

REPORT FROM HAITI
 Bishop Wayne K. Clymer
 November 27 - December 1, 1987

RECEIVED BY
 NORMA KEHRBERG

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ANSWERED: _____

This is a report by one member of the delegation sent by the National Council of Churches to be present in Haiti during the presidential elections on November 29. Other members of the delegation were Phillip Uhlinger, a Baptist missionary to Haiti since 1976, and Rebecca Dudley, a Mennonite missionary on furlough at Union theological Seminary.

The purpose of the visit was to join with representatives from the Caribbean Conference of Churches and church leaders from Canada, Europe and Latin America to give support to the Haitian people, and particularly the Haitian Christians who are seeking to emerge from long years of heavy-handed dictatorship to democratic rule. The purpose is not to be supportive of any political party or candidate, but simply to support fair and honest elections, and to symbolize by our presence that a world community of people care about the welfare of our brothers and sisters in Haiti.

Sponsorship for my travel has been under the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., and the funding has come from the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church. I did not go as an elected representative of the Council of Bishops.

A number of persons have been instrumental in preparing for my trip. Nora Boots and Norma Kehrberg kept in close contact with me before leaving and provided such information about the situation in Haiti as they were able to garner. I was also in close contact with Richard Boncy, Vice-president at Honeywell Co., and nephew of Alain Recourt, President of the Methodist Church in Haiti and also a member of the Electoral Council. I had been in Haiti twice before with the United Methodist Committee on Relief, and at those times met Alain Recourt.

A few words about Haiti. Haiti is a country about the size of the state of Maryland. Its capital is Port-au-Prince. The country has a population of about six million people, most of whom (about 95%) are of black african descent.

About 80% of the people are nominally Roman Catholic. 10% are Protestant. However, voodoo practices are common throughout the country. (A recent survey concludes that the Protestant population may be as high as 25%.)

Illiteracy is at about 85% and one-half of the people are unemployed. Life expectancy is an average of 54 years.

About two-thirds of the country is mountainous and unsuitable for cultivation. The country is characterized by widespread deforestation and erosion. Haiti is one of the most densely populated countries in the world.

Columbus discovered this island in 1492 on his maiden voyage to the new world. In 1697 Spain ceded what is now Haiti to France. The slave population revolted in 1791s and gained control, and by 1804 had established independence from France. Haiti is the world's oldest black republic, and, next to the United States, the oldest republic in the western hemisphere.

The citizens of Haiti were unable to provide for a stable government. Between 1843 and 1915 there was a succession of 22 dictators. The United States intervened militarily in 1915 and remained in control until 1934 when the occupation ended.

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In 1957 Francois Duvalier was elected president and became president for life in 1964, maintaining absolute control until his death in 1971. During his rule there was severe repression of all opposition. The country stagnated and then declined in economic development.

"Papa Doc" Duvalier was succeeded by his son, Jean-Claude who became known as "Baby Doc." Not much changed under his rule, though he was somewhat less repressive. However, after several months of protest and disorder Jean-Claude fled on February 7, 1986 and the National governing Council was established with the assistance of the U.S.A. and the army.

The National Governing Council has three members whose responsibility it is to provide a transition to democracy. A constitution has been drawn up which provides for an independent nine-member provisional Electoral council having responsibility planning and overseeing the elections. The head of the National Governing Council is Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy.

On June 22, 1987 the National Governing Council sought to take unto itself the responsibilities that had been decreed for the electoral Council. The result was widespread violent protest throughout the country. President Namphy promised that the constitution would be respected and the provisional Electoral Council would resume its responsibilities.

After that time the Electoral Council was under considerable pressure. On October 31st, 1987 the electoral Council disqualified twelve potential candidates for the presidency because of their history of involvement in the Duvalier regime. As a consequence the headquarters of the Electoral Council was burned and two other buildings, as well. Other facilities were sprayed with gunfire. Members of the council asked for protection, but none was forthcoming from the government. The printing presses that were printing the ballots were also destroyed.

All of this was interpreted as an attempt by persons having ties with the old government trying to prevent the elections. There were also accusations that the National Governing Council and the army, or at least sections of these bodies, were sympathetic, if not directly involved in the obstruction and violence.

Some days later one of the markets in downtown Port-au-Prince was burned. Maudering bands roamed the streets shooting and calling for the destruction of the Electoral Council and the control of army.

Nonetheless, the electoral Council proceeded courageously with plans for the election. More than 100 candidates representing some 21 political parties declared candidates for the presidency. Carrying out elections under the threat of violence without protection from the army posed unimaginable problems.

The following are notes and observations made during my stay in Haiti:

Friday, November 27th:

I left this morning from the airport in Minneapolis at 8:15 and after changing planes in Miami arrived in Port-au-Prince at about 4:30 in the afternoon. Only a dozen people got

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off at Port-au-Prince, and so far as I could tell, only two non-Haitians - a reporter from the Miami Herald and myself. I was met at the airport by Cecilia Mennes and her adult daughter. Cecilia serves under the Board of Global Ministries as a coordinator for work teams and delegations that come to Haiti.

Once at the Holiday Inn I met Allan Kirton, General Secretary of the Caribbean Conference of Churches, and George Mulrain, whom I had met some years ago in Cap Haitien. He is now a professor of world religions at the seminary at Kingston, Jamaica. The hotel lobby was filled with reporters and observers from around the world. After getting my I.D. card and my room assignment I met with the church delegates at 6:00 p.m.

There were twenty-one persons in the room representing delegations from the Canadian Council of Churches, the World Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches, the Caribbean Conference of Churches and one person from Brazil. Archbishop Kelvin Felix of St. Lucia was our chairman. We were given an update on the current situation by the Rev. Moise Isidora. He said there were rumors afloat of a military coup. He saw this as an attempt to get people off of the street, but many people refused to retreat. Shots have been fired for several nights in the city, but as yet, no one was killed today. Military trucks are patrolling the streets, but as far as he could see these were not so much to protect the people as to make room for the Ton Ton Macoutes.

The place is filled with rumors. One is that the Electoral Council is a tool of the United States. He said that most of the shops were closed by 1:00 p.m. today because people were afraid there might be a coup. Last night the electoral office in one of the towns was burned and three persons were killed.

The fact that the army has been reorganized with seventeen generals is significant. Up to this time there has been only one general in the army. The feeling is that with naming this large number of generals, and promoting Lt. Gen. Namphy to Commander-in-Chief, the stage is being set for an army takeover.

The role of the United States is unclear. It is on record as wanting to have the elections. On the other hand, some of the persons running for the presidency are anti-American and it would not be in the best interest of the United States to have such persons elected. There is distrust of the U.S.A., fearing that U.S. interests will be pursued at the expense of Haitian democracy. We did hear, however, that President Reagan had come on the radio last night indicating a strong position for the elections.

Another interesting sideline is that at the time of the uprising two years ago the people respected three groups - the army, the U.S.A. and the church. At the urging of all three of these groups the people eased off their attack upon the Ton Ton Macoutes, many of whom were killed, and accepted the counsel to work toward moderation and reconciliation. Today some people are having second thoughts, saying that they should have continued and completed the revolution. The marauding bands are remnants of the Ton Ton Macoutes and seem to have protection from the army. It was noted that the Protestants are now at least 25% of the population of Haiti. More than 200 groups and sects are operating in this country. The present crisis has brought the leading Protestant groups together in a federation. No one seemed to know how long that would last once the crisis is ended.

Tomorrow at noon sub-groups will spread out across the country to major centers to observe the elections. They will stay overnight and be present for elections on Sunday and

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return here Sunday afternoon. I will be staying in Port-au-Prince with Allan Kirton. Tomorrow morning (Saturday) at 8:00 Allan, Archbishop Felix and I will have an audience with the Papal Nuncio to get his interpretation of events. Right now everything is tense. No one knows quite what will happen, though it does seem the violence is contained in certain districts of the city.

One senses a rather negative attitude toward the United States, though it is unclear to me precisely what action they feel should be taken. If the United States takes forceful action to insure the elections it will seem as interference in the internal affairs of the country. On the other hand, if we do nothing we give the army and their death squads free reign to do their dastardly deeds to prevent the elections.

Some of the anger is related to an action by USAID. There was swine fever in the Dominican Republic, and to avoid its spread into Haiti USAID had all the pigs in Haiti killed. Pigs are economic assets, as well as pets for many of the families. The slaughter of the pigs had caused great resentment. The U.S.A. then brought in pink pigs to replace the black pigs that were killed. The pigs did not adapt well. Attempts are now in the process to get a cross-breed that will survive. Whatever the reasons for this action, it has caused a great deal of ill feeling toward the U.S. (See article in the National Geographic, November 1987 issue.)

In the restaurant at about 9:00 p.m. someone reported there had been machine-gun near the hotel, but no one seemed to pay much attention to it or take it too seriously. Gunfire has been common.

November 28 - 6:30 p.m.

This has been a tense day in the capital of Port-au-Prince, as people await the opening of election polls tomorrow morning. At 7:15 a.m. Allan Kirton, Archbishop Felix and I were driven to the home of the Papal Nuncio, who lives beyond Petienville at the very top of the mountain that overlooks Port-au-Prince. He received us graciously in his rather palacious office. He himself is of Italian background. He spoke quite openly with us for about two hours about the situation in Haiti as he saw it, both its political and religious aspects.

His feelings with respect to the United States are rather negative. It is his position that U.S.A. through its AID program discriminates against the Roman Catholic Church. There are 300-400 religious groups in Haiti who are presumably here for many reasons and a good number of them do not list evangelism as one of their projects. Consequently they can qualify for United States aid to help in their educational work. Nuncio sees this a prejudicial because the Roman Catholic Church has 60% of the schools in the country and cannot qualify. He also sees many of these groups as promoting the ideology of the Reagan administration, and also sees the U.S. administration using these groups for their ends.

He is very much concerned with what will happen after the election tomorrow. 21 people hope to be elected president, and only one will succeed. How the others will then react is an open question. ~~November~~^{December} 20th will be the election of the local government officials and in the event that there is no election tomorrow, then the two highest vote getters for the presidency, will have a runoff on ~~November~~^{December} 20th, as well. The whole situation is a little deceiving because there are no well organized parties. In many cases e.g., the local communities have not named anyone to run for mayor - perhaps only one or two, so that the election could be had with very few votes.

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The Nuncio took the position that the priests were to distance themselves from politics, but were to encourage lay people to become involved. We spent a great deal of time discussing a maverick priest, Pere Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who seems to have disobeyed the orders from the hierarchy and become deeply engaged in political activities. The Nuncio sees the Roman Catholic Church in Haiti as supportive of the revolution and being the only major organized body of any size that opposed the Duvaliers. On the other hand, in the early days the government, including Duvaliers, had strong support from the Roman Catholic Church. So, the situation is a little confusing. I felt that the Nuncio strongly supported the elections, but that he resented the extent of the Protestant leadership in the revolutionary movement, if not in the Electoral Council. By inclination he is conservative.

We returned to the Holiday Inn at about 10:00. I tried to get my tickets changed to return on Monday. There is no real need for me after that time to be here, but word was that international flights would likely be cancelled on Monday.

At 11:00 Alain Recourt came to meet with our group. This was a deeply moving hour. He shared with us the present situation, explaining how after the government had refused planes, the ballots were being delivered by truck. He went into great detail about the difficulties they'd had over the weeks with the failure of the government to cooperate in the election process. All evidence points toward the attempt of the government to derail the election process. One of the major attempts was the burning of the headquarters of the electoral committee. The burning was done within a short distance from a police station. Those who did the burning made no attempt to conceal their identity, yet there was no movement on the part of the police or army to stop them. It is a miracle that the records were not destroyed. They were on the second floor. All the windows had been closed the night before and the fire actually burned itself out before destroying the second floor. Those who perpetrated this crime assumed that they had destroyed the records in the flames.

He dramatically portrayed for us the growing support all across this nation among the common people for the elections. There is a determination to take this opening to establish a reasonable government. Conviction is wide-spread that the Ton Ton Macoutes are in collusion with at least a part of the army. Alain Recourt was gratified that we had come. He feels that our presence here is a shield of some protection for him and those who are working to bring off the election. He shared with us the suffering of the people and recounted past experiences. He had difficulty controlling his voice as he spoke of the families that endured so much and lost so many of their members by the mauraders. Those of us that were in that room will never forget this man, or that hour.

At about 12:30 we were visited by a former army officer who, having written a book about the role of the army in a democratic society, was immediately dismissed from his rank and is now a civilian lawyer. He shared with us the contents of his book and what he had proposed for the army. His work did not meet with favor in the army and so he has been dismissed. He is a very intelligent man and confirmed in us the impression that the army means to maintain control in everyway possible. The fact that Gen. Namphy has made himself Commander-in-Chief is a sign that he will have this position when the new president is installed. According to the constitution it is the president's prerogative to name the Commander-in-Chief.

The entire afternoon has been filled with tension. Two sub-groups left: one headed toward Gonaives. During the day we learned that near St. Marc, which is in route to Gonaives, groups had been stopped, among them some French reporters. The thugs

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stopping them had beat them and smashed their expensive TV equipment. Having fled to the police station they were beat again! They have since been released and at this moment are holding a press conference in Port-au-Prince. Other cars were also detained and we have not yet heard whether our group got through or was among those that were stopped.

A second sub-group went to Jacmel on the southern coast. We had not expected them to have any problems there, but we have since learned that near the city of Port-au-Prince there was an incident of destroying the polling place that was being prepared for tomorrow. There is no way in which our group can get back tomorrow without going through that very area. We hope for the best.

The group that was going to go to Cap Haitien was not permitted to make the flight. They were told it was for security reasons. So that group, along with those of us who were staying here in Port-au-Prince, are together. We plan to go early in the morning to polling places near the hotel to observe the election process and then after breakfast go to church.

At this moment no one quite knows what may happen overnight and what incidences may occur. There is, of course, the terrible fear that if a serious attempt were made to stall the elections, the people would rise up and there would be a blood bath.

I have been amazed that in the midst of all of this tension all of us, especially the people from the Carribean, have been able to move from deep anxiety and concern to moments of humor and laughter and prayer. Tonight I will go to bed early because I must be up about 5:00.

6:00 a.m. - Sunday, November 29

We were to have left the hotel about this time to go observe the balloting. However, at 4:30 I received a call from Allan Kirton saying that Alain Recourt's house was bombed during the night and fired upon. Seven hand grenades were thrown into the house. Miraculously the Recourts escaped injury. I did not know at this point about their fate. Shooting could be heard throughout the night and one of the polling places that we were to have visited this morning was destroyed. This is certainly a fateful day in the life of this nation.

I ate dinner last night with Allan. He informed me that our group that had gone north is safe and staying in the home of an anglican minister. They were stopped by a road block. We will certainly get more details later this morning. All local news is in french, so it is not possible to get anything from the radio.

7:00 a.m. - Sunday

Reports are now that two radio stations have been destroyed. At least two churches have been shot up, and several of the polling places near the hotel here have been destroyed. I talked to several press people. Some have been out and were turned back. A man from the Miami Herald had his car shot at. A bullet broke out the back window. There is also a report that the elections in Cap Haitien have been cancelled. Reporters are all gathered around the entrance of the hotel. A car window is shot out near the hotel. It is assumed that now that it is light there will be fewer maurading bands. Reporters continue to come and go bringing their reports, but many are playing it very safe and staying near the hotel. I have not heard any gunshots for some time now. (They were constant throughout the night, often near the hotel.)

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11:00 a.m. - At about 8:00 Allan Kirton, George Mulrain, Archbishop Felix, Norma Shorey-Bryan and I took a taxi to the home of Alain Recourt. He was gathered there with his family, his daughter and her husband, his brother and his wife and their two daughters. We saw how the house was bullet-marked. Seven or nine hand grenades were thrown. One was stopped from going into the house by the grill work on the window, otherwise the inside of the house would have severely damaged. Many of the windows were shot through. He reported that at 4:00 in the morning about 30 army personnel moved in on the house and began firing. Fortunately no one was injured.

While we were there gunshots began just outside. We all hit the floor. One bullet went into the house near us. We're not sure who was doing the firing, but it was very close by. Allan was very persuasive in getting Alain Recourt and his family to agree to move to another place for the day. All were willing, except Alain. Finally he agreed to go to his brother's house not far away. Before going we all gathered for prayer and the Archbishop gave a moving prayer in English, and George gave a prayer in French. I know that it meant a great deal to Alain to have his fellow church people there with him in this desperate hour. It was assumed that the death squad - or whatever name you want to give the group that attacked - would return later in the day. That's why there was a strong desire to have the Recourts out of the house.

There has been a terrible massacre of voters only a short way from the hotel at a school. About 20 people were shot and massacred with machetes. About 10 people were crowded into one room and just hacked to death. One of our group, Hugh McCullum, and three or four other reporters at the scene were chased and shot at. They were finally taken into hiding by a Haitian family and eventually rescued by the Canadian Embassy.

People were quietly standing in line to vote when a truck of thugs drove by and sprayed them with machine guns. The people picked themselves up, removed the dead and wounded and got back into line to vote! At this point the thugs returned, got out of the truck and with their guns and machetes chased and killed the people. Soldiers nearby made no attempt to intervene.

I overheard another reporter indicating how he had been forced to his knees and a gun put to his head and his equipment taken from him. Two Canadian reporters have been shot, none of them seriously so far as I know. I was greatly relieved to get back to the hotel from our trip to see Mr. Recourt and we decided that we would not venture out for the church service. (I later learned that a Dominican Republic reporter was killed, and an ABC correspondent wounded.)

A few moments ago our group from Jacmel made it back. They reported things were calm in Jacmel. The voting was going ahead. We were glad to have them back, and now we wait for our last group to come in.

The word now is that the election has been cancelled and what that will lead to no one seems to know. The airport has closed down and so no one can get out. Speculation is we may be here for a few days. I talked to an Italian reporter who said that she'd covered the war scenes and the death squad shootings in Central America and South America, but she'd not seen anything so gruesome as this where people were simply hacked to death. There's a group of congressmen here, but I've not yet been able to catch up with any of them. I don't know what they're doing or where they are.

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It's now 2:30 - a few moments ago I was in the restaurant and suddenly there was a shout and everyone hit the floor. There was a sound of breaking glass, overturned tables and chairs. We could not tell whether the breaking of the glass was from bullets or what, but there was panic. People crawled along the floor. I, with some others, went through a window in the back, through a narrow passageway in the building into locker rooms. Others climbed on the roof where they thought they could find safety. Eventually we came back. The restaurant was in shambles with food and plates and broken glass all over the floor. I was able to retrieve my identification card, which had come off in the process, though I'd lost the holder for it. It now appears that it was all started by a truck full of soldiers passing by the hotel with their guns showing. People in front of the hotel dashed in the lobby, people in the lobby started to run toward the swimming pool and the domino effect was that some ran toward the dining room. The result is what I described. So far as I can learn it was really panic rather than any genuine cause for alarm. In fact, we're not getting any reports right now of further harassment. With the cancellation of the election we would like to feel that things would calm down now, but no one is quite sure. In any event we're not leaving the hotel.

Our coming did not guarantee elections or save the country from violence, but is believed that the violence would have been greater without the international presence. With the elections cancelled there is no more that we really can do. I'm grateful that we were able to be with the Christian people here, and they seem to be grateful. It's now a matter of trying to find out when we can get a plane home. With the airport closed nothing is certain. Our group will be meeting again at 3:30, perhaps we'll have some instructions then. We're still awaiting word from one of our groups.

This is 4:30 - Monday

As indicated our group did meet at 3:00 yesterday afternoon, and happily everyone had returned safely for which there was much rejoicing. We spent about two hours giving everyone an opportunity to share their experiences, both individually and as a group. Also there was discussion of the press release which would be made. We were all a little tense as we retired and went to our rooms, not knowing what the night might be like. At first it seemed that our worst fears were to be realized for there was shooting in the area about 8:30 and we did not expect that until after midnight. However, it soon levelled off and for the rest of the night we heard very few shots. It seems in retrospect that what was happening was that the curfew was being enforced. Those early shots were simply to give notice that people were to be off the streets. I tried throughout the night to call Helen, but was not able to get through. Consequently I got little sleep and am rather tired today. Happily I did get through this morning at about 8:30.

We met at 8:30 this morning and had the opportunity to interview a member of the original Junta of the provisional government, Rosny Desroches, who resigned because he could not subscribe to government policies. Also, much time was spent getting tickets arranged for the delegation to return to their homes. Pan Am came in this morning and many of the reporters were able to make it on that plane, otherwise planes were cancelled for the day except for a flight to France this evening, which will accommodate our European group. My ticket has been revalidated once again so that I have every expectation of making the 10:00 flight in the morning as planned. Things have been quiet today. I did speak briefly with the brothers of Alain Recourt. Their house was searched last night. Alain was not there. Where he is right now is now known, except to a very few confidential persons. The impression one gets at this time is that the army wanted to make the point that they are in

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control and consequently the city was quieter than in previous nights. However, everyone knows that there is trouble down the road, in exactly what form the resistance will take is unclear. We have witnessed here the demonic exorcise of raw power against the people. Dark days are ahead for the country of Haiti.

I should add that last night we did talk to a news officer from the United States Embassy. We really didn't learn very much, except to hear that the United States government had cut off military aid to Haiti and was reconsidering economic aid, but would allow humanitarian aid to come through. That is the limit of our contact with the embassy, though I did call and listed the names of the U.S. citizens in our group.

We met again at 5:00 to go over our air travel for the morning, but otherwise I expect the evening will simply be a waiting it out for the plane.

This is Wednesday morning. I am now back in Minneapolis, and grateful to be here. I do want to fill in, however, events of Monday night. We did have the meeting at 5:00 as planned, to work on the report of the group. At about 5:30 Allan Kirton returned from a secret meeting with Alain Recourt and his family at the place where Alain was being hidden. He asked that Archbishop Felix, Mr. McLeod and I meet with him and he shared with us that it had been decided we should try to find asylum in one of the embassys for Alain. The United States Embassys did not seem to be a possibly because of the policy not to receive persons in asylum. Moreover they had not been overly cooperative in the whole episode preceeding. It was therefore determined that Mr. Bruce McLeod would contact the Canadian Ambassador, which he did, and an appointment was set up for 7:00. Allan and Mr. McLeod left to see the Ambassador. While they were gone I was called aside by a reporter and told that there was a report circulating that our hotel was targeted for attack that night and that two prominent journalists had already left to seek other housing for the night. He advised that I notify the United States Embassy about this matter, which I did and was simply told that they had no word of this and that rumors were constant in the city. The best thing would simply be to stay in my room. We were also informed that telephones were being monitored.

The group continued then to work on our report, and after a time Mr. McLeod and Allan returned and asked that they be joined the Archbishop and myself. There we learned that the Canadian Ambassador was very cooperative. It was not possible for them to offer asylum, however, because their policy was similar to the United States. But they did agree to work with several other embassys to see whether asylum might be offered. He also agreed to contact Ottawa to see whether immigration to Canada might be possible from another embassy. Alain Recourt, as reported to us, would consider this only as a last resort, so it is not known whether or not he would even accept this offer if granted. At any rate I had to leave the next morning before I had any word of what had occurred, so I do not know at this time what has transpired. I only know that he is being shielded in a hiding place from the current danger, but whether he will escape that danger we cannot be certain. (I have since learned that Canada will offer asylum, if requested.)

As I was checking out that evening, so as to have everything clear for the morning, I received a call at the desk of the hotel from a reporter from the Minneapolis Star Tribune. Under the circumstances that had just preceeded it was almost impossible to grant interview of any substance. I had to be very guarded, but apparently enough was said to be newsworthy as it was reported the following morning in Minneapolis.

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And now just a few observations:

1. The theory of the half completed revolution raises extremely difficult ethical questions. The U.S.A., the army and the church all called for a halt to the violence two years ago at the time of the revolution and asked that there be work toward reconciliation. The people responded to this plea and a constitution was worked out and an interim government put in place. But now that the interim government has proved to be oppressive and has violated the constitution by disbanding the electoral commission and has permitted violence to be perpetrated upon the people many are saying that they were misled. They feel that they should have completed the revolution, which really means the extermination of known macoutes and placing independent persons in control. The plea for the end of violence, of course, was to save lives, but the result has been the taking of lives. On the other hand, the people were disorganized and it is difficult how under those circumstances they could have formed any kind of a government.
2. It is quite clear that the army and the Ton Ton Macoutes collaborated in this destruction of the election process. Originally the Ton Ton Macoutes were organized by "Papa Doc" as his own protective shield against the army, or any other group. They simply were dispatched to destroy and kill anyone who criticized Duvaliers or who raised any threat. But under the present circumstances both the army and the macoutes stood to lose by a free and fair election. They knew that the people would not agree to their remaining in power, so the army stood by and allowed the macoutes to do the dirty work. The situation is a bit more complex, because not in every area did the army enter destructively into the process. They seemed to have been selective - where there was a concentration of Macoutes to do the work.
3. There was the unbelievable demonic use of raw power upon innocent people that defies description. Anyone who thinks that sin and evil in the world is being dissipated, or that it is easily eradicated are dreaming. Once again we see that power corrupts and that those in power do not surrender their positions voluntarily.
4. There is the belief that actually the control is ultimately not with the army or the macoutes, but in five large families that control the economic life of the nation and that even Gen Namphy is not free to make his own decisions - that Duvaliers were linked to these large families and everything has been to serve them and their family empires. Everything bought or sold in the country is under their control. I was told that by a prominent person that the names of these families were known to him, but that generally in the country references are simply made to "they" - "they" do "this," "they" do that, etc.
5. One is impressed that there is at present no political organization of significance. There was no time to form parties, consequently it's difficult to see how in the immediate future any organized opposition can be made to the present regime. The free radio channels had called the people to general strike and mobilization, but these have been destroyed. Yet, the opposition is so wide spread, the hunger for freedom so great, that certainly people will find a way to resist and to fight back. Exactly what form that will take is not clear, it only seems clear that the future will be filled with bloodshed.

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6. The fate of Alain Recourt, of course, is of great concern to all of us and we simply have to wait to see what can be done to international circles to provide for some safety for him and possibly for his asylum in another country. But, on the other hand, when it comes to the final decision he himself may decide to stay and live or die in Haiti. I think the later is a very real possibility. But now that the international journalists and observers are out of the country Gen. Namphy and his henchmen will be freer to do their work.
7. The effectiveness of the presence of international observers and church observers is open to analysis. Obviously the presence of the international press observers did not keep the army from destroying the election process. On the other hand, many believe that the carnage would have been much worse had it not been for the international people who were visibly present. As far as the church observers are concerned, I think that our greatest contribution was pastoral. We were able to minister to the Recourt family and also to other Caribbean leaders who were there. These Christians deeply appreciated those who came from outside the country and who were there to share with them in this deep hour of travail.
8. Just a word about the Protestant situation in Haiti. It is now estimated there 25% of the people are Protestant. This is a great surprise to everyone, and especially the Roman Catholic church. But this is somewhat of a mixed blessing. There are at least 200 so called Protestant groups in the country. Many of them have little support at home. They are independent groups. It seems that most were united in wanting their freedom of elections. But, on the other hand, the Roman Catholic church sees many of these groups as having an unfair advantage. If they do not list themselves as being there for evangelistic purposes, but for humanitarian purposes, then they can appeal for and get United States aid for their programs. Whereas the Roman Catholic church, which operates 60% of the schools are cut out because of their professedly religious and evangelistic interest. Of course the same would be true of other mainline Protestant churches. The Papal Nuncio feels that the United States is discriminatory with respect to the Roman Catholic church. I think he also feels that the electoral committee was pretty well dominated by Protestant interest. He did not mention Alain Recourt, but certainly must have had him in mind. On the other hand he was very supportive of the constitution and supportive of the electoral process that had been set in motion.

Finally, I would have to say that having gone to Haiti at this time - I'm glad that I went and glad that I was able to have a pastoral role while being there. But, I would also have to say that if I had known before I went what I know now, I would not have gone - nor would I have been asked to go. It is difficult for outsiders to comprehend the irrational and demonic powers that operate against the people. Each such encounter makes one increasingly grateful for the heritage of freedom which we have and grateful for our country. At the same time we could wish that our nation would be more vigorous in promoting human rights in these countries dominated by rightist dictatorships and governments. Had Haiti been threatened by a leftist takeover our troops would already have been there. I'm not advocating that our troops go there, but we have been reluctant to exercise the diplomatic and economic pressures which we could to insure a better land. Haiti remains dreadfully poor and illiterate, but because they have not posed a communist threat we seem to give them little attention. Perhaps now, in the wake of what has happened, we will be able to exercise greater influence.