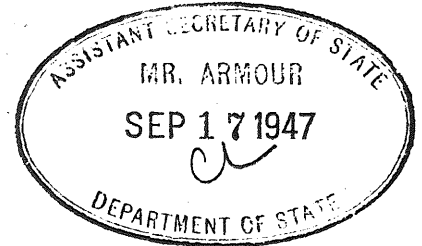




THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Habana, September 13, 1947.



Dear Norman:

Ambassador Belt called on me while he was in Habana on his way north. The highlights of our talk are covered in a memorandum which has already been sent to ARA; and the enclosed memorandum of my conversation with Mr. Stone, President of the American Chamber of Commerce here, after he had seen Belt, supplements these points and gives something of the local American reaction. Belt wants an early discussion of pending problems and makes it clear that the bargaining will revolve around the elimination of Clause 202-e of the Sugar Bill, plus tariff concessions on sugar. In regard to Clause 202-e he has evidently worked himself into a state-of-mind which makes discussion more than difficult after a certain point; therefore I was pleased to learn that he would like to initiate these talks at your level. (I gather that he also plans in this connection to cultivate Senators Vandenberg and Connally.) He says he has the authority of the President to approach the Department in these matters. His crusades at Washington and Rio have done him no harm here; his standing with his countrymen has increased; he is getting a good press even from his old foe the DIARIO DE LA MARINA; and in his radio talk the other night made at the behest of the President, when speaking of the "Grau doctrine" of "economic aggression" he gave the impression that he was the St. George who had routed the dragon.

Also enclosed is a copy of a memorandum prepared by Attaché Gleason on the most recent developments in the Dominican affair. It reveals a point which was uppermost in Belt's discussion of the situation: the growing impression - no doubt wishfully held and fostered by the anti-Trujillo elements, and current among bystanders - that the United States if not actively helping is at least condoning the "movement". The continued arrival of matériel, the continued concentration of "expeditionary forces", gives substance to this belief in the public mind. Though delivered via Cuba, the package seems to be marked "Made in USA". Ambassador Belt was plainly perturbed over his country's involvement in this sorry business. The bad press, the queries made by his Latin confrères at Rio, and his fear that the matter may be aired before the UNO Security Council had all brought him to the pitch of saying firmly that the "movement" must be given its quietus. I wonder, however, if his brief visit here sufficiently impressed him with the vigor of the project and the tenacity with which it has been incubated (for otherwise it would have snuffed out long ago) by members of his own Government. At any rate, the Ambassador intends to speak to you on this subject.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OFFICE OF
AMERICAN REPUBLIC AFFAIRS
OCT - 6 1947
DEPUTY DIRECTOR

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I myself feel that things have come to such a pass that we are justified in taking action which - whether or not it meets with a successful response - would put something on the record and demonstrate our interest in the due processes of Inter-Americanism. We might, for instance, ask the Cubans to lend the aid of their civil and military authorities in making an inventory of all the matériel from the United States that might have fallen into the hands of the insurgents. We should be able to do this as a routine matter, as in the case of customs frauds and other violations of our laws when Cuban and American officials cooperate as a matter of course; and without raising the question of motive on either side. This procedure could with equal force also be extended to a joint inquiry with the Dominican authorities, followed by an announcement to the press that Cubans and Dominicans are cooperating with us.

But you will be able better to determine what should be done after you have talked with Ambassador Belt, and on the basis of your knowledge of what our attitude is towards the Dominican bill of complaints handed to George Butler on August 30.

Here you have briefly the highlights of what has developed in the Cuban and Dominican situations as viewed from Habana during your absence at the Rio Conference.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Wm. Stansbury

Enclosures:

- 1.- Memorandum of conversation, September 12, 1947: the Ambassador with Mr. Bradford Stone, President of the American Chamber of Commerce of Cuba: Mr. Tewell present.
- 2.- Memorandum to Mr. Mallory from Mr. Gleason, September 9, 1947: "Dominican Revolutionary Movement."

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9 September 1947

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Mallory
FROM: John P. Gleason
SUBJECT: Dominican Revolutionary Movement

1. The following information has been obtained from a source who returned from Cayo Confites on or about September 4, 1947, following four weeks residence on the key. Cayo Confites is, of course, the key where Dominican revolutionary troops are located. The source during this conversation on September 8, 1947, stated that he is presently in the employ of Enriquez Henriquez, one of the leaders in the revolutionary movement. The source is also reputed to be on the payroll of Carlos Prio Socarras, Minister of Labor, in the capacity of undercover man.
2. This source states that the key is very small, possibly no longer than three United States city blocks and one block wide. On the island there is no vegetation. It is composed of rough rock and coral. On this island there are approximately 1600 men. The source states that the food is abominable and the water is brought to the key from Nuevitas. There are, of course, no forms of permanent habitation on the key nor are there any of the normal recreational facilities. The source states that none of the men have as yet received any pay.
3. Source says that of the 1600 men, 1000 are armed with what he believes to be Mauser rifles from which all identifying marks have been removed. The weapons appear to be somewhat aged. In addition, there are 200 sub-machine guns. Only about 130 of these guns have been issued. Some ammunition for both the sub-machine guns and the rifles have been issued. Some of the revolutionary troops have as many as 200 rounds of ammunition. The balance of the 1600 men who are not armed are employed in the capacity of quartermaster's men and crew.
4. Of the 1600 men on the island, only 134 are Dominicans. Most of the other men are Cubans who are described by the source as hoodlums, roughnecks, and gangsters. In regard to arms, the source stated that other arms are stored at a finca near Habana, Cuba, and still others in the town of Guatanamo.
5. The source states that the man nominally in charge of supplies and logistics is Captain Agostini, a Cuban Navy officer who is the Chief of the Palace Police in Habana. Assisting Agostini are other members of the Cuban Navy, principally drawn from the Palace Police. Source stated that about one half of the Palace Police are involved. Concerning the interest of the Cuban Navy, the source states that at the present time one Cuban Navy vessel performs guard duty preventing anyone from leaving Nuevitas for the key. In addition, some supplies are brought to the key in a Cuban Navy vessel, although the landing craft infantry at the key is frequently quite openly brought into the port of Nuevitas. Source states that at the present time the revolutionaries will have the use of one landing craft infantry, a coast guard cutter which holds 130 men on its decks, and a Cuban Navy training ship. This source also indicated that there were other vessels involved, but he did not provide any more specific information.

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6. Source states that revolt is threatening on the island, and might easily occur shortly. This condition is brought about by the stringent discipline and low standard living conditions which exist on the island. The source states that furthermore at least 12 of the persons involved on the key have declared themselves for President of the Dominican Republic if and when they reach Sto. Domingo. In this respect it was interesting to note that Alex Liz, a former Dominican Army officer, was the only Dominican on the key who had any rank in a revolutionary army. He has now been relegated to a position of no importance. Source states that "gangsters" have taken over the revolutionary movement and that from the military standpoint the strongest figure on the key is Dr. Eufemio Fernández, a member of the Movimiento Socialista Revolucionaria.
7. Source further states that Juan Bosch and Juan Rodríguez, an old man and a Dominican who has advanced \$100,000 for the cause, are on the key. Source states that Bosch, in effect, is virtually a prisoner and there is not much likelihood that he will get off the key. Rodríguez, because of his large financial contribution, is a nominal leader of the movement but actually he has no strength. Source states that if the expedition lands at the Dominican Republic, it would not surprise him one bit if the ideological leaders of the revolution, including Juan Bosch, were shot and killed. Not only the men, but the gangster leaders of the movement seem primarily interested in spoils.
8. The same source states that there is no question in the mind of anyone involved in the movement as to President Grau San Martín's not supporting the revolutionary movement. Source states that he does not know the extent of support that may be expected from Grau after a landing is made in the Dominican Republic, however, Grau is reported to have told Carlos Prío Socarras that Trujillo is a menace that should be eradicated.
9. Continuing, source stated that the men on the island and the revolutionaries^{there} were much concerned about the airplanes which they know have arrived in Cuba. Source states that as soon as the airplanes are released by General Genoveno of the Cuban Army and guns placed on them the Army will leave for the Dominican Republic. It is expected that this movement of troops will take place either during the weeks of September 8 or September 15, 1947. Source indicates that there are two small planes at Nuevitas for the use of the revolutionary army.
10. Of special significance are the following comments. Source states that the United States Government policy of laissez-faire is being interpreted by a member of the revolutionary leaders as support of the movement against Trujillo by the United States Government. The fact that the United States does not step in actively to stop the movement indicates that it must support it. The revolutionary leaders feel certain that without any difficulty the United States Government could prevent the invasion of the Dominican Republic. Another interesting commentary related to this is the fact that the Movimiento Socialista Revolucionaria gangsters such as Rolando Masferrer, Eufemio Fernández, etc., are not ideologically interested in the Dominicans and the overthrow of Trujillo. The source believes that whether the United States does or does not interfere with the movement, the arms which have been acquired by the M.S.R. will be used against General Genoveno and the Cuban Army. It should be noted that this information is identical with that received from another source who is a member of the M.S.R.

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11. Carlos Prio Socarras, according to the source, never was strongly in favor of the Dominican revolutionary movement and has called the movement suicidal. Source states that Prio did aid Juan Bosch to the extent of advancing him \$1500 for a propaganda trip to enlist aid in South American countries. Prio is taking no active interest in the movement. Actually, in government circles the whole affair is regarded as the business of Alemán who is a political opponent of Prio.

12. The support of Caracas, Venezuela, according to the source, has been written off and Bosch has been accused of mishandling that phase of support. One other matter is of significance. It is quite evident to the writer that the source was desirous of ascertaining the position of the United States. The source and the group he represents apparently would now recommend interference by the United States Government in order to see the revolutionary movement stopped. It should be noted that much of the information appearing in this memorandum is identical with other information which the writer has obtained from another source who represents the M.S.R. element in the Dominican revolutionary movement. This would lend some credence to the information which has been received from both sources.

JOHN P. GLEASON
Assistant Attaché

cc Military Attaché

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