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DIRECTORATE OF
INTELLIGENCE

Intelligence Memorandum

Juan Bosch in Self-Imposed Exile

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Intelligence
7 June 1967

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

Juan Bosch in Self-Imposed Exile

Summary

Former Dominican President Juan Bosch has spent most of the six months of his exile in Spain but has done some traveling to other European nations. He has given a number of lectures, written several articles, and been in contact with Dominican political acquaintances. Bosch's political comments have been marked by bitter anti-American sentiment and he has predicted future Dominican upheavals and bloodshed. Bosch has kept abreast of Dominican political developments but does not seem to have significantly influenced recent events. Although there is no indication that Bosch plans to return to the Dominican Republic in the next few months, he has kept open the option to assume a future political role in the country.

Note: This memorandum was produced solely by CIA. It was prepared by the Office of Current Intelligence and coordinated with the Office of National Estimates and the Clandestine Services.

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Bosch's Recent Contacts

1. After a short period in Venezuela following his departure on 26 November 1966 from the Dominican Republic, Juan Bosch arrived in Spain in mid-December, taking up residence in Madrid. He has made short trips to Britain, France, and Sweden, and was recently slated to give a lecture in Brussels. While in Europe Bosch has been in contact with a number of Dominican political acquaintances.

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There is no evidence that Bosch has been in contact with Communist organizations or that he is engaged in anti-Balaguer conspiracies. The available information suggests that he arrived in Spain with only limited funds, which he has supplemented through lecturing and writing on such themes as recent Dominican history and world politics.

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Attitude Toward the US

2. Bosch's public and private remarks have displayed a deep and bitter resentment toward the United States. He has claimed he left the Dominican Republic "to feel free of the insufferable pressure the US maintains there." He has become obsessed with the prospect of a US war with China and has warned Latin Americans that "we are a political, economic, and military dependency of the US, which will drag us into all its adventures." Bosch has deprecated US concern with Communist influence in Latin America and has said that Castroism "is a ghost imperialism uses as a pretext." Indicative of Bosch's attitude toward the United States was his refusal to accept a letter offering him an appointment as a senior fellow at Wesleyan University and his advice to his left-of-center Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD)--subsequently rejected--to shun all contacts with Americans.

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3. Bosch's anti-US sentiments seem to have been inflamed by former US Ambassador Martin's book, Over-taken by Events.

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Bosch's Views on Dominican Developments

4. Bosch's one-time dominance of the PRD has clearly ended, and PRD Secretary General Pena has characterized his influence on the party as minimal. Pena himself, who had been particularly close to Bosch, rebuffed Bosch's attempt to get him to come to Spain early this year. The PRD recently sought out Bosch's endorsement of its boycott of Congress but this appeared to be little more than an effort to gain the blessing of a party elder statesman. Bosch, however, probably retains some prestige and respect among the party faithful and he continues to bear the title of PRD "adviser."

5. Bosch's comments on Dominican developments have been unvaryingly pessimistic. He views a military coup against Balaguer as inevitable and has cautioned that the PRD must prepare for it. Bosch has predicted that bloodshed and social revolution will be resumed. He has made repeated references to the existence of an alleged "state of terror" in the Dominican Republic, alternately blaming it on the Balaguer government and the US. Without directly attacking Balaguer, he has made comments that portray the President as incapable of exerting sufficient authority to control the country. Bosch's comments have been reported in the Dominican press, but not extensively or prominently.

Dominican Government Reaction

6. The Balaguer government has proved sensitive to Bosch's statements and activities. In particular, it has viewed his contacts with Caamano as potentially subversive. In late April, Balaguer told

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Ambassador Crimmins he believed Bosch was behind PRD charges that the government was responsible for terrorism. Undoubtedly, many conservatives and rightists in Balaguer's entourage believe that Bosch is still directing PRD affairs and is attempting to manipulate foreign opinion to undermine confidence in the government. The Dominican Embassy in Madrid has made a demarche to the Spanish Government to throttle Bosch's activities and statements. So far, the Spanish appear to have restricted publication of some of Bosch's more extreme comments, but have been hesitant to ban all his activities.

Bosch's Plans

7. Bosch's immediate plans include delivering the opening speech before the Swedish Social Democratic Youth Congress in Stockholm on 10 June. He is slated to be joined in Sweden by PRD officials

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Tentative plans call for Bosch and the PRD officials to travel to several European countries and to attend socialist party congresses in Belgium and Finland.

8. There is no indication that Bosch plans-- or is even considering--returning to the Dominican Republic in the next few months. When he left, he spoke of remaining away for six months but his recent comments suggest an intention to stay away indefinitely. Indeed, Bosch's personality seems well suited to life in exile--where he has spent all but three and a half of the last 30-odd years-- and he seems satisfied to comment on Dominican and world politics without responsibility for their conduct. Despite his apparent lack of concrete plans for future Dominican political activity, he has rejected suggestions that he has retired from political life and has held out a slim possibility that he may again hold political office.

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