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RESIST

Newsletter #191

A Call to resist illegitimate authority

December 1986

A Tradition of Struggle: Haiti's Popular Movement

BEVERLY BELL

On February 7, 1986, the course of history in Haiti took a dramatic turn when three decades of Duvalier dictatorship ended. In the face of a growing movement of popular opposition, economic disaster, and withdrawal of U.S. support, Jean-Claude Duvalier fled Haiti.

Yet hope for the initial steps toward democratization and social and economic justice has been stymied. In fact, Haiti is in a state of "Duvalierism without Duvalier". The government remains dominated by men who worked closely with the "President-for-Life". The transitional government, the National Governing Council (CNG), was hand-picked by the dictator himself the night before his departure. He also officially turned power over to the Army, which was one of the leading forces of repression under the regime. Subsequently, the political, security, and administrative structures established under the Duvaliers remain intact.

The interests of these officials — the protection of their own power and wealth — and the interests of the democratic movement are greatly divergent. Since coming into power, the government has set about to maintain the status quo by repressing the activities of the popular movement.

A History of Popular Protest

Haiti has a long history of autocratic rulers maintained by and for the benefit of a small elite, a mixture of black and mulatto landowners and merchants. The government and the bourgeoisie have traditionally worked together, consolidating power and wealth between them. The vast majority of the people have lived under extreme repression and poverty, which has significantly increased during the past few decades. By the end of the 1970s Haiti claimed the highest level of poverty and one of the worst records of human rights in the Western Hemisphere. Political liberties were nonexistent, and extended arrests, torture, disappearance, and execution by the security forces were the norm.

Haiti's history also includes a tradition of strong popular movements which have sought participation in the socio-economic and political life of the country. Recurring revolts against the French colonialists resulted in 1804 in the only successful slave revolution ever, as well as in the creation of the first independent Black republic. Popular organizations continued to manifest through subsequent repressive periods, gaining strength particularly during the U.S. occupation of 1915 to 1934, when the "kakos", the nationalist guerilla movement, rose up in protest of U.S. imperialism and domination by the Marines. Once again in 1946, under the

dictator Elie Lescot, popular resistance against the regime emerged in strength, resulting in his overthrow.

Dissent was thoroughly suppressed when Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier came to power in 1957. This was mainly achieved through the creation of the corps of Tonton Macoutes, a paramilitary force accountable only to Duvalier. Recruited from every town and village and working overtly, patrolling the streets with rifles and submachine guns, as well as covertly, the Tonton Macoutes infiltrated all sectors and areas of the society. Through violence and terror, they rendered impossible any chance for a resistance movement to organize. Every labor union, independent political organization, free press organ, and social association was crushed. Virtually every organizer or activist was disappeared, murdered, or exiled.

In 1971 Jean-Claude Duvalier succeeded his father. While repression did not diminish, it did become more select and targeted. However, despite the continued activity of the Tonton Macoutes, in 1979 and 1980 the movement for democratic rights and freedoms again resurfaced. Journalists, workers and labor leaders, and human rights activists emerged in a spate of activity. This was short lived, though; in November 1980 the government staged a vicious crackdown, ar-

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Comprehending Terror

EQBAL AHMED

Let us begin with the dictionary definition of terror — “intense, overpowering fear” — and of terrorism — “the use of terrorizing methods of governing or resisting a government.” This simple definition has the virtue of fairness; it focuses on the use of coercive violence and its effects on the victims of terror without regard to the status of the perpetrator. Terrorism does not refer to the mutual fear of armed adversaries, but only to acts of intimidating and injuring unarmed, presumably innocent civilians. Therein lies the revulsion over terrorist acts. This definition leaves out the question of motivation. Motives have been varied, and so have methods. Many terrorists in our time have no identifiable goals. There are five sources of terrorism — state, religion, protest/revolution, crime and pathology. Only the first three have political motivation.

It is important to start by defining terrorism, because the contemporary environment is extremely inhospitable to reasoned discussion of terrorism, its forms, and the compulsions which produce them. In the U.S., discourse on the subject is dominated by the preferences of the governments of United States and Israel. Thus, presumed Palestinian/Lebanese terrorist acts in Europe attract massive official and media attention while equally deadly acts of terror here at home go largely unnoticed. These — in case you have missed those one-inch notices in the *Times* or *Post* — have been carried out in recent years by Zionist extremists. Many of them, endowed with the special privilege of dual citizenship, freely travel between the U.S. and Israel; of these quite a few have trained as members of the Israeli army.

The official line in the U.S. today has three broad characteristics. It requires, first, a suspension of reason and suppression of inquiry into causation. It demands an unqualified support for violent and retaliatory response. Thus, last December in Yugoslavia, Secretary of State George Shultz went red in the face and pound-

ed the table after his host, the Yugoslav foreign minister, urged him to look at the causes of Palestinian violence. “There is no connection with any cause.” Mr. Shultz said, “It’s wrong.” This article, in a sense, appears in violation of that edict of the U.S. Secretary of State.

There is a second problem: the official line includes only actions by those non-governmental terrorists whose goals or ideologies are officially disapproved by the U.S. and/or the state of Israel. The moral revulsion we are being asked to muster is selective. We are expected to denounce the Palestinian terrorists, the Lebanese Muslims, the Italian Red Brigades, the Baader-Meinhof of Germany, but not the Nicaraguan contras, nor the South African-sponsored and U.S.-endorsed UNITA, nor even Afghanistan’s mujahidin, who unlike the Lebanese of similar appellation, are rarely referred to in the press as “holy warriors.” Yet, these CIA-supported groups are terrorists by any definition of the word.

The third problem is that the dominant approach excludes from consideration the terrorist methods of governing and controlling people. Brutal excesses of client or friendly governments, if they are taken into account at all in the U.S. media and official documents, are referred to euphemistically as violations of human rights, which nicely avoids the word

“terrorist.”

Ratios of Terror

If we take the last four centuries into account, encompassing the rise of the modern capitalist era, terrorism has been practised both by ascendant and expansionist groups and by declining and defensive ones, by both official and non-official groups and people. It has been practiced by corporate bodies as well as by members of collectively weak communities. One has been on the offensive, the other reduced to defense — colonizer and colonized, masters and slaves, bosses and workers.

A glance at this history suggests the following conclusions: First, the ratio of human losses inflicted by illegitimate state and state-sanctioned terror, when compared with revolutionary terror or non-official terror, is probably half a million to one.

Secondly, visibility, and recognition, no less than sympathy, are invariably accorded to those victims of terrorism who belong to the dominant powerful group. Those victims who belong to the weaker community have been historically invisible. Modern times have been filled with unrecorded holocausts, including the great civilizations of the Indians living in the U.S. and in the Western hemisphere — Aztecs, Incas, and Mayans. A larger

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Israeli soldiers carrying out ID check in Jerusalem.

POP Photo

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resting or exiling every known outspoken journalist and activist it could find.

With the suppression of all other democratically-oriented sectors, the Catholic Church stepped into the picture. Through community-based churches, youth congresses, teaching on social issues, and priests' and bishops' declarations protesting oppression, the Church expanded its traditional framework to include forceful messages of social and economic justice. The values of awareness, participation, and community became integral to the Church's program. Within this structure, bottom-up economic development organizations, youth groups, peasants' associations, and grass-roots civic bodies cautiously emerged.

In November of 1984, the regime again responded, arresting over 200 Church workers, notably those involved in grassroots development. Yet the forces of change by this time were too strong to be silenced. The people — notably youth — began releasing tracts and declarations, and organizing marches and vigils. The pervasive theme was that injustice must cease, and that the Duvalier regime must fall.

Government forces and the popular movement clashed head-on in November 1985. From then until February, protests and demonstrations across the country occurred daily; students pursued a school strike, promising to continue until the regime fell; political tracts circulated in the streets; meetings were held. The regime responded with violence and ardor. Dozens of citizens were arrested, wounded, or killed by security forces, and all independent radio stations except one were shut down as the government attempted, once again, to quell the activity.

This time, however, the momentum was too strong. The Haitian people had declared the final battle on the Duvalier dictatorship, and the latter could not withstand its force.

The Popular Movement Today

Since February, the movement has burgeoned. Citizens are uniting to work for social justice, political rights, and true economic development. Protests, strikes, forums, boycotts, and

heated street discussions concerning socio-economic and political problems and the paths to their resolution are ongoing and pervasive.

Organizing is taking place on all levels. Students, youth, journalists, and teachers have formed unions to defend their rights. Peasants, planters, and farmers are establishing associations to work for mutual support and against the oppression which has kept them disempowered. Women are uniting in organizations, advocating social and economic reform as well as women's rights. Human rights groups, including a league of former political prisoners, are springing up, as are associations dedicated to political education. Three labor confederations are actively organizing in plants to demand better working conditions. And the Comite de Liaison des Forces Democratiques, a coalition of 22 organizations, including consumer advocate societies, political education groups, parties, human rights leagues, grassroots political associations, trade unions, and women, student, professional, and peasant alliances, is working for coordinated vigilance and to challenge the government on its lack of implementation of the people's demands.

The Haitian people made history by staging, without any direct aspirations to political power, a nonviolent overthrow of a brutal regime. The rallying cries in the revolt were for justice and democracy, rather than for an individual or party to ascend to power. The movement has maintained this characteristic. While a number of presidential hopefuls and parties have emerged, the vast majority of the people are non-aligned. Following three decades of division and mistrust imposed between communities, friends, and families, the people realize the importance of achieving unity. In the framework of this priority, presidential candidates and parties, each hoping to gain support and power, are widely viewed as being divisive and counter-productive in the democratization process.

The popular movement is also non-political in that it is not tied to any specific ideology. Rather, it is issue-

oriented, based on concrete demands.

The most fundamental of these claims is participation by all in society. This takes on particular importance as 85% of Haiti's population is comprised of disempowered peasants. Earning on average of less than \$150 per year, being predominantly illiterate and unemployed or underemployed, and not speaking the language of French, they have been excluded from active participation in society. Now the groundwork is being laid for their involvement, through an increase in the usage of spoken and written Creole in Catholic masses, speeches, radio broadcasts, newspapers, government communiques, etc., and through a literacy campaign. Shortly before Duvalier fled Haiti, the Church embarked upon a program to educate 3 million people (all those between 18 and 60 who are illiterate) within five years.

While the foundation for active societal involvement is being established, the people are moving ahead with other plans to implement democracy. Human and political rights, a freely functioning and independent press, a strong labor movement, and participation in national policy are at the forefront of the demands, and people are working hard for their realization.

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ILLEGITIMATE AUTHORITY
Funding social change since 1967

The *Resist Newsletter* is published ten times a year by Resist, Inc., One Summer Street, Somerville, MA 02144. (617) 623-5110.

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part of this destruction was wrought by untrammelled state terrorism. It is only when the weaker party inflicts a loss on the strong — when a Custer is killed or a Gorden besieged — that we come to know that somewhere out there the weak were contesting the strong over a piece of land, over a right to exist in dignity and with one's own culture.

Thirdly, the last two decades have been notable for the rise in the Third World of murderous neo-fascist regimes — Iran and Guatemala, Zaire and Indonesia, Chile and Argentina, Uruguay and the Philippines, Brazil and Greece. They practiced terrorism that was extra-legal, widespread and often privatized as their primary instrument of staying in power. There was an internal logic to the emergence of these regimes that certainly belongs to the Third World's own wounded psyche and distorted social formation. But there was also an external stimuli to them which came partly from the compulsion of the Nixon Doctrine and partly from multinational corporations' search for export platform countries.

These outlaw states had, and where they are not perceptively tottering still have, the blessing of the U.S. government and the indulgence of the American people. Few saw the hand of terror in the behavior of these governments, though thousands of their citizens have "disappeared" without accounting. Important information is often suppressed, even when the terrorism of the resistance receives wide publicity. We have seen terrorism selectively, through the lenses of power. Last year, President Reagan belatedly recognized that state terror does exist. In his July 1985 speech to the American Bar Association, he heroically identified the sources of state terror. "You know who they are — Iran, Libya, North Korea, Cuba and Nicaragua."

Fourthly, religious zealotry has been a source of terror throughout history. In our time, despite the acknowledged hegemony of the secularist ideal, religion continues to provide the framework for terrorist state and rightwing movements. In Iran, it has served as an excuse for the state-sponsored terrorization of the Baha'is, a minority sect, and in Pakistan for the denial of basic rights to the Ahmadis. In El Salvador, Chile, Brazil and Guatemala, religion has been invoked

by scoundrel regimes and by government-sponsored rightwing death squads.

But nowhere has religious zealotry been institutionalized more consistently than in the Zionist movement, especially its right wing; and nowhere in modern times has sacred terror been as consistently sponsored by the state as in Israel. Today, the very survival of the Arabs in Palestine is at stake. They are subject not only to systematic dispossession by the state but also to the daily terrorism of state-supported rightwing zealots. All but one of the examples I have cited here are those of America's allies, and all except Iran escape the attention of the media. I am reminded of W. B. Yeats's question: "And what if the Church and the State is the mob that howls at the door?"

The official and media attention in the U.S. is riveted largely on terrorist activities of those on the other side of the ideological boundary. This terrorism does exist and does pose a problem. But we do no justice to its victims, or to understanding, when we do not discriminate its causes, character, and identity.

Hostages

Consider the most notorious sort of terrorism, the hijacking and hostage-taking which have come to be associated in popular imagination with Palestinians in particular. Why do so many grow up to be terrorists? The causes are multiple and the cure is more complex than the champions of swift retribution imagine. Even the non-political terrorist is undeterred by the severest punishment. The political terrorist is even more obdurate.

Several factors are crucial. One is the need to be heard. Terrorism is a violent way of expressing long-felt, collective grievances. When legal and political means fail over a long period, a minority of the aggrieved community elicits the sympathy of the majority with violent acts. After Palestine became Israel, in 1948, the Palestinian struggle for self-determination was largely political. Twenty years later, by 1967, they had gained little but refugee dole and a dozen UN resolutions. Then, between 1968-72 the PLO pulled the world up by the ears. Today, no one denies that there is a question of Palestine.

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It is no accident that hijacking is the method not of Chinese, Algerian, Cuban, or Vietnamese guerillas, but of a people without a home. And the hijackings ended as the PLO obtained worldwide recognition and a base in Lebanon. By the summer of 1981, when it accepted and observed a U.S.-mediated cease-fire with Israel for eleven months, the PLO resembled other liberation movements. There exists a remarkable parallel between the behavior of the PLO in 1981 and that of the Zionist movement earlier. Following the murder of Lord Moyne by Zionist terrorists, the Zionist movement reached an agreement with the British that opened prospects of a negotiated settlement. The Haganah actively cooperated with the British authorities in preventing terrorist activities by Jewish groups from October 1944 to July 1945, the period known in Zionist history as "the Season". The Season ended when the hopes of negotiated settlement dimmed; a wave of terrorism followed. The PLO's 1982 debacle and renewed isolation should have caused thoughtful concern, not rejoicing.

A second fact is this: anger and helplessness produce compulsions toward retributive violence. "I have pounded a few walls myself when I am alone," Ronald Reagan said at a news conference on June 17, during the Lebanese hijacking of the TWA jet; an aide described him as wishing "to kick somebody in the rear end." The "reprisal" of the strong and the "terrorism" of the weak have a similar root. The connection between terror and counter-terror is often direct: "They kept yelling about New Jersey," said Judy Brown of Delmar, N.J., after her release by the Beirut hijackers; "I was afraid to tell them where I was from. Why are they so mad at New Jersey?" It was not the state; it was the U.S. battleship New Jersey which had hurled Volkswagon-sized bombs into villages above Beirut.

Third, the experience of violence at the hands of a stronger party has historically turned victims into terrorists. Battered children often become abusive parents. State terror often breeds private terror. Jewish terror in Palestine followed the pogroms and the Holocaust in Europe. The most notorious Zionist terrorist groups — the Stern and Irgun — were youthful immigrants from violently anti-Semitic

Eastern Europe and Germany. Similarly, the young Shi'a who hijacked the TWA aircraft had witnessed violence since early childhood; most were probably refugees in Beirut from Israel's bombings and invasions of southern Lebanon. The Palestinians who recently killed and died at the Rome Airport were from the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

Fourth, when identifiable targets become available, violence is externalized; "pounding walls" is a metaphor for interecine warfare. What President Reagan said at his June 17th news conference hold true for the Lebanese too: "It is frustrating. But . . . you can't just start shooting without having someone in your gun-sight." The Shi'a did not attack Israelis until Israel became the occupying power. And although the civil war in Lebanon had been going on since 1975, the United States came under repeated attack only after Israel's invasion in June 1982, and the U.S. Marine's perceptibly pro-Israel, pro-Phalangist deployment there.

Fifth, example spreads terrorism. The highly publicized Beirut TWA hijacking was followed by a flurry of airport bombings — hurried, ill-planned, and without goals. The more serious examples are set by governments. International terrorism came in vogue during history's most televised, most visible superpower intervention — the war in Indochina. When practiced and supported by powerful states, terrorism is legitimized as an instrument of attaining political objectives. And today, those who condemn terrorism most are among its primary sponsors.

Sixth, the absence of revolutionary ideology enhances a group's propensity towards international terrorism. Ideologically and territorially-rooted movements — Chinese, Algerian, Vietnamese, Cuban, Angolan and Nicaraguan—led protracted struggles without carrying out such acts as hijacking, and rarely operated outside the contested territorial boundaries. Nor have these countries provided haven to hijackers. The most important reasons for this are the theoretical injunctions against indiscriminate, attention-seeking use of terror. Revolutionary violence tends to be sociologically and psychologically selective. It strikes at widely perceived symbols of oppression — landlords, rapacious officials, repressive armies.

It aims at widening the revolutionaries' popular support by freeing their potential constituencies from the constraints of oppressive power.

Oppression and injustice have existed for millenia. Why then this scourge of international terrorism now? Part of the answer lies in modern technology, and its proliferation. Technology provides the physical elements of contemporary terrorism — transportation, coercion, and communication. The airplane is a speedy, vulnerable, and exceptionally manipulable means of transportation. Compact and formidable modern handguns can be deadlier than most 19th century artillery. And the electronic media offers an instant means of communicating with the entire world. When hijackers put the three elements together, they arrange a global hearing. The American Indians never had such an opportunity. Technology has helped to render obsolete the ease with which history's invisible wars were kept invisible.

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The most important source of Resist's income is monthly pledges. Pledges help us plan ahead by guaranteeing us a minimum monthly income. In turn, pledges receive a monthly reminder letter (in addition to the newsletter) which contains news of recent grants and other Resist activities. So take the plunge and become a Resist pledge!

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Barriers to Justice

The government and the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, are determined to maintain control. The literacy campaign, viewed as a high priority by all the sectors of the grassroots movement and eliciting widespread enthusiasm and involvement, is also one of the main targets of government repression. Jean-Claude Duvalier, in a 1981 interview with a U.S. magazine, said that democracy is dangerous for a country with 85% illiteracy. It appears that the new government shares this view; to block the process toward democracy, it has begun arresting teachers in the education campaign. Two of them remain disappeared. Despite the vocal protests, the government has remained silent on the matter, denying any knowledge of the men's whereabouts.

Human rights violations and military violence are widespread. Over two dozen people, mainly leaders in local protest movements, have been arrested in the past two months and held for extended periods without charge or trial. Many of these were beaten and severely abused by security forces. And street demonstrations, a common means of expressing community sentiments against the government, have repeatedly been met with violent responses by the army. Tear gassing, beatings, and rubber bullets shot by security forces have wounded scores of peaceful demonstrators since February 7; over a dozen of them have been killed.

One of the Haitian people's strongest hopes since Duvalier's exit has been for the establishment and operation of a free press. Journalists and broadcasters were quick to organize the rebirth of their stations and publications. Every radio station has reopened, most of the newspapers shut down under the dictator are publishing again, and periodicals produced by Haitians in exile are now entering the country and are being sold openly.

Yet while excitement about this new vehicle for national and community information and education is strong, the government has taken steps to block the free press. Journalists have been harassed and arrested on several occasions. And in August the interim



Ken Ives

U.S.-supplied tear gas used against protesters in front of National Palace (February 18, 1986).

government issued a decree on the functioning of the media which limits journalistic freedom and forces the press to censor itself. Among other things, the decree stipulates that journalists must reveal their sources. It further orders that broadcasters and journalists receive cards of accreditation from the Ministry of Information; to do this the person must meet several limiting criteria, among them that he or she have a university diploma — a factor excluding the vast majority of Haiti's journalists. And the communique sets the stage for suspension of a press organ or banning of its circulation.

The people have protested this government action vociferously. So strong has been opposition that the CNG has refrained from putting it into operation.

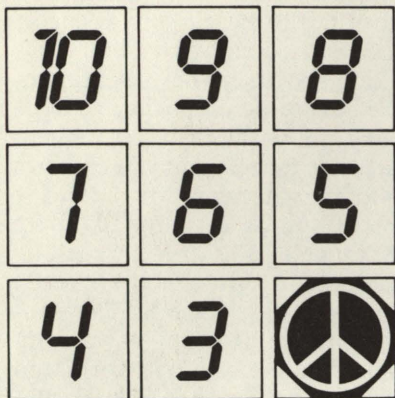
By the completion of the Duvalier era, every independent labor union had been crushed, and most of their active participants had been killed or sent out of the country. Those in exile returned to Haiti immediately after the change in government, and unions have sprung up in many of the hundreds of multinational assembly plants.

Only three days after coming to power, the CNG called for the promotion and encouragement of free trade unions. Yet despite its promise, the

government has done nothing to help guarantee workers' rights. Instead, the Department of Labor has stood by as corporate management has repeatedly harassed workers involved in union organizing. Over 6,000 laborers have been fired as a result of labor activity; on many occasions management has locked out workers and shut factories down. To date, every complaint filed by workers with the Department has been ignored.

The people's hope for full participation on a national level begins with the adoption of a constitution which reflects democratic values. And, while it has been mentioned that political parties are not of immediate interest to most of the population, the people are demanding a foundation for free and fair elections and participation in the political organization of their choice.

This, however, is not within the government's plan. In September the CNG announced that elections would be held to name 41 candidates to a constituent assembly to draft a constitution. Twenty other representatives, the announcement continued, would be named by the CNG itself. That an interim government, with no legitimate authority, would designate itself this privilege outraged the people. The election process itself was no more in line with democratic principles; the government failed to establish an electoral



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- (a) to go to the beach
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commission, register voters, announce guidelines for declaring oneself a candidate, or inform voters how or where to participate or even the purpose of the exercise. Voter participation in the election was less than 5%, which was due as much to people's disinterest based on their lack of trust in the CNG as it was to the government's negligence in organizing the election. The CNG has announced a timetable for future elections, including one for president scheduled for November, 1987. People are very suspicious about the process and the results of the future elections.

The government released a decree pertaining to the functioning of political parties. It stipulates that a party must meet dozens of criteria in order to be legally recognized. Many of these require the applying party to

reveal massive amounts of information, thereby giving the government control over the internal life of the party. The prevailing sentiment among the people is that the only groups which will be able to meet the strict conditions are the Army and the Duvalieristes.

The Final Picture

Despite the barriers, the popular movement remains steadfast. The Haitian people are determined not to let the country's long history of tyranny repeat itself. Educating, organizing, and mobilizing are tasks which the movement is pursuing with diligence in an effort to counteract the strong legacy of ongoing oppression.

Continued on next page

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For peace and justice,
Nancy Wechsler,
Resist Staff

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GRANTS

Comite El Salvador, 1151 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139

Comite El Salvador is an educational organization that works for social change, in particular, an end to U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Central America. Comite is the only mostly Salvadoran-run organization in the Greater Boston area. It is part of a regional and national network of "comites". They sponsor cultural and educational activities that bring Salvadoran and North American communities together offering a forum for freedom of expression for refugees and providing concrete ways to maintain Salvadoran culture. Their members (most of whom are Salvadoran residents and refugees) engage in active outreach to the Spanish-speaking community, disseminating information regarding the current conflict in El Salvador and mobilizing community response in opposition to the violation of human rights and to the increasing U.S. intervention in El Salvador and all of Central America. Comite works on outreach to various important sectors of the North American community, including churches, unions, universities and schools, and other minority groups. It works closely with solidarity and anti-interventionist organizations, the sanctuary movement, and the peace and anti-nuke movements. Comite currently receives many requests for information by phone and by mail and they need a way to respond quickly and efficiently. They also have several speaking engagements per month in the New England area and need materials about their organization to give as hand-outs and to leave for future reference. For these reasons, they were very much in need of a brochure that describes their work, history, objectives, gives an overview of the conflict in El Salvador and includes a fundraising and information gathering coupon. Resist's grant went towards the cost of this brochure.

Washington Office on Haiti, 110 Maryland Ave., North East, Wash., D.C. 20002.

In response to Haiti's growing crisis and the U.S. administration's counter-productive involvement, the Washington Office on Haiti was established in 1984. The Washington

Office on Haiti recognized that despite the deepening interest by the U.S. in Haitian affairs and the close proximity of the two countries, most North Americans are generally uninformed as to the nature and extent of the problems in Haiti. While many groups in the U.S. focus on Haitian refugee issues, no organization existed with the primary aims of building support for the Haitian people among concerned North American groups and individuals, and mobilizing pressure against the U.S. government policy of strengthening the regime. The office took as its main work performing public education and advocacy for the struggle for justice and human and political rights in Haiti, and seeking to push the U.S. government toward a more responsible Haitian policy. The office monitors political and economic developments in Haiti and U.S. policy toward Haiti, and informs a wide audience about the issues through publications, reproduction and dissemination of documents from Haiti, educational events, delegations of Haitian visitors, press conferences, etc. It seeks to expand a supportive U.S. network and mobilizes it when a response to renewed oppression in Haiti, or the threat of U.S. intervention, is necessary. One of the major projects of the Office is its newsletter, "The Haiti Beat". Resist's grant went towards the costs of the next issue of the newsletter.

Chicago Gray Panthers, 343 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, IL 60604.

The Chicago Gray Panthers is a grassroots advocacy group of mostly older, but with many middle-aged and some young people, who struggle together for empowerment around many issues. They deal primarily with the needs of older persons, like the need for health services, adequate housing, enough food, a peaceful and non-nuclear future, but they connect those needs with the needs of others — particularly poor peoples', since so many old folk — especially older women — are poor and live on fixed incomes. They encourage concerted attacks, not the use of "Senior Power", but "old with young", on these problems. This year their main focus is to start massing an effective all-around campaign "to convert our current ex-

pensive, fractionalized, inaccessible, for-profit health system into a federally financed, community controlled, health care system." They have found, with the help of petitions they've passed around, the enthusiastic response to their requests for testimony at hearings and with the Chicago City Council's unanimous approval, that many more people from all walks of life are fed up with the present system and are ready to go to work to change it. The Panthers point out that of all the industrialized countries in the world, only the U.S. and South Africa do not have comprehensive national health programs. They are in the process of revising a booklet that explains what a national health service in our country could look like. Resist's grant went towards the costs of the booklet.

Haiti

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Progress is being made, and — while slow and impeded — the people have already overcome, in ten months, many of the initial roadblocks. Haitians are on their feet, and have reorganized most of the democratic structures which had been totally dismantled by the dictators. Realizing the strength of unity, diverse sectors of the society are working in solidarity, or as Haitians say, "tet ansanm" ("heads together").

While present and active, the Duvalierists have been restricted from implementing their full political agenda. The energy and vigilance of the people's resistance has thus far impeded many aspects of the forces of repression.

The final picture is murky. But what is clear is that the outcome will be determined by the strength and vigilance of the popular movement.

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