

THE NEW ROLES OF THE DOMINICAN ARMED FORCES IN
THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC NATIONAL SECURITY PLAN

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fulfillment of the requirements for the
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Strategy

by

JOSE DOMINGO ARIAS PAREDES, LTC, DOM. REP.
M.B.A., Fordham University, New York, 2000

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AD BELLUM PACE PARATI

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14. ABSTRACT This study investigates the institutional roles and the functions of the Dominican Armed Forces in their National Security Plan of 2005. Using the Klepak Threat Analysis Method this study analyzes the traditional threats to the Dominican Republic Security at the end of the Cold War, and the newly identified threats presented in the new National Security Plan, and how relevant those threats are to the Dominican Armed Forces and to the National Police. The resulting analysis provides a basis for determining what the new roles of the Dominican Armed Forces should be for the 21 st century. After those roles are identified this study reviews the legal instruments that authorize those roles, primarily the Constitution, the Armed Force Doctrine and the Statutory Law of the Armed Forces. Finally, with the new roles defined and the necessary changes in the military legal system identified, and after reviewing the literature from knowledgeable sources about the Dominican Republic, this thesis proposes that the Dominican Constitution be amended, in order to separate the mandate of the Armed Forces from that of the National Police and specify the principles that characterize the nature of each body. In addition this study recommends reformulating the doctrine of the Armed Forces in order to update it to the Dominican reality. Furthermore, recommendations are made for the adoption of a more flexible Statutory Law, which allows the military of the Dominican Republic to confront a wide variety of threats such as natural disaster, social conflict situations, illegal migration, and prepare adequately. Lastly, the study recommends that nation stop considering Peace Keeping Operations as potentially damaging, and that the government resist the temptation to use the military in roles that jeopardize the military's burgeoning professionalism.					
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Name of Candidate: LTC Jose D. Arias

Thesis Title: The New Roles of the Dominican Armed Forces in the Dominican Republic National Security Plan

Approved by:

_____, Thesis Committee Chairman
LTC (Ret) Edward Robarge, Ph.D.

_____, Member, Consulting Faculty
COL Jerry Jorgensen, Ph.D.

_____, Member
LTC Prisco R. Hernandez, Ph.D.

Accepted this 15th day of June 2007 by:

_____, Director, Graduate Degree Programs
Robert F. Baumann, Ph.D.

The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

THE NEW ROLES OF THE DOMINICAN ARMED FORCES IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC NATIONAL SECURITY PLAN, by LTC Jose D. Arias, 66 pages.

This study investigates the institutional roles and the functions of the Dominican Armed Forces in their *National Security Plan of 2005*. Using the Klepak Threat Analysis Method this study analyzes the traditional threats to the Dominican Republic Security at the end of the Cold War, and the newly identified threats presented in the new National Security Plan, and how relevant those threats are to the Dominican Armed Forces and to the National Police.

The resulting analysis provides a basis for determining what the new roles of the Dominican Armed Forces should be for the twenty-first century. After those roles are identified this study reviews the legal instruments that authorize those roles, primarily the Constitution, the Armed Force Doctrine and the Statutory Law of the Armed Forces.

Finally, with the new roles defined and the necessary changes in the military legal system identified, and after reviewing the literature from knowledgeable sources about the Dominican Republic, this thesis proposes that the Dominican Constitution be amended, in order to separate the mandate of the Armed Forces from that of the National Police and specify the principles that characterize the nature of each body. In addition this study recommends reformulating the doctrine of the Armed Forces in order to update it to the Dominican reality. Furthermore, recommendations are made for the adoption of a more flexible Statutory Law, which allows the military of the Dominican Republic to confront a wide variety of threats such as natural disaster, social conflict situations, illegal migration, and prepare adequately. Lastly, the study recommends that nation stop considering Peace Keeping Operations as potentially damaging, and that the government resist the temptation to use the military in roles that jeopardize the military's burgeoning professionalism.

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GLOSSARY

Nation-State: A political unit consisting of an autonomous state inhabited predominantly by a people sharing a common culture, history, and language.

Territory: The land and waters under the jurisdiction of a government.

Sovereignty: The exclusive right to exercise supreme political (e.g., legislative, judicial, and/or executive) authority over a geographic region, group of people, or oneself.

Threats: An action or situation that attempts against the sovereignty, independence, liberty, or the territorial security of the nation.

National Defense: The activity or effort performed to protect a nation against attack or other threats.

National Security: National security refers to the public policy of maintaining the integrity and survival of the nation-state through the use of economic, military and political power and the exercise of diplomacy, in times of peace and war.

Integral Security: The security posture that includes all the actors and aspects more relevant to the society, this perspective gives the state and its institutions the power to face all the security elements in an integral way.

National Interest: It is a country's goals and ambitions whether economic, military, or cultural.

Apolitical: Having no interest in or association with politics.

Emigration: The act and the phenomenon of leaving one's native country to settle in another country. It is the same as immigration but from the perspective of the country of origin.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

End of the Cold War

During the last half of the century the world was bipolar, dominated by two big superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union with diametrically opposed points of views about government, economics, and politics. It is on this scenario that the Dominican Armed Forces based its roles on three main hypothesis of conflict.¹

The first hypothesis was the possibility of another world war, the second was based on the success of the Cuban revolution and the development of guerrilla movements in some of the Latin American countries, and the third entailed the always expected military conflict with Haiti.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent end of the Cold War, the possibility of a world war disappeared, the communist movement became weak, the leftist movement began to disarm and merge into the political mainstream, and the Haitian military structure was dismantled as that nation became consumed with social-political turmoil. In other words, the traditional hypotheses of military conflict that sustained the roles of the Dominican Armed Forces since 1844 became obsolete. As a result of this situation the Dominican Armed Forces' existence was being questioned by a society that was demanding to get the nation's economy on a competitive footing with the rest of the world and that was concerned by the excessive allotting of resources to a sector they considered unproductive by its very nature and an obstacle to the development of the country.²

Public policies directed to guarantee the integration of the Dominican economy in the global order made the difference in access to goods, services, and opportunities extremely difficult. It also increased the social and economic exclusion of the population, and as a result the country experienced a lot of social conflicts and tensions. Also the pressures from the international financial organizations to assure the continuity of the new-liberalism aggravated the crisis and intensified authoritarian answers to the social ills. These situations of political and economic instability created tendencies for criminalized social conflict and social militarization.

Thesis Title

Social militarization gave new functions to the Dominican Armed Forces. A new agenda of national security, based on the fight against drug trafficking, the destruction of the environment, illegal immigration, violation of human rights, and organized delinquency were shifted to the Dominican Armed Forces from the National Police.³

The attacks of September 11 on the World Trade Center in New York added another dimension to the role of the Dominican Armed Forces; the United States invited the Dominican government to join the multinational forces that liberated Iraq from Saddam Hussein.

It is in this context, and because the Constitution of the Dominican Republic does not contemplate the use of the Armed Forces in these kinds of functions, that new roles have to be redefined and constitutionally approved if these Armed Forces are to remain relevant. Given a set of new National Security threats, the purpose of this thesis is to define what should be the role of the Dominican Armed Forces and what constitutional changes must be made to employ the Armed Forces to meet the challenges of the twenty-

first century century? Therefore, the title of this thesis is: The New Roles of the Dominican Armed Forces in the National Security Plan.

The Primary and Secondary Questions

The primary question is: What should the institutional roles and functions of the Dominican Armed forces be in the nation's New National Security Plan? To answer this question, several secondary questions need to be addressed. First, what are the new threats to the nation? Second, what are the new changes in the 2005 National Security Plan, and how do they affect the Dominican Armed Forces? Third, what amendments should be made to the Dominican Constitution in order to make any proposed new functions to be legal? And finally, how can these new roles and functions be evaluated?

Assumptions

The main assumption used in this research is that the Dominican government will adopt the amendments necessary to the Constitution in order to have a legal framework for the new role and functions of the Armed Forces. The current Dominican President, Dr. Leonel Fernandez, in reference to the illegal traffic of drugs affirmed that this threat to the national security has become one of the main priorities among the difficulties that his government has to confront. He specifically said, "Our country was until recently trampoline in relation to the illegal drug traffic, but today it has generated an internal market of consumption, which has produced an increment of the violence and the delinquency in the Dominican Republic."⁴

Another assumption used is that the national authorities understand the need for an Armed Force to fight the new threats.

In reference to this issue, President Fernandez indicated that the challenges that the world confronts today are greater than the ones it confronted during the Cold War. He said “We have new threats and challenges as a nation and only with a joint effort of the Army, the Air Force, the Navy, and the National Police we will be able to confront it ...On the global world in which we live today there is the threat of narcotrafficking, illegal weapon traffic, illegal traffic of persons, the environmental problem which require a participation of the institutions that are better prepared to contribute to a solution that will benefit all the national sectors.”⁵

The Significance of This Study

The significance of this study is linked to the need of the Dominican Armed Forces to redefine their roles and functions under a new National Security plan implemented in 2005, which takes into account a new kind of relationships between civilians and the military. As a result of the changes in the nature of threats to national security brought about by the end of the Cold War the Dominican Armed Forces are in danger of becoming obsolete.

Therefore, new ways must be found for the Dominican Armed Forces to protect and support the development of the Dominican Republic without abolishing the nation Armed Forces, which is the defense and security of the nation.

Delimitations

Several delimitations to the scope of the thesis are set. First, it is not the intention of this thesis to judge the action of the Dominican military during the Cold War; neither will a critique or comparison be made of the different kinds of government, or the

ideology of the political actors in the Dominican Republic and the world at the time of the Cold War and after. This thesis is not about politics or ideology or what is best for the Dominican Republic and its Armed Forces.

Second, only those functions that the military can accomplish as a group are considered. Even though there are a great number of officers and Non Commissioned Officers in the Dominican Armed Forces who are well qualified to work in any state department level, this thesis is about the functions of the Armed Forces as a whole.

Third, as mentioned in the assumptions, only the functions that are inside the legal parameters established by the constitution or its amendments made by the competent national authorities are considered.

Finally, this thesis only tries to find the best way of using the Dominican Armed Force in the new world scenario. The author considerations will not be imposed on any person or organization.

Limitation

There is a limitation concerning the research method. The research method that has been described above is based on gathering data from open sources. Therefore, classified documents or interviews of people who are not involved in the development of the process of reorientation of the Armed Forces are not used. This limitation does not make it impossible to answer the research question.

This thesis only pertains to what is considered to be the new roles and functions of the Dominican Armed Forces. As mentioned above, it is not a goal to impose these considerations on any person or organization.

¹Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1996), 72.

²Sigfrido Pared Pérez, *Seguridad, Defensa e Identidad Nacional* (Santo Domingo: Editora Corripio, Julio 2006), 312.

³Ibid., 312.

⁴Leo Reyez, “Presidente visita la Academia Militar,” 9 November 2005, 4.

⁵Persio Perez, “Presidente recibe oficiales,” *Hoy Newspaper*, 1 January 2006, 1.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There is a large number of published works about the Latin American Armed Forces. The issue of the roles of the Armed Forces after the Cold War is as relevant in the Dominican Republic as it is in most of the Latin America countries. During the Cold War most of the armies increased the number of its members to levels that today are no longer needed.

The armies that today seem obsolete in light of the fall of the Soviet Union and the beginning of the “New World Order,” played a central part in winning the Cold War. During the war the armies exercised their influence directly, as was the case in counterinsurgent operations in much of Latin America, or indirectly, as US military power led to a state of stability with the Soviets and eventually, to the collapse of the Soviet Union. During peace they helped by consolidating democracy and conducting stability operations to help foster an environment conducive to greater democratic reforms. As a result of such democratic changes, there is a need, especially in Latin America, to decrease the size of its militaries and to remove the military from internal politics and government.¹

In the US, an environment of a long standing democratic government that normally has an aversion to large standing armies, the end of the Cold War led to a regulated reduction in the size of the military and the total of resources devoted to sustaining it. Even though there was the natural discussion that always follows the end of a conflict about the need for a standing military and a reassessment of the military’s mission, the role of the military and its place in society remain unchanged.²

This was not the case for the militaries in the Dominican Republic and other countries that played a part in the Cold War. Chapter Four of this thesis discusses the new roles the military plays in the Dominican Republic and the various models that describe its relationship with its society and within its culture.

Much of the literature available today is current because it deals with issues that continue unsolved in many countries in both hemispheres. Many of the militaries of Latin America find their existence seriously challenged, and their role in society and in matters of state a topic of considerable discussion. The amount of current literature available is a testament to the tremendous importance that resolving these issues has on Latin America and the world in general.³

History

This thesis will start with the history of the Dominican Armed Forces; the main source for Dominican military history is Major General Ramiro Matos and Major General Soto's book *Las Campañas Militares de la Independencia, 1844-1856*, written in 1981 while General Matos was Chief of the Dominican Army and General Soto (a Captain at that time) his aid-de-Camp. This book discusses general history of the Dominican Armed Forces from the wars for independence to the American Invasion of 1965. They also explain in details the different battles, roles, and functions of the Dominican Armed Forces through several different periods of its history.

General Ramiro narrates the history of the three components of the Armed Forces. He started with the land component, which is named "Ejercito Nacional" (National Army) by law No. 298 of 17 May 1928 and is defined as Land Army by the constitution of 1844, was born with the Republic. Its first action occurred during the memorable night

of 27 February 1884. That night according to Manuel de Js Galvan, a group of patriots met in a part of the city called La Misericordia, at the foot of Saint Giles to declare the country free of any foreign intervention. They were anxiously awaiting those who were late and started to feel fear and spoke of returning home and leaving the glorious project. Then a robust, boyish voice replied firmly, carelessly disturbing the quiet night. ‘No, we cannot turn back. Cowardly or valiant, we must all go to the end. Long live the Dominican Republic!’⁴ “He spoke, and a loud firing of his gun noisily accented the heroic cry. No one hesitated then: everyone renounced their lives and ran toward the venerable Conde Gate. The bold shot made by the intrepid Ramon Matias Mella announced to the world the birth of the Dominican Republic.”⁵

El Cristo de la libertad, written by Joaquin Balaguer is a bibliography of Juan Pablo Duarte, which narrates the process of organizing the movement against the Haitian invasion and the men who made it possible, help to better understand the situation of the country at that time.

Ramiro and Soto also explained that during the period of 1844 to 1861 (The First Republic) the National Army reached a high level of organization and effectiveness. It had a great influence in its doctrine from France, and Spain, it was organized in several regiments around the country, and it had an organic law with 43 articles that established the uniforms, flags, banners, and instruction in how to use rifle and swords. Those developments were basically dismantled by the Spaniard, in 1860 when a group of politicians decided to reunite the island to Spain. After the Restoration War (to recover our independence from Spain) and for a period of more than fifty years the reorganization of the National Army was very tumultuous due to the political instability produced by

dictatorship and civil war. In 1882, President Ulises Heureaux started the process of reorganization of the National Army. This process continued at the beginning of the XX Century with President Ramón Cáceres. The murder of Cáceres in 1911 revived the internal fighting that did not allow the Army to reorganize.⁶

The book *History of Santo Domingo* by Jacinto Gimbernard describes the changes in the military and political system, which occurred as a result of the American Invasion of 1916, which brought the dismantlement of the Dominican Armed Forces by the U.S. Marines, and the creation of the National Guard, which eventually evolved into today's Armed Forces.

The author also recounts the Trujillo period, his influence on the Armed Forces, and the changes he promoted in their structure and organic law, in order to use them to stay in power.

He narrates how in 1916, the United States of America invaded the Dominican Republic under the pretext of securing the repayment of the Dominican debt to Germany using the Monroe Doctrine as its defense. The U.S. Marines landed in Santo Domingo on May 15, 1916 and immediately dismantled the Dominican Armed Forces and established a military government headed by U.S. Navy Captain William Knapp. He created a temporary police corps called "The Constabulary."⁷ It was an armed police force organized along military lines, but with different functions than those of a regular army.

This unit's mission was to keep public order and ensure that the population obeyed the dispositions and rules of the American government. This unit disappeared in 1917 with the creation of a National Guard. In 21 June by executive order 631 of Rear Admiral Thomas Snowden, then military governor of Santo Domingo the National

Guard, became the Dominican National Police whose main mission was to keep public order.

At the end of the military invasion in 1924, Horacio Vásquez won the presidential election and among his first decrees was to change the name of the National Police to National Brigade.

On 1928, the name changed again to National Army, even though its structure was basically that of a police force and not the structure of an Army in its typical national defense roles. In others words, its function was to help impose public order in the way the country required at that time.

Because of its mission and characteristics the National Army's organizational structure required a presence all around the country, so its leaders with the support of the government created military posts in most of the cities through out the country.

On 2 March 1936, president Trujillo, who was the first commander of the National Guard formed by the U.S. Marines, created the National Police and transferred most military posts to this new institution without the need of changing its organization or roles (they were created to function as police units). More traditional military roles were assigned to the National Army. The National Army had the functions of defend the state from any external threats while the public order mission was assigned to the newly created National Police.⁸

During Generalissimo Trujillo's government the Dominican Army developed into the modern military force that we know today, even though he used it as an instrument of repression to maintain enemies of the regime under control.

They both recount the history The Dominican Navy and Air Force.

According to General Matos, the Dominican Navy was also created in 1844 with the Independence Wars. It was named “Armada Dominicana” in the Constitution of 1844, and in contrast with the Army, the Dominican Navy or “Marina de Guerra” has followed a more traditional pattern in its development. From its beginning, it has always acted according to its original doctrine. Since its creation it had only one change of name. Its main duties were to defend the country from any attack coming from the sea and to support the national army in defending the ground territory.⁹

It disappeared with the creation of the National Guard by the Marines in 1916 and as a consequence remained functioning as part of the Army until 1933. Its members wear the same uniform of the Army’s officer, but with different shoes and tie to differentiate them.

According to Mr. Gimbernard, on February 1947, and while still subordinated to the Army, President Trujillo by recommendation of the Secretary of Defense Don Teodulo Pina Chevalier, emitted the decree no. 4169 That Organized the Dominican Navy with its own General Staff and as an independent institution with the same function that they had before 1916.

Lately they have evolved from a unit created for war, in other words, a unit with the capacity of transporting troops, with well armed ships capable of defending the country against a Naval invasion, to a component in charge of enforcing the Dominican commercial, shipping, and fishing laws, illegal emigration and all international agreements in that respect.

According to Ramiro and Gimbernard, on 1932 president Trujillo created an aviation unit as a branch of the Dominican Army. An executive decree, no. 4918, on

February 15, 1948 established an aviation branch independent of the Army and formed as a separate component of the Armed Forces with its own general staff and under the name of The Military Aviation Corp or “Aviación Militar Dominicana.” Its innovation and modernism made the Armed Forces more mobile, more versatile and with more depth. In other words, the Armed Forces became capable of projecting military power to any place in the Caribbean.

During that time, and following the strategy of a dictator wishing to remain in power, the Dominican Air Force was the best equipped in the region. Trujillo always considered this component as one of his main weapons against invasion or any subversive movement against his dictatorship.¹⁰

The situation of the Dominican Air Force has changed dramatically from the time when it reached its peak during the 1950s. With the end of the dictatorship and the beginning of the democratic process this institution has become a basic air support element limiting its functions to transportation, search and rescue, and patrolling our air space.

Current Situation of Latin America Armed Forces

A current picture of Latin American Armed Forces and the process of change that they experimented after the Cold War period is presented by Ana Maria Salazar in her two books *National Security Today: The Democracies' Challenge* and *The Coming Wars: Risk To Democracies As Result Of New World Conflicts*. She emphasizes the importance of defining the security strategy of the countries, using the democratic mechanisms that the states offer. She describes how Latin American societies, as result of the higher level of education and a more widespread communications media (cable

television, internet, radio, etc), has started to demand more transparency within government in its actions at the local and global level. She also presents the other side of these opening societies; their fragility and vulnerability to confront threats hidden in the societies itself, with links that go beyond the physical borders of the states, merciless in their pursuit of destruction, and indomitable in their capability of corruption. Threats like terrorism, drug-trafficking, weapon smuggling, illegal trafficking of women and children, and some others that can not be confronted with the traditional institutions of the state. In her second book Ana Maria continues the analysis that she started in the first book, she highlighted the role of politicians and civil society in the definition of the national security strategy of their countries.

The Military and the Democracy: The Future of the Civic-Military Relations in Latin America a book compiled by Luis W Goodman, Johanna S. R. Mendelson y Juan Rial gathers the knowledge and experience on civil military relations from several academic experts. The essays cover such areas as: the military transition and its costs, the threats, the military profession and the missions of the military institutions and the forms of political relationship between State, government and military.

New Threats

In order to define the new threats that the Dominican Armed Force are facing, Brigadier General Luis Ramon Payan Arache book *The New Threats and the Preparation of Intelligence* dedicates a complete chapter to explain about the new threats the state would confront in the new century and another chapter that talks about Military Operations Other Than War (MOOW) and how militaries participate in activities outside their regular military field. General Payan provides further details about the need of

organizing this participation, shaping it, and creating the doctrine that makes the troop and the civilian population aware of the new threats that affect us.

Freddy Sandoval in his book *The Security: All Its Dimensions* explained all the dimensions and tonalities of the term Security. He describes its origin, history and development in order to present a global vision of the subject. This common and operative vision allows us to meditate and understand the connection among the society problems and the security.

The main objective of *The Dominican Democratic Security Plan 2005-2008*, is for the militaries to guarantee the Dominican citizens their basic rights. This plan is a summary of actions, some of which are already being implemented and some that will be implemented in the future. Their actions are based in the principles of cooperation among state agencies and the participation of the civilian society as whole, specifically popular organizations, business people, and NGOs with a real interest of solving conflicts that can affect democracy in the Dominican Republic.

Changes in Other Countries

The book *Toward a Policy of Security for a Democracy in Guatemala: Investigation Participative action (IAP) and Reform of the Security Sector* compiled by Bernardo Arevalo, Jose Beltran, and Philip Fluri has a segment that focus on the functions of the Army in a democratic society and the process of military transformation in Guatemala. This part allows us to have a historical perspective and a clear idea of what processes are necessary to promote the changes being propose by this thesis.

There are several papers on the issues of the new roles and the new threats that are facing the different Armed Forces in Latin America. Three of them deserve special

mention; these papers were presented at the March 2003 conference *Building Regional Security in the Western Hemisphere*. This conference was cosponsored by The Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College, The North-South Center of the University of Miami, and The U.S. Southern Command.

The first one titled *Hemispheric Security: A Perception from the South* was presented by Ambassador Pedro Villagra Delgado, the coordinator for Strategic Projects in the Argentina Foreign Ministry. In this paper Ambassador Villagra speaks about the progress and deep positive changes on the area of defense and security in the Southern Hemispheric, he mentions the radical change in the mutual perceptions needed among all the countries involved. He impresses upon the fact that what today guarantees their security is not the acquisition or development of sophisticated or powerful arms systems, but the excellent relations of friendship and partnership they have with their neighbors.¹¹

He also said that they must create and implement mechanisms capable of defending those values such as representative democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms, rule of law, as well as traditional territorial conceptions.

The second paper *Security Issues and Challenges to Regional Security Cooperation: A Brazilian Perspective* was presented by Dr. Luis Bittencourt, director of the Brazil Project at the Woodrow Wilson Center and professor at Georgetown University. This paper presents the crisis in the inter-American security system and the importance of the Brazilian perspective on regional security cooperation as a result of this crisis. He enumerates the major reasons why Brazil tends to downplay regional security issues. He explained the sources of the Brazilian perspective, their perspective in

terrorism, and the remarkable tendency towards an evolution of this perspective in favor of a more active role toward international security.

The third was titled *Ideas for Constructing a New Framework of Hemispheric Security* and was presented by Major General Henry Medina Uribe of the Colombian Army, a former director of the Colombian War College and Advisor to the Ministry of Defense of that Country. Major General Uribe in this paper tries to demonstrate that the security crisis of the region is not a result of geographic, geopolitical, genetic circumstances or ethnic deformities. Using Colombia as an example he explains why the current situation of the region, is the foreseeable result of long-standing sociopolitical events, which are still susceptible to correction. He states that the present challenge is to build states that fulfill the fundamental function of creating, sustaining, and developing the necessary condition for a dignified, secure and prosperous life of all citizens.¹² He considers that treatment of security in the hemispheric should be defined by the following five aspects: (1) Democratic consolidation and institutional strengthening of states; (2) Common interests, reciprocity, and mutual respect; (3) More productive and equitable commercial relations; (4) Restructuring of military institutions; and (5) Collective security of a democratic nature.

Comparison Between Soto Jimenez and Pared Perez Books

To arrive at the conclusions the thesis compared two books: *Defense, Security, and Democracy: Comparative Study and Professionals Notes for the Military Modernization and Reorganization in the Dominican Republic* by Lieutenant General (R) José Miguel Soto Jiménez and *Security, Defense, and National Identity* by Vice Admiral

Sigfrido Pared Pérez. These two books are considered essential in the Dominican Republic as for any discussion about the future of the Dominican Armed Forces

In his book, Lieutenant General (R) José Miguel Soto Jiménez proposes and justifies the need for reforming and restructuring the Dominican Armed Forces in order to modernize them. According to Soto Jiménez such modernization should be based on a new and modern organization that would serve the democracy and the needs of the country.

He compares the different transformations of Armed Forces in Latin America after the Cold War and uses that knowledge and his vast experience in the Dominican Armed Forces to suggest those changes necessary for the process of modernization in the Dominican Armed Forces.¹³

Vice Admiral Sigfrido Pared Pérez in his book, *Security, Defense, and National Identity*, analyzes, explains, points out, defines, and provides conclusions making important historical reference about the national security of different states around the world. He mentions countless authors, news, and psychological, economical, and political references that allow him to transition from a global point of view to the reality of our nation and its most critical institution the Armed Forces.

He examines the new roles of the Dominican Armed Forces, the new threats that the nation confronts, and based on the Dominican Constitution, the Armed Forces Doctrine and the organic laws of every institution, he suggests what those roles should be.¹⁴

The Dominican Constitution sets the conclusions inside the legal framework of the Dominican Republic. The Organic Laws of the Dominican Armed Force institutions

and the emerging doctrine helped to avoid recommending roles that were already established for the militaries.

¹Mark Kramer, "The Collapse of the Soviet Union," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 5, no. 4 (2003): 3-42.

²Ana Maria Salazar, *Seguridad Nacional Hoy: El reto de las Democracias* (México: Editora Aguilar, August 2002), 155.

³Francisco R. Betancourt, *The Role of Civil Military Relations in Stability Operations in Chile* (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 1999).

⁴Manuel de Js. Galvan, *Apuntes de Historia de Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo: Editora Soto, April 1974).

⁵Manuel de Js Galvan, speech in the Mella's Apotheosis at the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, February 1883.

⁶Ramiro Matos and José Soto Jiménez, *Las Campañas Militares de la Independencia, 1844-1856* (Santo Domingo: Editora Corripio, 1986). 422.

⁷Jacinto Gimbernard, *History of Santo Domingo*, 5th ed. (Santo Domingo: Editora Cultural Dominicana, 1974), 347.

⁸*Ibid.*, 353.

⁹Matos and Soto, *Las Campañas Militares de la Independencia, 1844-1856*, 322.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 366.

¹¹Pedro Villagra Delgado, *Conference Report; Hemispheric Security: A Perception from the South* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, Army War College, March 2003). 10.

¹²Henry Medina Uribe, *Conference Report: Ideas for Constructing a New Framework of Hemispheric Security* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, Army War College, March 2003).

¹³José Miguel Soto Jiménez, *Defensa, Seguridad, y Democracia*. (Santo Domingo: Editora Taller C. por A. 1998).

¹⁴Pared, *Seguridad, Defensa e Identidad Nacional*, 221.

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Concept

This chapter addresses research methodology in two main components: a discussion of the primary and secondary questions in greater depth than in the introduction, and a discussion of how to answer the questions or methodology.

The primary question of this research is: What should the institutional role of the Dominican Armed Forces in the national security plan be? The well-known Dominican journalist Freddy Sandoval wrote: “National security is a concept with multiple definitions because it is attached to the reality and needs of the country and conditioned to different factors in a particular period of time.”¹

According to Freddy, national security is the peace and justice condition provided by the state to its member through a strategy characterized by political, economical, psychological, and military actions with the only intention of reaching the national objectives.²

After the end of the Cold War, the Dominican reality and needs changed and so did the national security and objectives. Insurgency operations or a third world war were no longer a threat. New threats were pressuring the Dominican democracy, which was still in the process of consolidation. Due to those new threats the military roles in the national security plan needed to be change.

Discussion of the Primary and Secondary Questions

The key in determining what should be the institutional role of the Dominican Armed Forces in the national security plan is to determine the following:

What are the new threats to the Dominican Republic's national security? And what changes have been made to the National Security plan as result of those threats?

In order to answer these two questions, this thesis must compare the new and old National Security plan to identify the old and new threats, compare the new and old threats to better understand the difference between the two, identify the changes as a result of the new threats, and review the recent history of the Dominican Republic to identify the social and political changes that are causing those threats and how they could affect national security.

After those questions are answered, it is necessary to determine how will such changes affect the roles of the Dominican Armed Forces? In order to answer this question, this thesis must examine the History of the Dominican Republic with particular emphasis on the roles of the armed forces in the Dominican history, determine changes to those roles, as well as possible causes and consequences of those changes, identify the current roles of the Armed Forces, look at how changes in threats in other Latin American countries have affected the roles of their Armed Forces and compare their situation to that faced by the Dominican Armed Forces. Assess the Dominican democracy in order to identify and adapt to the changes and demands that new threats have placed on it. After determining how those changes affect the roles of the Dominican Armed Forces, this thesis must determine what amendments should be made to the constitution in order to institutionalize those roles?

To accomplish this task, this thesis must examine the Dominican Constitution, in order to determine what rights and responsibilities are given to the military with regard to its involvement in state security, review the new National Security plan again and identify the new roles assigned to the Armed Forces and compare them with the responsibilities given to the military with regard to its involvement in state security, and examine the culture and society of Dominican Republic itself in order to determine if the new roles of the Armed Forces are acceptable and suitable for the people they are supposed to serve. Finally after those four questions are answered, a conclusion will be developed.

How to Answer Those Questions

Most of the sources were in book form, while some were from periodicals. Several websites were also found that dealt directly with military issues in the Caribbean and with Dominican topics in general. Examining the abstracts to determine the actual relevance of the sources to the research then refined the list of sources. The majority of the sources discussed the new roles of the Armed Forces in a general sense, described predominantly as the result of the globalization process that the end of the Cold War generated in the Dominican Republic and Latin America without any serious discussion of the illegal issues and problems those roles create to most of the Armed forces in Latin America including the Dominican Republic.

Once the roles has been defined, it will be necessary to conduct a second, more detailed search in order to research more specific questions with regard to the new threats and the necessary amendment to the Dominican constitution in order to make those roles

legal. The second search will concentrate on researching the secondary questions with regard to Dominican culture, constitution, society, history, and legal structure.

In order to address these secondary questions, it will be indispensable to review the book *The New Threats and the Intelligence Preparation* by Brigadier General Luís Ramón Payan Areche, E.N. It will be necessary to examine the models and theories about the identified new threats proposed in this book in order to understand the national security plan objectives. This thesis will use the model that considers a threat to be composed of two separated parts: intentions and capabilities. These threats, discussed in Chapter Four, are examined according to the template of the Dominican Republic culture, society, history, politics, and other factors as discussed above.

To conclude, the thesis examined two books that helped to generate a conclusion: *Security, Defense and National Identity* by Vice Admiral Sigfrido Aramis Pared Pérez, M. de G. and *Defense, Security, and Democracy* by Lieutenant General José Miguel Soto Jiménez, (R) E. N., both former chiefs of the Dominican Armed Forces. The primary and secondary questions were answer, first using Soto's theories and personal views in such issues and then using Pared's theories and personal views in the same issues. Their answers were compared and analyzed and their differences and similarities used as references to draw the final conclusions and make recommendations.

This methodology adopted, though not without its weakness as a result of only analyzing the theories of these two former chiefs of the Dominican Armed Forces with personal ideas about the new roles of the Dominican Armed Forces, was still relevant to answer the primary research question.

¹Freddy Sandoval, *The Security in all its dimensions* (Santo Domingo: Impresora Azteca, May 2006), 135.

²*Ibid.*, 139.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

Dominican Armed Forces

The Dominican Armed Forces were born with the declaration of independence and are the obvious result of the emancipation fights. The first Dominican Constitution promulgated on 6 November 1844, a few months after the birth of the country, established in its title VII that “*The Armed Forces are the defender of the state, against external aggressions, against internal upheavals, and are the custodian of the public freedoms.*”¹ This clearly establishes that from the beginning the legislators conceived the creation of the armed forces with well-defined missions and responsibilities, comprised of a ground Army, a national armada and a civil guard. The Constitution also established that the Armed Forces were essentially obedient and passive and that neither one of its bodies could deliberate in national politics.

From the short historical description of the origin and evolution of our Armed Forces in Chapter Two, it can be perceived, that the modern Dominican Armed Forces are in effect the result of an organizational plan inherited from the American invasion of 1916 and the adaptation of this plan to the needs of Trujillo to sustain his dictatorship.

During the last century the world was bipolar, dominated by two big superpowers, the United States and Soviet Union with diametrically opposed points of views about government, economics, and politics². During this period the Latin American military cadre learned not only counterinsurgency techniques, but also the new role they were to play in the defense of their respective nations, as well as in the defense of the "free

world." In other words, the Latin American military, prepared themselves to become the most important sector of their respective societies: the only ones capable of guaranteeing "national survival" that was threatened by the communist cancer. This was the start of the National Security Doctrine in Latin America, which became their world vision used to justify and make sense out of the nearly-total power awarded to the Armed Forces from that point on.³

Under this National Security Doctrine in Latin America, the military forces became ultimately responsible for Latin American security and development. They also became responsible for the destiny of the western world, since the region was at the forefront of resistance to communist's incursion into the heart of the democratic system; the United States. In this view, it was more than justified to accumulate economic and political power in the hands of Latin American military leaders.⁴

In the economic area, near the end of the 1970s, the military had attained great success in applying structural changes. These were accompanied, however, by massive social costs, including salary reductions and high levels of unemployment. In the political sphere, the military could boast of having stopped the advance of communism. This was accomplished by harsh measures including disappearance, torture and murder of hundreds of thousands of political opponents. These measures also prevented the rise of unions and political parties, closing down legislatures and arbitrarily violating constitutions.⁵

In the 1980s, popular demands to reinstate democracy became increasingly inevitable, as civil society gradually put itself back together and made its voice heard. The militaries were disarmed by demands which could no longer be regarded as

"communist" and which, additionally, came from a wide coalition of all political, economic and social forces. In consequence, the transitions to democracy in Latin America began. This process coincided not only with the rising globalization of the capitalist economy, but also with the collapse of the socialist bloc or the end of the Cold War.⁶

With the Cold War over, militaries around the world saw a reduction of traditional inter-state conflicts, which have prompted them to start seeking a new *raison-d'être* for their Armed Forces. Latin America is no exception. The region has in fact experienced a plethora of recent changes aimed at modernizing these most conservative of its institutions. There have been attempts to reorganize the armed forces, often reducing their size and defense budgets.⁷

There has been a trend towards professionalizing armies, increasing the participation of females, and moving into non-traditional nation-building roles that often overlap with law enforcement. There's also been a push to internationalize militaries, given the increasingly globalized nature of security, and an increasing in multilateralism and international cooperation in many countries' foreign and defense policies. This trend has seen a number of Latin American countries beginning to embark on large-scale peacekeeping operations, which in some cases include joint missions with former enemies.⁸

For many years the Dominican Armed Forces followed organizational models created for other forces and with interest that arose from overwhelming geo-strategies and social-political situation, in other words they followed the American Defense Doctrine.⁹

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent end of the Cold War, the possibility of a world war disappeared, the communist movement became weak and the Haitian military structure was dismantled as that nation became consumed with social—political turmoil. In other words, the hypothesis of military conflict that sustained the roles of the Dominican Armed Forces became obsolete. As a result of this situation the Dominican Armed Forces' existence was being questioned by a society that was demanding to get the nation's economy on a competitive footing with the rest of the world and that was concerned by the excessive allocation of resources to a sector, society considered unproductive by its very nature and an obstacle to the development of the country.

Public policies, intended to guarantee the integration of the Dominican economy into the global order, worsened the differences in the access to goods, services and opportunities by different sectors of the population. It also increased the social and economic exclusion of the population. As result, the country experienced an increase of social conflicts and tensions. Also the pressures of the international financial organizations to assure the continuity of the new-liberalism aggravated the crisis and intensified authoritarian answers to social ills. These situations of political and economic instability created tendencies towards criminalized social conflict and social militarization.

According to Donald Share in his book *Militarization, Democracy, and Development: The Perils of Praetorianism in Latin America* social militarization is the use of the militaries to resolve social issues as violence, justice, human rights (suppression of), equality (or discrimination), and crime.

Social militarization gave new functions to the Dominican Armed Forces. A new agenda of national security, based on the fight against narcotrafficking, the destruction of the environment, illegal immigration, violation of human rights, and organized delinquency were shifted to the Dominican Armed Forces from the National Police.

The attacks of September 11, 2001 on the World Trade Center in New York added another dimension to the role of the Dominican Armed Forces; the United States invited the Dominican government to join the multinational forces that liberated Iraq from Saddam Hussein.

The emergence of these roles, as result of new threats against national security appeared to solve the existential crisis that the Dominican Armed Forces were going through at that time. Therefore, the military jumped into these new functions without checking the legal considerations of such roles.

The New Threats to Security

The international scene has changed and, even though we cannot totally call it a new international system because it is still being formed, we can say that the new international order already has special characteristics: the multi-polarity, the interdependence and the reduction of international responsibilities. In this new order a new idea of security prevails, understood as indivisible (human) and multidimensional (not purely military).¹⁰

This change in the international scene was combined, in the Dominican Republic, with the loss of political influence by the military caused by the end of the Cold War, and therefore, the end of the threats of the communist movements and a possible world war.

The military lost one of its frequently played roles throughout the Dominican Republic's history: influence on the state politics.

It is in that environment that old subjects gained new meaning. Among them included old issues such as human rights, ecology or degradation of the environment, drug trafficking—which has been considered a crime for two decades and never was a threat to the state, as it seems to be today —international terrorism, migrations, money laundering and organized crime. What are the “threats”? How are they classified as old and new? This is a concept recently incorporated in the studies of International Relations, commonly encountered in texts of military strategy. This new concept of threat presents an additional difficulty.

According to Hector Saint-Pierre, “the threat is a representation, a signal, a certain disposition, sign or manifestation perceived like the declaration of a situation not desired or danger for the existence of that perceiving it.”¹¹

General Luis Ramon Payan Arache in his book “The New Threats and the Intelligence Preparation” said “*in order to visualize the new threats and organize our Armed forces doctrinally to confront them we must clearly define those threats from the point of view of the factors that created them, and take in consideration the reality of the Dominican Republic.....The general causes that create a threat are: poverty, social and economic differences, lack of infrastructure to handle crises, changes in the world weather due to the destruction of the ecology, etc.*”¹²

In order to identify objectively these new threats, this research will organize and describe them by category. According to the 112 resolution of the Inter-parliamentary Union Council the threats can be classified in:

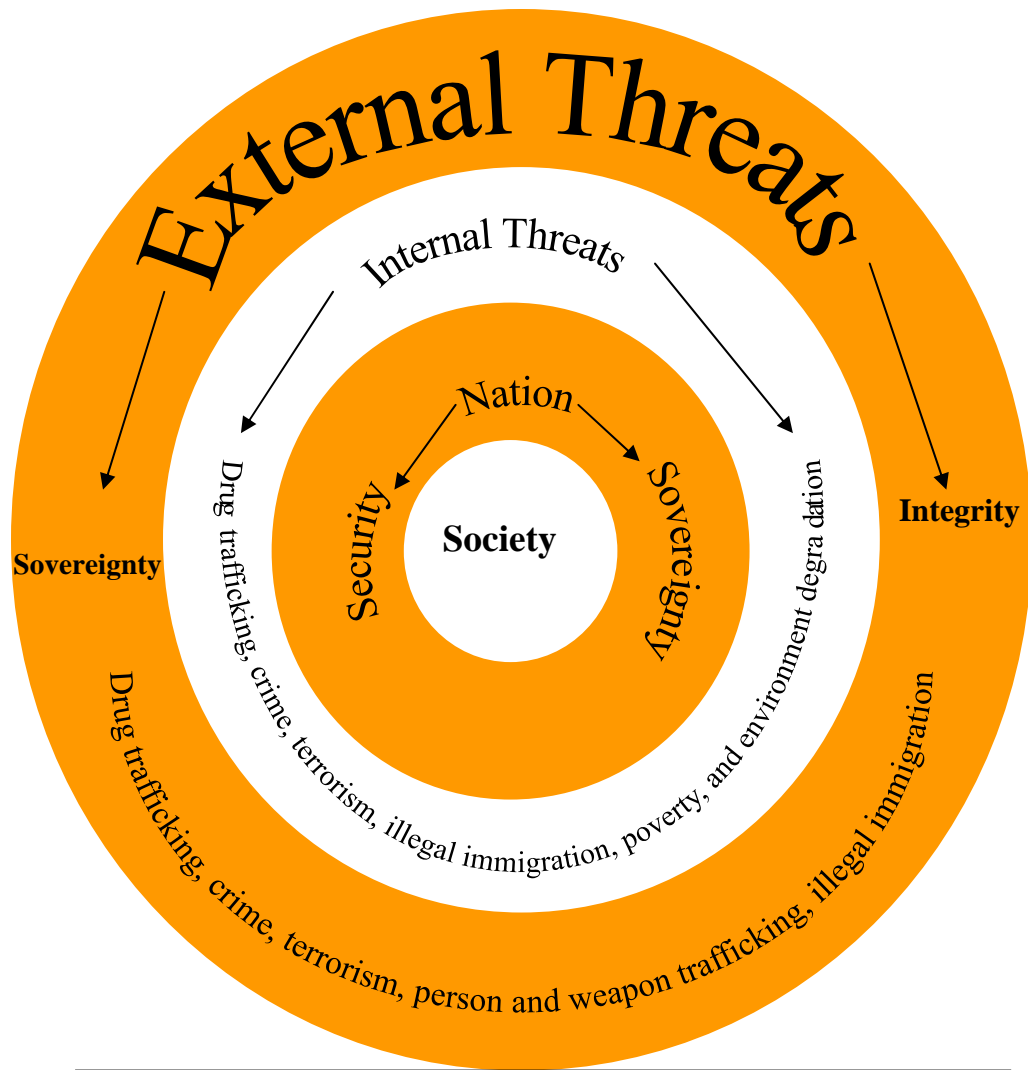
- Threats to the territory integrity, the independence and national sovereignty, and to the citizens.
- Threats from other state to the internal national peace.
- Political threats as internal political instability, failing states, terrorism, and abuse of the Human Rights
- Economic threats as poverty, the growing difference between rich and poor countries, the economic impact of a neighbor states economically powerful or unstable.
- Natural and man-made threats as natural disasters, ecological changes, ground or water degradation, food or other resources shortage.
- Social threats as conflicts between majority/minorities, excess of population, organized crime, drug trafficking, illegal commerce, the massive immigration without control, and illness.

The New Threats to the Dominican National Security

The concept of Security and Defense in the Dominican Republic is relative. As a result, what is safe for one person can be insecure or a threat to another. For most Dominican citizens terrorism is not a problem, but for those with families were that affected in the September 11 attack in New York, it is the most dangerous threats. On the other hand, delinquency is not considered a threat in most of the cities, but it is considered a national security threats when it affects Dominican tourism. In this sense, it has been complicated to define the new threats that are threatening the Dominican Republic after the end of the Cold War.

Dominicans do not differentiate among the differences of social threats or national security threats. They feel the insecurity that those threats cause in society and relate them to national interests and therefore request that the government control them. It does not matter if it has to use the National Police or the Armed Forces to do it, particularly when the expectation that they build around the transition to democracy is not there.

As seen in figure 1, threats can be integrated as a whole and it is very difficult to separate them to assign the right force to confront them. Using the well-known Klepak Threat Analysis Method ¹³ to analyze the traditional threats to the national security of the Dominican Republic, the Dominican authorities concluded that: The first threat, the development of guerrilla movement to implant a communist system is now low because insurgents in the Caribbean do not have the intention nor the capabilities to be effective, second, the confrontation between the two world super powers is also low because even though the United States and Russia (old Soviet Union) have the capabilities to mount a strong offense, they do not have the intention. Lastly, the Haitian invasion basically does not exist because they do not have the military capabilities. In reference to Haitian intentions even though some people believe that its citizens feel that the island is one and indivisible, there is not an official position or any other organizational position that proposes to occupy part or the whole Dominican territory to vindicate that criterion.



Integrated vision of the Threats as a whole, very difficult of separating then for the assignment of the mission of defense and security

Figure 1. Integrated Vision of the Threats as a whole

As a result of this analysis, and agreeing with other analysts and thinkers, the members of the National Security interim Council came to the conclusion that poverty, social inequality, corruption, terrorism, organized delinquency, drug trafficking, money laundering, illegal traffic of weapons, destruction of the environment, illegal immigration and natural disasters are more serious threats to our national security than those specified

by the Armed Forces in the old National Defense plan. Therefore, the council also summoned that these new threats deserve the use of the Armed Forces Resources to help eradicate them.¹⁴

In reference to the new threats, in their books, General Soto Jimenez and Vice Admiral Pared Perez agreed that the seven threats categories mentioned above are the ones affecting the Dominican Republic national security.

This thesis takes in consideration that the first two threats: one to the territorial integrity, the independence and national sovereignty, and to the citizens, and second the threats from other states to the internal national peace have been the traditional threats to the National Security of the Dominican Republic. The analysis then suggests that the following should be the new threats to facing the Dominican Republic: first, political threats, which include, internal political instability, failing states, terrorism, and abuse of the Human Rights. Even though terrorism is not an imminent direct threat for the Caribbean countries at the present time, the Dominican Republic's relation with the United States requires them to help out with everything that is within their reach in order to reinforce all the controls in issues such as immigration, commerce, tourism, and in the same way increase our effort of cooperation through the interchange of information for fighting this evil.

The second sets of threats are economic threats, which include poverty, the growing difference between rich and poor countries, and the economic impact of neighbor states economically powerful or unstable. Poverty and social exclusion of several sectors of the population are conditions that can affect the social stability and democracy itself. Haiti is a very good example, this country's poverty has caused the

exacerbation of political rivalries, the development of massive emigrations, and their territory has become a safe haven for several kinds of criminal gangs, and narco-trafficking groups.

The third sets of threats are natural and man-made threats, which include natural disasters, ecological changes, ground or water degradation, and food or other resources shortage. According to a study by the UN, every year more people die in the world as a result of natural disasters than those due to wars.¹⁵ Such statistic has influenced the Dominican authorities to consider this kind of threat very seriously as a result of its fatal consequences. Well remembered are the damage that Hurricane Katrina caused to the city of New Orleans in the southern portion of the United States, and the tsunami that killed more than 168, 000 people in Indonesia in 2004. The Dominican Republic is located in the natural route of the tropical cyclones and it is not necessary to present any examples. It is well-known the tragic history of the region. There are other situations that can become disasters as the environment degrades. An example of this was the case in Jimani, a town on the border of Haiti and Dominican Republic in 1999. During years the forest around the river near it was logged to make carbon and when heavy rains caused flooding, the river overflowed and inundated and destroyed a big part of this town. Another risk is the possibility of an accident in the storage or transportation of any dangerous material.

Lastly, the fourth sets of threats, social threats, which include conflicts between majority/minorities, excess of population, organized crime, drug trafficking, illegal commerce, the massive immigration without control, and illness. They are undeniable social problems and include the trafficking of illegal immigrants, drugs, weapons.

Smuggling in general is a category of threat that affects the development of the Dominican society in many aspects. This situation has been magnified by the phenomenon of globalization.

Soto Jimenez and Pared Perez disagree in which one of the four is the greatest threat. According to Soto narco-trafficking is the greatest threat to the Dominican Republic and to hemisphere security. He also considers that the rise of the narco-guerrilla or narco-terrorism contributes to make this threat more dangerous.¹⁶

On the other hand, according to Pared, poverty is the greatest threat to security. According to him extreme poverty is the main generator of other threats and writes that the facts indicate that in the richest countries those conditions do not affect the national security.¹⁷

The New Changes in the National Security Plan

What is National Security Plan? The National security plan is a framework that describes how a country provides security for the state and its citizens, and is often presented as an integrated document.

The 1998 Dominican National Security Plan was a single document. It is composed of three basic parts:

1. The state's role in the international system
2. Perceived domestic and international challenges and opportunities
3. Responsibilities of implementing actors in addressing these challenges and opportunities

The first part defined the Dominican's vision of the international system, and the role that the country played in that system. This definition took in consideration the

country's interests and values, governance structures, and decision-making processes. It culminated in a long-term vision of where the country and society should stand in the future.

The second part was an assessment of current and future threats and opportunities. These included both internal and external threats; it also addressed political stances and preferences as they concern international security partners, which at that time were leading to the emergence of opportunities for cooperation.

The third part was supposed to describe each implementing actor's area of responsibility. This was supposed to include the type of security activity (such as homeland defense, intelligence, etc.) and the areas in which these actors have a mandate. But this is where the controversies started. In the Dominican Republic the term 'national security' has a historical association with the over involvement of security forces in domestic affairs. Therefore, actor contributions were not described in detail, and very specific information such as force structure was left out or not included in subordinate documents. The main reason for this action was that the executive keeps to himself the formulation of the National security strategy.

In 2004, after President Leonel Fernández assumed the presidency of the country, he issued a presidential decree to organize a national security council with the task of producing a national security plan adjusted to the needs and threats faced by the Dominican Republic. The council consisted of seven members (see figure 2), among them the President, the Chief of the Armed Forces, the secretary of the National Police, the Administrative Secretary of the President, the Foreign Affairs Secretary, the director of the National Investigation Department and the national security advisor.

This council had an advisors' committee formed by the different secretaries of the government (Health, Public Work, Environment, Finances, etc.), the Chief of the Police, The Chiefs of Staff of the Army, Navy, and Air force. Director of the National Directorate for Drug control, and any other organizations necessary to the topic they were considering.

This council consulted widely with governmental security agencies such as intelligence agencies, representatives of the armed forces, legislative committees and increasingly with ministries not traditionally associated with the security sector, such as those of agriculture, transport, immigration and financial management bodies.

The council also consulted with nongovernmental actors, such as political parties, media, civil groups and academia. Sometimes these groups merely offered feedback, but the council often worked to synthesize their various visions into a coherent approach to state security.

This Council was created to make sure that the new National Security Plan accomplishes the following five tasks:

1. To ensure that the government addresses all threats in a comprehensive manner
2. To increase the effectiveness of the security sector by optimizing contributions from all security actors
3. To guide the implementation of policy
4. To build domestic consensus
5. To enhance regional and international confidence and cooperation

The plan was finished at the end of 2005 and was titled *The Dominican Democratic Security Plan*. This named was later changed to *National Security Plan* when

academics argued that even though the concepts National Security and Democratic Security are related, they have two different paths and respond to concerns of diverse origin.

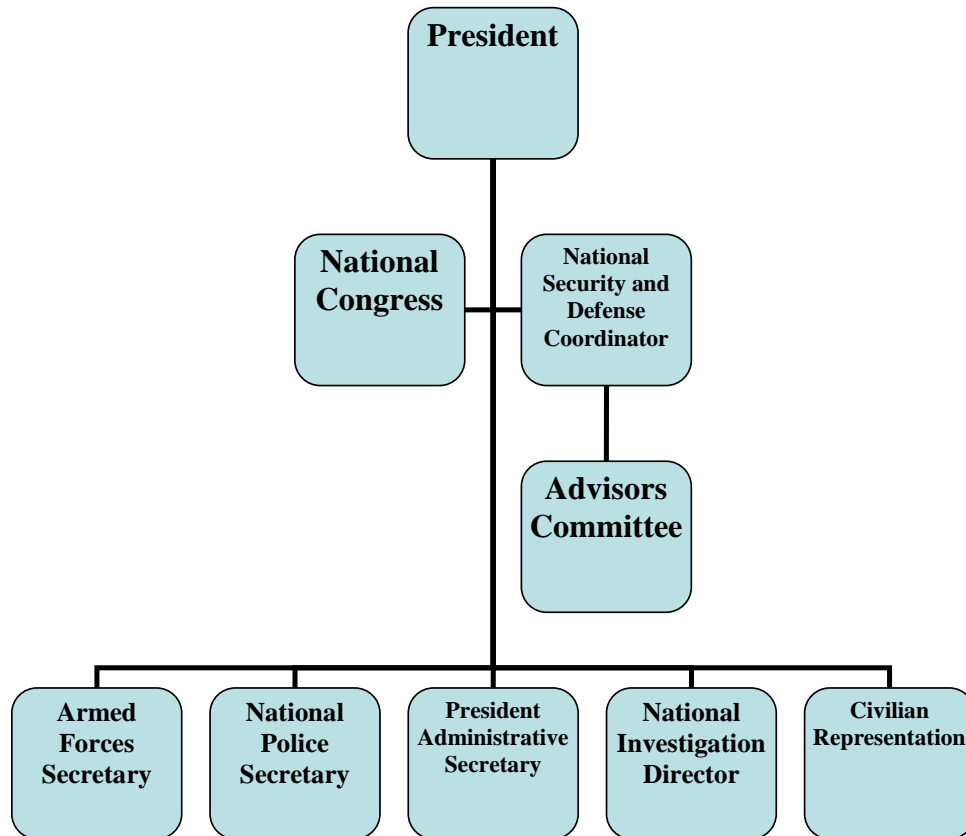


Figure 2. Organizational Chart of the National Security Interim Council

National Security, as a concept, refers to the elements that form a nation and the risks that to its existence and Democratic Security on the other hand focus on the preservation of Democracy as a political System.

As is the case in Colombia,¹⁸ the Dominican Republic developed two separate plans: the National Security plan and the Democratic Security plan. The National Security plan refers to the national objectives related to the protection of State interests against external and internal threats. It is the sum of all security plans of the Dominican Republic. The Democratic Security plan's main objective is to guarantee the basic citizen rights of every Dominican and the defense of Democracy, its institutions, and its procedures.

The Democratic Security plan objective is to return a sense of security to the population by confronting the new threats that are affecting the nation's society and prevent them from becoming National Security issues.

General Soto Jimenez and Vice Admiral Pared Perez agreed in their books that this National Security Plan must be the ground for changes in the military and police structure.

Even though they agreed that the plan must produce changes in the authority institutions, Soto doesn't agree with developing two plans, he thinks that it should be just one, a National Security Plan, because confronting the new threats is part of the national objectives. He did emphasize that the roles of the military and police should be detailed.¹⁹

Pared, on the other hand, is a supporter of the Democratic security plan. He considers that national security must be divided in different sectors in order to better confront them and with the right resources.

What Effect Those Changes Will Have on the Armed Forces?

Regardless of whether there is one or two plans, the Democratic Security plan, which is currently part of the new National Security Plan, has brought new roles to the

Dominican Armed Forces that, according to some academics and politicians are not contemplated in the Constitution's mandate.

The Dominican Constitution of 2002, Article 93, states *“The Dominican Armed Forces are essentially obedient and apolitical and do not have in any case the faculty to deliberate. The objective of its creation is to defend the independence and integrity of the Republic, maintain public order, and sustain the constitution and the laws. They could intervene, when the Executive Power requests it, in civil action programs and in plans destined to promote the social and economic development of the country.”*²⁰

As can be seen, the 2002 constitution mandates that the Armed Forces are created to defend the independence and integrity of the Republic. These are National Defense functions, as currently defined, and do not need further discussion. However, in reference to the mandates to maintain the public order and sustain the constitution and the laws, there are diverse opinions. Some opine that this is an exclusive attribute of the National Police while others believe the military must also have a role.

In fact, there is currently military presence in many issues that have to do with the Democratic Security plan. There are military personnel in the National Investigation Department, the Drug Control National Directorate, the Tourist Police, the Custom and Migration Directorate, the Airports, Sea Ports, along the ground border in security and control roles, the environmental Police, hotel security, etc. there is a military presence in support of the security of all the state regular activities. The Dominican Armed Forces and the government are now being questioned about the legality of these functions.

In the Dominican Republic, the demands on Government from diverse sectors of society to take effective measures against what they consider high criminality rates, were

translated by the government in the massive incorporation of the military to assume tasks of control of public order, and in the formation of mixed Police and Armed Forces units with the mission of patrolling the streets. The task of supporting the Police institutions remains an explicit function of the Dominican military.

It is not clear if the constitution authorizes the Armed Forces to act as law enforcement units, but it is clear that it establishes that they must be obedient and do not have the faculty to deliberate. The Dominican Republic must reform, modernize, and adapt their Armed Forces to confront the new threats and risks. This process must be induced from outside, but with the active participation of the members of the military defense structure.

In order to better accomplish the objectives of the new National Security Plan, the Dominican Armed Forces have begun a process of retraining and reducing their units with the objective of better accomplishing the mission they are being assigned. The focus in most of the military schools is toward operations other than war.

In the past, National Police cadets used to spend their whole first academic year in the Army academy learning how to be soldiers, now the Police does not send their members, but the Army sends two of their cadets to stay at the police academy for a whole year in order to learn a basic knowledge of the Police operations.

Another effect on the Armed Forces cause by the new National Security Plan is that by a presidential decree the militaries will secure all the states offices, congress members, judges, and high ranked ministers of the government in substitution of the National Polices, in order to increase the number of members of that institution patrolling the streets.

One of the most debated issues that the new National Security plan has provoked in the Dominican Republic is sending troops to foreign countries to serve as part of multinational forces in combat or peacekeeping operations. In 2003, during the government of Hipólito Mejía, the Dominican Armed Forces send two battalions to Iraq as part of the coalition put together by the United States. In order to justify the deployment of troops outside the country President Mejía said that they were in a reconstruction mission. At the beginning of the electoral campaign in which he was running for reelection to another term and in the middle of a national debate about the legality of the troop deployment, he used the exit of the Spanish troops as an excuse to recall deployed Dominican Forces.

General Soto Jimenez, in his book *Defensa, Seguridad, y Democracia*, is very clear about the effect of the new functions of the Armed Forces to the government and to the institution itself. He said that “the police functions of the Armed forces are accomplished to the detriment of the Military function and the majority of its budget is directed to those new functions. . . . The state also has a National Police, in other words is paying twice for a police labor that in account aim does not corresponds in efficiency with this duplicity of effort.”²¹ He also impresses upon the reader the fact that this situation is atrophying the development of a military institution, which is still necessary to defend the sovereignty and keeping a peace, which depends in the capacity that the military have to dissuade external and internal threats.

Vice Admiral Pared Perez, in his book *Seguridad, Defensa e Identidad Nacional*, said that as part of the transformation of the Dominican Armed Forces into an institution more appropriate to the democratic process that the country is going through, it is

necessary to develop the capacities that allow the Armed Forces to contribute to public order of the country and to future peacekeeping operations in which the Dominican Armed Forces were required. In other words, Pared did not consider that the new roles of the Armed Forces have any effect. He sees everything as part of the normal development of the Armed Forces. According to Pared the Dominican Republic is in the process of globalization, thus its political efforts must be oriented to the creation of greater effectiveness, efficiency, and consequent legitimacy of the institutions that confront the problems of local and international security.²²

Even though they disagree in the effect on the Armed Forces of the changes to the National Security Plan, they both agree that in order for the Armed Forces to assume the newly proposed roles part of the Dominican constitution must be amended.

Amendments to the Dominican Constitution of 2002?

As mentioned in this thesis before, The Dominican Constitution of 2002, in its Article 93, states that the objective of the Armed Forces is to defend the independence and integrity of the Republic, maintain public order, and sustain the constitution and the laws. This mandate assigns to the Armed Forces the primary mission of defending the independence and the republic integrity. Also it mandates the Armed Forces to maintain public order and sustain the constitution and the laws. Here is where the confusion begins because the police and the military share the same mandate of controlling the public order.

General Soto Jimenez in his book *Defensa, Seguridad, y Democracia* considers that the Constitution mandates the Armed Forces and the police to maintain public order and sustain the constitution and the laws, but with the difference that that the police

functions are oriented to protect the life, the physical integrity and the security of the persons, guarantee the free use of their rights and liberties, prevent crime, and preserve the environment. He sees a noticeable difference in the principles that point to the nature of each body and does not recommend any amendment to the Constitution.

On the other hand, Vice Admiral Pared, in his book *Seguridad, Defensa e Identidad Nacional*, sees the military mandate of protecting public order extremely wide (disturbances control, fights against delinquency, and criminality) and it is oriented to guarantee the ability of governing at all costs, even over the citizen rights. This contrasts with the expected pattern of civil nature of the Police mandate.²³ This mandate is based in the article 8 of the Constitution, which recognizes that the main purpose of the State is the effective protection of the rights of the human person and the maintenance of the means that allow him to improve himself progressively within an order of freedom and social justice, compatible with the public order, the general well-being and the rights of all.²⁴

He suggests that the constitution (The body of doctrines and practices that form the fundamental organizing principle of a political state) should specify the functions of the Armed Forces when maintaining the public order and sustaining the laws, and how and when the Armed Forces should switch from a structure ready to defend the nation from external attack, to a police structure ready to restore the public order and sustain the constitution and the laws.

Amendments to the Armed Force Doctrine and Statutory Law

In the Dominican Republic, the military structure is specified in Law 873 of July 1978, which is denominated Statutory Law of the Armed Forces and organizes the Armed

Forces into the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force with the common missions of defending the integrity, sovereign, and independence of the nation.²⁵

The Statutory law defines the commands, the military's functions, and the internal regime among other aspects. However, it does not include the new roles of the military according to the new threats of narco-trafficking, organized crime, illegal immigration, natural and manmade disasters etc. and cannot do it because the last modification was in 1978 and it is obsolete as an instrument for the actions of the Armed Forces. In other words, the Statutory Law of the Armed Forces does not connect the Military Defense Plan to the new National Security Plan.

General Soto Jimenez and Vice Admiral Pared Perez in their books see a clear need of renewing the Armed Forces Statutory Law in order to include the new role of the Armed Forces as a result of the new threats threatening the country. They think that it should define military roles more clearly, more narrowly, and outside the area of internal functions.

They also agreed that the doctrinal representations of military defense, which is defined by General Soto as the permanent disposition of all the state military resources to the service of the National Defense to answer any kind of aggression, must be reformulated and readapted to the Dominican reality. Mission is critical because it determines doctrine; doctrine, in turn, is like software—it runs the military's hardware.²⁶

In addition, General Soto Jimenez recommends government officials build up the police and other nonmilitary security forces and rely only on them to handle what police typically handle: stopping crime and maintaining social order.

Another important role that it is not established either in the constitution or in statutory law is participation in international missions. This is a highly valued professional experience at a time when budgetary constraints make it difficult for the Dominican Armed Forces to train at a level they consider appropriate. Peacekeeping operations also constitute a way of increasing officers' and enlisted men's salaries, which have witnessed a steady decline in recent years.²⁷ By sending troops to other countries, we demonstrate our solidarity with the United Nations.

General Soto and Vice Admiral Pared agreed that peacekeeping operations are a way for the Dominican government to integrate their armed forces into their foreign policy objectives. In spite of the various benefits of peacekeeping, many politicians remain suspicious of giving it a high priority. They argue that peacekeeping detracts from the resources and attention devoted to the defense of the country.²⁸

After the amendments to the Dominican Constitution, to the Armed Forces Doctrine, and to the Armed Forces Statutory Law the Dominican authorities must also review and adapt to the new times the doctrine and statutory Laws of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force

¹Emilio Betances, *State and Society in the Dominican Republic* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1995).

²Craig R. Nation and Michael McFaul, *The United States and Russia into the 21st Century* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, Army War College, October 1997).

³“The Military in Latin America,” *Proceso* 684, Editorial, 1 (November 1995): 1.

⁴Ibid., 1.

⁵ Ibid., 2.

⁶Ibid., 2

⁷Jennifer N Ross, *The Changing Role of the Military in Latin America* (Canada: The Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL), November 2004), 46.

⁸Ibid., 46

⁹Pared, *Seguridad, Defensa e Identidad Nacional*, 385.

¹⁰Ibid., 385

¹¹Héctor Saint-Pierre, *Reconceptualizando nuevas amenazas: de la subjetividad de la percepción a la seguridad cooperativa* (Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2004), 57.

¹²Luís Ramón Payan Arache, *The New Threats and the Intelligence Preparation* (Santo Domingo: Impresos Aníbal, December 2002), 137.

¹³The method that considers threat to be composed of two parts: 1-Intentions and 2- Capabilities. For the threats to be considered a strong, both of these characteristics must be present to a significant degree.

¹⁴Pared, *Seguridad, Defensa e Identidad Nacional. Santo Domingo*, 387.

¹⁵According to statistic presented by the International Disaster Database at the World Conference for Disaster Reduction on 2005 in Japan. From 1994 to 2003, 609,638 persons die due to natural disaster.

¹⁶Soto, *Defensa, Seguridad, y Democracia. Santo Domingo*, 418.

¹⁷Ibid., 419.

¹⁸The Government of Colombia developed "Plan Colombia" as an integrated strategy to meet the most pressing challenges confronting Colombia today -- promoting the peace process, combating the narcotics industry, reviving the Colombian economy, and strengthening the democratic pillars of Colombian society.

¹⁹Soto, *Defensa, Seguridad, y Democracia. Santo Domingo*, 422.

²⁰Gisbert Flanz, *Constitutions of the Countries of the World*. Release 97-2 (March 1997).

²¹Soto, *Defensa, Seguridad, y Democracia. Santo Domingo*, 433.

²²Pared, *Seguridad, Defensa e Identidad Nacional. Santo Domingo*, 392.

²³National Police Statutory Law, submitted to the National congress and still in process of evaluation.

²⁴Dominican Constitution of 2002, Article 8.

²⁵1978 Statutory Law of the Dominican Armed Forces.

²⁶Michael Desch, *What is the Mission of a Democratic Military in the Post–Cold War Era?* (Washington, D.C.: International Forum for Democratic Studies, 1995), 6–8.

²⁷Wendy Hunter, *State and Soldier in Latin America Redefining the Military's Role in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile* (Washington, DC.: United States Institute of Peace, 1986).

²⁸Pared, *Seguridad, Defensa e Identidad Nacional. Santo Domingo*, 398.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The events that marked the last decade of the twentieth century and the start of the twenty-first saw the end of the Cold War, a democratization experiences, and a macroeconomic adjustment in most of the Latin American countries and the small Caribbean States. There was a collapse of the models of military supremacy, and many of these States ended with disproportioned Armed Forces in relation to their small budgets, a lack of institutional and political capacity to exert control over them, and a growing degree of citizen intolerance as a result of the lack of civil control and the fears of another military assault to the power.

The justification of the Armed Forces in Latin America was traditionally based on the protection of the national sovereign from external aggression. The defense of the territory also implies that the military answer with the objective of preserving the constitutionals authorities and the way of living of a nation's society.

After the Cold War the primary role of the military in the inter-states issues diminished considerably, causing a reduction of the Armed Forces in size and in their capacities of dissuasion. This reality left the regional political leadership in the difficult situation of having to find an appropriate niche for the Armed Forces.

An answer to this dilemma has been the redefinition and greater "elasticity" of the security concept. As a result, the tendency to articulate the security and the development together is extremely common lately, in other words, poverty and social inequality are the most influential catalysts of intrastate conflicts.

In some cases, Armed Forces have reconfigured their role to a more preventive in terms of Defense and National Security. This is the case of with Dominican Armed Forces.

The Dominican Republic, as an epitome of Latin America, was not the only country presented with the problem of drawing down a Cold war era military and developing a national defense policy that reflects the post cold war security environment.

The Dominican Republic was confronted with the dual missions of establishing objective civilian control of the military, and also drawing the military down to a level that meets the national security needs as established by the civilian leadership.

The Dominican military structure as a result of the lack of external missions have been assuming new functions in the field of the democratic security, the civil actions and the national strategic development, incorporating these components to its own military doctrine, weakening in a very practical way the operative separation between democratic security and defense.

Throughout its history, the Dominican military has taken on police functions and public order. The military has had to evict illegal trespassers and squatters, control protests, riots, as a striking business. Absolute control of the border had also been a delegated Armed Forces function to help maintain an acceptable migratory flow, control of prisons,¹ interdictions of illegal emigrants trips, internal narcotrafficking activities (raid and arrests), joint patrol with the police in several districts of the main cities, special raids for picking up illegal arms, surveillance of schools and public hospitals.

As a result of all these years taking police's functions the Dominican Armed Forces feel at ease in this process of readjustment we have suggested. The democratic

security and control of the public order, it is considered as “a natural” extension of its original functions as guarantors of the sovereignty and territorial integrity.

There is no doubt that in the Dominican Republic the area of Defense and Security are in a process of transition and reforms. It is the first time since its creation, that the Armed Forces are readjusting their doctrine, reviewing their missions, and redefining their structures. In order to better confront the national challenges.

While constitutionally the National Police and the military share the mandate of control of the public order and the rules of no deliberation and hierarchical structuring, there is, on the other hand, a clear difference in the principles that characterize the nature of each body. The military mission to protect public order is extremely ample (control from disturbances, control delinquency, criminality) and it is oriented to guarantee the ability of governing by authorities at all costs, even over citizen rights. This contrasts with the profile of the civil nature expected of the direction of the National Police, whose constitutional objective is oriented to protect the life, physical integrity and the security of the people, to guarantee the free exercise of the rights and liberties, to prevent crime, to preserve the public and social order and environment . . . with the collaboration and interactive participation of the community in the identification and solution of problems, in order to contribute to the attainment of the social stability and the sustainable economic development of the country.²

Agreeing with Vice Admiral Pared Perez and his view about the article 93 of the Dominican Constitution, this must be amended, in order to separate the mandate to the Armed Forces from the National Police mandate or at least specify the principles that characterize the nature of each body.

In addition, the doctrine of the Armed Forces must be reformulated and updated to the Dominican reality. The Armed Forces must elaborate both joint and mixed doctrine. Joint because it establish and promote the functions and integration of the three sister institutions of the Armed Forces (land, sea, and air), combined with others government organizations (National Police, Customs, Civil Defense) and Non-government (NGOs, civil society); mixed because it entails the focus of external security, to identify when crimes and offenses with international implications affect any security issues inside our border. If the Dominican Armed Forces develop a vision of joint and mixed defense as an integral part of their defense doctrine, they will avoid frivolous discussions about if defense must only focus on the exterior security and if it must be used in activities of interior security, as well as against the newly identified threats.

Even though the 1978 Armed Forces Statutory Law established the used of the Armed Forces when there occurs attacks against the sovereignty, integrity, public order, the commerce, however, the law does not define the risk, threats and the levels necessary to warrant the use of the.

This lack of identification became more noticeable during the 1990s with the collapse of the Warsaw Pact³ and the disappearance of “traditional threats”. The possibilities of a World War disappeared, most of the insurgency groups in Latin America lost their support and became political Parties, and the Haiti Armed Forces were dismantled by the United States during Operation Uphold Democracy.⁴ This caused a new vision of world security based in multinational alliances, the development of actions to increase the confidence and security, the beginning of different international processes in consonance with national postures in security and defense issues.

The Armed Forces Statutory Law of 1978 should be flexible enough to allow the Armed Forces to implement new defensive processes in order to adapt to the new national and international necessities, and to the uncertainty in which new threats can develop. In other words, neither the military nor the nation, should have to wait for a situation become a potential threat in order to get ready to confront it. The adoption of a more flexible Statutory Law will allow the military and the Republic to include a wide variety of threats as natural disaster, conflict situation, and illegal migration, among others and prepare adequately.

Furthermore, the Armed Forces need to stop considering Peace Keeping Operations potentially damaging. The Dominican military can adapt to this newly defined role in external defense and at the same time make the changes necessary to become more professional. Peacekeeping operations are very similar to the sort of internal police actions that the Armed Forces of the Dominican Republic have undertaken in the past.

A mature, professional military, such as the Dominican, can become involved in peacekeeping operations, and operations other than war without the temptation to take those same lessons and paradigms and apply them on home soil. The risk of the Dominican Armed Forces taking home the lessons learned while in civil defense or other internal roles is not great enough in comparison with the benefit for the country.

The government will also have to resist the temptation to use the military in roles that jeopardize the military's burgeoning professionalism. The temptation to use the military in civic action roles is great, especially in situations where assets are limited and the military is seemingly unemployed. Continuing to use the military in internal roles

unrelated to national defense will only keep them involved in internal administrative areas better suited to civilian police or similar bodies.

The Armed Forces must not divorce itself completely from the experience of becoming involved in internal police actions.

To end this work the thesis must set clear that the Dominican Armed Forces must not be reform because the threats that attempt against their existence as institution, pressure group or social establishment, but under the threats that are a danger for the State, that organize and guarantee the nation.

¹Of 32 prisons in the Dominican Republic twenty are under control of the National Army.

²National Police Statutory Law, submitted to the National Congress and still in process of evaluation.

³The Warsaw Pact was officially dissolved in Prague in 1991, after successive governments withdrew their support of the treaty.

⁴In 1994, Clinton ordered American forces to intervene to “protect American interests and stop the brutal atrocities that threaten tens of thousands of Haitians.” They dissolved the armed forces with the excuse that for generations had backed the tiny Haitian elite.

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