Setting the Trap
Noel Maurer

in The Empire Trap: The Rise and Fall of U.S. Intervention to Protect American Property Overseas, 1893-2013

This chapter reviews the development of an informal American empire in the circum-Caribbean. Formal imperialism was off the table once it became clear that Congress could not be trusted to support investor interests in colonized territories, but the property rights of Americans continued to come under threat from a combination of feckless foreign governments and political instability. Under pressure from a coalition of direct investors in tropical enterprises and creditors to Latin American governments, Theodore Roosevelt used instability in the Dominican Republic to proclaim a de facto intervention sphere within which the U.S. would exercise an international police power in cases of “chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society.” The chapter shows how markets reacted to Roosevelt’s declarations, factoring in American protection.

Reconstructing Racial Identity and the African Past in the Dominican Republic
Kimberly Eison Simmons

In Latin America and the Caribbean, racial issues are extremely complex and fluid, particularly the nature of “blackness.” What it means to be called “black” is still very different for an African American living in the United States than it is for an individual with African ancestry in the Dominican Republic. Racial categories were far from concrete as the Dominican populace grew, altered, and solidified around present
notions of identity. In effect, the African past was buried in historical memory, and Dominicans were denied their blackness due to concerted socialization efforts of the state for much of the twentieth century. In part due to movement of individuals between the Dominican Republic and the United States, where traditional notions of indio color categories are challenged and debated, new racial identities emerged. Local scholars and activists are organizing around Dominican blackness and raising awareness. How and why Dominicans define their racial identities reveal shifting coalitions between Caribbean peoples and African Americans, and proves intrinsic to understanding identities in the African diaspora. This book explores the socio-cultural shifts in Dominicans' racial categories, concluding that Dominicans are slowly embracing blackness and ideas of African ancestry as they unbury the African past.

The Trap Closes
Noel Maurer

in The Empire Trap: The Rise and Fall of U.S. Intervention to Protect American Property Overseas, 1893-2013

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This chapter talks about how the United States could cajole and threaten foreign governments into protecting American property. It proved less capable, however, of fixing the problems that led to instability, default, and expropriation. The chapter recounts the failures of the early fiscal receiverships. The Dominican Republic fell back into civil war by 1912. In fact, the Dominican state entirely collapsed in 1916, forcing a full-scale American occupation to reestablish a modicum of order. Anti-imperialist Woodrow Wilson wound up presiding over a deepening of America's informal empire. His anti-interventionist administration continued the policies of Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft. Wilson abhorred the notion that might makes right; respect for human rights and national integrity, not commercial or financial interests, should determine a nation's foreign policy.
No More Cubas
Thomas Tunstall Allcock

in Thomas C. Mann: President Johnson, the Cold War, and the Restructuring of Latin American Foreign Policy

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The majority of this chapter is dedicated to exploring the most controversial and destructive incident of Johnson’s management of Latin American policy, the intervention in the Dominican Republic in April 1965. By considering the decision to intervene, the period of occupation, and the Organization of American States (OAS)–supervised elections that followed, the impact and significance of the first use of US forces in the hemisphere since the 1930s can be thoroughly unpacked. A turning point in Johnson’s presidency, the intervention was in some respects a success, with few casualties and the eventual election of a US-friendly government. However, it also severely damaged relations with Congress and the press, alienated masses of Latin Americans, undermined trust in the OAS, and convinced Thomas Mann to leave government service after more than twenty years. This use of force occurring at the same time as American troops were introduced in Vietnam, its relevance is readily apparent.

Some are born to endless night: structural violence across-the-border
Maria Cristina Fumagalli

in On the Edge: Writing the Border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic

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This chapter discusses works that highlight the often disavowed across-the-border continuity of structural violence on Hispaniola. Written by authors and directors born in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Algeria, and Mexico, these works include one film, two novels, two plays, and various pieces of journalism. Among them are Hulda Guzmán's Some are born to sweet delight (2011), Máximo Avilés Blonda's Pirámide 179 (1968), and Evelyne Trouillot's Le bleu de l’île (2005). These authors explore the lives of border-crossers and borderland dwellers, whose experiences reveal multiple across-the-border materialisations (migration, prostitution,
environmental degradation, centralisation of resources, destitution, privatisation of survival) of Johan Galtung's structural violence. They suggest that social change is necessary to counteract across-the-border structural violence.

The writing is on the wall: towards an open island and a complete structure

Maria Cristina Fumagalli

in On the Edge: Writing the Border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic

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This chapter discusses various video performances, two sculptures, a musical video and the song lyrics it illustrates, a painting, and a poem by Dominican and Haitian artists who saw the Haitian earthquake of 2010 as an opportunity to improve the relations between Haiti and the Dominican Republic which share Hispaniola. These artists tried to play a central role to support and promote solidarity and the kind of cultural exchange which could make a difference in the wake of the disaster. Works by Francisco (Pancho) Rodríguez, Rita Indiana Hernández, and David Pérez Karmadavis, among others, assert — or in some cases reassert — that 'a brighter future' is contingent on a willingness to rectify some of the misconceptions and disabling continuities which characterise pre- and post-earthquake Hispaniola and continue to hinder across-the-border dialogue.

The Invaded

Alan McPherson

Published in print: 2014 Published Online: January 2014
Item type: book

In 1912 the United States sent troops into a Nicaraguan civil war, solidifying a decades-long era of military occupations in Latin America driven by the desire to rewrite the political rules of the hemisphere. For the first time, Alan McPherson takes us inside the resistance to the three longest occupations—in Nicaragua (1912–1933), Haiti (1915–1934), and the Dominican Republic (1916–1924). He asks why the invaded resisted and why the troops eventually left. Confronting the assumption that lofty nationalism primarily motivated resisters, McPherson finds more concrete —yet also more passionate—reasons: hatred for the brutality of the
marines, fear of losing land, outrage at cultural impositions, and thirst for political power. Against the accepted view that Washington withdrew from Latin American occupations out of sudden moral enlightenment, McPherson stresses the role of the invaded in forcing the Yankees to leave, especially day-to-day resistance and the transnational network. For occupier and occupied, political culture mattered more than military or economic motives: US marines were determined to transform political values, and occupied peoples fought to conserve them. Based on research in rarely seen documents in three languages and five countries and packed with a fascinating cast of characters, this lively narrative recasts the very nature of occupation as a colossal tragedy, doomed from the outset to fail. It also offers broad lessons for today’s invaders and invaded.

The forgotten heart-breaking epic of border struggle
Maria Cristina Fumagalli

in On the Edge: Writing the Border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic

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This chapter discusses works that explore the different ramifications of ‘the forgotten heart-breaking epic of [the] border struggle’. These works deal with Hispaniola from the 1960s onwards and include two novels, a long poem, a film, and a piece of investigative journalism: Diego D'Alcalá's La Frontera (1994); Manuel Rueda's La criatura terrestre (1963) and Las metamorfosis de Makandal (1998); Perico Ripiao (2003), directed by Ángel Muñiz and written by Reynaldo Disla and Ángel Muñiz; Maurice Lemoine's Sucre Amer: Esclaves aujourd'hui dans les Caraïbes (1981); and Gary Klang's L'île aux deux visages (1997). Some of these works remind us of particularly vulnerable border-crossers, namely the Haitian braceros working in bateyes in the Dominican Republic.

Wilson and Democracy in Latin America
Tony Smith

in America's Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy

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Item type: chapter
This chapter examines Woodrow Wilson's attempts to foster constitutionalism in Latin America through imperialist interventions that commenced shortly after he was elected president in 1913. It begins with a discussion of three policy instruments that Wilson found at his disposal after he assumed the presidency and that he could use to promote constitutional democracy in Latin America: limited military occupation and control of customs houses, economic influence, and international agreements. The chapter then assesses Wilson's interventionist policy in Mexico and the Dominican Republic, along with the failure of Wilsonianism in the Philippines and the Dominican Republic. It also considers the limits of Wilson's democratic initiatives abroad before concluding with an analysis of four distinct U.S. policies aimed at fostering political stability in Latin America and ensuring that American security interests would not be threatened.

Introduction
Maria Cristina Fumagalli

in On the Edge: Writing the Border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic

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This book examines a range of literary works from Haiti and the Dominican Republic, putting them in dialogue with texts from the rest of the world which have had the border between the two countries at their core. Conceived as part of a project called American Tropics: Towards a Literary Geography, the book considers the politics of border-crossing and the poetics of borderland-dwelling. It also discusses the causes, unfolding, and immediate aftermath of two events: the slave revolt of 1791 and the massacre of Haitians and Haitian-Dominicans in 1937. Finally, it analyses nineteenth-, twentieth- and twenty-first-century reimaginings of the encounter between the indigenous population and the Spanish colonizers in early sixteenth-century Hispaniola, along with contemporary works (mainly from the 1990s onwards) which grapple with recent events and topical issues such as the Haitian earthquake of 2010, unregulated migration, and environmental degradation.
The dream of creating one people from two lands mixed together: 1937 and borderland Utopia

Maria Cristina Fumagalli

in On the Edge: Writing the Border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic

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This chapter discusses four fictional recreations of the 1937 massacre written between 1955 and 2003 by writers who had not directly experienced the events: Marcio Veloz Maggiolo's El hombre del acordeón (2003); Jacques Stephen Alexis's ‘Of the Marvellous Realism of the Haitians’ (1956) and Compère Général Soleil (1955); René Philoctète's Le peuple des terres mêlée (1989); and Edwidge Danticat's The Farming of Bones (1998). Three of the authors were born in Haiti, while one was born in the Dominican Republic. Despite their differences of origin, context, and approach, all four articulate a ‘concrete utopia’ in which they cast the borderland as ‘a goldmine of opportunities’.

The Limits of “Heterosexual AIDS”: Ethnographic Research on Tourism and Male Sexual Labor in the Dominican Republic

Mark B. Padilla

in Anthropology and Public Health: Bridging Differences in Culture and Society

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Item type: chapter

For nearly two decades, the AIDS epidemic in the Caribbean—now showing HIV prevalence rates that are second only to Sub-Saharan Africa—has been officially described in public health and epidemiological reports as “heterosexual.” At the same time, men with a history of same-sex exchanges or who are involved in sexual commerce have been largely neglected or under-prioritized in HIV/AIDS policies and programs, despite persistently high HIV infection rates in this population. This chapter draws on three years of ethnographic research in two cities in the Dominican Republic among men involved in informal sexual exchanges in tourism areas, and considers how men's experiences with tourists problematizes static public health labels such as “the heterosexual epidemic.” It is argued that traditional public health approaches are largely incapable of capturing the nuances of men's experiences or the ways their behavior is shaped by the large-scale transformations in gender, sexuality, and work.
This chapter examines John F. Kennedy's efforts to foster democracy and social justice in Latin America during the period 1961–1965 through an initiative known as the Alliance for Progress. The Alliance for Progress was vital to American national security interest in Latin America: it was formed to democratize authoritarian regimes and address the challenge of communism in the region. The chapter first provides a background on the Alliance for Progress, with emphasis on its linkage of socioeconomic to political reform, before discussing the Kennedy administration's justification for the program insofar as effecting fundamental change in Latin America was concerned. It also considers the reasons why the Alliance for Progress's proclaimed goal of promoting democracy in Latin America did not come to fruition, including Washington's failure to support land reform. The United States' experiences with Chile and the Dominican Republic illustrate the failure of the Alliance for Progress.

This focuses on peaceful urban efforts to convince Washington to withdraw the marines and especially on the transnational networks of resistance that aided in that effort. Chapter 11 looks at the growing urban opposition to the style of occupation once the guerrilla movements in Hispaniola were defeated. It makes the argument that transnational networks were crucial in amplifying the voices of the invaded and in reaching the ears of Washington policymakers. But it also makes clear that the resistance always began in the invaded countries, not in the halls of Congress or the offices of US magazines. The US government,
through officials such as Sumner Welles, became convinced of the counterproductive nature of the Dominican occupation, which it began to end in 1922, but also rationalized the continuation of the Haitian occupation, partly because of its racism but also because of the inability of Haitians to organize as well as Dominicans.

Introduction
Dixa Ramírez
in Colonial Phantoms: Belonging and Refusal in the Dominican Americas, from the 19th Century to the Present

The introduction outlines the book’s claims, including the main contention that dominant Western discourses ghosted the Dominican Republic despite its central place in the colonial architecture of the Americas. Because the chapters focus on how Dominicans negotiated this large-scale ghosting from the late nineteenth century onwards, the introduction describes the free black subjectivity that predominated during the centuries prior. The other sections of the introduction define “ghosting” against other terms such as erasure, silencing, trauma, or even haunting; the gendered dimensions of the forms of black freedom that predominated in the territory; and the gendered and classed dimensions of the shift from this historical singularity to the present day commonplaceness when the Dominican Republic is another Caribbean nation embroiled in a neoliberal world order and with a vast emigrant population living in places such as the U.S. and Europe.

Conclusion
Maria Cristina Fumagalli
in On the Edge: Writing the Border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic

This book concludes with a discussion of Manifisto (2013), a video-performance by the Dominican artist Polibio Díaz. Manifisto is a social commentary on the issue of Haitian immigration in the Dominican Republic, highlighting the systematic discrimination that ‘an underclass non-citizen’ has to endure due to ‘the institutional policy of the Junta
Central Electoral’. It shows the importance of a birth certificate in the Dominican Republic in terms of name, nationality, citizenship, and access to health care and education, among other rights and privileges. Díaz also tackles the continuities and correspondences between Haiti and the Dominican Republic on one hand, and between the demonised borderland and the urban capital, on the other. The book also examines various responses to the Dominican Constitutional Court's ruling on citizenship and reiterates its position that the road towards a better Hispaniola requires engaging fully with the present and accepting the idea that an acceptable future can be attained.

The Dominican Republic, 1916
Alan Mcpherson

in The Invaded: How Latin Americans and Their Allies Fought and Ended U.S. Occupations
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The year after the occupation of Haiti, Wilson sent troops to the Dominican Republic. The marines landed to prevent the coming to power of a strongman or caudillo, Desiderio Arias. They forced him out of power by controlling disbursements from customs. This heavy-handed takeover and the ouster of politicians looking for personal wealth and power from the state led to street brawls resulting in the proclamation in November 1916 of a military government to be headed by a navy or marine officer. Thus the Dominican occupation began for similar reasons as the Nicaraguan and Haitian one, but was unique in its legalities. This first year of the occupation led to a popular resistance by the gavilleros, or Dominican band members whose leaders were tied to men such as Arias and increasingly espoused nationalist themes.

Punta Cana
Evan R. Ward

in Packaged Vacations: Tourism Development in the Spanish Caribbean
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To a large extent, the urban orientation of tourism in the Dominican Republic reflected dictator Rafael Trujillo's desire to showcase Santo
Domingo, or his Ciudad Trujillo. Trujillo's efforts to promote tourism consisted mainly of luxury hotel development and hosting international fairs. Such a combination created a strange dichotomy, particularly as decentralized tourism began to emerge around the Caribbean. Hotels such as the Intercontinental Embajador (opened in 1956) created a splash for a couple of years, and then tourism began to ebb. Ironically, Santo Domingo boasted some of the Caribbean's finest hotels, but lacked the types of attractions and infrastructure that jet-set tourists were growing accustomed to in the 1950s and 1960s in places such as Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. Tour guides gushed about the “modernity” of Trujillo's city, but found it difficult to provide tourists with other options in the Dominican Republic besides Santo Domingo. This chapter examines how the Punta Cana region has been transformed into a tourist destination in the Dominican Republic.

Growth Diagnostics *
Ricardo Hausmann, Dani Rodrik, and Andrés Velasco

in The Washington Consensus Reconsidered: Towards a New Global Governance

Most well-trained economists would agree that the standard policy reforms included in the ‘Washington Consensus’ have the potential to be growth-promoting. What the experience of the last fifteen years has shown, however, is that the impact of these reforms is heavily dependent on circumstances. This chapter argues that this calls for an approach to reform that is much more contingent on the economic environment. It is possible to develop a unified framework for analyzing and formulating ‘growth strategies’ which is both operational and based on solid economic reasoning. The key step is to develop a better understanding of how the nature of the binding constraints on economic activity differs from setting to setting. This understanding can then be used to derive policy priorities accordingly, in a way that would use the scarce political capital of reformers efficiently. The methodology that it proposed here can be conceptualized as a decision tree. The first questions concern what keeps the level of domestic investment and entrepreneurship low. At each node of the decision tree, the kind of evidence that would help answer the question one way or another is discussed. The chapter draws on the experience of three specific countries: El Salvador, Brazil, and Dominican Republic. Aside from providing a useful manual for policy makers, this approach has the advantage that it is broad enough to
embed all existing development strategies as special cases. It can therefore unify the literature and help settle prevailing controversies.

Ties That Bind
April J. Mayes
in Transnational Hispaniola: New Directions in Haitian and Dominican Studies

April Mayes argues that the Dominican Republic’s Constitutional Court’s decision to strip citizenship and nationality from thousands of Dominicans, most of whom are of Haitian ancestry, demonstrates how factions within, and powerbrokers aligned with, the Partido de la Liberación Dominicano (Dominican Liberation Party, PLD) have used anti-Haitianism and other human rights abuses to consolidate its power over the past two decades. During the PLD's administration, anti-black exclusion, Mayes insists, became institutionalized within the bureaucratic mechanisms of the state, complementing and assisting the state’s governance model.