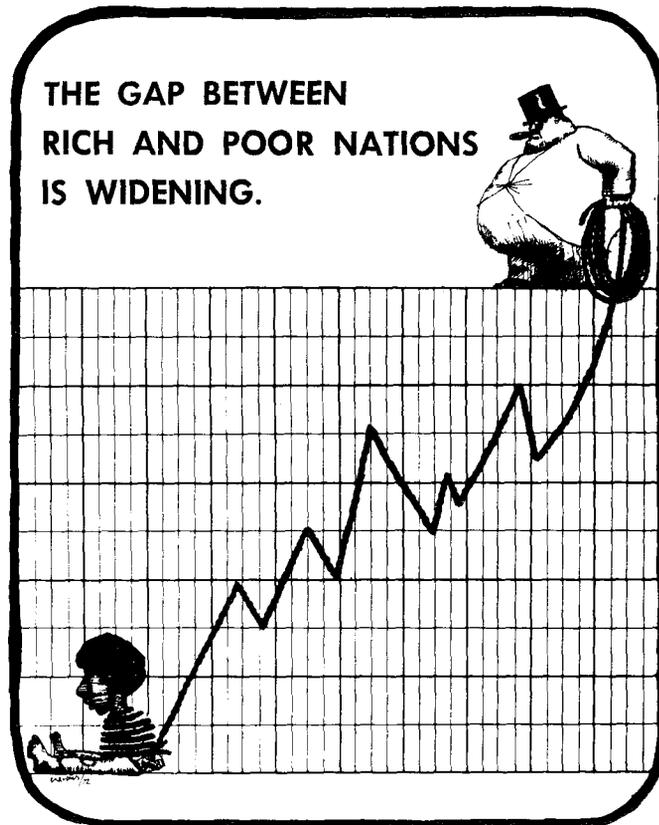


# SIX LESSONS IN UNDERDEVELOPMENT



These cartoons come from the pen of Claudius Ceccon, a Brazilian exile living in Geneva, Switzerland. They are drawn from a series entitled "Aid, Trade, and Development." Claudius, an architect by training, worked in Brazil as an editor of the satirical weekly *Pasquim* until 1968 when political circumstances forced him to leave the country.

For a time thereafter he served as the communications secretary of the World Student Christian Association, before joining the Institute for Cultural Action in Geneva. He now carries on his work there with Paulo Freire, the Brazilian educator and author of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, among others. His work as a cartoonist is part of a genre which enjoys wide popularity in Latin America—namely, comic strip political propaganda. Though less well-known than other practitioners of the art, such as Mexico's "Ruis," he has earned the hostility of the Brazilian dictatorship, and would face jail and torture if he returned to Brazil.



the Doc's death in April 1971 has in no way tried to suppress his memory. Many public buildings are named after him. His tomb in the city's main cemetery—like tombs of other god-like creatures—is guarded by the army and has an eternal flame. Everywhere there is the special official photograph originally handed out in January 1971 when the Doc announced that he would be succeeded by his son. That was when he ordered the constitution changed to allow twenty-year-olds to qualify for the Presidency. In the picture a stilted young Jean-Claude sits in the presidential chair with a frail Papa Doc behind, the old man's hand resting on Jean-Claude's shoulder. "This is the young man I have promised you," it reads, "full of energy and life. May God preserve him." It symbolizes the legitimacy of the succession. Older Haitians remember a similar poster distributed by the Doc earlier in his regime. At that time, the Doc himself was in the chair. Standing behind, not so frail but with his hand firmly on Papa Doc's shoulder, was Jesus Christ.

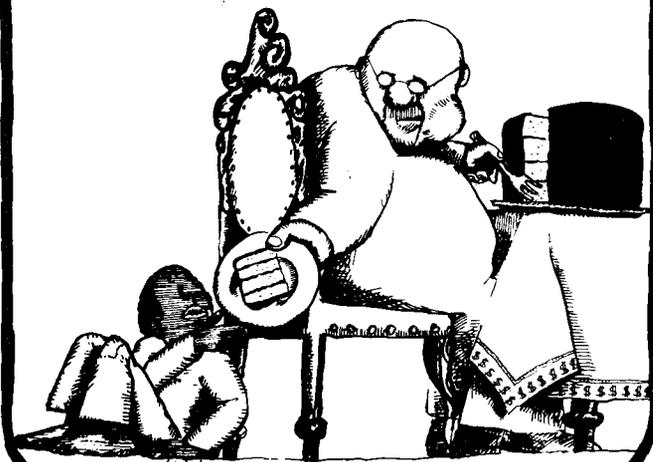
Jean-Claude is reputed to be firmly controlled by his mother, "la Venerable Mere Mme. Simone Duvalier." Rumour has it that she will not allow Jean-Claude to marry because she would then cease to be Haiti's first lady. Taking cues from his deceased father, Jean-Claude has taken to affecting an inflated French rhetoric and has already declared himself to be Haiti's eighth president for life. Referring to his father as "Titan," Jean-Claude sees himself as "formed in the school of this integral Haitian, a political heir of this statesman unequalled in the annals of our history."

According to Jean-Claude, the country is now in the second decade of the "Duvalier Revolution." But whereas Papa carried out the *political* revolution, Jean-Claude will effect the *economic* revolution. Everyone knows what the Doc's political revolution was: the systematic jailing, purging and killing of all his opponents. Papa ruled through his 5,000-man army and the more numerous Tontons. The economic state of the country speaks for itself. Only 100,000 of the country's

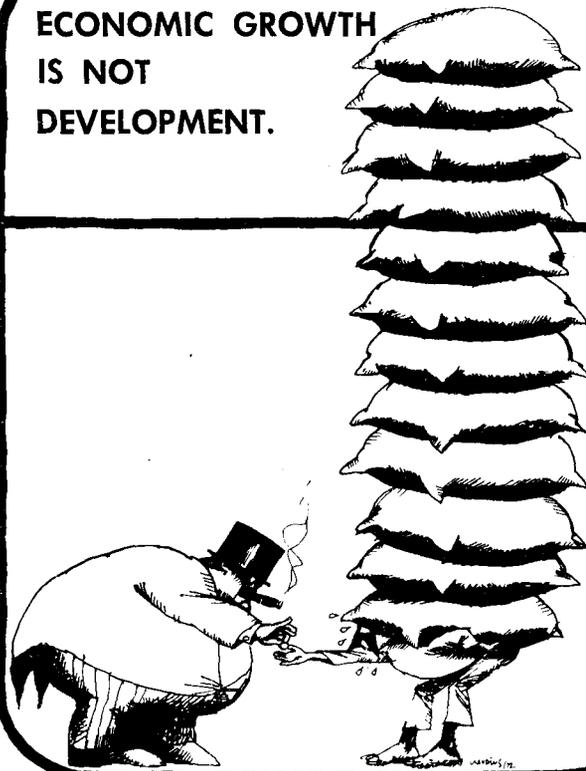
4.5 million people are fully employed. With a 1971 GNP of \$375 million, average annual earnings per capita were \$70, by far the lowest in the Western Hemisphere, and with Chad, Dahomey and Bhutan, one of the lowest in the world. Average wages in the relatively prosperous light industries around Port-au-Prince are 70 cents a day. Some 90 percent of the population are illiterate and only 17 percent of school age children now attend school. There are only 250 miles of paved road in the country. Of every 1,000 children born, only 655 live past the first year. Average life expectancy is 32 years.

This extreme poverty worsened under Papa Doc's regime. Export earnings collapsed and even the minimal road and port facilities fell into disrepair. Chief export earners are sugar, controlled by the U.S.-owned Haitian Sugar Company, and coffee. But Haiti is now unable to meet even the 31,000-ton sugar quota for imports to the U.S. A few industries have developed around Port-au-Prince, making some textiles and shoes. Haiti

**THE POOR COUNTRIES  
ARE BURDENED WITH  
UNJUST TERMS OF TRADE.**



**ECONOMIC GROWTH  
IS NOT  
DEVELOPMENT.**



also manufactures baseballs for export, but the Haitians themselves do not play baseball. Nearly everything "needed" by the middle class has to be imported. Even the grass for middle-class lawns is brought in from Miami. And a luxury like gasoline costs 70 cents a gallon. There have been numerous attempts to overthrow this regime but all of them were defeated. Various groups of exiles have invaded the country at least eight times along the common land frontier with the Dominican Republic. Most of the invasions occurred during the liberal interlude between the liquidation of Trujillo in 1961 and the U.S. invasion in 1965. Within Haiti itself, other Papa Doc opponents—like the first Tonton head, Clement Barbot—were gunned down after a series of faulty putsches. Thus the Doc built up an air of invincibility around himself. Once, he ordered the severed head of a slain enemy brought to his office and told people that he had spent several hours interrogating the head about other people involved in the conspiracy. Eventually, most of his opponents—

liberals, socialists, and supporters of ex-President Magloire—fled to the U.S. There are, for example, 70,000 Haitians in New York City.

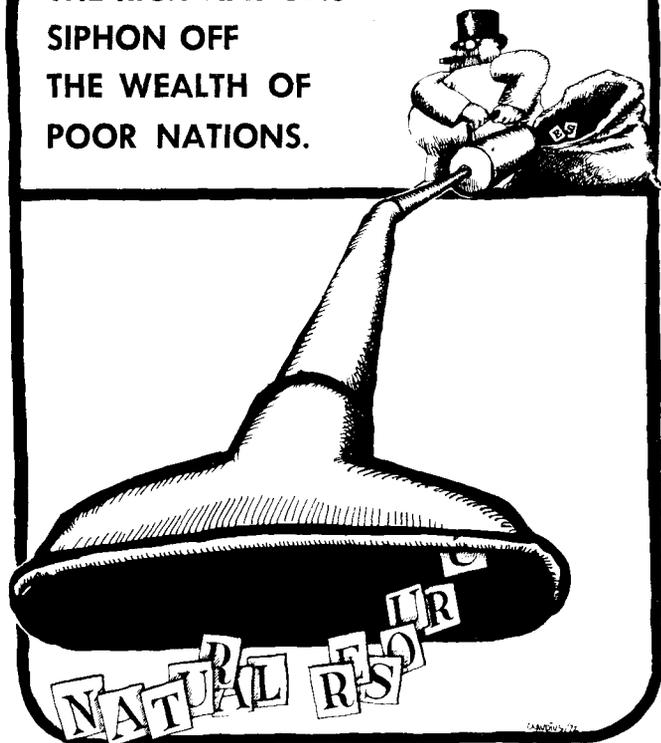
The Haitian communist movement, which began in 1934, was factionalized and divided until 1968, when it was able to coalesce around the United Communist Party of Haiti (PUCH in its French initials). PUCH had a solid underground organization — unlike some of the more individualist bands which had tried—and in 1969 began a campaign of guerrilla warfare. However there was an informer in the Central Committee and more than 200 PUCH cadres were slain in the successful Duvalier counter-offensive. A leading Haitian poet, René Depestre, born in the southern town of Jacmel in 1926, lives in Havana and broadcasts daily to Haiti in Creole. It is the only communist voice beamed to the island.

Such was the violence of the Doc's regime that even reactionary foreigners saw fit to criticize him. Many saw him as an isolated psychopath who would have been humorous, even camp,

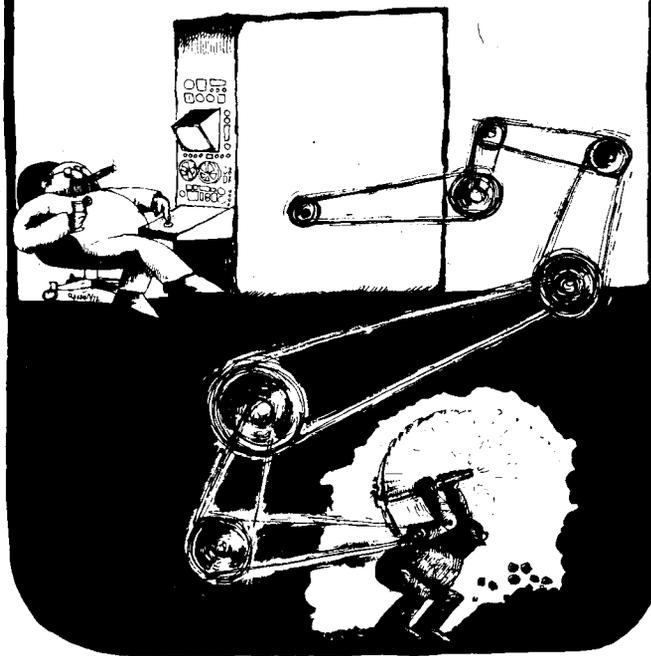
except for the blood on his hands. While Duvalier was often referred to as that "little black" tyrant, his son is being derided in the American press as a "portly black" youth. Much of this overly simplified foreign criticism and abuse was profoundly misleading because it missed the two key aspects of Papa Doc: his own historic role within Haiti and his relationship to Yankee imperialism.

Haiti's present squalor can be traced to the end of the great slave revolt of 1791-1804. This threw out the French in the first colonial revolution in the third world and the only successful slave revolt in history. Despite the victory, the revolutionaries were unable to produce a stable post-revolutionary society. Thus, throughout the 19th century, Haiti was the scene of pitched battles between factions of the ruling mulatto elite, an arrogant ten percent minority which ruled the rest of the island's blacks. The heroes of those times are revered today. The names of the four great leaders—Dessalines, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Christophe, Petion—are con-

THE RICH NATIONS  
SIPHON OFF  
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POOR NATIONS.



THE FIRST WORLD AND THE  
THIRD WORLD ARE  
ONE AND THE SAME SYSTEM.



by claudius ceccon

stantly invoked. Opposite the Presidential Palace stands a statue to the runaway slaves, the *marrons*, who harassed the French in the 18th century. These heroes are invoked by everyone to justify their policies, but no one on the left or right ever goes critically into the weaknesses of the revolutionary past to explain the catastrophic social and economic conditions of the counterrevolutionary present. Forgotten is the fact that imperialism was defeated then, and an independent state was born, and both were corrupted by contemporary neo-colonial political and economic conditions. Papa Doc was simply the culmination of this internal weakness. He didn't happen to be a strongman who came out of nowhere. He used voodoo to mystify the people because voodoo is the popular religion of the Haitian masses. It wasn't new. Many presidents before him used voodoo and today it is still the ideological system by which most Haitians face up to reality. Even the massacres Papa Doc carried out were no more bloody than those of many of his predecessors.

What served to stabilize this kind of regime in Haiti was the advent of U.S. imperialism. Because Haiti was a black republic, the U.S. refused to recognize it for 60 years. And it was not until the early 20th century that the U.S. took an active role in Haitian affairs. After Haiti had been strapped with financial difficulties, U.S. Marines invaded the country and in 1915 seized the Haitian gold reserves. To this day the Haitian *gourde* (worth 20 cents) is tied to the dollar. The U.S. occupation lasted 19 years, until 1934. The period witnessed a spectacular outbreak of opposition by guerrilla peasants, *cacos*, under the leadership of Dominique Peralte. From 1916-19 the northern provinces were the scene of fierce fighting until Peralte was captured by a ruse and shot by U.S. Marine Captain Herman Hannekin. Hannekin was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for his action and 20 years later traveled throughout the U.S. selling war bonds. The *cacos* continued to fight for another year but several thousand were killed in the counter-insurgency repression and that move-

ment was stilled.

By the time Roosevelt pulled out the Marines in 1934, he had left behind a ruling group that was closely tied economically and politically to the U.S. In the 1940's and 1950's the U.S. Embassy was actively controlling Haitian politics. When Papa Doc came to power in 1957 he asked for even more U.S. "support." Marine "advisors" arrived in 1958 and more than \$20 million in "aid" arrived by the end of 1961. Still, even the U.S. was disturbed by Papa Doc's terroristic and repressive policies. The so-called Alliance for Progress was under way and Papa Doc was an "embarrassment" to the hemisphere. The Punta del Este kickback of 1962 seemed to ease U.S. pressures on the Doc, but that was short-lived. Real trouble began in 1963. The Marine advisors departed and so did the ambassador. Aid was cut to \$2 million a year and this was tabbed for malaria control. The U.S. began giving covert support to some exiled groups. After aid was cut, in August 1963, Papa Doc made a long speech predicting doom for President

Kennedy. And in Haiti everyone knew that 22 had always been Papa Doc's lucky number. Along came November 22 and Papa Doc started the rumor that he had dispatched *zombis* to Dallas. By the time the U.S. invaded the Dominican Republic in 1965, Washington looked happily at the "stable" regime in Port-au-Prince.

With Nixon, a new epoch began. Nixon was no stranger to Haiti, having visited there in 1955, heaping praise on the then-tyrant Magloire. Nixon even took to the streets to meet the people. At one corner he held up a young woman riding a donkey loaded with milk containers and talked with her through a government interpreter. Her first Creole reply was "Tell this *cocoyé* to let me go on my way." The interpreter translated this as "She is happy to meet the Vice President of the United States." Nixon then asked her about her family, and the woman said she had no husband and three children, but the interpreter said "She is engaged." Nixon placed a hand on the donkey's rump and asked "What is the donkey's name?" The woman said "He must be crazy. Doesn't he know a donkey when he sees one?"

Nixon has not visited Haiti since becoming President. He sent Nelson Rockefeller instead. The visit was part of a 1969 Latin American tour. In contrast to other countries where he was constantly hounded by angry demonstrators, Rockefeller was cheered by thousands of Haitians whom the Tontons had forced onto the streets. Rockefeller and Papa Doc appeared on the presidential balcony and waved to the assembled crowd. Evidently the era of U.S.-Papa Doc tension was over. Rockefeller said aid could be resumed. A new U.S. ambassador arrived.

In November 1970, Washington secretly lifted the ban on arms exports to Haiti. Export licenses were granted to a Miami arms firm, Aerotrade Ltd., which sold \$200,000 worth to a New Orleans firm, which in turn added six 65-foot patrol boats to the deal.

These arms, and the diplomatic friendship Ambassador Clinton Knox created, laid the basis for the smooth post-Papa Doc transition. When old Papa died in April 1971, Knox was summoned to the palace and shown the body. Units of the Atlantic fleet

went on alert off the Haitian coast to deter possible exile landings. Despite the expectations, nothing happened. After Papa's death, Haiti tried a face-lifting. Aware of the reputation that the Tontons had, Jean-Claude announced the formation of a new 500-man counterinsurgency force, the Leopards. The arms firm, Aerotrade, supplied advisers, former Marines, to train them. Haitians were encouraged to tell visitors that a new era had begun. Tourism was encouraged and foreign capital was to be brought in—no harassment, cheap terms, Peligre Dam and so on. All this has turned out to be lies and half-truths, although the U.S. has tried to help the ruling group in Port-au-Prince to think differently. The Tontons are as strong as ever—ask anyone in the street. Some Tontons are supposed to have been purged, but the former chief, Mme. Max Adolphe, is mayor of Port-au-Prince. The press and all political activity are as tightly controlled as ever. Economic development of the country has meant the surrender of more of Haiti to foreign capital and control, something that even Papa Doc's vagaries never encouraged. The 23-mile long island of La Tortue off the north coast has been leased for a secret sum on a 99-year lease to Dupont Carribean Inc., a Miami property firm. It will become a free port and tourism center. In addition, all of Haiti's oil exploration rights, both land and sea, have been granted to Hawaiian oilman Wendell Philipps. It is the first case of such a complete concession ever recorded.

There have been other economic changes. In February 1972, it was revealed that U.S. operators were earning large profits by exporting Haitian blood plasma to the U.S. One of the operators remarked that there was nothing immoral in exporting the blood since the Haitians had no use for it anyway.

Then there is Interior Minister Cambronne's relations with a M. Andre Labay. Labay is the Belgian who was arrested in October 1971 by French police with 106 kilos of heroin in his car. Cambronne's Belgian connection has a curious history. In the early 1960's, Labay was in the Congo, where he worked closely with white mercenaries in Katanga and reportedly was there on a job for French intelli-

gence. In 1967, back in Europe, Labay took over Belfort, a Belgian insurance company, which went bankrupt in January 1968. That left 36,000 Belgian drivers uninsured. Later in the year, Labay surfaced in Haiti, running a factory and making gold busts of President Francois Duvalier. But Labay proved to be too much even for Haiti. Labay was implicated in a bank scandal and the Haitians involved were arrested. Labay returned to Europe, paid a nominal fine for the Belfort collapse, and was arrested by the French police with the largest haul of heroin they had ever seen.

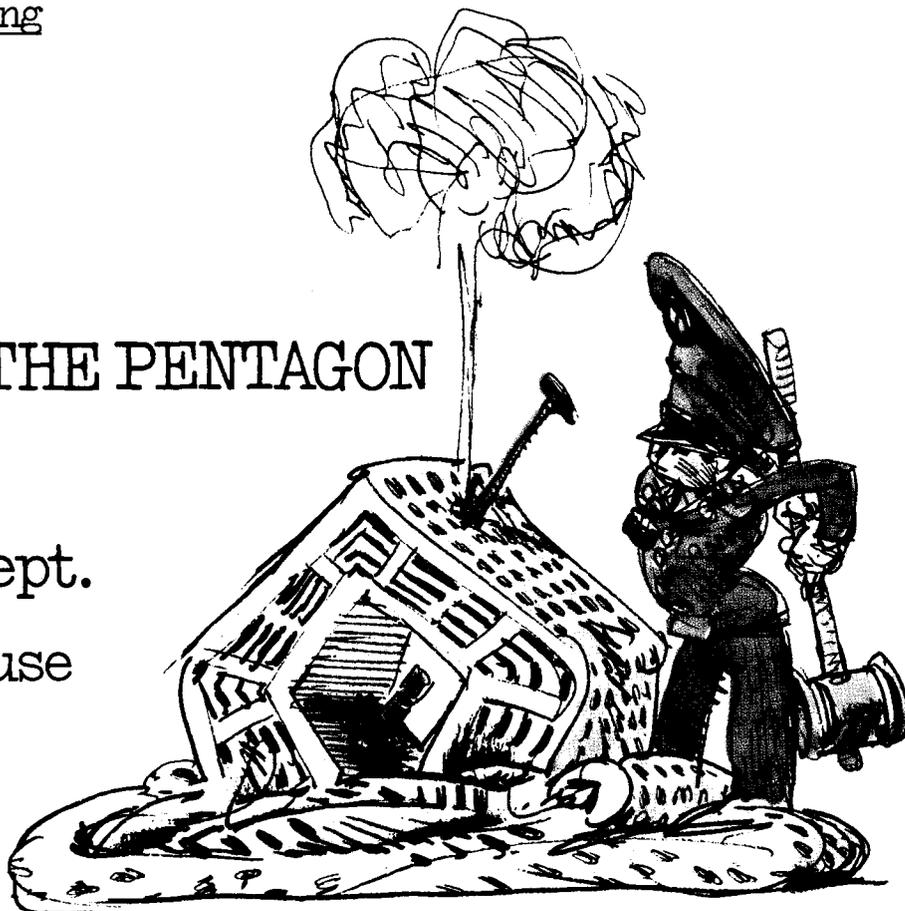
Cambronne's precise connection to Labay is not clear, but he is widely believed to have been a patron of Labay and to have been implicated in the bank scandal. More important is the French claim that Labay's "factory" was a cover for other operations, like maybe heroin.

In September 1972 it was rumored that the U.S. was not going to give Haiti additional aid because of the current repression in Haiti and Cambronne's connections with Labay. Cambronne incarnates the Duvalier regime. He clearly hopes to seize power, using Papa Doc's family as a facade. His main rival is Jean-Claude's sister, Marie-Denise, who wants power for herself. Cambronne once said that "a good Duvalierist stands ready to kill his children or children to kill their parents."

In what may be an attempt to scare the Norte Americanos, Cambronne recently announced that persons who were part of an "international communist conspiracy" had begun a series of "terrorist acts." The son of a cabinet minister was kidnapped and more than a hundred persons, including some military leaders, were arrested in the ensuing "counter-attack." Of course, all of this could well be a ploy whereby Cambronne solidifies his own position and that of Jean-Claude. In any event, if such a conspiracy posed a real threat, the U.S. would always be ready and willing to move in. Sitting idle a mere fifty miles away is the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo, Cuba, and if that is too little and too late there is also the U.S.-supported Dominican army, 12,000 strong, standing behind a mid-island border only 26 miles away from the Haitian capital. ○

the informal art of leaking

SLOW LEAK IN THE PENTAGON  
(and the CIA  
and the State Dept.  
and the White House  
and...)



CALL HIM KENDALL. HE IS A U.S. Government employee with access to top-secret Pentagon documents. Early in October, 1971, a highly sensitive Joint Chiefs of Staff paper came across his desk. It outlined a proposed five-year plan for American programs in Cambodia.

Kendall is a public servant, a civil service employee, an organization man. Still, he was appalled by what he read. The Joint Chiefs were recommending that American involvement in Cambodia be greatly increased, that annual military aid be more than doubled over the next five years, and that Cambodian military and paramilitary forces be increased five-fold, to over 800,000 by 1977. The object was to "win" the war in Cambodia by driving the North Vietnamese out of the country and crushing the native Khmer Rouge guerrilla forces.

That night Kendall got into a conversation with a congressional aide at a Washington cocktail party. He talked freely about the plan and promised to

provide the aide with detailed notes on it. Within a week, Max Frankel used these notes to break the story on the front page of the *New York Times*. The same day Frankel's article appeared, Secretary of Defense Laird publicly refused either to confirm or deny the existence of the plan, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved a spending and personnel ceiling on American involvement in Cambodia.

The whole Cambodian question received widespread media coverage that week, and the Pentagon eventually shelved its five year plan for Cambodia. A State Department official who worked on Cambodian affairs confirmed nearly a year later that, more than any other factor, it was the publicity resulting from Kendall's leak which stopped the Joint Chiefs' plan from being put into effect.

In a recent interview, Kendall talked about this whole affair: "What got to me was the colossal stupidity of the plan. There were lots of people

within the government who felt the same way. But it wasn't in anyone's interest to put himself in front of the plan's increasing momentum. The White House was behind it, and no one wanted to throw himself on his own bureaucratic sword. . . .

"Sure, I was frightened when the story appeared in the paper. A major investigation was started, and I regretted having done it for the next few days. But I soon got over that. I felt strongly that the plan had to be stopped. It was the kind of thing that was so stupid that, once it saw the light of day, even its own authors wouldn't claim it. I had been looking for a way to effectively stop it, and the leak seemed to accomplish just that."

Leaking has become effective as ordinary, loyal, hard-working bureaucrats like Kendall increasingly take it on themselves to blow the whistle on official plans and actions which offend their sense of decency. The leakers have appeared throughout the execu-