

# Fear Grips Haiti in

## 6/1/68 Duvalier Plays Cool Game After

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7—The cool cat and mouse game between Haiti's dictator, Francois (Papa Doc) Duvalier, and his opponents took a new turn this week, leaving uncertain when and how hard Duvalier will pounce this time.

In the three days since capital of this Caribbean island by a lone four-engine airplane, there have been no reliable indications of mass the quixotic bombing of the arrests or the heavy repressive measures Duvalier has unleashed with far smaller cause in the past.

An eerie calm has gripped this provincial city of 300,000, the closest thing Haiti has to an urban area. Late yesterday, green tarpaulins were draped over the three tanks and two anti-aircraft guns that stand on the lawns of the shining white National Palace.

The logic of the poorly planned raid may have been based on Haitian exile leaders' belief that the 61-year-old Duvalier is near death's door in his 11th year as Haiti's self-proclaimed "President for life."

Exile forces in New York indicated Wednesday, just after the bombing, that they were certain Duvalier was under doctor's orders to stay in bed. If the excitable President disobeys those orders to lead the defense against the bombing and an announced "invasion," the exiles could thus be rid of their arch-foe.

Such cynical maneuvering would be small in scale, however, compared to the way the government has been toying with alleged subversives this spring.

The regime, which said the raid was part of a larger Communist plot, has claimed that more than 60 persons, all described as Communists, have been killed in a series of clashes. One of the raids involved the demolition of a mountaintop house in which a woman was allegedly hiding with 60 other terrorists.

"I had known for four months where she was liv-

ing," said a foreigner with excellent contacts in and out of the regime, "and so did the government. They could have made the raid anytime. They are just picking people off as they wanted to, for propaganda. I doubt that all the 30 were killed there, but many of them probably have been killed somehow."

The anti-Communist campaign has been closely tied to new requests for American aid to fight communism in this black, Creole-speaking nation of four million people.

Coming at a time when the already stagnant Haitian economy is headed for even greater difficulty, the combination of aid requests and the blaming of all internal problems on Communists, may help explain the lack of a blind striking out against the populace that has been a trademark of Duvalierism in the past.

At least one well-informed diplomat here sees the comparative calm stemming from a newly bound sense of security by Duvalier. His view is that, having nearly succeeded in destroying all social and political institutions here, the President can now brath more easily.

But it is difficult to be sure of anyone's motives, least of all Duvalier's in this informer-ridden society where saying the wrong word will land a Haitian in jail, or worse. Almost every answer to a question is an evasion, prefaced by the phrase, "It is dangerous for me."

The people in the crowded and colorful market area regard each other fearfully, and their eyes follow a foreigner with special distrust. In such a closed atmosphere, there are endless rumors.

Duvalier has not been seen in public since early May, and it is almost certain that he suffered a heart attack around May 8. It is also

Mari-Denis, has conveyed around May 8. It is also known that his daughter, Marie-Denise, has conveyed the government's decisions to Duvalier's ministers. It is widely rumored that she and her husband, Max Domi-

nique, have actually been running the government.

Government spokesmen deny Duvalier is ill, but admit that "perhaps he has taking a rest," as one put it.

Information Minister Paul Blanchet refused to convey a request for an interview with Duvalier or other government officials, saying none will be given before Duvalier meets with Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller's Latin-American mission in early July.

Asked about the invasion that exile leaders in Miami announced Wednesday, Blanchet voiced an obscene French phrase, then said: "We will crush the invasion as we have before. The people of Haiti, monsieur, are patriotic."

The rumor that Duvalier was indeed dead swept the city Thursday. But at 6 p.m., he made a surprise radio address, references to Wednesday's raid. His voice, sounding strong, almost calm, but observers noted that this important address, appealing for loyalty, was not televised.

The question that seems to be endlessly discussed here is what does happen when Papa Doc goes?

Duvalier's secret of power—dividing and ruling, no matter what the cost—may be a time bomb that will go off after his death. It is difficult for analysts to perceive any forces that will bring stability.

No successor is designated by the island's constitution, meaning that the only rational claim to authority will be force.

But even the army, usually the final arbiter in Latin American politics, may not be in control here, for Duvalier has allowed no one enough power to control any force that could oppose him.

There are deep divisions within the army, largely because of a promotion system based more on loyalty to Duvalier than seniority or ability. Without him, the few truly professional soldiers and the non professionals are likely to organize against each other, and the army may disintegrate.

# Power Struggle

## Exiles' Bombing Raid

And Duvalier has created the Volunteers for National Security, a militia, as a counterweight and therefore a natural rival to the army.

There are also the dreaded Tonton Macoutes, TTM, Duvalier's personal army of hired thugs. It is not an organization, but a designation of men with guns. There are reports that during Duvalier's illness, there has been no real control over the TTM.

They have been surprisingly low key in the wake of the raid, and the power of the TTM may be the largest unknown in a post-Duvalier equation.

There are also deep divisions within the palace itself where Duvalier's take-charge daughter Marie-Denise and her husband have long been feuding with his other daughter and son-in-law, Nicole and Luque Albert Foucard. It now appears the Foucards have lost considerable ground in the succession struggle.

Add to all this the pressures that exile groups and Communists will bring from the outside after Duvalier goes, and it becomes clear that chaos will be the almost inevitable successor to Duvalier.

A laborer in Port-au-Prince, said his son had been arrested a few months ago on a whim by troops. He has not heard from him since, and says that he does not dare ask the police what has happened to him, for he would likely wind up in jail, too.

Nine out of 10 Haitians are illiterate and desperately poor. The average per capita income is \$70 a year.

The economy is certain to sag even more as this year's lower coffee harvest will mean a drop in export revenues of about \$215,000, or 10 per cent of the monetized gross national product. Also, the world price of sisal, another Haitian crop is falling, putting Duvalier's government, which had to resort to 40 per cent deficit financing last year, in an impossibly tight squeeze.

The only bright spot has been tourism, with almost 52,000 foreigners pouring

into the tropical island last year, and a third more expected this year. The raid seemed to stem the flow a little this week, but there were already many American tourists and businessmen here.

Haiti is looking forward to the Rockefeller mission's visit more than any other Latin American nation as it attempts to get restoration of U.S. aid that was slashed in 1963 when the Haitians refused to allow U.S. supervision of how the money was spent.

But the visit may also present problems for the ailing dictator. In July, someone other than the tight little circle around him will see Duvalier, even if he is well enough to be seen. Either way, more light may then be cast on this spring's mysterious machinations of Papa Doc.

Strolling under a neon sign that proclaimed "Long live Duvalier, President for life," Port-au-Prince's socially active flocked to the Rex Theater last night to see a performance of Offenbach's "La Vie Parisienne."

Considering the recent performances of Duvalier and the self-asserted saviours of the island like those who staged this week's clumsy raid, the Haitians are well prepared for comic opera. But the fate of these 4 million people as the last curtain falls on Duvalier's drama is likely to be anything but comic.

### Raider Plane Takeoff Is Placed in Miami

MIAMI, June 7 (AP)—The plane which bombed Haiti's capital Wednesday began its mission in Miami and carried the leaders of a group planning the overthrow of President Duvalier, a source close to the raiders said last night.

A bullet-riddled plane similar to the four-engined Constellation which did the bombing landed at an American missile tracking station on Grand Bahama Island Wednesday afternoon and ten men were taken into custody.