

IX. JOAQUÍN BALAGUER

The actual interviewing did not begin until I had been in the community for approximately a month. During this month, through informal conversations, it was possible to begin constructing the interview itself, as it became clear what were the relevant areas to probe in trying to determine what was the perception of and reaction to the crisis on the part of the people of La Loma. The government was a central area in their thinking; it came out in almost every conversation, automatically. So many of the hopes and aspirations of the people of La Loma were tied up with the government of Joaquín Balaguer that this became one of the most important areas in the interviews.

But an initial question must be posed: is it realistic to expect honesty about feelings toward the government on the part of people who for more than three decades lived under a government which severely punished criticisms? Especially when talking to a foreigner? This is a very important methodological question. Two observations come to mind.

During the government of the Triumvirate (at which time I was a Peace Corps Volunteer living in the campo), after Juan Bosch had been ousted, criticism against the government was very strong. Trujillo's death seemed to loosen the tongue of the entire country, rural as well as urban.

Secondly it is said that Balaguer was "elected by the campesinos." The electoral figures would show almost complete pro-Balaguer votes in the rural areas of the entire country. But what is significant here is that the campesinos were aware of the role they had played in electing Balaguer. Their attitudes toward him might thus be expected to be genuinely positive. The data collected in this study indicate that this is true to an extreme degree. If feelings were negative but dangerous to express, one would expect comments such as "Well, I don't know much about politics." Or "I'm just a bruto. I really can't say too much about the government." One would hardly expect the eulogies that appear in the protocols.

Thus it is fairly evident that their pro-Balaguer feelings were genuine; and there is no reason to be afraid of expressing such feelings, especially when nearly the entire community voted for the person in office. Hence what they say can be treated as a valid reflection of their feelings and expectations.

The segments of the protocols dealing with the government were difficult to subcategorize into different sections; because feelings toward the government are so strong, each sentence often contains more than one attitude and there is much excited jumping back and forth from from one government-related topic to another. Thus it is more convenient to summarize beforehand what the protocols reveal of the beliefs and the feelings of the people

of La Loma with respect to the government.

First: the serranos.

1. Interest in politics. The people of La Loma, it has already been pointed out, are aware of, and interested in, the happenings of the nation as a whole. They view themselves as dominicanos as well as serranos. There is none of the indifference to national politics which would be characteristic of, say, an indigenous village in some South American country, marginal culturally to the nation as a whole.

But this political orientation takes the form of caudillismo, strong personal attachment to a leader whose sway is exerted more from charismatic appeal than by commitment to legal institutions. In the Dominican Republic, as was mentioned, the caudillo is a national figure; there is no evidence in La Loma of any local figures who evoke feelings of loyalty from the people. Attachments are directly to el Jefe.

2. Identification with Balaguer. The serranos feel that Balaguer is their man. They believe that it was the campesino vote that put Balaguer into office, and frequently quote Balaguer's public allusions to this fact. For them this is proof positive that Balaguer is going to bestow special favors on the campesinos.

Moreover they attribute to Balaguer many of the same qualities which they attribute to themselves as a group,¹⁰⁴ notably that of being projimista, one of the supreme serrano virtues.¹⁰⁵ "He is one of us; he's on

our side." When one remembers their conviction that the hardships of their life are in large part due to the malicious selfishness of outsiders more powerful than themselves, one can imagine the satisfying emotional significance of this supposed tie with Balaguer and the aspirations to which this tie will give birth--and the vigor with which this belief will be defended against contrary information.

3. Claims to Balaguer's attention. They have very strong expectations that Balaguer should and will turn his gaze to them. There is a dual basis for this hope. As mentioned above they worked for Balaguer during the campaign; they turned out in large numbers to vote for him; they praise his name frequently; they reverence him and his picture "...como un santo en ei aitai, " like a statue on the altar, as one man put it. This type of behavior toward a jefe on their part is supposed to be reciprocated by the jefe in the form of personal attention to their plight and personal favors, handed benevolently down from above. There are two roles here, each with its set of norms; if followed, these norms oblige reciprocation by adequate behavior on the part of the other.

An apparently independent basis of expecting favors from Balaguer is the fact that they are poor and suffering and he is rich and powerful.. Several segments of the protocols indicate that this basis of claim prescind from the mutual role fulfillment mentioned above. Anybody that is rich, "que tiene fuerza," (who has strength), should

automatically desire to help somebody who is poorer. This is very consistent with the value placed on being proji-
mista, sympathetic and, if possible, generous; and perhaps this partially explains why they are so convinced that Balaguer is projimista. They can feel more assured of his forthcoming help by attributing to him traits which would evoke from him an immediate sympathetic and generous response to their plight "...if he only knew about it."

4. Mechanisms for Communication. Obviously Balaguer can't know them all personally. But what they expect from him is individual attention to their own situation. How is this to be brought about?

There was a type of ritual established during Trujillo's time. The Benefactor de la Patria, Trujillo himself, would on occasion go out to different parts of the island. The people would line the roads and streets and vie with each other in shouting "Viva el Jefe! Viva Trujillo!" Trujillo would make a speech; distinguished members of the community would make speeches. And before leaving Trujillo would ask the people if there was anything the community needed. It was then up to the community leaders to mention some of the more pressing wants of the people. This was the central moment of meaningful contact between Jefe and followers; having showered him with their "Viva's" their needs were being laid out before him.¹⁰⁶ This making known of needs was one of the central tasks of local leaders. The official

leader--in the case of La Loma, the alcalde--is strongly expected to be eloquent in his presentation by the people in the community, who view this as the one chance for help from above.

This notion of "making known needs to the Jefe" explains many interesting incidents that occurred during the course of the study in La Loma. Despite my protestations to the contrary, people initially tended to categorize me as some sort of representative from the National Palace, sent by Balaguer to make an estudio of La Loma to find out what the needs were. Other Dominicans (from the pueblo) had previously warned me that my presence in the community would evoke suspicion from the closed serranos; what was evoked could more accurately be termed jubilation. On my first day there I was given a quasi-military escort around the village. The foreman in the sawmill sent the truck on a sixty-kilometer nocturnal trip to pick up a suitcase I had left down in the pueblo. Serranos came riding in from the distant hills to invite me to their houses, eager to talk into the now famous tape recorder. The wives and daughters of the sawmill workers visited my house en masse one afternoon--a friendly gesture that smacked, nonetheless, of a pilgrimage. Much of this was undoubtedly a manifestation of the spontaneous generosity for which the hills are famous; but to be realistic, much of it must be seen in the light of a mistaken belief that I was somehow a link between them and the Jefe.

In short communication with the Jefe is supposed to take place by means of middlemen. People expressed desire to talk personally with Balaguer, but few entertained any real aspirations along this line. But there were strong expectations about the communication between leaders and representatives; this was the usual way to bring the Jefe's attention down to the local community.

Letter writing is another method, but less frequently employed. In many pueblos there are men who sell their services as scribes, composing florid, poetic, and personally flattering letters to various officials for any request an individual may have. On one occasion I was asked by a campesino to help him compose a letter to President Johnson of the U.S. requesting a truck. (I dissuaded him from the venture.) The following is an example of this attitude:

Entonce aquei apurao, que qui-
ere sembrai su matica de yuca...
lo llevan a la ju'ticia,
a voiveilo nada, taivé muerto
de l' hambre, le meten muita
de dió, doce, y quince peso'.
Y ei que tiene la manera que
pueda caminai, pa pasai a
Santiago a ponci un telegrama
ai jefe...de lo que 'tá
pasando, no le hacen ná. Ah
no, así e' que 'tá 'quí. Así
e' que tá.

And then that poor guy who
just wants to plant his yuca...
they take him to court, des-
troy him, maybe starve him
to death, give him a fine of
ten, twelve, and fifteen
pesos. But whoever can tra-
vel...go to Santiago to send
a telegram to the Jefe...
telling what's going on...
they don't do anything to
him. Nope; that's the way it
is here. That's the way it
is. 107

In both cases, informing through representatives and letter writing, the underlying assumption is that the presence of need is sufficient motive to evoke pity and help from someone above. And the possibilities of receiving

help are greatly enhanced--or thought to be so--if personal flattery is also included in the petition.

5. Conflicting norms. There is a curious contradiction of "rules" involved in the behavior described above. Personal praise--and votes--from someone below are expected to result in an appropriate response from the authority above. At the same time there is the norm that "one should not act with reference to another por interés, for selfish reasons."¹⁰⁸ This applies to political behavior as well; one's devotion to Balaguer should not be for reasons of personal gain. This contradiction comes out in an obvious fashion on several protocols. The usual solution is to say "I worked for Balaguer out of patriotism (and/or love). But at the same time... etc."

To' ei mundo aquí e' Refoimista. Porque el amoí e' Balaguer. Ese e' ei jefe de aquí, ese e' ei jefe de aquí, porque e' poi amoí. Pero también, Balaguer cuando vino, que fu' ei primei di'curso en La Vega, dijo que si ganaba laj ele'cione', le aseguraría lo que cada cual poseía. Y to' ei mundo se lanzó conmigo basado a eso...

Everybody here is a Reformist (Balaguer's party), because there is love for Balaguer. But at the same time, when Balaguer came... in his first speech in La Vega...he would give everyone right to whatever he had taken possession of. And everyone came in on our side based on this...¹⁰⁹

Y no' di'pusimo' a mataino con la política par' asentai e'te. Porque yo le decía a la gente: "Si e'te no...si con e'te no consigamo' aigo, pedimo' l' e'paranza. Porque lo que no queremos e' que aquí reine ei comuni'mo. Y sabíamo' que e'te...con e'te no diba reinai ei comuni'mo. Y eso e' lo que e'tamo' tirando,

And we were willing to kill ourselves with political campaigning, to bring Balaguer into office. Because, I said to people, "If this man doesn't.. if we can't get anything from this man, we might as well give up hope.....because we don't want to see communism reigning here. And we knew that this man...with this

Pero que ei tra..digo, que
no' diba ayudai...

man communism wouldn't reign.
And that's what we're af-
ter. But at the same time
he...I mean, he was going
to help us, supposedly... 110

6. Specific Requests. The serranos thus expect some-
thing from the Jefe, even though they are his followers
only through love and personal dedication. What is it
that they want Balaguer to do? Here something curious oc-
curs. Each serrano seems to have his own idea of what
steps Balaguer should take. The uniformity present in
other Balaguer-related attitudes contrasts greatly with
the diversity in specific requests. It is as though
each serrano had personal plans for the Jefe. The re-
quests that appear most frequently are the following.

- a. Remove the restrictions on making new conucos.

They would like a return to the old freedom. This
is understandable in light of the fact that freedom
to clear new land once constituted an essential
part of their lives.

- b. Give the farmers the right to chop down and sell the
pines on the conucos that they had possessed for
many years. The pine trees, even on these old conu-
cos, are untouchable. The Company can no longer take
pines from enclosed conucos, but the farmers can't
touch the pines either. What many farmers want is
the right to these pine trees, to sell the wood. The
land itself is by now virtually worthless as far as
planting goes.

- c. Send in gifts of food and clothing. "The Americans
are sending down tons of food, but none of it is

reaching us poor." They believe alms are being sent to the country in large quantities from the United States, but is being grabbed up by the rich in the cities before reaching the poor. The anger at these rich, and at the local politicians who are "closing their eyes" to these goings-on, is very bitter and frequently expressed with eloquence.

- d. Set up a local industry where we can earn a few pesos without having to leave the Sierra and live in the city. They want money, but they also wish to retain the security of primary connections with their land.
- e. Some few requested land in another part of the country, "p' afuera," outside of the Sierra. This request was largely an echo of the belief that Balaguer, through his agrarian reform program, is supposedly going to empty the hills and give everybody flat, irrigated land somewhere else. However most of the serranos did not want to leave the hills and expressed many fears of what life would be like in another area.

7. Damaging Information. When this study was being made, Balaguer had been president for approximately a year. And nothing had been done for the people of La Loma. On the contrary, things were getting worse. The sawmill was to be closed by the government and the forest rangers were getting stricter in enforcing the law with

regards to the farmers. Keeping in mind the high hopes that everyone had placed in Balaguer, the enthusiasm with which they helped put him into office, the degree to which they had made him their personal Jefe--almost to the degree of veneration; keeping all these facts in mind alongside of the fact of conditions getting worse instead of better, one could have predicted several things.

- i. Aggression born of the frustration of extremely high expectations.¹¹¹
- ii. Cognitive dissonance, when Balaguer's government, to whom a strong positive emotional cathexis had been formed, instead of helping matters decides to forbid the very behavior that keeps the farmers alive, a very negative image for the serranos.¹¹²
- iii. Cognitive differentiation. The emotional ties to Balaguer are too strong to admit of weakening--one of the possible results of dissonance. Likewise, the prohibition to farm the hills is too serious a threat to their livelihood ever to be seen as acceptable. Thus no balance could ever be reached between these irreconcilable facts. The other alternative, in the face of dissonance, is differentiation.¹¹³ The dissonance would come from the pairing of beloved Balaguer and hated "people who forbid us to farm hills." Though in reality they are one and the same person, the unpleasant dissonance created by this fact might cause the farmers to separate the two, establishing cognitively someone else as the cause of "no more farming". This would

permit retention of the positive ties to Balaguer and at the same time provide a possible target for the aggression generated by frustrated expectations.

These hypotheses were not set up beforehand. They became possible only when analysis of the protocols revealed the depth of the farmers' emotional commitment to Balaguer. Frankly, the impression that I received while in the community was that the respondents were exaggerating their anger and plight to make a strong impression on the visitor from outside, who they thought would then make a strong plea to Balaguer. This false impression on my part stems from a failure to recognize the deep level at which participation in a caudillo system can operate. It is much more than flattering lip service paid to a potential source of favors; it is, at least in La Loma, a deep casting of one's lot with an individual whom one comes to regard almost as a father. This will become evident in many segments of the protocols.

The hypotheses set up above seem to find justification in the data, offering a consistent explanation for much of what appears in the protocols.

The presence of aggression among the farmers is undeniable. It rarely surfaces; the high value they have been seen to place on tranquility and resignation makes hostile behavior quite unacceptable. But fights break out, and usually have bloody outcomes. After one of the Sunday baseball games, shooting broke out. A week later a knife

fight broke out in El Manguito. On the surface the hill dwellers often fit the stereotype of the happy peasant plodding along on his burro with a bunch of bananas for sale in the market. But beneath the surface, La Loma is seething.

But the aggression comes out verbally more than any other way. Against whom? Never against Balaguer, though it is frustrated expectations concerning him that are perhaps the main cause of aggression; but this aggression is always diverted, as will be seen below.

As far as dissonance, its occurrence can be inferred by the techniques which the farmers used to deal with it. The farmers are aware that promises have gone unfulfilled, and stated this on many occasions. What do they do with this threatening information?

Balaguer hasn't helped. Oh, but that's because he hasn't had time yet. This country was bankrupt when he took over. We can't be impatient. Give him time; he'll come through.

Balaguer hasn't helped. Oh, but that's because he doesn't know. Nobody has told him about the situation here. The people who work for him--"lo' regidore' que andan por lo' monte'", government officials who travel around the mountains--haven't been doing their job; they don't inform the Jefe about the misery and hunger here. If he knew, he wouldn't waste a moment in helping out.

Over and over, with surprising unpromoted regularity,

the serranos repeat these two beliefs. Balaguer hasn't had time; he's a good man who found the country in disaster due to his evil predecessors and hasn't yet had time to straighten things out. And Balaguer doesn't know; nobody tells him what's going on in the campos; the misery and hunger; the robbery of American alms by the rich; the unjust persecution by the forest rangers. Balaguer doesn't know all these things are going on.

So frequently were these beliefs stated that one suspects the serranos had a very special need to convince themselves of these beliefs. The frequency with which they were asserted points to the frequency with which damaging information which must be rejected presented itself to them. Time is going by and still no help. The vehemence with which the beliefs were asserted is perhaps a measure of the intensity of the commitment of the serranos to Balaguer and of the magnitude of the personal threat posed by the frightening possibility that maybe he's just another tricky politician after all. This thought must undoubtedly have crossed their minds; but it is a forbidden thought; the energy they display in rejecting it is perhaps testimony to the tragic implications it would have for their whole scheme of things were it true.

But the beliefs that Balaguer hasn't had time and hasn't any people to let him know what's going on can only serve to divert the aggression born of frustration, not to stifle it. The aggression seeks another target: the forest rangers, the instruments of enforcing the oppressive

ley forestal. But to do this, the serranos need first to construct a belief system about the forest rangers that would justify aggression toward them, need to attribute to the forest rangers intentions that would warrant hatred from the farmers. These cognitive adaptations are precisely what appear on the protocols. The forest rangers are dealt with somewhat as follows:

The forest rangers aren't doing their job. What those guys should be doing--and what Dr. Balaguer thinks they're doing--is repoblado, replanting trees that have been cut down. What are they doing? They're just attacking us poor, helpless farmers, putting us in jail, giving us fines, and collecting their monthly check. Why are they attacking? Because they want to blame the farmers for the harm that has been done the pine forests. Has harm been done? Yes; but it's the sawmill Company that has been doing the harm. That's why the government is beginning to crack down--because of what the sawmill company has been doing. But the forest rangers are lying and telling Balaguer that it's the farmers who are doing the harm. Why would the forest rangers do that? Oh, for several reasons. They're afraid of the millionaires who run the lumber company, they don't dare tell Balaguer what's really going on; since somebody has to be blamed for the de'cumbre (the stripping of the hills), they pick on us farmers, who are poor and humble and can't defend ourselves. The forest rangers are cowards who are afraid of the rich but pick on

us. Besides, look at them; they're all young men who don't have families, most of them. All they want to do is drink and run around and squander their monthly check. No, even worse, they're evil. They want to turn us against the government. Aha! That's it. They want to turn us against the government. Some of the people here are beginning to get worries about the government (not me, of course), but it's because of the forest rangers, who are deliberately trying to turn us against Balaguer. Now why would they do that? They're communists! Balaguer is such a good, generous, selfless man, a true projimista who wants to help this country and us here in La Loma; but he is surrounded by communists in that forestry department who want to overthrow him by turning us, his followers, against him. They're the culprits; they're the enemies of Balaguer!

This fantastic bit of cognitive juggling is precisely what appears to underlie many sections of the serrano protocols. It serves many functions. Aside from putting sense into a confusing situation, it provides justification, and a target, for the aggression that they feel inside themselves as a result of so many frustrated expectations. It allows them to voice their rage and not violate their self image as humble, obedient subjects--for they are now attacking the enemies of legitimate authority instead of attacking authority itself, which is strictly forbidden.

Thus the forest rangers are painted as culprits. It

should be noted that the beliefs that Balaguer hasn't had time and doesn't know what's going on would suffice to explain many things without an elaborate belief system about an evil, plotting forestry department. However apart from the purely cognitive dissonance generated by the perceptual union of "Balaguer" and "unfulfilled-promises-and-no-more-farming," the strength of the expectations which have been frustrated generates a rage that seeks a target and constructs an elaborate system of "communist plots," of which the forest rangers are dupes, witting or unwitting. (None of the forest rangers was directly referred to by name as a communist; but it was whispered that during the election, they had voted for Juan Bosch-- "ese amigo de Fidel Ca'tro," that buddy of Fidel Castro.)

The serranos also expressed hostility toward the local politicians in Santiago Rodriguez. During the campaign, the politicians had made many promises, none of which had been kept. There were promises of personal introductions to Balaguer, of reduced prices for many things, of a medical dispensary for the community. One of the local women, who had campaigned hardest and opened up her house as Party headquarters in El Manguito, was told she would be given a job in the dispensary as a cleaning woman, with a monthly salary. Firmly believing this promise, the woman had gone into debt during the campaign, spending money to feed the many visitors that came through

El Manguito during the campaign. But the woman was still in debt, and the dispensary had not been built. There was much resentment against these politicians; not only had they left their promises unfilled, but they were not even doing the one job that authority was obligated to do: tell the Jefe about the sad conditions in La Loma.

There was open hostility expressed against these men; and yet no hostility had been expressed against Balaguer, the contrary being true. Balaguer was praised and defended. This is a manifestation of a phenomenon that has already been alluded to: the only caudillo for the serrano of La Loma is the national caudillo, Balaguer. And the perceptiveness they exhibited in regards to the indifference and opportunism of the local politicians contrasted vividly to the naivete and defensiveness they displayed concerning the big Jefe--which lends further strength to the assertion that their relation to Balaguer was one of genuine attachment, and not mere opportunistic flattery, as can so easily be the impression.

The analysis that has thus far been given throws light on the political sections of the protocols, putting order into what often appears to be rhetorical, illogical, non-sequitur gibberish.

Some examples. The following are quotes about Bala-

guer:

Balaguei..no tiene ambición. No e' un hombre egoista. E' un hombre projimista. Ud. ve. Cuando..cuando Balaguei...a nosotros' lo' campesino', como él dijo que 'taba tan agradecido de nosotros' lo' campesino' que fué quien lo llevamo al poder. El..él dijo que no' iba-dar a cada uno..le iba dar su título, su' planos de propiedad, para que fueran propia'. Que nosotros' lo' campesino'..que tenemos esta tierra trancada, que la hemos poseído hace 40 o 50 años que lo tengamo' trancado. Ya son propio'...podían ser propio de nosotros.

Balaguer doesn't have any selfishness. He's not a selfish man at all. He's a man who's projimista. Just look; when..when Balaguer..we campesinos..he said he was very grateful to us campesinos, who were the ones who brought him into office. He said that he was going to give to each... going to give a deed...property plans, so it would belong to us. That we campesinos...we campesinos who have built a fence around this land and have had it for forty or fifty years... ..now it would belong to us. 114

Lo' individuo' que 'tán atrás dei, eso' son lo' que quieren e'plotar la República. Ei mi'mo...ei mi'mo gobierno quiere ayuda.

The guys that are all around him...those are the people that want to exploit the Republic.. The government itself..the government itself wants to help. 115

That is: Balaguer is good, he's projimista, why he even said he would give us deeds to land we have possessed. (The deeds were desired in order to have a right to sell the pine trees; agriculturally the deeds were meaningless.) But so far, no deeds. Why? Those guys that are around him-- it's their fault that he hasn't been able to help yet.

Another:

Y el campesino...nosotros' lo' campesino' adoramo' Balague.. como..como un santo en un altar...Lo adoramo' nosotros. Y echai...y no' echamo' mori'... pero necesitamos que el cumpla ..con nosotros'..aigo de lo que no' prometió.

And the campesino...we campesinos adore Balaguer..like.. like a statue on an altar.. that's how we adore him. And to die..we're willing to die for him. But we need for him to come through...to come through for us..with at least something of what he promised us. 115

That is: personal devotion until death. This assertion precedes the assertion that Balaguer should fill some of the promises. Similarly:

Se mejora la vida..siempre que no' lleven con la tranquilidad. Porque cuando sea Balagueri ei que siempre sea ei jefe, como lo descamo' todo lo campesinato..porque e' Balaguer. Pero ei campesino vive afayanzado, que por eso se laigó to' ei mundo, ai curso de que le libertaría lo que cada cuai poseía.

Life will get better, as long as they leave us with tranquility. Because if Balaguer remains always as jefe... that's what we want, all the campesinos... Balaguer is our man. But the campesino lives with the hope--that's why everyone took part--that he'll give every man the freedom to dispose of what he possesses. (i.e. pines)116

Likewise:

(Descamos)..que le firmara a cada cual lo que poseía. Porque si uno tiene die' pino' pueda di'ponci d' eso die' pino'. Aquí no má' se alaba Balagueri, porque lo e'toy diciendo pa' que lo coja la grabadora. No má' se alaba Balagueri. Sí; porque eso fue ei primer di'curso, que prometió que si ganaba laj elecciones', le libertaría a cada cuai lo que poseía.

We'd like him to sign over to every man the right to what he possesses. So that if you have ten pine trees you can use those those ten pines. Here we just praise Balaguer, and I'm saying it so the tape recorder will pick it up. We just praise Balaguer. Yep. Because that was the first speech; he promised, if he won the elections, he'd free what everyone possessed.117

And now that Balaguer is in, the campesinos don't want him out--ever.

Porque Balagueri ei que queremos' para presidente siempre. Porque si viene otro mañana, viene otro problema má' fueite, como Ud. lo sabe. En to' lo' país'..en to' lo' país' se. Porque entorce' aqui tiene que dictai de otra manera..de otra manera. Porque cuando venga ya mañana..como se presenta l' lo' cuatro' año' paitido', ahí e' que viene ei desa'tre. Y cuando no má' se

Because Balaguer's the one we always want for President. Because if someone else comes along tomorrow, there'll be an even worse problem, as you know...in any country.. in any country. Because then the other guy is going to command in some other way... in some other way. Because when tomorrow comes...the way every four years these political parties pop up,

camine por una sola dirección, no puede habei problema'...no puede habei problema. Pero cuando todo el mundo: "No; e' fulano, e' fulano, e' fulano." nojotro no tenemo' má que reculai. Se lo digamo. Porque ese es el hombre digno.

that's what brings disaster. But if you just keep going in one direction...there won't be any trouble, there won't be any trouble. But when everybody's going "I want this guy, I want that guy, I want the other guy..." all we can do is stand back. We tell him that...because he's the right man. 118

The following took place at a rally during the campaign. (See pp. 67-8). The humility and personal devotion to Balaguer of this woman come out in a touching fashion:

Y lo vide bien, o miré bien. Yo quería como ir para abrazailo era. Yo quería abrazailo. Pero no podía, porque era mucha gente..grande, que había ahí. Uno no puede...pasaile pè'rriba a ninguna gente d' es sabe. Pero fué..yo lo que quería era llegaile, llegaile, Jesú, veime ceiquininga dei, que yo pudiera hablai con ei, porque yo me parecía que era mi papá que yo taba viendo ahí, Jesú.

And I got a good look at him, and I saw him well. What I wanted was to go up and hug him, I wanted to hug him. But I couldn't, because there were a lot of... important people there..and you can't...go over the head of any of those people, y' know. But it was..I just wanted to get nearer and nearer, get nice and close to him, so I could talk with him, because Lord, I felt like it was my own father I was seeing there. 119

And the following:

(Ud. quisiera hablar con Balaguer?) Jesuuuuú...yo quisiera hablai con ei en su casa dei, que no sea que yo tenga que mole'tai a nadie, ni nada d' eso. Porque yo sé que yo no puedo ir a..a su Palacio, Ud. sabe. Y por eso yo quería dir a su casa dei; Porque nosotros' no tenemo' capacidá pa' dir a un Palacio, Ud. sabe. Pero yo quería dir a su casa dei, aunque sea donde..vive su mamá.

(Would you like to speak with Balaguer?). Dear Lord...I'd like to speak with him in his house, where I wouldn't have to bother anybody or nothing like that. Because I know that I can't go to his Palace, y' know. And that's why I'd like to go to his home. Because we people don't have the ability to go to a Palace, y' know. But I'd like to go to his home...or even to where his mother lives. 120

With devotion such as this, it is easy to see why there was a strong emotional push to avoid seeing any facts that might suggest that Balaguer wasn't the concerned father that they are making him out to be.

This same woman expresses a fantasy of what it would be like if Balaguer could visit her house.

<p>Yo quisiera que ei viniera y se apareara en un avión, que yo echo semana y mese limpiando ahí, de chapeo ahí. Yo quisiera que ei se apareara ahí, pa' yo llamai toa mi gente que yo tengo. Pa' que ei lo mire. Y ei gu'to mio..yo quisiera que me..que me diera ese gu'to, que ei se apareara ahí. (Y si él viniera, qué le pediría?) Noooo, qué...yo no le debo pedir nada, porque ei lo de uno lo conoce. Si ei le quiere dai cualquier cosa a uno, ei se la daría de gu'to d' ei, sabe. Porque ei con vei a uno, con eso sabe.</p>	<p>I wish he'd come here to El Manguito and land in an airplane, I'd spend weeks and months clearing out a place there. I'd like him to land there, so I could call all my people (i.e. the ones she won over to Balaguer during the campaign). So he could see them all...and I wish... I wish he'd give me that pleasure and land right there. (If he came, what would you ask him for?) Nooo..what... I wouldn't have to ask him for anything, because he knows all about you. And if he wants to give you anything, he'd give you what <u>he</u> wants. Because just by looking at you, he can tell.¹²¹</p>
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He's the divine visitor coming from the sky, whose kind, understanding eyes see into the souls of his followers who reverently gather to greet his coming. Lyndon B. Johnson would envy Balaguer.

And this powerful demi-god is one of us.

<p>Porque Balaguer e' un hombre profimi'ta, y lo sabe todo el mundo. Fue un hombre nació y criaio de aquí.</p>	<p>Because Balaguer is a man who's <u>projimista</u>, and everybody knows it. He was born and raised right here.¹²²</p>
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And we really don't want too much from him:

Yo me hallo conforme que me dejen hacci unuquito. Siii.. y que ei gobierno se acueide de tirarno' siquiera esa' limosna' que viene de allá... to' lo' mese', o cada do' mese', que con ese no' defendamo' lo' infelice'. Que deje lo' campesino'...que lo' floje, que no lo' sacrifiquen, con la prisión...

I'd be happy if they'd just let me make a little conuco. Yep. And if the government would just remember to at least throw some of those alms our way, the ones that come from the U.S...every month or two.. we could get by with that. He should let the campesino... turn him loose, stop them from giving him such a hard time...123

Cuando ei gobierno no' pudiera ponci un' indu'tria en un paraje, cerca, onde nosotros pudiéramo ganai ei peso, pa' si tengamo' que comprai la medicina, tengamo' que comprai ei zapato, ei sombrero, la remua--y que no' deje trabajai l' agriculturita--aquí se puede trabajai agricultura. ..y tamo' de lleno con Balaguasi, oiga, que lo adoramo como un santo en ei aitari, cuando ei gobierno no' ayude a nosotros'. No' le pongamo' a morino' por ei gobierno.

If the government could only set up some factory for us... in a paraje nearby, where we could make a buck, so if we have to buy medicine, or if we want to buy shoes, clothes, a hat..and let us do a little farming--here you can farm...and we're one hundred percent with the government, we worship Balaguer like a statue on the altar, if the government would only help us...we'd lay down our lives for the government. 124

And he should help us, the campesino:

Nosotros semo' amigo del gobierno--porque lo campesino' no' muramo' por ei gobierno. Si hay que 'chaino' lo' machete' y lo' colina' al hombro pa' di' a defendei ei gobierno, lo' campesino' semo' lo' que vamo. Entonces e' a nosotros' lo' campesino' que ei gobierno debe de ocupaise de ayudai.

We're the friends of the government--because we campesinos would lay down our lives for the government. If we have to rush down swinging machetes and colines to go defend the government, we campesinos are the ones that will go. And so it's us campesinos that the government should worry about helping. 125

Eso' flore'tale'...atacando los infelice', que los infelice' e' lo que debian de ayudai. Porque ei que tiene con que vivó', no hay pa' que ayudailo. Sea ei gobierno, sea quien sea, debe de ayudai los infelice'. Porque los infelice', lo que necesitamos...nosotros' semo' lo' que e'tamo

Those forest rangers...attacking the poor people---the poor people are those they should help! Because somebody that's already got a good living, there's no reason to help him. Whether it's the government or anyone else, they should help the poor people. Because

pasando hambre, pasando miseria, desnudez, enfermedad, que no hallamo' con que bu'cai medicina, se no' mueren nue'tro' himo', se no' muere la mujer, se nos muere el marido, porque no tengamo con que qué dir a bu'cai medicina, no podemo' dí' onde un do'toi, no podemo' dir aonde un do'tor, porque con qué vamo'?

what we poor need...we're the ones that are starving to death, suffering, naked, sick, can't afford to buy medicine, our children die, our wives die, our husbands die--because we can't afford to buy medicine, we can't go to the doctor's, we can't go to the doctor's, because what are we supposed to go with?¹²⁶

In the above quotes the reasons by which the serranos claim the right to be helped come out, as on pp. 147-8.

And why hasn't Balaguer helped yet? Give him time.

Lo único que tiene e' que alguno' dicen que...que Balaguer cogió la presidencia y no' va ayudai, y jallamo' que e' taide. No, no e' así. Digo, Balaguer vendrá ayudai de..de lo dos año' p' adelante. Digo..fíjese, que cuando uno se pone a talai un conuco y e'perad y poneise y trancailla y daile condición a cautivailo, e'perai que taivé si hace buen tiempo, del año y medio e' que Ud. viene a comci p'alante. Y así tiene que dí' Balagueri. Balagueri..la dicha d' ei fué que l'América lo ha ayudao.

The only thing is that... some people say that... Balaguer became president and is supposedly going to help us...and they're thinking it's getting late. No, that's not true. I mean, Balaguer will begin helping..after two years. I mean..look..when you begin to clear out a conuco and wait, and put a fence around it and put it in shape to be planted, you wait and maybe if there's good weather, it's a year and a half before you begin to harvest food. And that's the way Balaguer has to go. Balaguer...his great luck was that America had helped him.¹²⁷

Besides, the people that are supposed to be working for him don't tell him anything:

E' que no hay quien informe al gobierno, porque los hombre' que andan viendo, o están mandando, parece a sei que no tienen conciencia. No son capace' de pedirle ai gobierno: "En tai parte hay necesida. Hay que ayudai tai

What's wrong is that there's nobody to inform the government. Because the men who are going around inspecting-- or giving orders..it looks like they don't have any heart. They're incapable of requesting the government:

se'ción, hay que ayudai tai paraje, porque las necesidá son grande, la..la situación e' crítica." No hay quien se lo anticipe ai gobierno.

"Look, in such and such a place there's great need. You have to help this district, this parish, because there's great need, the situation is critical." There's nobody who'll bring all this to the government. 128

Eso que viene para las e'cuela..la mandan, oiga, y viene por allá. Y aquí, aquí ni en las e'cuela' se coge eso. Semos todos unos infelices, no tengamo' con que vivi', no tengamo' con qué mantencino'. Esa limosna no viene aquí. Eso 'tá por allá. Eso viene por allá, por allá venden esoj aceite', venden esa harina, y venden esa comida y tó, y aquí nada d' eso se coge. Pero porqué no se coge? Porque no tenemo quien se no' anticipe ai gobierno, quien se n' anticipe. Lo' superioro', tú sabe,..porque lo' que 'tán en ei mando en e'to' pueblecito' chiquito', en lo' campo', todo se lo tragan y nada dicen. Y cómo puede ei gobierno sabei las necesidades?

...That food that comes for the schools (i.e. CARE food), they send it down from the U.S...and here we don't even get any of it in the schools. We're all so poor; we don't have anything to live with, we don't have anything to support ourselves with. And those alms don't reach here. That stays out there, it passes through their hands, and they sell that oil, they sell that flour, they sell all that food, and nobody gets any of it here. Why don't we get any of it? Because we don't have anybody to intercede with the government for us...to intercede for us. The superiors..y' know, ...those guys that are in command in those small pueblos, in the campos, they cover it all up and don't say anything. So how can the government know our needs? 128

But the worst offenders are the forest rangers:

De'de que se fomentó esa fore'ta, par' atacai lo' agricultore', el mundo se ha de.. la República se ha devuelto. Porque la flore'ta,..debe ser para cuidar los bosques, para cuidai las aguada', pero para repoblai aonde 'tá de'cumbrado. Y esta que hay ahora nada má' e' para cogerle ei sucido ai gobierno y atacai a los infelice'. Porque eso' no siembran una matica de nada, eso' no repoblan nada de lo que hay de'cumbrado.

Ever since that forestry department was formed, to attack the farmers, everybody... the whole country has gone backwards. Because the forestry department should be to take care of the forests, to take care of the streams, but to replenish where the hills have been stripped. But these guys here now, all they're doing is collecting their salary and attacking the poor people. Because those guys don't plant anything,

Eso e' lo único que pas' aquí. Ei gobierno les e'tá pagando ese cheque y cré' que ello' e'tán haciendo. Y ello' ...e'tán con lo' brazo' cruzado', ná' má' e'perando que le paguen su cheque, y atacando a agricultore'. Y la injusticia que no' hacen a nosotros' e'... que la compañía e' quien hace lo' decumbre', como Ud. lo e'tá viendo. Entonce' son tan inconsciente' lo' que mandan, eso..eso' flore'tale...son tan inconsciente', oiga, entonce' dicen que semo' nosotros' lo' que hagamo' la...lo de'cumbre.

Esa son la gente que están echando la República encima dei gobierno. Porque ei gobierno e' muy bueno. E'te es un gobierno que lo eligimo' lo' campesino'. Pero anda una pandilla por los campo' atacádono' a nosotros', que nosotros' no' desencantamo' dei gobierno, porque digamo' que jei gobierno, y no ej ei gobierno nada, porque ei gobierno no está sabiendo lo que se no' e'tá 'ciendo a nosotros'.

they don't replace anything that has been taken away. That's the only thing that's wrong here. The government is paying them that check and thinks that they're doing something. And there they are...with their arms folded, just waiting for their check to come and attacking the farmers. And the injustice that they do to us is...it's the Company who strips all the hills, like you're seeing. But the guys in charge are so heartless, those forest rangers, they're so heartless that they go and say that we're the ones who strip the hills. 129

Those are the people who are turning the whole country against the government!! Because this is a good government. This is a government that we campesinos elected. But there's that rat-pack wandering around the campos, attacking us..and we get fed up with the government, because we say it's the government, and it's not the government at all. Because the government doesn't know what's being done to us. 130

This, then, is the functioning of a caudillo system. The serranos of La Loma turn to Balaguer; he's the solution of their problems. Life is bad because other bad men have made it that way; the solution is to place oneself in the camp of a good man who is more powerful than the forces of evil that are attacking them. What most stands out is the fact that by cognitive juggling, the serranos have managed to explain away threatening information and preserve their hope in their Jefe.

What has been said of the serranos is basically true of the workers as well in their relationship with the government. There is the same insistence that they worked for him, the same techniques for disposing of damaging information, the same hope that ultimately he will solve their problems. The tone of their protocols is much less fervent with regards to Balaguer's person, but their essential stance to Balaguer is quite similar to that of the serranos.

But because of the peculiarity of their situation, what the workers expect of Balaguer is quite different from what the serranos expect. The workers have but one request: Balaguer should force the rich bosses to give all the severance pay that is due. In their feelings of angry helplessness against what they believe to be the plotting of the evil rich, how do they respond? By organizing? By threats? Nothing of the sort; they have learned to solve problems in another way; Balaguer will help them. Some excerpts from their protocols:

Yo soy un hombre que luché al lado de Balaguer desde que comenzó su Partido. Yo soy amigo...cosa' personale' del gobierno, yo siento mucha sim- patía por ese gobierno. Porque yo trabajé mucho en su campa- ña.	I'm a man who has fought on Balaguer's side ever since his Party began. I'm a friend.. real personal..of the gov- ernment. I really like this government. Because I worked hard during his campaign. 131
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Just as among the serranos, there is a tendency to claim that one worked during the campaign. There is the feeling that if one has not exerted oneself for the jefe, claims to his help will be less strong. Therefore almost everybody talked to emphasized the effort they had exerted during

the campaign. Though I was unable to ascertain the truth of this claim, the impression is that there was exaggeration as to how much effort they had expended to get Balaguer into office during the campaign itself. Their claims that they work probably reflect what they feel they should do to merit response from the caudillo rather than reflect what they actually did do. In the entire district, with more than a thousand families, there were only nine votes for Juan Bosch. Thus the workers did vote as a bloc for Balaguer. But as to self exertion during the campaign, that is probably another story. But they do expect help.

<p>Nosotros en realidad lo que queremos es que el día que e' to se cierre...queríamos que el gobierno principalmente s' encargara de resolverlo' lo de nosotros inmediatamente. Que si nosotros cuando vamos hacer nuestro reclamo que no' pertenece onde el patrón, que nosotros queremos que el gobierno no' ayude, coopere con nosotros.</p>	<p>What we really would like is when this closes down... we wish the government especially would take charge of solving our problem immediately. So that when we go to put in a request with the boss for what belongs to us, we want the government to help us, to cooperate with us.¹³²</p>
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<p>Yo creo que el gobierno..me parece..que hablando a ei respeto a lo' campesino'...que trabajamos materialmente con ei y tratamos de todo..eh.. lo'campesino..el único amparo que tienen lo' campesino' e' de lo' gobierno.' Fue con el millonario el campesino no vale ná' aquí.</p>	<p>I think the government..I think..talking to him with respect to the campesinos... that frankly we worked for him and we made efforts..all the campesinos..eh..the only protection that the campesinos have comes from the government. Because with the millionaire, the campesino isn't worth anything here.¹³³</p>
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The following is very similar to many serrano segments:

<p>Cuando el gobierno comenzó aquí, no tenía dinero, no tenía nada. Pero el gobierno que tenemos e' bueno. Sí, el gobierno e' bueno. Solamente que él necesita persona</p>	<p>When the government began here, he didn't have any money; he didn't have anything. But the government we have now is good. Yes, the government is good. The only thing is</p>
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que l' e'pliquen...o que le
blen personalmente, con él,
siempre l' e'plican como
té'l paí'...y la situación
del paí'.

The only thing is, he needs
people who will explain to
him...who'll speak to him per-
sonally...who'll keep him
informed as to how the coun-
try is...the situation of
the country is.134

Porque el mi'mo gobierno qui-
zá no se da cuenta lo que en
e'te paí' e'tá pasando. La po-
breaz e'tá llegando a una
cosa muy grande aquí. La i-
quierda...la i'quierda que
s' e'tá aprovechando del ham-
bre. Y el paí' va par' el abi-
smo. Y mientra ná' desocupado
va, e' má' malo.

...Because the government it-
self maybe doesn't realize
what's going on in this coun-
try. Poverty is getting to
be a terrible thing here now.
And the leftists...the left-
ists are taking advantage
of the hunger...and the coun-
try's heading for the abyss..
And the more unemployed there
are, the worse off it is.135

That is: we have a good government. But the country is going downhill, we're heading for the abyss. How can that be if the government is good? The government just doesn't know, he needs people to tell him. On a few sections of the protocols, it was suggested that the government had better not close the sawmills; it was a communist plot to throw men out of work and keep men agitated. However as has been explained the workers were more interested in having the government get their severance pay from the bosses than in having the sawmill stay opened. But when it did occur on the protocols, this belief was quite similar to that of the serranos and the communist forestry department. By dissociating the closing of the sawmill from Balaguer, the workers were able to feel whatever negative feelings came up and give them an outlet; for they had dissociated the closing of the sawmill from Balaguer. Balaguer is the kind monarch in his palace, unaware of the evil plotting of his court subordinates.

Thus for both serrano and worker Balaguer is good. He is the caudillo who will come to the aid of those that follow him. He will free the serrano from the iron rod of the corrupt, plotting forest rangers. He will wrench from the rich bosses a just severance pay for the workers. Perhaps without even intending it, Joaquín Balaguer has reinstated in all its vigor the caudillo system in the community of La Loma.

The following analysis will show in what sense this is being said. In the case of both the serranos and the workers, history had caught up with them. Historical changes had made the paternalistic solution--the solution presented by a caudillo system of authority relationships in politics and the personalistic patrón system in the economic sphere--non-functional for the individuals on the bottom end. The workers saw themselves as about to get gypped of their life's savings. The serranos saw that their way of life was being squeezed out by the Forestry Department. In both cases authority was now pressing down on them instead of responding as expected in terms of the caudillo-patrón frame of reference. The new situation cried out for a different type of response. That is, history appeared intent on killing this system as a functional solution to the problems of either of these groups in La Loma.

To survive they would have to behave in new ways. This was progress, painful progress, but progress nonetheless.

A die-hard system that belonged to another age¹³⁶ was being challenged by the reality in La Loma, which rendered it completely inadequate both to the serrano and to the worker. Authority in the form of the Forestry Service was keeping the farmers from their conucos; authority in the form of the Company was going to gyp the workers of their severance pay. Authority was not behaving like either group expected it would. Their pattern of behavior toward authority would thus have to be re-evaluated.

In such situations the solution is to adapt or perish. But adaptation, when it involves a change as anxiety evoking as abandonment of the protective shelter of authority, is not an easy path. To survive the workers and serranos would have had to adopt some new behavior--be it militant organizing, or self-started mass migration, or whatever; they were being forced out from under the shelter of a 19th century Spanish cloak into an agitated modern world. Enough to frighten anyone. But the challenge had come earlier, with the death of Trujillo. The political chaos that subsequently reigned in the country--culminating in the chaotic revolution of 1965--left the campesinos without a caudillo. There was nobody to lean on; the world didn't make sense.

But the elections offered new hope. Perhaps the good old days weren't gone forever. And the choice between the two candidates was not difficult. Juan Bosch symbolized modern instability; Balaguer, from his association with Trujillo and the Americans, symbols of a tranquil, shel-

tered past, was the man to turn to. The startling vehemence with which the campesinos threw themselves into Balaguer's camp is eloquent testimony to their desire to return to the throne a stable authority figure who they believed would behave like authority is supposed to--in terms of the caudillo system. For the people of La Loma, Balaguer is the solution to life's problems. His presence in the National Palace, though it has not yet solved their economic problems, has restored their confidence that in the long run they can face life's problems the way they always have.