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Action

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Info

NNNESA053SDA005  
PP RUEHCR  
DE RUESSD 05 12/0056Z  
P 120005Z ZEA  
FM AMEMBASSY, SANTO DOMINGO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC  
STATE GRNC  
BT  
S E C R E T

009457

10/11/63

SANTO DOMINGO 419

PRIORITY (419) OCTOBER 11, 7PM

043

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DEPTEL 240

AS GENERAL PROPOSITION EMBASSY BELIEVES IT WOULD BE UNWISE BRING EXCESSIVE NUMBER OF CONDITIONS INTO OUR NEGOTIATIONS. IT WILL PROBABLY BE DIFFICULT ENOUGH ACHIEVE MAJOR POLITICAL GOALS WITHOUT ATTEMPTING DEAL WITH MANIFOLD INSTITUTIONAL AND PERSONNEL PROBLEMS RELATING TO GODR. DURING COURSE NEGOTIATIONS MAY PROVE USEFUL MENTION SOME OF POINTS RAISED IN REFTEL BUT WE WOULD PREFER HAVE AS MUCH FLEXIBILITY ON THIS COUNT AS POSSIBLE. WE ARE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED AT POSSIBILITY CONCESSION OBTAINED ON RELATIVELY LESSER POINT SUCH AS BUDGETARY REFORM MIGHT WEAKEN OUR HAND IN NEGOTIATING ON LARGER ISSUES.  
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FOLLOWING ARE COMMENTS ON SPECIFIC POINTS IN LIGHT CURRENT CONDITIONS:

1. ELECTIONS: EMBASSY IS NOT PARTICULARLY HAPPY EITHER WITH SCHEME FOR EARLY CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS BUT FINDS IT DIFFICULT ENVISAGE ANY OTHER SOLUTION. WOULD PROBABLY BE BEST FOR COUNTRY HAVE NO ELECTIONS AT ALL BEFORE 1966 BUT WE DOUBT TRIUMVIRATE CAN KEEP LID ON FOR LONG WITHOUT FIRM COMMITMENT TO ELECTIONS OR TO SOME OTHER FORMULA WHICH WOULD BRING NON-COMMUNIST LEFT BACK INTO NORMAL POLITICAL LIFE OF NATION. (IN EMBASSY'S JUDGMENT REGIME MADE PERHAPS ITS GREATEST BLUNDER IN REFUSING DEAL WITH MIOLAN ON BASIS ELECTIONS PROMISE IN RETURN FOR "LOYAL OPPOSITION" ON PART PRD.) POLARIZATION IS PROCEEDING RAPIDLY HERE. PRD, SOCIAL

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-2- 419, OCTOBER 11, 7 PM FROM SANTO DOMINGO

CHRISTAIN AND UCN INDEPENDENTS ARE TAKING INCREASINGLY BITTER, INTRANSIGENT STAND. WE BELIEVE REGIME SHOULD REVERSE PRESENT COURSE OF ATTEMPTING SUPPRESS NON-COMMUNIST OPPOSITION AND WORK FOR AN ACCOMMODATION WHICH WOULD EVENTUALLY GIVE COUNTRY A MEASURE OF POLITICAL PEACE. IN OUR JUDGMENT ONLY FEASIBLE SOLUTION IS EARLY CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS. EVEN THIS FORMULA WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT SELL TO PRD AND ALLIES BUT WE COULD TRY. ON OTHER SIDE, DONNIE REID INDICATES REGIME THINKING TERMS MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN PERHAPS NINE MONTHS, GENERAL ELECTIONS IN ABOUT 18 UNDER OAS SUPERVISION. WE DOUBT OPPOSITION WOULD EVEN CONSIDER SUCH A PROPOSAL UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS.  
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2. WITH PASSING OF TIME AND INCREASING POLARIZATION, HOPES DIM FOR GETTING CASASNOVAS INTO TRIUMVIRATE. FACT THAT HE IS PRESENTLY UNDER ARREST AND DEPORTATION ORDER INDICATES HOW DIFFICULT IT WOULD BE. AS ALTERNATIVE WE MIGHT CONSIDER POSSIBILITY RE-CONSTITUTING TRIUMVIRATE TO ELIMINATE ITS PREDOMINATE IDENTIFICATION WITH UCN AND COUNCIL OF STATE. REPLACEMENT OF DE LOS SANTOS BY EDUARDO READ BARRERAS WHO HAS CONFIDENCE VIRTUALLY ALL POLITICAL GROUPS FROM RIGHT TO LEFT WOULD HELP. TAVARES MIGHT GIVE WAY TO AN INDEPENDENT WITH LEFTIST BACKING SUCH AS SALVADOR JORGE BLANCO. TAPIA COULD THEN REMAIN IN REPRESENTATION UCN/CONSEJO.

3. SEE ABOVE. WE WOULD NOT FAVOR ANY ATTEMPT INJECT PARTY LEADER OR LEADERS INTO TRIUMVIRATE.

4. EMBASSY WOULD FAVOR INTRODUCTION BOSCH MEN INTO CABINET BUT CONTINUES HAVE RESERVATIONS AS TO WISDOM OUR INSISTING ON THIS POINT. AS FOR OTHER CHANGES, WE SEE NO POSSIBILITY ELIMINATE REPRESENTATIVES OF ORNES OR ANY OF OTHER PARTY LEADERS AS LONG AS COALITION HOLDS TOGETHER. WE AGREE URGENT NECESSITY REMOVE SEVERO CABRAL AND HAVE SOME INDICATIONS HE HAS EVEN SUCCEEDED IN ALARMING UCN. UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES, MIGHT BE POSSIBLE PREVAIL ON PARTY TO REPLACE HIM WITH ANOTHER CIVICO. EMBASSY DOES NOT BELIEVE WE CAN DICTATE CHOICE IN THIS OR ANY OTHER CABINET POST. RE MIN COM/IND, WE REGARD HIM AS REASONABLY GOOD CHOICE DESPITE  
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IDENTIFICATION WITH ORNES. IN GENERAL, BEST METHOD ACHIEVING CABINET CHANGES IS TO BREAK COALITION AND VOID POLITICAL TRUCE. ANNOUNCEMENT OF EARLY ELECTIONS WOULD DO IT.

5. WE WOULD FAVOR CUTS IN MILITARY, POLICE BUDGETS AND BELIEVE THAT COMMITMENT TO GRADUAL REDUCTIONS MIGHT BE OBTAINED. EMBASSY CONTINUES OF OPINION THAT SHAKE-UP IN ARMED FORCES COMMAND STRUCTURE AND REMOVAL OF MOST OBJECTIONABLE OFFICERS SHOULD BE ONE OF OUR PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES. WE BELIEVE TRANSFER ABROAD OF WESSIN (WHO APPARENTLY BOASTED OF HIS RESPONSIBILITY FOR COUP TO U.S. NEWSMEN--SEE MIAMI HERALD SEPTEMBER 27) AND LUNA PLUS RETIREMENT OF NOTORIOUS TRUJILLISTA OFFICERS SUCH AS COLONEL NEY NIVAR SEIJAS AND POLICE COLONEL SOTO ECHAVARRIA IS ESSENTIAL STEP IN BRINGING MEASURE OF POLITICAL TRANQUILITY TO THIS COUNTRY. AS FAR AS WE CAN DETERMINE, GENERAL CONSENSUS, EVEN AMONG CIVICOS (EXCEPT FOR RABID GROUP AROUND BONILLA AYBAR) IS THAT HOUSE-CLEANING OVERDUE IN ARMED FORCES. IF CHANGES ARE NOT MADE WE CAN EXPECT MILITARY TO CONSTITUTE PRIME POLITICAL ISSUE. BITTERNESS AND FEAR ON THIS SCORE AMONG NON-COMMUNIST LEFTIST OPPOSITION GROUPS IS DIFFICULT EXAGGERATE. WE CANNOT ENVISAGE THEIR RE-ENTRY INTO NORMAL POLITICAL PROCESS UNLESS CHANGES ARE MADE. (SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED FOREGOING REPRESENTS EMBASSY VIEW ONLY. WE HAVE NOT YET CONSULTED WITH COUNTRY TEAM ON SPECIFICS OF THIS QUESTION.)

6. TRIUMVIRATE HAS ALREADY PROMULGATED SWEEPING ANTI-SUBVERSIVE LAW (EMBTTEL 401). AGREE THAT REFORM OF SECURITY SERVICE AND PARTICULARLY REMOVAL "PUPITO" SANCHEZ ESSENTIAL. HOWEVER, MUST POINT OUT EMBASSY AT MOMENT HAS NO CANDIDATE FOR HIS JOB.  
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7 WE UNDERSTAND GODR SUGAR INTERESTS MAY BE PUT UNDER NEW COMPLETELY AUTONOMOUS CORPORATION. EMBASSY REGARDS JIMENES AS EXCELLENT APPOINTMENT, WELL SUITED TO DIFFICULT SUGAR JOB. WE WOULD NOT FAVOR CHANGING HIM. JIMENES HAS ALREADY IMPOSED CONDITIONS RE AUDIT OF HAINA. WE PRESUME HE WOULD BE WILLING FURNISH US COPIES AND/OR PUBLISCH IF WE ASKED. RE FOMENTO, PRESENT CHIEF ENRIQUE ALFAU IS SCARCELY IDEAL CHOICE BUT DOES HAVE WELL ESTABLISHED REPUTATION FOR HONESTY.

8. AGREE ALL POINTS DESIRABLE OBJECTIVES TOWARDS WHICH TO WORK WITH NEW GOVERNMENT. EMBASSY PRESUMES THEY MAY BE BROUGHT UP IN

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CONNECTION WITH EVENTUAL TALKS ON RESUMPTION OF AID RATHER THAN DURING NEGOTIATIONS ON RECOGNITION.

9. SO-CALLED "PRESS LAW" ALREADY ON BOOKS WOULD BE ADEQUATE INSTRUMENT CONTROL LIBEL IF ENFORCED. (BOSCH REGIME'S ATTEMPTS TO USE IT CONTRIBUTED TO ITS DOWNFALL.) WE FEEL MORE SERIOUS PROBLEM IS LIKELY BE FREEDOM PRESS-RADIO-TV. REGIME HAS CLOSED TWO RADIO STATIONS, DENIED SOCAIL CHRISTIANS PERMISSION BROADCAST DAILY PROGRAMS. PRESS, AS EXEMPLIFIED LISTIN DIARIO, STILL FREE BUT WE FEAR INCREASED EFFORTS SILENCE OPPOSITION PARTICULARLY WITH SEVERO CABRAL IN MIN INTERIOR.

B. RE TIMING OF APPROACH ON NEGOTIATIONS WE NOW FEEL IT WOULD BE BEST SIT TIGHT FOR AT LEAST ANOTHER WEEK, ALLOW WITHDRAWAL AID AND MILITARY PERSONNEL SINK IN.

C. WE HAVE NO OTHER SUGGESTIONS AT MOMENT. WILL WELCOME ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF DEPT, ESPECIALLY RE BARGAINING POINTS TO BE USED IN OUR PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE OF RETURNING DR AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO SOME FORM OF REPRESENTATIVE, CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT. KING  
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