

able to provide men, ideas and expertise in order to bring about some improvement in the country's socio-economic situation "within the framework of the present system". It glosses over the responsibility that should be borne by the present leaders for the economic regression that took place in Haiti under François Duvalier and for Haiti's being unofficially placed under trusteeship by international financing agencies and bilateral development-aid programs. It is also silent about the limitations inherent in all activities undertaken "within the framework of the present system".

Yet the very existence of such a press indicates that a crack has appeared in the new mask of Duvalierism. Haiti seems to be entering a period of self-expression. A certain number of intellectuals and journalists are trying, within the limits of the prevailing autocracy, to discard the traditional flattery and obsequiousness of the Haitian press. They are not yet calling a spade a spade, or putting the spotlight on all the situations that should be exposed, but at least they have convictions and, while making it clear that they do not speak for an opposition party, they refuse to act as mouthpieces and buttresses of the Duvalier political philosophy. This is certainly very little in the way of progress. However, in the recent history of the Haitian press, it is definitely something new. Until now, such murmurings have succeeded only in echoing the louder, more insistent voices of the working classes. They do not yet reflect the interests and aims of all those who, in various ways, are harmed by Duvalierism. Consequently, while neither overestimating nor underestimating these complaints, efforts should be made to strengthen and amplify them, so as to give new impetus to public expression of opinions by all Haitian groups interested in changing a Government that is attempting to become a permanent institution.

An ideological struggle was waged within the governing clan after the death of François Duvalier. Certain supporters, the tyrant's abettors in crime, were removed. A team of technocrats, judging that their hour had come, began to dream of reorganizing the public service, modernizing the machinery of government and the economic infrastructure and developing the capacity for absorbing and utilizing international aid flowing into Haiti. This group was quickly disillusioned and its members either resigned, accepted exile sweetened by an ambassadorship, or were dragged before the courts on questionable charges. Meanwhile, the hawks of the

regime returned to power.

The period since the death of François Duvalier has also been characterized by a fierce battle among industrialized countries to win control of the Haitian market through international aid. Consumer products will be sold to the privileged class, which has considerable purchasing power. The demonstration effect operates particularly well in that it is strengthened by tourism. The underprivileged exploited groups will also become a market through "tied" aid — more bluntly, they will provide a pretext for dumping surplus goods in Haiti, sending in contract-hungry transport companies, and employing co-operants attracted by the wonderful climate, the opportunity to gain experience and additional earnings.

In this context, the institutionalization of Jean-Claude Duvalier's regime is becoming a necessity. Seven years have passed since his father's demise. The young boy no longer mouths texts he is given to read. He now has an objective: "My father," repeats the occupant of the Presidential palace, "led the political revolution. I shall lead the economic revolution." In the meantime, he is trying to make a "first name" for himself, and a new "ism" is emerging in Haitian politics: "Jean-Claudisme". He is losing interest in being a symbol of Duvalierist power that François Duvalier's supporters had to fall in line with, in spite of their differences, in order to continue running the country; his intention is to exercise effective Presidential authority. He still talks about liberalizing the regime established by his father, but his chief aim is to institutionalize "Jean-Claudisme", his own brand of government.

#### Institutionalization

The institutionalization of "Jean-Claudisme" presupposes a doctrine, appropriate institutions, and a complete change of Government personnel. In Port-au-Prince, the doctrine is being defined, the institutions are being established, and the Government personnel are being recruited. This is taking place on two distinct levels, and within the "framework of the country's present political structures". Its first aim, therefore, is not to undermine that bastion of power, the "Presidency for life". No social program other than that of the Duvaliers may be developed, and groups attempting to promote such programs are outlawed or exiled, regardless of their political orientation. The operation now under way is only the corollary of the process of legitimizing hereditary power in a country that, according to its consti-

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