

# AIRGRAM

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
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JUL 16 1968

INFO : Amembassy SANTO DOMINGO

RS/AN  
ANALYSIS BRANCH

FROM : Amembassy PORT-AU-PRINCE

DATE: July 14, 1968

SUBJECT : Haiti-Dominican Republic: Release of Duvalier  
Border Study Threatens Further Friction in Relations

REF : A-306, July 7, 1968

### Introduction

In early July the Haitian press announced the publication of a two-part work by President Francois Duvalier entitled, POLITIQUE ETRANGERE ET POLITIQUE FRONTERALE ("Foreign Policy and Border Policy"--published by Presses Nationales d'Haiti, Port-au-Prince, 1968, 30 pp.)--Enclosure 1.

### Foreign Policy

The first portion of the study is a reprint of an article Duvalier wrote in 1948 for the ideological periodical with which he then collaborated, Les Griots. In it he makes much of Haiti's relations with its eastern neighbor, quotes liberally from the many works of Dr. Jean PRICE-MARS (see below), and underlines that the cornerstone of Haitian Foreign Policy--i.e., the maintenance of its national independence--had for many years contained as a corollary the desire to see the perpetuation of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Dominican Republic.

#### Enclosures:

1. Duvalier Study  
(Department-3 copies  
Santo Domingo-1 copy)
2. Price-Mars' letter  
(Department-3 copies  
Santo Domingo-1 copy)

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Border Policy

The second half of Duvalier's study evidently was written quite recently and is appearing for the first time in print. He refers with regret to the final treaty demarcating the Haitian-Dominican border in 1935, although admitting that all concerned at the time seemed to think that they had reached a final resolution of the question. In actual fact, Duvalier asserts, Haiti suffered a serious "amputation" of its territory which involved about 300 square miles (6,000 carreaux) in the Arrondissement of Vallière for which no compensation whatsoever was awarded.

Duvalier asks the question: "How is it that we deserve such a serious amputation when we occupy only one-third of the island? . . . What motive caused our government at that time to sacrifice the formal principle of our Constitution regarding the inalienability of the territory of the Republic?" The author then goes on to stress that the Dominican negotiators, members of the Border Commission, were "infinitely better informed than their colleagues" from Haiti.

Although Duvalier states that about one-tenth of the area lost was later "recuperated" (he does not explain how), he condemns the award of the 300 square miles in "one of the most fertile regions of the Central Plateau (as) a victory probably based on the Haitian's carelessness and his misconception of the essential and vital interests of the country." Another portion of the 1935 treaty which disturbs the Haitian President is the so-called International Highway in the area at the head of the Artibonite Valley, which he complains serves only the Dominicans and is practically nothing but a source of expenditure for the Haitians.

Duvalier is troubled also by what he believes to be, or to have been, the methods of recruitment of members of the frontier forces of the Dominican National Army, as well as by their privileged care and training. He concludes that the Dominican border force has a high military capability. While he seems to attribute much of this readiness factor to the period of Trujillo, he implies that it exists as well at the present time: "This intensive military organization, begun since the advent of the present Chief to the Presidency (of the Dominican Republic), considerably amplified through border works and significantly expanded recently, has always been underestimated by public opinion in our country which has never detected any importance in it. This illusion is dangerous from all points of view and testimony to the characteristic laxity and carelessness of the Haitian . . ."

Duvalier seems to raise one element which he feels may complicate a solution when he speaks of "the contemporary Dominican soul, fanatical in its mystique of racial superiority, moral grandeur and material prosperity, and perpetually whipped up by an intense and intelligent propaganda . . ."

What Duvalier calls the "pseudo-solution" of 1935 presents a difficult problem but one which is not insoluble because, in Duvalier's words, "fortunately Destiny, the Lord of historical events, brought the intellectual Joaquin Balaguer to the Presidency of the Republic following elections which were first-class, both honest and free." This troublesome problem, Duvalier has no doubt, will be resolved "through the sagacity of the two intellectuals who direct the two republics" and who will find a solution "based on scientific pragmatism . . . in order to make a serious contribution to the peace of the Hemisphere and the solidarity of the Latin American family . . ."

#### Price-Mars' Letter

The only significant local comment to date on Duvalier's work was a letter to the President by Haitian nonagenarian statesman and intellectual emeritus, Dr. Jean Price-Mars, himself the author of perhaps the most definitive and exhaustive work on Haitian-Dominican relations, *LA REPUBLIQUE D'HAITI ET LA REPUBLIQUE DOMINICAINE*, a three-volume study published in Port-au-Prince in 1953 in Spanish as well as French. Price-Mars' letter, a thank-you note for an inscribed copy from the author, appeared in the July 6 issue of Le Nouveau Monde--Enclosure 2.

While Price-Mars claims that peace is in Haiti's main interest, he laments the fact that the island of Hispaniola was originally divided unfairly, with the more heavily populated Haitian end of the island inheriting only one-third of the total area.

Price-Mars regrets also that Haiti's historical policy of hoping and acting to prevent an occupation of the Spanish-speaking end of the island by "a large European or American nation," was wrongly interpreted by Dominican statesmen.

In summing up, Price-Mars almost seems to commit Duvalier to a peaceful settlement of the "issue" (he, too, is probably mystified as to what the President suddenly has in mind), by

repeating that the President has "constantly defended the principles of peace and friendship which should never cease to reign between Dominicans and Haitians." In closing he reiterates the point by "hoping that you will remain constantly faithful to the task of peace between ourselves and our neighbors."

The Price-Mars letter has been reprinted in one other newspaper to date--the weekly Le Mercure on July 9.

Embassy Comment

It is not clear why Duvalier has chosen to raise the border issue at a moment when he claims that Haiti is surrounded by enemies who want to upset what he calls his regime of peace and progress; and when his words would serve only to play into the hands of those alarmists in the Dominican Republic who view Haiti as a threat to Dominican existence--eventually if not now. This fear appears to be based on the earlier history of Haitian occupation and aggression, and on the present greater density of population on the Western end of the island.

The Dominican Ambassador in Port-au-Prince, Dr. Fausto GUZMAN Cabrera, has expressed his personal opinion to the Embassy that Duvalier will receive no satisfaction whatever by raising the question of a border revision.

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