

In the Army's Hands

Human Rights in Haiti on the Eve of the Elections

EMBARGOED FOR DECEMBER 9 1990

Americas Watch

National Coalition for Haitian Refugees

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December 1990

**National Coalition for Haitian Refugees
Americas Watch**

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Printed in the United States of America**

**ISBN 0-929692-80-2
Library of Congress Catalogue Number: 90-86195**

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Much of this report is based on a two-month investigation in Haiti in June and July 1992. During this time, representatives of Americas Watch and the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees traveled extensively throughout the country, visiting eight of the country's nine departments including the island of La Gonave, and compiling what we believe is the most comprehensive picture yet produced of the disastrous state of civil society since the coup. Because much reporting on Haiti has stressed conditions in Port-au-Prince, we focused in particular on conditions in the provinces, where repression has also been severe and systematic.

Most of our information was gathered in some 250 interviews that we conducted ourselves. This report provides the names of these witnesses whenever possible, but a majority asked us not to identify them for fear of retaliation by military authorities. In places in this report we have also relied on excellent reports by the Justice and Peace Commission of the Diocese of Gonaïves and the Port-au-Prince-based Platform of Haitian Human Rights Organizations.

Because we generally insisted on eyewitness accounts, this survey does not provide an exhaustive accounting of attacks on Haitian civil society. Still, we believe that the many abuses detailed in this report provide a representative cross-section of the violent repression facing independent associations throughout the country.

Research for this report was conducted by Andrew Levin, a consultant to Americas Watch, and Anne Fuller, associate director of the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees (NCHR), with assistance from Pierre Espérance, an NCHR associate. The report was written by Kelly McCown, a consultant to Americas Watch; Mary Jane Camejo, research associate for Americas Watch; Fuller and Levin. Helen Katel assisted in translation. The report was edited by Kenneth Roth, deputy director of Human Rights Watch, the parent organization of Americas Watch.

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Introduction

On December 16, 1990, Haitians will try for the third time in four years to elect a president, parliament, and hundreds of mayors and local officials. Whether they succeed in holding the first democratic polling ever in Haiti depends, above all else, on the role that the army will play. Those who profited under the deposed Duvalier dictatorship and who long for a continuance of its autocratic ways - the so-called Duvalierists - have threatened in vocal and flamboyant fashion to destroy the elections, backing up these threats with bands of hired thugs. Despite their brash lawlessness, however, the Duvalierists are too weak to impede the electoral process without a green light from the army. If the army keeps its promise to respect the electoral process, elections will proceed. If the army breaks its vows, no number of Duvalierist thugs roaming the streets of Port-au-Prince will obscure the army's responsibility for the elections' failure. The elections are in the army's hands.

Fortunately, there is much that distinguishes today's army from the military that presided over the crushing of Haiti's last attempt at free and fair elections, on November 29, 1987. Then, the army never accepted that elections would be organized by an independent electoral council, as Haiti's popularly ratified Constitution of 1987 requires. Piqued when massive demonstrations prevented it from usurping control of the electoral process, it refused to provide security to candidates and electoral workers, even as violence in the weeks before the elections reached alarming proportions. Its acquiescence in the mounting violence opened the door to the murderous interruption of the balloting on election day.

A month and a half later, having dismissed the independent electoral council and thus prompted the withdrawal of all major presidential candidates, the army organized its own electoral farce, and selected Leslie Manigat as its figurehead leader. Beholden to the military that had engineered his rise to "power," Manigat was unceremoniously dismissed when, upon his first effort to exercise independent authority, he removed Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy as Commander-in-Chief of the army. The two army generals who succeeded Manigat as head of state, Gen. Namphy and Lt. Gen. Prosper Avril, repeatedly vowed to hold free and fair elections, but made little if any effort to fulfill these vows. Popular frustration with this foot dragging led to the resignation of the Avril government in March 1990 and its replacement with a civilian administration, under the presidency of then Supreme Court Justice Ertha Pascal-Trouillot.

Today, under Commander-in-Chief Lt. Gen. Hérard Abraham, the army has played a considerably more useful role. Gen. Abraham repeatedly has voiced his support for civilian rule and an independent electoral process. After a rocky start, a constructive dialogue has begun between the independent electoral council and the army. At certain key moments, such as the return from a brief trip abroad of presidential candidate Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the army has turned out in force to maintain security, despite considerable disquiet among its ranks over the prospect of this radical and highly popular priest assuming the reins of government. A special army commission for electoral security has been established and appears to be running smoothly. And after initial hesitation, the army has endorsed the request of the civilian government for international observers from the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

As this report documents, however, there remains substantial cause for concern over the army's role. If the best predictor of army behavior on election day is the army's track record during the nine-month Trouillot administration, the prophets of success may be premature.

In that time, army troops have been responsible for persistent and widespread human rights abuses. These include massacres of peasants, shootings, severe beatings and arbitrary arrests. A troubling proportion of these abuses appear to have been politically motivated, suggesting an unease among at least portions of the army with the rough-and-tumble politics to which respect for human rights can give birth. Some of the abuses appear to have been the spontaneous acts of individual soldiers. But many were planned more deliberately, at various levels of the army chain of command.

The posture of the Army High Command toward these infractions has been particularly distressing. In all but a handful of cases, senior military officials have failed to order disciplinary action against the soldiers responsible, let alone to support criminal prosecution. Such impunity sends a powerful message that threatens to drown out Gen. Abraham's repeated vows of support for human rights and the electoral process.

The problem is most acute for the cases that are symbolically most important. Much of the history of post-Duvalier Haiti can be written in terms of a list of unredressed massacres: Jean Rabel in July 1987; election day of November 1987; St. Jean Bosco in September 1988; and Piate, Délatre and Pérodin in 1990, under the Trouillot administration. When the murderers responsible for these killings continue at large, the signal is sent that political violence will go unpunished. That message was only reinforced by the army's failure to support the civilian government's efforts to bring to justice Roger Lafontant, the abusive Duvalier Interior Minister who returned to Haiti in July, and by the army's lackluster investigation into the June murder of Council of State member Serge Villard.

The army can change this message, but only if it backs up its voiced support for the electoral process with an effort to hold human rights offenders accountable. Of course, at this late date, it is no longer possible to complete criminal prosecutions. But it is not too late for the army to discipline its own troops for abusive conduct and to provide the police support so that other abusive figures can be arrested on criminal charges. The numerous cases of abuse documented in this report provide an ample selection from which to start. Failure to take this step, particularly in cases of considerable symbolic importance, will leave the army open to charges of complicity if elections are once again sabotaged by those who believe that they have nothing to fear from the law.

The need for a firm policy of accountability is particularly strong as the current electoral process begins to repeat some of the patterns of 1987. Then, the collapse of the elections was due in large part to a volatile combination of an army threatened by the degree of popular control that at least some of the leading presidential candidates were likely to exert, and a Duvalierist circle which felt it had nothing to gain from the electoral process since its candidates had been disqualified under a highly popular provision of the 1987 Haitian Constitution that bars for ten years "architects" of the Duvalier dictatorship's violence and corruption.

The surprise presidential candidacy of Father Aristide, coupled with the electoral council's disqualification, on technical grounds, of all but one of the presidential candidates supported by the Duvalierists, has set a similar stage. Given Aristide's apparently strong popular appeal, his dazzling oratory and his leftist politics, the prospect of his presidency is likely to be seen as far more threatening by many members of the army than anything they faced in 1987. Moreover, with all but one minor Duvalierist candidate disqualified from running for public office, many in the Duvalierist camp once more feel that they have no stake in the electoral process.

Under these circumstances, it is critical that the army back up its promised support for the electoral process with several concrete and visible examples of its resolve. Aggressive patrolling in Port-au-Prince and other major cities should be part of that strategy. But breaking the cycle of impunity is a critical element.

By stressing the central role of the army in securing the December 16 elections, we do not mean to diminish the responsibility of the civilian government for the delicate position in which Haiti now finds itself. The Trouillot administration squandered the vast reservoir of good will with which it took office by adopting the narrowest possible view of its mandate. It never moved to implement constitutional provisions that require the police force to be moved from army to civilian control. Lacking its own independent law-enforcement body, it then found its few efforts to prosecute human rights offenders hamstrung by army intransigence.

At this stage, however, while the civilian government deserves part of the retrospective blame if elections fail, the army is the sole body capable of ensuring that the elections do not meet the same bloody fate as three years ago. Only the army has the capacity to ensure discipline among its ranks and to shut off any threat from Duvalierist circles.

The United States has played a considerably more constructive role this time than in 1987. The current US ambassador, Alvin Adams, could not be more different from his aloof and reserved predecessor. Former US Ambassador Brunson McKinley pursued a policy of quiet trust in the army's promises to permit elections, despite escalating violence suggesting it would not. From the moment that Ambassador Adams arrived in Haiti in November 1989, he has been an outspoken advocate of elections. He, together with Vice President Dan Quayle during a brief visit in August, have stressed US support for elections and the administration's expectation that the army will play a constructive role. In a welcome variation from Bush administration policy in most other areas of the world, Ambassador Adams has not only condemned abuses but has also called for prosecution of those responsible for certain notorious crimes. This aggressive posture has gone far in making clear to the army that the United States expects elections to be held, reversing the policy of silent acquiescence in army misconduct that laid the groundwork for the debacle of 1987.

However, there have been several shortcomings in US policy toward Haiti. While condemning abuses in general terms, the US has refrained from blaming the army for particular abuses, even when evidence of army involvement is substantial. This reticence has made it easier for the army to avoid holding perpetrators accountable. In addition, while at a key moment following the announcement of Father Aristide's candidacy Ambassador Adams reaffirmed that the United States would work with whomever was elected, he undercut that important message of neutrality by invoking a Creole proverb that many understood to reflect US discomfort with the prospect of an Aristide presidency. The administration's greatest error was its August proposal to renew aid to the Haitian military, despite continuing army abuses. The aid request, which Congress rejected, was premised on the same policy of trying to buy an abusive army's support for elections that failed so miserably in 1987.

As election observers now flock to Haiti, it is crucial that they keep in mind the lessons of 1987 and focus on the message being sent by the army to those who might once again sabotage the elections. If the army casts a blind eye toward political violence, it will be read as an invitation to repeat the deadly end to elections three years ago. If the army shows firm resolve in meeting any threat of electoral violence, including in its own ranks, Haiti can expect to inaugurate its first freely elected

president on February 7, 1991.

Chapter 1

PEASANT ORGANIZATIONS

Haiti remains one of the most rural societies in the Americas, with perhaps 70 percent of its population living in villages and small towns and relying on farming for sustenance. Haiti's peasant farmers -- small landowners and sharecroppers -- pay most of the country's taxes yet receive few government services. Schools, health services, electricity, telephones and roads are scarce or lacking altogether in rural areas. The contrast with Port-au-Prince and the larger provincial cities is evident.

Most of Haiti's organized peasant groups began as local efforts to compensate for this lack of infrastructure through programs of self-reliance. Among the first projects of many groups has been the building of silos, where farmers can store grain until the market offers a better price. Without storage, farmers are forced to sell quickly to middlemen before their grain rots. Often these groups then move on to address other local needs, creating agricultural training programs and small credit unions, and some have adopted broad political agendas.

Since the coup, the members and leaders of these groups, and frequently even their silos and other development projects, have been targeted by the army. Their self-help programs have been deemed threatening to military rule because they provide an avenue for peasants to band together in opposition to the de facto government. The lack of development in rural Haiti has its parallel in the limited means of recourse from this repression. Lacking the civilian institutions to which city-dwellers traditionally have been able to turn to confront military abuse -- radio stations, courts, humanitarian and human rights organizations -- the military section chief and his deputies maintain a virtual monopoly of power in the countryside.

The section chief has the rank of a soldier and receives orders from the commander of the local military subdistrict. He may have more than 100 deputies assisting him to control the section. The deputies, in turn, often have their own assistants and informers. He is the central authority in the section, exercising enormous powers, particularly in circumstances like the present where civilian officials are weak, section chiefs become a law unto themselves.

Tèt Kole

***Tèt Kole Pou Yon Mouvmman Ti Peyizan Ayisyen* (Heads Together for a Movement of Haitian Peasants) is a decentralized national peasant movement that is particularly strong in Haiti's northwest. Tèt Kole's work includes peasant empowerment, civic training, agricultural and popular education, and promoting cooperative farming. Tèt Kole has in past years voiced the discontents of many rural inhabitants and called for fundamental change in Haiti's countryside. In early 1991, the Tèt Kole federation published an extensive study of the section chief system that drew upon information from its own members. After Aristide dissolved the institution of military section chiefs, Tèt Kole called for the former section chiefs to be barred from joining the new corps of civilian rural police officers.¹**

¹ A year earlier, the Tèt Kole federation in the Northwest had presented the provisional civilian government of Ertha Trouillot with an eleven-page list of demands. The document, "Today's Minimum Demands for the Department of the Northwest," illustrates the kind of changes Tèt Kole has sought to bring about. It called for the arrest of five men responsible for the Jean Rabel massacre of July 1987; the dismissal of four justices of the peace and the Jean-Rabel prosecutor, whom Tèt Kole charged with extreme partiality; the dismissal of fifteen section chiefs noted for their brutality or corruption; and the disarming of six brutal plainclothes military in the area. Tèt Kole asked that birth certificates be provided free of charge as required by law and that fees for land surveys be reduced. They called for free entry of pigs into the country to satisfy demand caused by the eradication of the Haitian swine population in 1983, a cut in the price of land rented from the state, and a ban on leases of more than two acres of state land by large landowners. The federation urged the provisional government to begin construction of health clinics in rural sections and to investigate charlatans who endangered the peasants' health by selling expired, out-of-date medicines; to improve several roads linking villages and towns in the Northwest; and to open offices of the state telephone company, Teleco, in towns throughout the Northwest to lessen the region's isolation. (The departmental capital, Port-de-Paix, had the only Teleco office in the region). "What we have cited here are not truly demands," the Tèt Kole federation concluded. "They are natural rights that all citizens should enjoy in all countries where rights are respected. But in Haiti, we small peasants and poor people are so squeezed, are so despised, that even small rights turn into demands that can only be wrested from the hands of our leaders through a big battle."

Since the coup, Tèt Kole's activities have been suspended in much of the country and members of Tèt Kole have suffered regular harassment, threats, and violence. The organization struggles to continue its work, despite the government's intolerance of open meetings.

During June and July, our delegation attended a national meeting with Tèt Kole leaders and met with Tèt Kole members in several towns in the departments of the North, Northwest, Northeast and Artibonite. The fourteen Tèt Kole delegates representing eight of Haiti's nine departments at the national meeting gathered under the cover of extreme secrecy. The meeting's location was chosen only a few days earlier, after a last-minute evaluation of the security situation. Before the coup, such national meetings were held openly and would gather scores of representatives from around the country.

The regional representatives reported varying levels of surveillance and restrictions on group activities. The delegate from the South, when asked about the group's ability to meet, said that while it used to have meetings of 200-400 people in the southern province, it may now gather in meetings of only about thirty people. Even then, the delegate stressed, the group must ensure that the local section chief's deputy will be elsewhere and must hold the meeting in the mountains. The delegate from the Northwest commented that in that department, Tèt Kole members meet secretly in groups of only about ten people. In the Central Plateau, the delegate said they meet only while working in the fields in a *konbit* or cooperative work team.

Northwest

In the town of Beauchamp in Mahotièrè, the seventh section of Port-de-Paix, we interviewed more than twenty members of Tèt Kole. In this section, where a majority of the population is estimated to be involved in the peasant movement, government forces have attempted to destroy systematically the organization's structural base and have terrorized individual members. Leaders of the organization have been illegally arrested, tortured, and imprisoned. Their homes have been ransacked and looted. Tèt Kole buildings, including schools and grain silos, have been pillaged and left in ruins.

On October 3, 1991, seven armed and uniformed soldiers in a truck arrested Edilbert Aliscar, a Tèt Kole trainer (*formateur*). Aliscar told our delegation that after encircling his house, the soldiers confronted him and demanded the addresses of other members and organizers in the area. They showed him a list of twenty-five people who they planned to arrest, with Aliscar's name at the top. Tying

his hands, the soldiers made him get into the truck and forced him to direct them to the house of a local Tèt Kole member named Merzilais. Merzilais was not at home, but the soldiers arrested his brother, Acedes Ceyard, also a member. They beat Aliscar and Ceyard on the head with their nightsticks as they drove to Port-de-Paix. Standing on the two men with their heavy boots, the soldiers said "Oh! We've caught two guinea-fowl!"

At the barracks, a line of soldiers was waiting for them, gauntlet-style. The soldiers beat Aliscar and Ceyard as they passed. Aliscar said, "one hit me with a rifle, another slapped me, and three yanked down hard on my right ear. It bled and my eardrum was pierced. My hearing did not get better for three months."

Aliscar and Ceyard were imprisoned in a cell with eight people responsible for the 1987 Jean Rabel massacre,² including Nicole Poitvien, the confessed mastermind of the plot. The soldiers told these men that they could do what they wished with Aliscar and Ceyard, suggesting that they beat them or even kill them. However, after the two men showed that they would defend themselves, they were left alone.

The next day Aliscar was taken to the interrogation room where he was questioned by a lieutenant, a major, a captain, and a colonel. The soldiers said, "you Tèt Kole types put Aristide in power and now that we have kicked him out of the country, you would fight for his return."

After three days, Aliscar was taken to see the justice of the peace. The military's charges against him included fighting for Aristide, mobilizing people, and creating disorder in the country. Aliscar was given "provisional release," meaning that he could be rearrested at any time.³

On October 25, 1991, five soldiers and several armed civilians returned to Aliscar's house in a military truck. No one was home, since his wife and children had been living elsewhere since his arrest. The soldiers searched and ransacked every room in the house, removed the doors, and stole \$280 that Aliscar had saved for his children's education. According to bystanders, the soldiers claimed they

² In July 1987, a well-armed group of peasants and Tontons Macoutes loyal to the large local landowners murdered some 300 peasants in the town of Jean Rabel in northwestern Haiti. The victims had been marching to campaign for land reforms.

³ Provisional release means that a person is released from prison without being cleared of any charges of wrongdoing. This form of release is used even when the person was never formally charged with a crime.

were searching for weapons.

Aliscar told us in late July that he remained under military surveillance. "They say if they catch me again it will be the end. That's the word on the street." His movements were extremely limited: he could walk only on side paths, and still traveled only at night because "there are too many spies in the daytime." For our meeting, Aliscar said, he started the four-hour walk from his hiding place at 1:00 a.m.

According to Tèt Kole members we interviewed near the town of Beauchamp, section chief Joel Jean-Baptiste and his deputies arrested and beat two Tèt Kole members in the seventh section around December 25, 1991. The first attack was on a farmer who was arrested and beaten as he worked in his field in Margot. The second was directed against a 70-year-old Tèt Kole member: section chief Jean-Baptiste put rocks in the man's mouth and then clapped his hands together hard on the man's cheeks, knocking out most of his remaining teeth. Then the man was forced to march on foot to Port-de-Paix, where he was held in prison for a month, apparently with the hope that his children, all Tèt Kole members, would come to visit him. Finally, in late January, the soldiers released him, saying "we want the young ones, not the old ones." Following his release, the man's health has deteriorated. Late July he was still unable to work.

Tèt Kole members told us that a woman who is over sixty years old and whose family was very active in the movement was beaten in the Beauchamp market in December 1991 by deputies of the section chief. The beating yielded a broken arm and injuries to both eyes.⁴

In February 1992, Elicier Jean, a man of around fifty, died from injuries he received at the hands of a band of section chiefs and deputies. Jean was working in his field in Beauchamp when the group appeared. As Jean tried to run away, he fell into a hole and broke his thigh. He later told friends that one of the deputies said, "We'll bury him." Another said, "No, leave him for the dogs to eat." Jean was rescued by townspeople but died eight days later. His children were afraid to go to his funeral because they had been arrested in the past. One son whom we interviewed, fled the cemetery when a deputy tried to arrest him.

⁴ We had a brief encounter with Jean-Baptiste in the market at Beauchamp. He was dressed in full army fatigues, with boots, helmet, rifle and dark glasses -- making an imposing and intimidating figure. He asked us exactly how long we planned to be in the zone and took our names. The market was crawling with his deputies.

At the house of section chief Jean-Baptiste on July 12 and 17, two Tèt Kole members were arrested and beaten in the *djak* position, which involves forcing the victim into a fetal position by putting a wooden stick between the knees and above the hands which are tied together around the legs. The victim is usually beaten with sticks and fists.

During the first two months of 1992, government forces destroyed or pillaged many buildings affiliated with Tèt Kole in Beauchamp. Twelve beds, eighteen chairs and five tables were removed from the four community buildings where the organization held its meetings. Soldiers took the door, windows, and benches from the community school built by the peasant movement. A silo in Mahotièrè was pillaged. The homes of Tèt Kole members were looted after their arrests. Just before our July visit, doors of houses of two other members were taken off their hinges and carried away.

The majority of Tèt Kole members in Beauchamp did not stay in their homes, but regularly moved around to evade the military. During our interview, one person highlighted the repression: "Not one man in this room has been able to go into the market from the time of these incidents [December 1991] until now. We can't even walk on the main roads." A 26-year-old man told us that since June 26, the section chief and police had visited his house three times. "I can't go anywhere, even during the day," he said. "My sister is there and my father, who is blind. The section chief never tells them why he wants me."

Under such repressive conditions, it has been difficult for the organization to continue its work in Mahotièrè. Tèt Kole members told us that in November 1991, section chief Jean-Baptiste told them: "The question of having meetings is over with. You cannot meet."

Tèt Kole members in Mahotièrè came under even more sustained attack by the military beginning on September 30, 1992, when a unit of soldiers from Port-de-Paix drove into the area, firing their guns into the air. They destroyed some 15 houses, looting everything of value from them, including livestock and money.

Two members of the group who reached Port-au-Prince to denounce the attack said the soldiers came with lists of individuals to arrest, but that all those named escaped. Troops forced their way into the home of a family named Mézulé, where they beat Mme. Mézulé and took her to the Capois Lamort army base in Port-de-Paix. She was later freed.

Some of the soldiers remained in Mahotièrè, installing what one Tèt Kole member called "a veritable state of siege."

On October 5, 1992, soldiers destroyed six buildings in the area, including one that housed a community school. They stole items of value from the houses

and set fire to what remained. Tèt Kole members accused section chief Joel Jean-Baptiste of instigating the attack. They said he had accused the peasant group of being "communists" and "agitators." They also implicated a parliamentary deputy from the Northwest, Josué Lafrance, a strong supporter of the military and opponent of negotiations of wanting to exterminate the peasant movement.

In a September 10, 1992, interview with Television Nationale d'Haïti, Lafrance said, "I already have at my command 2,500 men in a group called Equipe de la Diffusion Haïtienne and they are ready to move into action." Tèt Kole spokespeople said that Lafrance had opened offices in several towns in the department, including Bassin Bleu, Atrel, Anse Rouge and Gros Morne, where he was recruiting and training civilians for unspecified missions. They said Lafrance had held a meeting in June with four section chiefs, including Jean-Baptiste, in which he instructed them on how to eliminate peasant leaders without leaving a trace.

The soldiers told peasants in Mahotièrè that the army planned to construct outposts (*avant postes*) in several towns in the Northwest, including Beauchamp, Grand Fond and Guillette. Currently, these towns are controlled by a section chief and his deputies. An outpost would mean that two to three uniformed soldiers would be permanently stationed in the town.

In Raymond, a settlement in Lacoma, the first section of Jean Rabel, we interviewed six members of Tèt Kole who told us about severe repression in the area. They estimated that about 1,000 of the 7,000 residents of Raymond are active in the movement. (There are some 100 Tèt Kole groups in Raymond, and between 300 and 500 groups in the section as a whole.) They reported that arrests and mistreatment of members began with the return of the former section chief, Anovil Saintvil, in October 1991.⁵ They described the following incidents:

- o In October 1991, the Tèt Kole grain silo in Raymond was smashed and looted by a truckload of two dozen uniformed soldiers, who said they

⁵ An Americas Watch, NCHR delegation visited Raymond in 1989 and spoke with members of Tèt Kole there. We also interviewed Saintvil, who had recently arrested several members of the peasant group after they had organized a commemoration of the Jean Rabel massacre of 1987. Many of those arrested were beaten and some were forced to pay ransoms to be freed. In the aftermath of the wave of arrests in July 1989, Tèt kole had been explicitly barred from holding meetings in the area.

were looking for weapons.

- o A member named Estima was beaten by Saintvil in December 1991. Estima was still in hiding in Port-au-Prince in July 1992.**
- o On January 1, 1992, a member named "Cho Cho" was beaten badly by the section chief after he returned home from a period in hiding.**
- o In March, Saintvil and some forty deputies went to Raymond, terrorized the residents, and arrested a woman named Presita Ferjilus.**
- o A member named Fresnel Jean was arrested in the Lacoma market in July for being a Tèt Kole member. He paid \$55 for his freedom but instead was transferred to the army base in Port-au-Prince where he was forced to pay another \$55.**
- o In late July, Badile Dominique had to pay the section chief and a deputy a total of around \$72 for a death certificate for his daughter Litanise, who had been struck by lightning.**

North

In an area known as Bois de Chéne, located in Chabotte, the fourth rural section of Limbé, we met with three members of Tèt Kole who agreed to be interviewed on the condition that their names not be used. As in many other parts of the country, Tèt Kole groups around Limbé were unable to meet openly. Groups in remote areas were able to talk about their organizing activities while they work in the fields, but this was not possible nearer the towns. The difficulties these groups faced in continuing their work was compounded by the fact that many people in the area remained in hiding. Our sources estimated that as of late July, 125 people were in hiding in the fourth section alone.

Tèt Kole members in the area faced arrest, imprisonment, and random beatings. In Bois de Chéne, we interviewed a woman who is married to a farmer and has thirteen children. Both she and her husband are Tèt Kole members. She told us that a messenger had come on a bicycle from Limbé to Bois de Chéne on October 10, 1991, and warned them that their names were on a list at the barracks of people to be arrested. The next day, Corporal Sales Adesca and a group of soldiers surrounded the couple's home and fired into the air throughout the day.

After hiding for that day at the woman's aunt's house, they were able to leave the area by escaping over the mountains on foot to Pilboreau.

On July 1, the woman returned to Limbé. After her husband also resurfaced on July 17, they received a message from Corporal Adesca that they would have to pay him \$110 to stay in Limbé. When we interviewed the woman in late July, she said that she and her husband had not yet gathered all of the money and that the corporal was searching for them. She pulled out a wad of bills to show us that she had been able to gather only about a tenth of the bribe money. \$110 represents many months' income for her family. The woman was distraught and nervous about our meeting because she was afraid she would be discovered by the corporal.

We interviewed several individuals in Port-au-Prince who had fled Ravine Desroches, the seventh section of Limbé, following persecution by section chief Claudin Jean, as well as Tèt Kole members who continued to live in the zone. These sources charged Jean with numerous arbitrary arrests and beatings of members of different popular organizations including the organization of Peasants of Limbé (Oganizasyon Peyizan Limbe, OPL), the Ravine Desroches Peasant Committee (Komite Peyizan Ravin Deroch, KPRD) and the Ravine Desroches Peasant Movement (Mouvman Peyizan Ravin Deroch, MPR).

A 39-year-old Tèt Kole trainer in Ravine Desroches told us that on July 7, Jean and a group of armed civilians went to his house at about 9:30 p.m. Seeing them from the yard, the man ran to hide. The section chief threatened his mother-in-law and searched the house. Unable to find him, the group searched another house where he sometimes spent time. On July 9, the man returned home, but four days later he warned that bandits were "coming to get him," and he stopped sleeping at home. He commented:

They [the army] accuse me of having meetings with forty people present where we plan to bring back Aristide and kill people...If the section chief knew I'd talked to you about him, he'd drive me out. The army and the section chief have formed a secret police corps...Whenever two people talk together they say you're having a political meeting to discuss killing people after Aristide returns. They can come at any time to people's houses and arrest and beat them if they are Aristide supporters.

In an interview with us, Claudin Jean denied making any arbitrary arrests or organizing a paramilitary group. He did say that as part of his regular duties he went on patrol duty for the Limbé army barracks three nights a week. Jean said

that he knew that some people had fled the section immediately after the coup because, as he put it, they fear retaliation from people they had damaged during the Aristide administration.

Northeast

Our delegation met 32-year-old Jasmin Prophète, who organizes for two Tèt Kole groups in Roche Plate, the third section of Trou du Nord, in the northeastern province. Since the coup, Prophète said, "the Tèt Kole groups can't even work in the fields together in a konbit and talk, because a *ti sousou* (spy) would tell the section chief and he would arrest us."

Prophète himself narrowly escaped arrest when two uniformed and armed soldiers came to his house in Cabaret with the section chief on December 21, 1991. He was working in the fields when a group member came running to warn him that the soldiers were coming. Prophète was able to hide. When the soldiers arrived at his house, they found it locked and angrily fired their guns into the air. For the next three weeks, Prophète stayed in hiding, spending five days in the woods and the rest in a friend's house. Even though he had returned to his village, Prophète was afraid to sleep at home.

Artibonite

Peasants in Pilboreau, the fourth rural section of the town of Ennery, in the Artibonite, started working with Tèt Kole in 1989 to provide their area with schools, health clinics, and food. Three Tèt Kole members—Simeon Amuscar, Joel Dorelus and Daniel Dorelus—told us that prior to the coup, there were eighteen Tèt Kole peasant groups in the section, each with twenty to twenty-five members. The groups met individually two or three times a week to discuss politics and to work on soil conservation and reforestation. One of the members commented: "The only land we had was what each person brought to the group. But if a person had none she or he could still join a group. The person would get a little less of the harvest, but we shared everything."

Since the coup, these groups have been forced underground. In July, they had gathered only secretly and had rarely risked a meeting of more than five people. The only way to hold a larger gathering, they told us, was to meet in the fields far away from any road or town. They had held a few meetings of around twenty members under these conditions.

Simeon Amuscar told us that he and a leader of Tèt Kole in the area,

Origen Louis, spent significant amounts of time in hiding between November 1991 and June 1992. In late May, Amuscar, Louis and a man named Jean Venac distributed photographs of Aristide and pro-Aristide leaflets in the zone. As a result, section chief Antoine Elis Pierre, nicknamed Safèt, arrested Venac but eventually released him. The arrest led Amuscar, Louis and Venac into hiding for some time.

Papaye Peasant Movement

The Papaye Peasant Movement (*Movement Paysan de Papaye*, MPP) is an important peasant organization that supports agricultural cooperatives and development and reforestation projects. MPP has undertaken numerous development projects in the areas around the departmental capital of Hinche, and has its six-building headquarters and a training center for peasant organizers in nearby Papaye. It has trained hundreds of organizers, teachers and development workers from around the country since it was founded in 1973. Since the coup, MPP has been singled out and systematically repressed by the military: organizers and members of the group have been arrested and forced into hiding, their fields burned, and their MPP-distributed pigs confiscated. Numerous religious and lay leaders and ordinary citizens told us of hearing Major Charles Josel, (known as "Commander Z"), other officers, and section chiefs vow that "There will be no more MPP!" Commander Z, is perhaps the most notorious provincial military chief in Haiti. Promoted from captain to major several months after the coup, he gave himself the nickname "Z", like the last letter of the alphabet, nothing is needed after him -- he is the final authority. According to a cleric with years of experience in the Central Plateau, he arrived in Hinche after the coup with the clear, simple and public mission of smashing the MPP. Numerous people told us that both he and the section chiefs who do his bidding in this regard say, "There is no more MPP and TKL [*Ti Kominote Legliz*, or popular church movement] in the Central Plateau." He is said to have promised a large reward to anyone who turns in Chavannes Jean-Baptiste or other specified MPP leaders.

Although MPP was attempting to become a national organization, and had reconstituted itself as the National Peasant Movement of the Papaye Congress (*Mouvman Nasyonal Peyizan Kongrè Papay*, MPNKP), its strength continued to be in the Central Plateau. A large percentage of the population in the Los Palis parish of Hinche was active in MPP before the coup. An integral part of the social fabric, MPP served many of the functions of local government. A Central

Plateau priest told us that MPP had 400 individual peasant groups in the Los Palis parish, each with between fifteen and twenty-five members. The cleric estimated that there were some 8,000 adults active in the organization, out of a parish population of roughly 30,000 residents.

Before the coup, individual MPP groups met weekly and farmed together in cooperative working groups. Organizers coordinated seven or eight groups each and held monthly meetings with them. MPP distributed piglets to peasant groups, built community grain silos in Los Palis and Papaye, built a manioc (cassava) press in Los Palis, and established community water taps in many small settlements in the area.

After the coup, the situation changed radically. For example, in April 1992, a Catholic seminarian held a church retreat for about 25 young people in a peasant's courtyard near Los Palis. The participants prayed, sang, and reflected on the scripture. The next day soldiers went to the peasant's house, and accused him of hosting an MPP meeting. "There are to be no more such meetings!" an officer shouted at him. A priest told us that "people are accused of meeting for playing dominos and cards." He said, "The army uses 'MPP' and '*Lavalas*' [flood – the slogan of Aristide's campaign] like Duvalier used to use '*kamoken*' [communist] – once they call you that, they can do anything to you."

The parish priest in Los Palis told us that as of early July 1992, at least 54 people from the village still were afraid to sleep at home every night. Seven from the village and thirty in the Los Palis parish as a whole had fled the department.

We interviewed several European volunteers who worked with MPP and who witnessed the post-coup events in Papaye. They reported that the first wave of armed soldiers arrived in town on the morning of October 1, 1991, broke down the doors of several MPP buildings, and left, saying they would be back.

At this point the MPP partisans rushed to remove any valuables from the buildings. But they had no way of transporting their heavy office equipment. The soldiers returned quickly with reinforcements and forced everyone to leave the area. The soldiers looted the buildings, taking the MPP safe, which people told us contained between \$11,100 and \$55,550. Before they left, the soldiers warned everyone that a curfew was in effect.

That afternoon several MPP leaders and European volunteers photographed the looted buildings and brought the justice of the peace from Hinche to witness the destruction. They met with the provincial military commander in Hinche, who said he would go to Papaye to investigate the incident and would punish the soldiers involved.

The next day at 7:00 a.m. the commander arrived with a few other officers,

some soldiers, and the justice of the peace. He gave a speech in which he expressed his surprise about what had happened in Papaye. However, four days later, a group of soldiers from Hinche returned to Papaye. They seized people on the road and forced them to fill in the trenches that local peasants had dug around MPP headquarters to keep military vehicles away. The soldiers were brutal: they forced people who did not have a hoe or other tool to dig with their hands, and beat people randomly.

The soldiers returned on October 8. By this time all of MPP's leaders and organizers had fled the area. Nevertheless, the soldiers tied up anyone they found in the vicinity of the MPP buildings. They demanded to know where MPP leader Chavannes Jean-Baptiste and other organizers were hiding and where the "underground arms cache" was located. They interrogated European volunteers and searched their houses. Eventually, they set free all but four of their prisoners, who were taken to the prison in Hinche.

When we visited the MPP headquarters on July 2, the buildings remained much as the army had left them the previous October. Not one door remained on its hinges, nor a piece of furniture in any room. Every building was littered with a three-inch layer of ripped papers, posters, books and files. The repression in the Central Plateau against people affiliated with the MPP remained so severe that no one dared to clean up the mess, much less to resume using the buildings, for fear of being labeled an MPP sympathizer and carted off to jail. In one representative encounter we met with a 43-year-old MPP member who helped found an all-women MPP group in Los Palis three years earlier. Her group of fourteen members had met every Tuesday to raise collectively corn, manioc, bananas and plantains on an MPP-owned plot of land. She told us that to her knowledge not one MPP group in the entire Los Palis area had been able to meet since the coup. One woman in her group was in hiding and had not returned. Others remained in Los Palis, but the MPP member said she was afraid to meet with them, even one at a time to talk about their children. She said: "We are all known MPP members, and the army and section chief have spies everywhere. We would be taken into the barracks in Hinche for engaging in subversive activity just for talking, two together."

Since a week after the coup, the woman and her husband, previously a salaried MPP organizer, had been sought by government forces. The week after the coup, the two were warned that the military would be looking for them. One night, soldiers went to their house, but they were sleeping elsewhere. In January 1992, soldiers entered the Los Palis Catholic church courtyard and demanded that the

parish priest reveal the couple's whereabouts. The priest said he did not know where they were. After this incident the woman spent a month and ten days in hiding and her husband spent most of the next ten months in the mountains.

In early May 1992, after an informant revealed her husband's hiding place to the authorities, armed civilians working with the section chief arrested him in the mountains. They took him to the prison in Los Palis for one night, and then forced him to march on foot to Hinche. The reason given for his arrest and imprisonment was that he would not pay the section chief for permission to come out of hiding. Eventually he was released and he went back into hiding deep in the mountains.

Later in May the couple's house was surrounded by four uniformed and heavily armed soldiers demanding to see the woman. Her 14-year-old daughter said she was not home. The soldiers said, "We'll be back. And if we don't find her we will take you instead!"

After this incident the woman again went into hiding. A soldier who is a friend of her husband said that she could come home because he would ensure that soldiers did not attack her house, but he warned her to stay off the road—advice which she followed thereafter.

MPP members told us of other incidents of repression against members and organizers. Childerik Placide, an MPP organizer in Los Palis, was sought by the army and armed civilians in late 1991. Commander Z, Placide learned, had placed a bounty of \$110-165 on his head. The commander reportedly said that he would go anywhere to arrest Placide. In mid-December 1991, another military commander went to Los Palis looking for Placide. Placide was able to escape, but he and his wife were pursued by army and civilian forces and had to change their hiding place four times. Finally, Placide and his wife left the department, walking three days and nights to a relatively secure location in another province.

On May 2, about a dozen soldiers from the Thomonde barracks descended upon Father Lévêque Bien-Aimé's house next to the Thomonde church and searched it without a warrant. Father Bien-Aimé told us that all of them were in civilian clothes, and most were wearing concealed revolvers. The object of their search was Bien-Aimé's cousin and Chavannes Jean-Baptiste's brother, an engineer who had done the plans for a local building. The man had been at Bien-Aimé's house the day before. The soldiers searched the entire house, even under the beds.

Father Bien-Aimé told us that over 250 people from his parish were in hiding shortly after the coup. As late as early July, when we visited Thomonde, there were still at least 100 displaced persons in the zone who were unable to live

at home.

Other Peasant Organizations

- o **The Trou du Nord Peasant Organization (*Asosyasyon Peyizan Troudinò*, APTN) was founded in 1988 in the northeastern town of that name. We interviewed 30-year-old Louis Deus Adolphe, a member of APTN who had represented the Roche Plate section on the communal committee. The communal committee had twenty-six members from around the Trou du Nord area and had met about twice a month. Local APTN members had also met in the church in Roche Plate every one to three weeks, sometimes filling the church. Since the coup, Adolphe said, most of these meetings had been suspended. "We haven't had one meeting until today here in Roche Plate, and we've only had the smallest secret ones in Trou du Nord. It's impossible. We don't have the freedom to meet."**

Adolphe himself was arrested because of his role in APTN. On December 18, 1991, as he worked in the fields, four men—Ti Pa Pierre (the section chief's son), Marshall Geniel, Wilmeus, and Ménorse—grabbed his hands, slapped his face, and mockingly asked him when Aristide was coming back. Adolphe was marched three-and-one-half hours into Trou du Nord. At the barracks, a sergeant repeated the question about Aristide's return. Adolphe answered, "if you don't know, how would I, a simple peasant?" He was forced to lie on the cement floor while nine uniformed soldiers whipped him on the buttocks with an orange branch. They also beat him on the face, head, and chest with their fists and feet. The next day, the soldiers asked Adolphe to make a list of the *Lavalassiens* (supporters of Aristide's Lavalas movement) in his area. He replied that the task would be difficult since "everyone in the country had walked together." Angered by answer, the soldiers beat him again.

Adolphe described his release:

At 9:00 a.m., when I was ready to die, they put me out on the street. They thought I was going to die, but God resuscitated me. My family was there to fetch me. I couldn't walk, get into a vehicle or go on an animal. They carried me

on a stretcher, two people behind and two in front, all the way to my house.

Since then, Aldolphe told us, he suffers from frequent headaches and his legs are weak. As of our July 22 interview, he had not been able to return to work.

- o The Sunrise Peasant Movement (*Mouman Peyizan Solèy Leve*, MPSL) has been active in three provinces of Haiti: the Southeast, the South and Grand Anse. Its activities have been seriously curtailed since the coup. According to MPSL's 29-year-old secretary general, the group's work since the coup has been limited to secretly publishing and distributing pamphlets and pictures of Aristide, and sending messages to clandestine radio stations such as *Sèz Desann* (December 16). The officer told us that "distributing tracts and photographs is very dangerous work, because such political expression is not allowed now. It can only be done late at night," and even then there are substantial risks. The twelve-member MPSL executive committee was meeting in Port-au-Prince, rather than in the provinces, and peasant groups affiliated with MPSL were able to meet only late at night, secretly and in small groups.**

- o The Federation of Peasant Groups (*Federasyon Gwoupman Peyizan*) is an organization on the island of La Gonâve that works with peasants to improve agricultural methods, raise animals, and educate people about their legal rights. It is affiliated with the National Peasant Movement of the Papaye Congress. The twenty-four organizers of the Federation formed a separate group called the Association of Development Organizers (*Asosyasyon Animatè Devlopman*, ASAD). We interviewed an ASAD organizer who coordinates a zone that has about 600 active federation members divided into forty-six groups. All Federation activity stopped following the coup. In December 1991, ASAD organizers started having small, secret monthly meetings. By March 1992, the leaders started reorganizing Federation members to do their farming in small groups, so that the peasants could meet while working rather than risking a separate gathering.**

- o Lumière was a peasant group on La Gonâve formed by Church World Service around 1987. An organizer for Lumière, Rosemond Marcisse,**

told us that the group taught the peasants to work together and to participate in political life. Marcisse said: "I used to work with peasants in Grande Source. We can't do that work anymore, not since the coup."

- o **The Peasant Organization of Limbé (*Oganizasyon Peyizan Lenbe*, OPL) has members from all of the rural sections of Limbé, in the North, and works to defend the interests of the peasants. Several members of OPL have been targets of the military. An OPL member and agricultural technician told us that a group of twenty-five armed civilians headed by section chief Claudin Jean came to his house on December 13, 1991. Not finding him at home, the men beat his wife and others in his house with their batons. Later that day, this group went to the house of a teacher and OPL member found him at home, and beat him. The agricultural technician told us that Claudin Jean has about fifty deputies and a secret group of armed civilians who aid his repressive activities.**
- o **The Assembly of Peasant Organizations of Limonade (*Rassemblement Organisations des Paysans de Limonade*, ROPL) is an umbrella organization for popular groups in Limonade and its rural sections in the North. A 28-year-old ROPL leader told us that ROPL was formed in May 1990, but that "with the coup, all organizers had to go into hiding. Organizations just can't breathe here."**
- o **The United Peasants of Roche Plate (*Ansanm Peyizan Ròch Plat*, APRP) was organized in 1990 in the third section of Trou du Nord to organize peasants and to educate them about their legal rights. A community leader we interviewed said, "Since the coup, we can't have meetings. If we did have a meeting, other people, people who tell tales to the army post, would spy on us." Other APRP activists reported that many members of the organization went into hiding after the coup, some escaping to the Dominican Republic or fleeing by boat.**
- o **The Cayes Jacmel Reforestation Union (*Inyon Pou Rebwazman Kay Jakmèl*, IPRKJ) received UN funding for its work in the rural area surrounding Cayes Jacmel, in the Southeast. According to IPRKJ coordinator Francoeur Anacassis, the organization had been "terrorized and completely paralyzed since the coup." Through the IPRKJ, ten peasant organizers were paid to assist thirty peasant farmers to plant**

trees. Anacassis told us that all were still in hiding as of mid-July, some in the Dominican Republic.

Chapter 2

RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND GROUPS

A large number of foreign nongovernmental organizations sponsor popular efforts to improve agricultural methods, rebuild livestock populations, promote reforestation, dig wells, and develop farming collectives in Haiti. Throughout the country, we spoke to peasants about these efforts which, despite their generally non-political nature, have now been destroyed by government troops and their plainclothes allies. As a result, many foreign technicians have left the country, local organizers remain in hiding, tools and pigs have been stolen, crops have been razed, and fields lie fallow. Some representative examples follow.

Mennonite Central Committee

The Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) has development projects in Desarmes in the Artibonite, and also in Bois Laurence and Ranquitte in the Central Plateau. Staff member Ron Bluntschli, an American, told us in July 1992 that local military authorities had informed MCC organizers that they had to give the army four days' advance notice of any meeting; in addition, a military representative had to be present. While the MCC has tried to comply with the order, this has not exempted the group from further repression.

In Bois Laurence, Bluntschli commented, it had been too dangerous for people working on MCC projects to talk about politics, criticize the military or the section chiefs, or read pro-Aristide or anti-government literature. Bluntschli told us that after the coup, some of the organizers from Desarmes and Bois Laurence had to stay in hiding in Port-au-Prince for four months. A large meeting planned in Bois Laurence in late April or early May 1992 was canceled because the participants were too afraid to conduct a meeting in the presence of the military.

Several MCC workers have been harassed since the coup. In December 1991, all of the MCC staff in Bois Laurence was arrested. On February 7, 1992, a Swiss worker at the MCC project in Desarmes named Pierre Burkhalter was arrested by Corporal "Twenty-one Nations" Elduné.

The corporal and his group, who all wore civilian clothes, punched Burkhalter in the chest and forced him to drive them in his car to the homes of MCC organizer Leures Sidor and the teacher. Neither was home. The next day, February 8, the corporal forced Burkhalter to search again for the teacher. When

they did not find him, they detained Burkhalter at the military headquarters in St. Marc.

Leures Sidor, 26 and the father of three children, was arrested by section chief Nevè Charles on November 12, 1992. He had been showing visitors – Haiti-based MCC staffers Ron and Carla Bluntschli (who informed us of the incident) and three Canadians – around an MCC project. At about noon, Sidor stepped outside a house where the group had been eating a snack and was confronted by the section chief, who said he had an order to arrest him. Charles wanted to take him in on his bicycle, but the foreign visitors intervened and proposed they go in their vehicle. At the Desarmes army post, soldiers showed Sidor a leaflet denouncing extortion by a local deputy named Saintoine Joseph. Sidor said he had never seen it. A sergeant and a corporal then searched his bag and began to beat him with fist blows to the face and back of the neck, while making him read from the leaflet. They did this seven times at intervals of about ten minutes, Sidor said. The visitors intervened but one of the officers told them, "You haven't seen anything yet. Later, you'll see what will happen."

The soldiers took Sidor from his cell to the post's guardroom. There, in front of the five visitors and other people who had gathered, they tied him with a rope in the djak position and beat him with sticks and fists. They then threw him on the floor, where he remained, still tied, for half an hour, until soldiers undid the ropes and took him to the prison in Verrettes for the night.

The next day, the Verrettes commander interrogated Sidor after hearing the section chief's version of the arrest. He told the MCC organizer that it had not gone badly for him because the soldiers had not caught him in the act, and warned him not to cause disorder, saying there was already too much disorder in Desarmes, and not to use the project as a cover for political work. The commander sent Sidor to the justice of the peace, who refused to hear the case because the accusing documents were improperly written. Sidor was provisionally released, and went into hiding and sought medical care.

Ecumenical Mutual Aid Service

Before the coup, the area around Thomonde in the Central Plateau was the site of a great deal of experimental work by numerous peasant groups in new agricultural methods, soil conservation, reforestation, and animal husbandry. Much of the resources and expertise for the development work was provided by the mostly French-funded Haitian nongovernmental organization Ecumenical Mutual Aid Service (*Service Oecumenique d'Entraide*, SOE). Since the coup, most of SOE's projects in the three rural sections around Thomonde has been destroyed, with disastrous economic consequences for the peasants of the area. Although Thomonde is a several hour drive across the Central Plateau's bumpy roads from the Papaye Peasant Movement's headquarters and the peasant groups' organizers were church rather than MPP employees, their projects have often been lumped together with the MPP's by the army and its civilian allies.

Two agricultural technicians told us that SOE's first project in the Thomonde area was an effort begun in 1987 to rebuild the Creole pig population.⁶ By September 1991, SOE had distributed 350 piglets to peasant groups in the three rural sections of Thomonde.

Soldiers and civilians closely tied to them took advantage of their new power after the coup to steal pigs from peasant groups throughout Thomonde's rural sections. In Cabral, the first section, a soldier named Dieufély Etienne was the worst offender. Although stationed at the Port-au-Prince unit called the Cafétéria, he came home from the capital a few days after the coup firing his gun into the air. He got some friends together and they stole a pig to feast upon. In the following days, Dieufély and his group stole more than 60 pigs in Cabral. This encouraged other military supporters to steal pigs. Before long, most of the pigs distributed by SOE around Thomonde had been killed or stolen and sold in the market in Port-au-Prince. According to a Caritas organizer in the area, "it became a crime to have one of those pigs. They said they were 'Aristide pigs'". SOE activists told us that they doubted that a stable pig population could be rebuilt in the area:

⁶ In 1983, after African swine fever was detected in Haitian pigs, the entire Creole pig population was slaughtered at the insistence of the United States. The peasant economy was massively disrupted by this sudden loss. Pigs were often the only savings and insurance possessed by peasants, and they provided over 50% of the protein consumed annually. Although the U.S. Agency for International Development provided some Iowa pigs to begin replacing the herd, the foreign pigs were expensive to feed and care for.

most of the peasant groups that raised the pigs provided by SOE were no longer functioning. Even selling piglets in local markets was difficult because people were afraid of being arrested for possession of an "MPP pig."

SOE's agricultural development work in the rural area around Thomonde included helping peasant groups grow vegetables, distributing a disease-resistant form of sugar cane, renting farm implements and tools to groups at a very low price, and running a veterinary pharmacy and a health clinic. An SOE technician told us in July that all of these activities have been put on hold. The group's remaining foreign workers continued to grow vegetables on Caritas-owned land and to sell the produce at the market, but "there is no chance of working with the peasant groups on something like this now. They can't be said to really exist at this point."

SOE organizers also taught high school students agricultural techniques by working with groups of students to plant corn, bananas, plantains and rice on land owned by the Catholic Church's social development organization Caritas. While SOE suspended these activities for some time after the coup, SOE workers resumed training students in spring 1992. But reports that a senior army officer in Thomonde had begun an investigation of SOE in late June forced the organization to halt over this work in early July.

The worst attack on an SOE project, which the townspeople call the "Marécage Massacre," occurred in a remote area in the mountains of Thomonde's third rural section about a week after the coup. A mob from Baille Tourrible, where there were few peasant organizations, went to the neighboring settlement of Marécage, the locale of several active popular organizations. (Baille Tourrible was the home village of the former section chief. Marécage was the home of the rural police agent who under the Aristide government had replaced the section chief.) The mob killed or stole all of the peasant groups' pigs, burned trees and fields, and stole \$2,800-4,500 worth of tools. At least thirty buildings were burned, including four SOE tool sheds, one SOE clinic, and the houses of many peasant group members. Two people were killed--a man named Louis Aux Céva and a woman named Mania--and at least five others were seriously wounded.

After the Marécage Massacre, community leaders met with the mayor's office and the local justice of the peace to discuss the incident. Two delegations traveled from Thomonde to Hinche to complain about the violence and theft.

On October 15, 1991, then regional commander Lieutenant Colonel Coby sent soldiers to the scene. A Haitian agricultural technician for SOE named Lacroix Jean-Noël, a Swiss development worker, a local magistrate, and the justice of the peace drove out to direct the fifteen uniformed and heavily armed soldiers to the

remote settlement. When the soldiers arrived in Marécage, instead of investigating the alleged crimes, they turned their guns on this group and the peasants who came to meet them. Gathering a half-dozen children ranging in age from five to eleven years old, the soldiers hit and threatened them, and asked them whether the development workers were "MPP and communist." In terror, the children said "yes." The soldiers also questioned a local peasant woman, but she refused to talk about the technician and the foreign specialist.

Having extracted accusations from the children, the soldiers turned to the Swiss development expert. "OK, you're a foreigner, so you can live," an officer told him. "But you," he said, speaking to the Haitian technician Jean-Noël, "we don't know whether we'll let you live or not." The soldiers asked the magistrate whether he knew how to drive, implying that they would kill Jean-Noël if they could find someone else to drive the jeep. When the magistrate said he did not know how to drive, the soldiers let the group leave.

Shortly after this incident, Jean-Noël and scores of local peasant group members went into hiding. Jean-Noël was able to return to the area in early January 1992, but has had to return undercover periodically because of severe repression in Marécage. Nine months after the massacre, SOE's technicians had not been able to visit the area to assess the extent of the physical and organizational damage done to their development projects.

The authorities have never investigated the crimes at Marécage. Indeed, the leader of the massacre forces, Luckner Nissage, was later rewarded by an appointment as section chief of Thomonde's third section, an area which includes both Marécage and Baille Tourrible. As of early July 1992, Jean-Noël told us that over thirty Marécage residents remained in hiding, and others were regularly persecuted by section chief Luckner Nissage.

Caritas

Caritas is a social service and development organization funded by the Haitian Catholic Church. Linked to an international network of other relief organizations, Caritas supports agricultural development and peasant craft cooperatives. Caritas has its strongest presence in rural Haiti. While each of the seven Haitian dioceses has a Caritas organization, the individual groups are fairly autonomous and their political and developmental roles vary widely.

We interviewed the director of Caritas for the Central Plateau, Thomonde parish priest Father Lévêque Bien-Aimé, who is MPP leader Chavannes Jean-Baptiste's first cousin. In the Central Plateau, Caritas organizers work with many peasant groups in the rural area around Thomonde. Father Bien-Aimé told us that at the time of the coup there were about 120 active peasant groups in the Thomonde area, each with about fifteen members. Members of each group met frequently. Since the coup, Father Bien-Aimé said, "none of them has been able to meet, and some have been subjected to horrible abuses." Eight Caritas organizers used to meet monthly at the church in Thomonde. After the military takeover, all of them went into hiding for three months. Many of them returned to the area in early 1992, but were unable to continue their work or to circulate freely. Those who came into Thomonde to meet with us did so only under the cover of darkness. Father Bien-Aimé estimated that over 250 people from his area were in hiding, and unable to live in their homes in the months following the coup. In early July, at least 100 people from the zone were still displaced.

We heard reports that several Caritas organizers had been threatened by soldiers. Around October 8, 1991, the father of a young man involved in a pig theft ring led by Dieufély Etienne, a local soldier based at the Cafétéria barracks in Port-au-Prince, warned that Etienne "was going to kill [the organizer] with the pigs and disappear [him]." As a result the organizer took his family into hiding. Shortly thereafter, unknown forces broke into his house and stole the doors, his stove, and other furnishings. He then sent his wife and children to live with a friend and fled the province. While he was in hiding, friends told him that army officers in Thomonde had announced that he would be allowed to return home if he paid a large fee. The organizer refused to pay the money. He returned to the Thomonde area in November 1991, but fled to Port-au-Prince after he discovered that his name was on a list of people to be arrested. He did not return home until March 4, 1992. When we spoke with him in early July 1992 he told us that he could go into Thomonde only under the cover of darkness.

A senior organizer for Caritas received death threats from government

forces shortly after the coup and was still in hiding when we met him in late July 1992. He told us that on November 20, 1991, eight soldiers in combat uniforms and helmets went to his house. He was in the fields and his wife was at the market when they arrived. The soldiers spoke harshly with the man's children, warning that they would kill him. The organizer fled to Port-au-Prince. On January 6, 1992, he returned secretly to Thomonde to investigate the possibility of resuming a more normal life. The army found out he was back and six soldiers went to his house firing their weapons into the air, but he was not home at the time. He fled again and did not return home until March. When we interviewed him in July 1992, he was still unable to move about or work freely.

Little Brothers of the Incarnation

This group of monks, which was founded 15 years ago to work with the poorest peasants of the Central Plateau, conducts a broad range of development projects. The monks work in the schools, run health, nutrition, and leisure programs (including a small movie screen), and train peasants in soil conservation and irrigation. They organized their own peasant groups and for this reason there has been some tension between them and the Papaye Peasant Movement (MPP), the largest peasant group in the department. They also organized their own *Ti Kominote Legliz* (TKL) groups. Despite their efforts to avoid conflict with the authorities, their TKL and peasant groups faced such harassment from local soldiers and section chiefs that they were unable to function at the time of our visit in early July 1992.

One of the monks, who heads the group's day-to-day operations, told us that like the MPP, his group considers political-consciousness raising to be one of its primary functions. But unlike the MPP, it tries to avoid political involvement outside the community, especially any public criticism of anti-democratic forces. This strategy may account for the fact that the monks and their peasant organizers had been threatened but not physically attacked by the military.

According to the monk we interviewed:

The general condition here is one of fear. The Macoute organization is very solid in Hinche. They have the army with them. They can terrorize whomever they want. So there is no security in the region, and people are afraid. The repression is sometimes a little less, but the point is it has been normalized –

it is now always there.

Five hundred and fifty peasants in the Pandiassou and Dos Palais areas, north of Hinche, belonged to groups organized by the group of monks. Before the coup, each group met weekly. General assemblies were held every month or two. There were also large meetings at Pandiassou attended by as many as 400 peasants. As of early July, the coup had forced these peasant groups to stop all normal activities, including formal meetings, because of interference from the section chief and his deputies. Only informal meetings through work collectives were occasionally possible.

Christian Community Development of Haiti

Développement Communautaire Chrétien d'Haïti (DCCH) is a major Catholic development and training center in the southern village of Laborde, just north of Les Cayes. DCCH provided health education and agricultural development assistance to peasants in fifteen parishes throughout the South. We met with Lamphy, a parish priest in Laborde who is one of the directors of DCCH. He told us about the following attacks on the organization after the coup.

On October 2, 1991, the army attacked DCCH's headquarters in Laborde. Soldiers entered the building, threatened the staff, and shot automatic weapons into the air. As a result, many of the organization's leaders went into hiding, and three remained there as of late June 1992: Raymond Delinois, Edras Manacé, and Énel Orélien.

On October 23, 1991, the army returned to DCCH's compound, forcing Father Lamphy to go into hiding for two weeks. He came under attack again around May 31, 1992, when his personal quarters were searched and ransacked, forcing him to flee to the bishopric in Les Cayes along with priests from ten other parishes.

Under this persistent military pressure, DCCH has been unable to continue its work with peasant groups in the South. None of DCCH's organizers was able to hold meetings openly with individual groups, and larger training meetings, which had been routine, were out of the question. A senior DCCH organizer in Camp Perrin told us that "people continue to fear attending any meeting that the authorities could construe as political." DCCH's two health centers continued to function, but have been forced to suspend their health education campaign.

Cooperation and Integrated Development Society

Marie Ange Noël told us about the experience of the Quebecois nongovernmental organization for which she worked. The *Société de Coopération et Développement Intégré* (SOCODEVI) is a development group in the Southeast that worked with a union of twelve cooperatives known as CECOPASE. One of the cooperatives operated a credit union; others operated bulk buying and selling operations. After the coup, the two Canadians in charge of the organization left Haiti. All of the regular weekly meetings of the cooperatives were suspended because of the regional military command's prohibition of such gatherings and because of attacks on leaders such as Noël. Some of the cooperatives were able to continue buying and selling while others had to stop functioning completely.

Inter-Aide

The French nongovernmental organization *Inter-Aide*, which funds educational programs in fourteen Catholic schools and programs for potable water and agricultural development, has been working in the Marigot and Cayes Jacmel districts of the Southeast since 1987. Since the coup, the agency has been unable to hold its formerly monthly meetings with the staff of any of the Catholic schools, according to Inter-Aide employees Paul-Antoine Sauvignon and Yves Joseph, despite the nonpartisan nature of its work.

American Friends Services Committee

The American Friends Services Committee (AFSC) began working in the department of Grande Anse in southern Haiti in 1989. AFSC supports training and organization of popular and peasant groups and funds projects of \$550-1,100 with an emphasis on women's programs. The group has two representatives in each of three zones: Moron, Dame Marie, and Irois.

According to Riché Andre, program officer for AFSC and a minister with the United Church of Haiti, while the AFSC-backed groups cannot meet openly, they continue to function through a system of person-to-person contacts. Riché told us: "I myself don't go into the zone since the coup...Everyone knows me and so to preserve our people in the area I don't go. If I went there, they would know that our work had begun again and would put on the pressure."

An AFSC representative working in Moron who asked to remain anonymous told us that he spent a month in hiding beginning in early December

after he learned that section chief Belamin Calixte was blaming him for pro-Aristide activity in the area. He explained: "Now we keep working through individual contacts. But some activities we used to have just can't be done anymore..."

We met with the AFSC representative from Irois who works with five peasant groups in the Kapafou zone: the *Mouvman Peyizan Kapafou*, the *Oganizasyon Peyizan Kapafou*, the *Gwoup Devlopman Peyizan Kapafou*, the *Inyon Peyizan Kapafou*, and the women's group *Fanm Vanyan*. The organizer said: "Since the coup none of [these peasant groups] can function...We do have coordinating groups, a *Gwoup Gesyon* [Management Group] and a *Gwoup Direksyon* [Leadership Group], each having a member of each peasant group in it, plus the organizer. These groups continue to meet."

Chapter 3

COMMUNITY AND POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS

When Jean-Claude Duvalier fled Haiti in 1986 in response to popular pressure, a process of rebuilding the country began. While the succeeding regimes were marked by repression and political instability, there was a gradual rise in the formation of democratic and popular organizations which addressed economic and social problems. The years 1990 and 1991 saw an acceleration in this process.

Paralleling the growth of peasant organizations in rural areas, a broad range of neighborhood committees and community groups emerged in Haiti's cities following the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship. Many of these groups flourished under the Aristide government. In the immediate post-coup period these groups faced brutal repression and many continue to be banned from their communities.

Kòmiffo

Konbit Kòmiffo (As It Should Be Collective) is a political organization formed in 1986 by about forty young people in Grand Goâve and its rural sections in southern Haiti. A member of the Democratic Unity Confederation (*Konfederasyon Inite Demokratik, KID*), which prominently supported Aristide in the 1990 elections, Kòmiffo has been long despised by the military.¹ Since the September 1991 coup, Kòmiffo has been totally immobilized, unable to hold meetings or to engage in any of its traditional activities. Many of its members have been forced into hiding, and several of them, like Joseph Octalouis Desnoyer, have been arrested, tortured and imprisoned for months.

Grand Goâve's parish priest, René Poirier, characterized Kòmiffo as "the organization of all the young people who really wanted change." Kòmiffo concentrated on political mobilization, human rights, popular education, and literacy campaigns. Members of Kòmiffo told us about one of their few accomplishments since the coup: in March 1992, they joined other popular

¹ See Americas Watch, National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, Caribbean Rights, and International Commission of Jurists, "Reverting to Despotism: Human Rights in Haiti," March 1990, pp. 57-58.

organizations in publishing a clandestine human rights report called "File on Repression and Torture in Grand Goâve from 30 September 1991 to 6 March 1992."

The story of Joseph Octalouis Desnoyer, who was an election monitor for the FNCD (*Front Nationale pour le Changement et la Démocratie*, or National Front for Change and Democracy, the coalition slate under which Aristide ran) party during the 1990 elections, represents an extreme example of military repression against a Kômilfo member. On the night of October 11, 1991, Desnoyer was arrested by five soldiers in a pickup truck and taken to the barracks in Petit Goâve. No reason was given for his warrantless arrest. At the barracks, soldiers made him lie face-down, kicked him and beat him with nightsticks. They accused him of burning the local military headquarters and the courthouse on the night of the coup, looting, being a member of the FNCD party and Lavalas, and being appointed by Aristide to a local job. (After Aristide's victory, Desnoyer had been appointed chief of the local road clean-up crew.) In an interview with our delegation, Desnoyer described what happened next:

The soldiers interrogated me: 'How many people did Father René Poirier give money to burn tires in the streets? How many weapons stolen from the military headquarters did Magistrate Jacques Ciprien have in his hands?' When I denied their accusations and refused to implicate innocent people whom the military considered political enemies, they beat me some more. They also accused me of being a Kômilfo member. In all, they made me lie on my stomach three times and gave me over 100 truncheon blows each time. Then they took me to a four-meter-square cell which already had twenty inhabitants. On the way, fifteen to twenty soldiers beat me with guns and truncheons and kicked me. They split my head open.

After two days in his cell, Desnoyer was taken back to the guard room where he had been beaten earlier. Sergeant Frantz Hilaire subjected him to the same accusations and questions, made him lie on the ground, and beat him again until he lost consciousness. A few days later Second Lieutenant Rebert Milord summoned him again and said that even if Desnoyer did not burn the barracks himself, he must have sent others to do it. He was then beaten some 150 times with a truncheon.

This repeated torture was typical of Desnoyer's detention in prison. On October 17, he was forced to sit on a bench below a window. Three soldiers in the

window clubbed him on the back while three soldiers in the room beat him on the chest and stomach. On October 20, Sergeant Hilaire took him from his cell to Captain Lino Bruno's office. The same accusations and questions followed.

When I refused to admit any guilt, the captain ordered a soldier to give me the *kalot marasa*, a form of torture in which they simultaneously clap their hands as hard as possible on your two ears. They did it about forty times. At the end I was bleeding from both ears. Then the captain had them tie my hands together, push my knees up and put a stick between my arms and legs in a forced fetal position called the *djak*. They beat me over 200 times with truncheons. Commandant Israel Pierre Fils, known as Ti Rach (Little Hatchet) appeared. He took a soldier's nightstick and said, 'That's not how you beat him!' He hit me directly on the knees and ankles many times. Then they untied me and returned me to my cell.

Desnoyer remained in prison for over six months. On October 22, a trial began and Desnoyer was convicted of the crimes of which he had been accused. On April 2, lawyer Camille LeBlanc filed an appeal in his case, and he was transferred to the national penitentiary in Port-au-Prince. Finally, on April 29, Desnoyer's conviction was overturned by the appeals court and he was released. After his release, Desnoyer immediately went into hiding. He applied for political asylum at the U.S. Consulate and was granted refugee status the last week of July.

Military harassment of Kòmiffo members continued. On June 29, three section chiefs from Petit Goâve arrested Kòmiffo member Aldrine Duvivier. Duvivier and her grandmother were detained at the town's military post for three hours, and both were beaten.

People's Movement of Mare Rouge

The People's Movement of Mare Rouge (*Mouvman Nèg Marouj*, MONEM) started organizing in the Mare Rouge section of Môle St. Nicolas in northwestern Haiti, in 1984. The group was formally founded in 1988. Previlus Justin, the president of MONEM who also is the founder of Radio Bwakayiman, told us in July 1992 that the organization had 65 groups with fifteen to twenty members each before the coup. Twice a year, MONEM convened large meetings of up to 1,500 people, he explained.

Before the coup things were pretty good. People were organizing and doing development work, projects like rebuilding the road to Anse Rouge. This began in March 1991. MONEM was constructing a new building. People were making demands, such as calling for section chiefs to be abolished and illegal taxes to end. People could have meetings at any time, in any place.

On July 26, 1991, people held a march to call for changes from the government. They said that they had paid 50 million gourdes² in taxes since 1935 and had never gotten anything for it. Nearly 3,000 people marched to demand something for their money from the government.

Right after the coup, there was a lot of pressure on MONEM. Soldiers and supporters of the large landowners threatened to destroy the community radio station, Radio Bwakayiman, a community silo, and MONEM's three buildings. "Since the coup," another MONEM member told us, "we cannot meet in groups, but we continue our work through individual contacts. The section chief and his *chouket lawouzes* (deputies, literally 'shakers of the dew') keep an eye on us."

On November 10, 1991, soldiers from Môle St. Nicolas came into the town. They began searching for the leaders of groups -- Justin and others. The soldiers occupied the town for a week, sleeping in the old section chief's house. Around ten people left town then for political reasons. Five soldiers showed up at Justin's house on November 10, intending to arrest him. Justin glimpsed the soldiers and hid. He and his wife and infant son immediately fled to a town in the Artibonite, where they spent about two months, before returning.

In March 1992, MONEM organized a training session for market women. On March 29, as Justin was walking home from the session, a jeep with six armed soldiers and a civilian driver stopped him on the road. The driver of the jeep was Jean-Michel Richardson, a former deputy under the government of Leslie Manigat

² All monetary figures are given as U.S. dollars, calculated at nine *gourdes* to the dollar, the average exchange rate during the time of our reporting. The gourde is officially pegged at five to the U.S. dollar and in common parlance in Haiti a dollar means five gourdes -- a source of some confusion.

and a reputed participant in the Jean Rabel massacre. The soldiers grabbed Justin by the collar and gave him three hard blows to the head with their open hands. Richardson accused him of being an Aristide partisan. When Justin replied, "I don't do Aristide work," three of the soldiers slapped him, splitting his lower lip. They ripped his shirt, putting one gun in his ear and one under his chin.

Corporal "*Rache Pwèl*" (Rips Out Hair) Fils-Aimé then approached and asked the soldiers whether Justin had distributed pro-Aristide tracts. A soldier said, "He's done worse than that!" Rache Pwèl then punched Justin in the chest. Justin told us about what happened when the soldiers searched his briefcase:

I had one paper with notes about a radio program on Haitian history and one soldier was sure this was very important. I had a paper about the tax on a piece of land I had bought to build a silo for MONEM. "Oh, you're buying land where you can plot to bring back Aristide," said one. The soldiers were arguing about what to do with me. It was getting dark. I backed up slowly and slipped into a house. I escaped out the back. I heard later that a spy had told them that I was the director of the radio station and that they had said, "if we'd known who he was we'd have done more to him."

Popular Organization for the Defense of the Interests of Petit Goâve

In Petit Goâve, in southern Haiti, the Popular Organization for the Defense of the Interests of Petit Goâve (*Organisation Populaire pour la Défense des Intérêts de Petit Goâve*,

OPODIP) was formed after the 1990 presidential campaign by the Lavalas of Petit-Goâve (*Coordination Lavalas de Petit Goâve*, COLP) and other organizations. According to the assistant general coordinator, OPODIP's entire leadership, including its ten executive committee members and six other active members, had to go into hiding after the coup, in part because they had investigated and denounced human rights abuses by army officers and by section chiefs who were suddenly back in power. The assistant general coordinator, who is from Les Palmes, hid for some time in the rectory and in Croix Hilaire, about six kilometers from town.

Popular of Léogâne

The Popular of Léogâne (*Komite Popilè Leogann, KOPOLEO*) is one of the most important popular organizations in Léogâne, a town about twenty miles southwest of Port-au-Prince. A local priest told us that KOPOLEO's work involves uniting, educating, and empowering peasants. Since the coup, however, the group has had no public meetings or activities. The cleric stressed that the only place people can safely meet in Léogâne is at the Catholic church, and even there, plainclothes soldiers come to mass regularly to conduct surveillance. The subdistrict commander, Pierre Mésadiou, known as *Rache Bab*, or Pulls Out Beards, told a delegation of local leaders that he would tolerate "no public demonstrations of any kind" in the area.

Organization for the Change and Relief of the Island of La Gonâve

The *Organization Pour le Changement et le Relèvement de l'île de La Gonâve* (OCRIC) was founded in April 1990. Marcelin Zacharie Junior, a public school teacher and the secretary of information for the organization, told us in June 1992 that OCRIC has been shut down since the coup. An example of OCRIC's work was supervising student examinations in June 1991 so that students could advance to the next level when a dispute between the government and teachers at the state school in the village of Pointe-à-Raquettes would otherwise have led to the cancellation of the exams. Zacharie Junior commented on the post-coup paralysis of the organization:

After the coup we couldn't function at all because we were all known. We haven't been able to have a press conference or write or publish anything at all. The press has been shut down here so there's no one to take and spread our news anyway.

Balan Honor and Respect Movement

The *Mouvement Honneur et Respect Balan* (MOREB) is a group of peasants, merchants, and fisherpeople founded in January 1991 in the Morne Rouge section of Plaine du Nord, near Cap Haïtien in the North. MOREB is affiliated with the National Alliance of Popular Organizations (*Association Nationale des Organisations Populaires, ANOP*) and involves approximately 80 percent of the people in the locality of Balan. Residents of Balan told us that MOREB unites many smaller local groups, including *Tèt Kole Elèv Lèkol, Association Pecheurs,*

Association Paysans, Association Ti Professionels, and several Comites de Quartiers. The parish priest in Balan, Father Marcel Bussels, is involved in MOREB. On June 2, 1992, Father Bussels was arrested and imprisoned. Soldiers searched and ransacked his rectory, and seized documents pertaining to his work with MOREB.

Organization of Community Groups of the Sacre Coeur Parish

The Organization of Community Groups of the Sacre Coeur Parish (*Oganizasyon Gwoupman Kominote Pawas Sakrekè, OGKPS*) includes groups of small merchants, youths, farmers, and *Ti Legliz* members. OGKPS is one of many popular organizations in the northern city of Cap Haitien that have been victimized by the massive repression in the poor neighborhoods of the city. OGKPS was formally founded in Cap Haitien in 1990, although some of its member groups existed as early as 1977. Community organizers Renaud Etienne and Joseph Belizaire told us that many members of the organization have been beaten and arrested. On or about February 7, 1992, they said, soldiers arrested Evno Presimé and beat him badly after organizers held a small demonstration in the Labori quarter of Cap Haitien. One of his teeth was broken in the beating. Uniformed soldiers with machine guns arrested five others, including Evno's brother, Bernard Presimé. They were taken to the barracks and spent three days in prison.

Les Cayes People's Unity Movement

The Les Cayes People's Unity Movement (*Mouvman Inite Pèp Okay, MUPAK*) was founded in 1986 to provide a pro-democracy political voice in the post-Duvalier era and to organize the poor of Les Cayes and the surrounding countryside in southern Haiti. MUPAK is affiliated with the National Association of Popular Organizations. According to Frantz Guillite, one of MUPAK's founders, the organization "supported Aristide from a critical distance."

As of July 1992, MUPAK had not been able to hold meetings or function openly since the September coup. All of MUPAK's leaders either went into hiding locally or moved to other parts of the country in an attempt to continue their political work in areas where they were not known. Frantz Guillite, who became the deputy mayor of Les Cayes in the 1990 elections, was arrested on May 14, 1992 and again following a wave of arrests in Camp Perrin on May 29. "Open expressions of political belief will not be tolerated at this time," he explained.

Union of Camp Perrin Organizations

The Union of Camp Perrin Organizations (*Rasanbleman Oganizasyon Kanperin*, ROK) was formed by several groups in the town of Camp Perrin in southern Haiti that had supported Aristide's presidential campaign. An organizer for the Christian Community Development of Haiti told us in July 1992 that ROK has been forced underground since the September coup: "Any idea of holding public or large meetings was destroyed by the wave of repression following the attack on the Camp Perrin military post on May 29, when most of these arrested were Lavalas or Catholic Church activists."

to Defend the Interests of the Southeast

The to Defend the Interests of the Southeast (*Komite Defans Enterè Sudès*, KODES) was formed in Jacmel, in southeastern Haiti, in 1989. Since the coup, KODES has not been able to have public meetings or to continue its work openly. Its secretary described the group's work as organizing the public to prevent and expose false arrests, torture, imprisonment and extortion.

On September 30, 1991, the secretary of KODES and eight other members of popular organizations in Jacmel (including KODES, Lavalas, and the Association of Jacmel Patriots (*Asosyasyon Patwiyot Jakmel*, APAJAK) identified themselves and their organizations on Radio Jacmel Inter and conducted a spontaneous call-in program on the emergency situation. They urged the audience to stand up for their rights, prompting a large street demonstration of people shouting "Down with the coup! Long live Aristide!" The military responded immediately, arresting known members of popular organizations and beating anyone on the streets. The KODES secretary estimated that thirty to forty people were killed on that day from gunshots and beatings. Soldiers also surrounded the radio station, but the participants in the call-in show were able to escape.

Organization to Defend the Interests of Marigot

The Organization to Defend the Interests of Marigot (*Oganizasyon Defans Enterè Marigo*, ODEM) was founded in southeastern Haiti in April 1991. ODEM brought together numerous smaller groups that had formed during the Aristide period, including a group working on neighborhood road improvement and a group running a local credit union.

The secretary of ODEM told us in July 1992 that the group had become a

sizeable coalition when the coup occurred, but that since the coup "ODEM has not been able to function at all. There have been no [public] meetings. The right to meet [publicly] has simply disappeared. We only meet with a very few people each of whom absolutely trusts the others." The local military has told area leaders that meetings are forbidden, and it has backed up this prohibition with arrests and beatings of numerous area residents accused of political organizing.

Jacmel Neighborhood s

Neighborhood committees have been active in Jacmel in southeastern Haiti since at least the mid-1980s. Their activities include neighborhood cleanups, cultural activities, literacy programs, and a reforestation campaign. Romana Tranquille, who was the FNCD's unsuccessful candidate for deputy in Jacmel in the 1990 election and its representative in the Southeast, has worked with over 100 neighborhood committees in greater Jacmel, each with twenty to thirty members. Tranquille told us in July 1992 that since the coup, these committees had not been able to meet and that many of the most active community leaders remained in hiding.

Chapter 4

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Most groups advocating equal rights or social justice for women have been stifled since the September coup. Viewed with suspicion by the military because they challenge the status quo and are part of the democratic movement that has grown up since 1986, they also have suffered from the general ban on popular meetings. We learned of many local women's groups that have all but ceased to function since the coup.

Haitian Women's Solidarity

Haitian Women's Solidarity (*Solidarité Femmes Haïtiennes*, SOFA) is a national women's organization which is strongest in the departments of the Artibonite, Central Plateau, Southeast and West. SOFA's main focus is opposing violence against women through education and training. The group has a representational structure that allows members to have a voice at the local, communal, departmental and national levels. SOFA also has three branches made up of peasant, professional and neighborhood groups.

In July 1992, we interviewed Marie-Ange Noël, one of SOFA's national representatives for the Southeast department, and an organizer for a group called *Fanm Deside* (Determined Women) in Jacmel. Noël told us that since the coup, SOFA's activity had come to a virtual standstill. In many rural areas where repression was severe, the local groups had not been able to meet at all. In others, small meetings were possible. Many of SOFA's members, including Noël herself, remained in hiding.

Noël told us about her arrest and beating on May 22 1992 in Jacmel. She had been on her way to the inauguration ceremony for a neighborhood water faucet which a community group that she had organized had campaigned to have installed. Peaceful demonstrations were taking place at Lycée Pinchinat and College Suisse, high schools on Avenue Bananquilla, where students were chanting political slogans like "Down with the army" and "Long live Aristide." The army had surrounded the schools, and soldiers were threatening, arresting and beating people on the street.

As Noël passed the high schools with Jacqueline Alexis, another activist, soldiers summoned and accused them of giving pictures of Aristide to the students. One soldier told Noël to sit in a mud puddle. When she refused, another

soldier hit her on the buttocks with a truncheon. Noël grasped the truncheon. The soldier then grabbed her by the collar and clubbed her in the abdomen. She fell to her knees, and the soldier kicked her in the stomach. This time she toppled backwards to the ground. A plainclothes officer who was Noël's friend stopped the beating.

Noël and Alexis were then arrested and taken to Jacmel prison. They were put into a bare 10-by-12 foot cell with three other women prisoners. Captain Larochel then called for Noël and told her that he would "make her stop being fresh." He made her stand facing the wall and sent two soldiers to find a whip. When they came back empty-handed, the captain sent her back to her cell. Within an hour, Commander Jeune then had her brought before him. Pulling out a file, he read aloud about Noël's work with cooperatives and women's groups, including specifics on the rural zones and urban neighborhoods in which she worked. He accused her of organizing the student demonstrations that day and "Aristide meetings" in general. Noël denied the charges and the captain accused her of lying.

Commander Jeune then ordered a soldier to whip Noël. The man said, "I don't beat women." The commander, angered, told him to leave and said that any others who agreed with him could leave as well. No other soldier left the room. Noël described what happened next:

There were five male prisoners in the commander's office with me. The commander decided to have them beaten first with a nightstick while someone was fetching a whip to use on me. He made me watch while each of the men were given fifty blows. While this was going on, a sergeant who is a friend of mine came in and [seeing me] said, "Oh, that's my buddy." I was not beaten further after that.

That evening, Noël was released "provisionally" until the next morning. Her release appeared to have been due to pressure from community leaders. When Commander Jeune summoned her the next morning, he warned her not to organize any meetings, to report all incidents of unauthorized meetings, and to provide information on the activities of popular organizations in the area.

After she was released, a plainclothes military attaché followed her everywhere she went. Her friend in the barracks told her that the commander planned to rearrest her, and that next time he would not be "so lenient." Noël left Jacmel for Port-au-Prince that same day. On June 1, Noël returned to Jacmel to

collect some belongings and was immediately followed. That night soldiers went to her house looking for her, but she had already left the city. As of July, Noël remained in hiding in Port-au-Prince.

Noël is not the only SOFA member to have been victimized. In early April, four organizers in the Artibonite town of Desarmes -- Sulfise, Jesumène, Mme. Legrand and Mme. Yvon -- were arrested for doing SOFA work, according to Françoise Boirsiquot, a member of SOFA's national coordinating committee. At least one of the four remained in hiding as of mid-July, after attempts by Corporal "Twenty-one Nations" Elduné and a group of civilian thugs to rearrest her.

Three Port-au-Prince-based SOFA organizers have also been arrested, although not apparently in connection with their SOFA work. In April 1992, soldiers arrested Madeleine Val after she picked up a leaflet with a picture of Aristide on it. They took her to the Investigations and Anti-Gang Service of the police, held her for four hours and beat her. She was arrested again on June 2 during a protest against the killing of Georges Izméry, the brother of an outspoken Aristide supporter, who was shot on May 28. She was beaten in the police vehicle and then released. In early June, two women named Coletta and Rica were arrested. They were shopping on the street in Port-au-Prince when soldiers rounded up a group of people, arrested them and beat them up in the soldiers' truck.

Determined Women

Fanm Deside (Determined Women) was founded in Jacmel, in southeastern Haiti with support from a Canadian nun named Rachel Vinet. The organization had four groups of ten to fifteen women each working in collective boutiques. They sold necessities such as oil and soap, provided literacy instruction, and discussed issues of politics and gender equality.

Fanm Deside organizer Marie-Ange Noël said in July 1992 that although the organization had not been able to hold public meetings or large gatherings since the September coup, the members were able to meet in small groups. The organization had been able to continue some of its economic activities, and Noël told us that one literacy instructor was still living in Jacmel.

Women's Movement of Grand Goâve

The Women's Movement of Grand Goâve (*Mouvement des Femmes de Grand Goâve*, MOFAG) was founded in April 1988 by young members of other popular organizations, including Magdalene and Soeurrette Paul, whose brother is

journalist Jean Mario Paul. The group provided literacy instruction and sought to develop an equal role for women in Haitian society. Although the group once had members in all seven rural sections of Grand Goâve, it had not through July 1992 been able to hold a single public meeting since the coup and its leaders had gone into hiding. Magdalene Paul had been forced to flee the country.

Chapter 5 YOUTH GROUPS

Young people have been among the primary targets of the military since the coup. Not uncommonly, they have come under suspicion simply because they are young. A typical case is the November 12, 1991 experience of Carrefour-Feuille, Port-au-Prince, where after a symbolic funeral mass for the victims of the coup at the St. Gérard Church, troops began to round-up. Knocking at doors throughout the densely populated neighborhood, soldiers pulled out all the young men they discovered, ignoring women and older men. They beat and arrested scores of youths, eyewitnesses told us.

Young people enthusiastically joined in the 1990 electoral campaign and supported Aristide in probably greater proportions than the 67 percent he garnered in the election. Most of the poll workers as well as the observers sent by political parties to watch the voting were young.

Youths across the country were sought by the military and forced to go into hiding after the coup and many activists with youth groups remained effectively barred from their home towns more than a year after Aristide's overthrow.

Youth Coordinating

The Youth Coordinating (*Comite de Coordination des Jeunes*) is a parish-wide youth group founded in 1986, which is made up of smaller local youth groups throughout the Verrettes area in the Artibonite. A Catholic school teacher and a leader of the said in July 1992 regarding these groups: "After the coup, we kept having meetings, although there was a lot of infiltration. But since early December 1991, none of these groups has been able to meet. Each time we tried to meet, the military would show up in front of us." This teacher supervised four other youth groups in the village of Alè which had been founded in the mid-1980's: Alè Youth Movement (*Mouvman Jèn Alè*, MJA), Ray of Hope Group (*Gwoup Rayon Espwa*), Star (*Etwa*), and Sun Group (*Gwoup Solè*). Members of these groups used to gather to discuss topical issues. They also received vocational training, worked on civic projects, promoted group farming, and worked on a credit union (*caisse populaire*). MJA, the oldest of these groups, had a field to farm communally and had its own pigs.

Pont Sondé Youth Movement

The Pont Sondé Youth Movement (*Mouvement des Jeunes de Pont Sondé*, MJPS) is a 300-member youth group founded in 1988 in Pont Sondé, in the Artibonite. Members of MJPS, who asked that their names not be used, met with us in July 1992 to discuss their work. MJPS was meeting secretly at members' houses in groups of about fifteen. A member said, referring to local soldiers, "as soon as any group meets, they figure it's political and stop you from meeting." At their meetings, MJPS members told us that they share news, and distribute the underground newsletter *Kawoutchou* (Tire) and reports by the Catholic Church-affiliated human rights group *Commission Justice et Paix*.

Moron Youth Association

The Moron Youth Association (*Asosyasyon Jèn Moron*, AJM) is a youth group in the town of Moron, in the department of Grande Anse, which works with the American Friends Service (AFSC). A founding member of AJM who is an organizer for AFSC told us in July 1992 that the group used to have about eighty members from different social groups and would work on local problems. He said: "AJM has never had meetings since the coup...All the people are now in hiding."

Federation of Cultural s of Jacmel's West Zone

FEKOLWAZ, the Federation of Cultural s of Jacmel's West Zone (*Federasyonn Komite Lwazi Zòn Wès JakmeA*), is a youth group founded in May 1990. FEKOLWAZ united smaller groups of young people throughout the rural area of La Vallée, northwest of Jacmel, in southeastern Haiti. It promoted traditional forms of peasant culture and organized concerts, dances, and other social events for young people. The secretary general of the Sunrise Peasant Movement and the secretary of the to Defend the Interests of the Southeast told us in July 1992 that since the coup, even this group, which is interested primarily in cultural and social events, had been unable to meet or to schedule events in the Jacmel area.

Chapter 6 TRADE UNIONS

Haiti's labor unions, never strong, have been weakened considerably since the coup. With the 1986 ouster of dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier, trade union organizers were able to operate openly. Although unions played an important role in moving Haiti toward democracy, they were racked by divisions and in-fighting. From 1985 to 1991, the number of labor federations increased from two to seven.³ Union membership fell with the decreasing factory employment and instability of the post-1986 years.

Without solid laws protecting the right to organize, and in the context of unemployment so high that replacement workers are found on every street corner, hundreds of union organizers lost jobs. Trade unions came to have large numbers of unemployed workers as members.

The Aristide government condemned army intervention in labor disputes, and opened negotiations on raising the minimum wage. But the reform efforts were cut short. After the coup and the resulting embargo, industrial employment plummeted still further.

CATH

In Port-au-Prince in July 1992, we met with a senior official for the national trade union Autonomous Federation of Haitian Workers (*Central Autonome des Travailleurs Haïtiens*, CATH), one of several labor federations that had attempted to organize workers on a national scale in post-Duvalier Haiti. The official told us that most of the local unions organized by CATH were not functioning, partly because many factories had closed under pressure from the OAS-backed embargo. He estimated that only about 10 percent of 70,000 factory workers were still employed in the capital. "If there is no work," he asked us, "how can there be a union?" At the government-owned national cement company, *Ciment d'Haïti*, Director Madame Chandeler fired all of the union's members and scores of other workers. "Many of the factory workers have returned to their homes in the provinces to live off the land with their families until the factories

³ Steve Coupeau, "Labor Relations in Haiti Under the Aristide Government," May 1992, p. 14 (unpublished paper).

reopen, so it's hard to communicate with them," the CATH official explained.

Another barrier to union activity, according to the CATH official, is that while his colleagues in CATH's central office were able to meet individually with leaders of affiliated unions, the members of the local unions were unable to have meetings themselves.

For example, one of CATH's strongest unions was at the national electric company, *Electricité d'Haïti* (EDH). After the coup, armed soldiers were stationed throughout the facility and union leaders were told they would be shot. Most active union members fled. According to the CATH official, some active union members remained at EDH as of late July, but there was "absolutely no way for them to have a public meeting, demonstration, or strike." At the time, fifteen leaders of the union remained in hiding. Under the Aristide government, CATH also unionized all the luggage carriers at the airport. Many of these union members went into hiding following the coup and fled the country. After the airport reopened, they were replaced by other workers.

In March 1992, the CATH official reported, the army arrested four men in front of the CATH office and accused them of organizing a meeting. They were released the same day.

CATH had planned to hold a national general strike in April 1992. The strike backfired when neither Radio Métropole nor Radio Soleil – the only functioning nongovernmental stations -- would announce it. Nor could the union hold meetings or demonstrations to promote the strike. The CATH official said, "there is no way we could have a demonstration because they would come after us with arms and kill the participants."

CTH

The Haitian Workers Federation (*Centrale des Travailleurs Haïtiens*, CTH) is a national trade union federation with a significant peasant component. While it has been able to continue most of its work in the post-coup period, it has encountered great difficulty holding seminars and meetings outside of Port-au-Prince. In October 1992, a regional training seminar for 30-35 people scheduled to be held in Thiotte in southeast Haiti had to be canceled when the local commander said he would not allow any meetings to take place in his zone. This occurred despite the union having obtained a written authorization from the Minister of Social Affairs of the Bazin government.

The union's branch office in Les Cayes in southern Haiti has been unable to resume its activities since the coup. Les Cayes Mayor Frantz Guillite told us that

the leader of CTH in Les Cayes, Adler Eveillard, was arrested and beaten until his arm fractured.

Boat Builders Union

We interviewed Smith Métélus, the president of the local union at the Mostro International inflatable boat factory, near Cap Haitien. The union started at the factory in 1990, and later became affiliated with the National Association of Popular Organizations (*Association Nationale des Organisations Populaires*, ANOP). The workers formed two unions that worked together: one for supervisors, of which Métélus was the president, and one for the production workers, of whom seventy-one out of eighty decided to join. The union tried to force the factory owner to abide by labor laws. Two successful strikes were organized in August 1990 and April 1991 over a dispute about vacation scheduling.

After the coup, the factory closed, and it had not reopened as of our July 20 interview. Métélus told us that the instructor's union still met, and had attempted to organize workers at other plants, but they were having a hard time because "when a boss hears union talk in his factory he just fires everyone. Under Aristide they were afraid to do that because we could go on the radio and denounce their actions."

Limbé Union of Progressive Agricultural Technicians

A small group in northern Haiti, the Limbé Union of Progressive Agricultural Technicians (*Union des Techniciens Agricole Progressiste de Limbé*, ITAPL) was formed in May 1991. Although the organization's work is apolitical, it had not been able to meet since September 1991. A member of ITAPL commented in July 1992: "No groups can meet here...You're not allowed to display a group identity, to go out in the work as a group." On December 13, 1991, a group of twenty-five men headed by section chief Claudin Jean came to this individual's house to beat him up. Not finding him at home, the men clubbed his wife and others in his house with batons.

This same ITAPL member told us that in May 1992, the coup government's delegate for Limbé, Maurice Degué, found him and six other members of ITAPL working together in the yellow hats that group members wore. Degué asked who they were, and the ITAPL members told him that they were recently graduated agricultural technicians helping upgrade local farmers' agricultural practices. Degué said, "you don't have the right to wear the same hats without getting

permission from the army post.”

The next day, Corporal Sales Adesca told the group that they could not meet, and that they should talk to someone at the barracks about the situation. The group met with First Sergeant Josué Bien at the barracks, who told them that they could work together if they did not wear hats to identify themselves as an organization.

National Confederation of Haitian Teachers

Both the Port-au-Prince office and local affiliates of the National Confederation of Haitian Teachers (*Confederation Nationale des Enseignants d'Haïti*, CNEH) were unable to function since the coup. On the island of La Gonâve, the CNEH-affiliated Teachers' Association of La Gonâve (*Association des Enseigneurs de la Gonâve*) had not had a meeting since the coup. The deputy general secretary of the group, Wendell Henry, explained in July 1992:

We are paralyzed because the national organization with which we are affiliated with has been smashed. We cannot function as an organization. We have not been specifically threatened but the general political atmosphere itself has been too menacing for us to consider meeting.

The Les Cayes affiliate, the Teachers' Association of Les Cayes (*Association des Enseignants des Cayes*, AEC), was similarly situated. AEC member Frantz Guillite, who is a high school teacher and the deputy mayor of Les Cayes, was arrested and beaten on May 14, and again on May 30, 1992.

Chapter 7 LITERACY GROUPS

One of the Aristide government's first projects was a national literacy campaign aimed at the estimated 65 percent of the population who cannot read or write. Sidestepping a reluctant legislature, Aristide made small grants to organizations working on literacy. Literacy campaigns have long been controversial in Haiti because the military and its conservative allies view with suspicion efforts that strengthen or empower traditionally poor and powerless sectors of the population. Literacy programs are almost always conducted in Creole, which all Haitians speak, rather than in French, which has been the historical language of instruction for school children. In 1987, the disappearance of literacy worker Charlot Jacquelin while in army custody became a rallying point for opposition to military rule. Leaders of literacy organizations have been arrested, put in prison, and tortured since the military coup in September 1991.

The Diocesan Literacy

The Diocesan Literacy supervised literacy programs in each Catholic parish in the Southern department in the pre-Aristide period. A member of the explained that when Aristide assumed the presidency, the organization planned to participate in the national literacy program being established by the new government. However, since the coup, he said, "all literacy work has been suspended. All leaders of the literacy movement like myself are facing arrest and harassment. It has become impossible for literacy groups to meet or continue their work."

On February 6, 1992, Lieutenant Pyram and four soldiers carrying automatic weapons searched this individual's house, looking even under the rugs. They found nothing and made no arrests. After the incident, he left his house and began sleeping in a different place each night.

On May 30, he was arrested and detained. Army officers interrogated him on June 2. They accused him of writing a pro-Aristide leaflet that they had found during a house search in Port Salut. They also accused him of stirring up disorder in Les Cayes. When he denied their accusations, the officers had soldiers beat him on the ears, back, arm and side. He was released on June 8.

Movement of National Organizations for Popular Literacy

In Jacmel, in the Southeast department, a group called the Movement of National Organizations for Popular Literacy (*Mouvman Oganizasyon Nasyonal Alfabetizasyon Popilè*, MONAP) had been teaching literacy and civic and political participation since 1990. Jean Claude Mondésir, a vice-coordinator for MONAP, told us that he was arrested during a wave of repression in Jacmel in late November 1991. On the night of November 27, the military threw a grenade into the Jacmel high school Lycée Pinchinat, igniting a fire which burned down the high school. Soldiers then went house to house arresting activists.

Mondésir was arrested early the next morning as he walked by the barracks. Soldiers took him into the barracks, and tortured him by a method called the *kalot marasa*, in which the hands are clapped together hard on the victim's ears. A friend of his whom he described as a Macoute was able to obtain Mondésir's release that afternoon. Mondésir said in July 1992: "Many of MONAP's activists are still in hiding out of fear of such abuses. The group has not been able to have meetings since the coup."

Movement for Popular Literacy

The Movement for Popular Literacy (*Mouvman Alfabetizasyon Popilè*, MAP) began organizing literacy programs in the late 1980s in the area surrounding Cap Haïtien, on the northern coast of Haiti. According to a MAP member, after Aristide became president, organizations working on adult literacy in the North received government grants of \$3000 to fund their projects. MAP divided the funds with four other literacy organizations. Trainers from MAP held meetings in the nineteen communal districts in the department. They explained that literacy was important for people who want to find employment and participate in society. On September 8, 1991, MAP organized a celebration of World Literacy Day in Cap Haïtien.

The MAP member told us that after the coup, all of the organization's leaders went into hiding, and many left the city altogether. His own story illustrates why literacy work has come to a halt in Haiti. On October 23, 1991, soldiers broke into his house, arrested two of his friends who were there, beat them and imprisoned them for a week. He was able to escape, and fled to the mountain town of Ranquitte. In early March 1992, he returned to Cap Haïtien. Army officers came to his house on March 29 and arrested him. He was accused of being an Aristide partisan, disliking army Lieutenant General Raoul Cédras, and organizing a demonstration. Thrown in jail for two weeks, he described his ordeal:

"On the sixteenth day they gathered all the soldiers and made me stand so all of them would recognize me. Lieutenant Frantz of the Criminal Research Service (*Recherches Criminelles*) said they should kill me when they next found me because I wanted to get rid of Cédras."

The soldiers then attempted to convict him of organizing the demonstration, using against him a magazine article on the political situation in Haiti which allegedly was found in his house. Bob Lecorps, a Duvalierist with a history of violence and drug dealing who was summarily released from prison after the coup, was present at his court session. At the hearing, Lecorps said: "Let him go. I will meet him with my weapons." When the MAP member was freed on April 13, he fled to Port-au-Prince. He reported in July 1992 that like himself, "all of the other leaders of MAP remain in hiding."

Chapter 8

STUDENTS AND EDUCATORS

University students have played an important role in Haitian politics for decades. Since the fall of Jean-Claude Duvalier, Haitian students have reorganized themselves to push for educational reforms. Invariably, as past military governments have failed to address issues of social reform, students have immersed themselves in the political struggle.

The same pattern recurred after the military coup of September 1991. Students and teachers have been victims of military repression in disproportionate numbers. In the early months after the coup, many were threatened and pressured by soldiers who were trying to force schools to reopen in order to create a sense of normality. Parents and school administrators also suffered. Public high school students in some areas have organized and opposed the military-backed regimes's imposition of new directors and new regulations. Adult education, particularly outside Port-au-Prince, has also suffered from the general prohibition on meetings.

University students have been among the most outspoken defenders of Haiti's ousted democratic government. They have organized several protests against the coup, which have been repressed with varying degrees of brutality. In late 1992, as the Bazin government moved to control the university by appointing a new chancellor and several new deans, students protested the encroachment on the university's traditional autonomy.

National Federation of Haitian Students

The National Federation of Haitian Students (*Fédération Nationale des Etudiants Haïtiens*, FENEH), composed primarily of university students, has been behind most student political activism since the coup. Founded in 1986, the group has been actively working on educational and national political issues since then. Following the coup, the student movement emerged as a significant player on the national political stage. Regional student organizations also worked alongside FENEH on student welfare issues. Its role seems counter to class stereotypes since university students comprise an elite group of only some 4,000 youths, almost entirely from the middle and upper classes.

FENEH brings together students from all the major private and public colleges. It is composed of sixteen student associations, each representing one

public or private university faculty. According to one of the group's leaders, FENEH seeks greater student and teacher input in managing academic faculties, which are traditionally run by government-appointed administrators, increased funding for the university system, and greater freedom of speech.

FENEH's first two congresses, or national meetings—one under General Henri Namphy and one under General Prosper Avril—had been marked by fear that the army would crush the meetings. Their third congress, under President Aristide, was their first truly free plenary meeting, when students felt uninhibited to attend and to speak freely.

Under Aristide, some of FENEH's goals suddenly advanced toward realization. A law that would have ensured the state university greater autonomy from the government was before parliament. Students hoped to win a more prominent role for students and teachers in the day-to-day running of their schools.

October 7, 1991 was the date that the national university was supposed to open, but FENEH opposed beginning the academic year because there was no security for students in the post-coup chaos. FENEH took the position that only the return of Aristide could guarantee the students' safety.

Thereafter, soldiers threatened, beat, shot and arrested those who participated in student demonstrations. Many students told us that infiltration by pro-government spies has made uncensored discussion and large meetings difficult or impossible at most schools. Students at the teachers' college, *Ecole Normale Supérieure* (ENS) told us that student members of a group called *Confrérie*, which they described as Duvalierist and pro-Macoute, rip down FENEH posters and distribute unsigned tracts listing student leaders who should be "eliminated." Captain Jackson Joanis told two students arrested after a July 15, 1992 demonstration at the Medical School: "You are behind the times. You won't get what you're looking for. I have spies in all the faculties who pose as students."

According to FENEH members, several FENEH leaders have been harassed by the army because of their involvement in the organization:

- o Yves Estinvil, a former FENEH board member, had to go into hiding in late October 1991 after soldiers went to his home. He remained in hiding until December of that year. After becoming a private high school teacher, Estinvil was still unable to resume a normal life of sleeping and living at his home as of July 1992.
- o Denizé Mesadieux, another former FENEH board member, had to go into

hiding shortly after the coup when armed soldiers searched his home.

- o **Jean-Félix Benoit, a current FENEH board member, was followed and attacked by soldiers. He fled to the Mexican embassy in late October 1991 and later left for Mexico.**

November 1991 Repression

On November 12, 1991, FENEH held an assembly for all students inside the Science Faculty compound. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the ongoing repression against students and professors, the general political situation in the country, and how and when to begin the academic year, which had been postponed because of the coup. At 10:00 a.m., three truckloads of soldiers in blue uniforms and plainclothes arrived. With automatic weapons in hand, they surrounded the science compound and threw rocks inside at the students. The soldiers entered the faculty grounds and ordered the students to lie on the ground. They beat many of the students and humiliated them. They threatened to rape the women.

The soldiers then rounded up the 100-150 students present. They threw the students into trucks and took them to prison at the Anti-Gang Service headquarters, where some of the students were beaten again. All of the male students' heads were shaven. The soldiers accused the students of being drug dealers and creating public disorder.

Madame Yvelie Honorat, the wife of then prime minister Jean-Jacques Honorat and head of the Haitian Center for Human Rights (*Centre Haïtien des Droits et des Libertés Publiques*; CHADEL), visited the students in jail. She told them she would help them get out if they would say that they had not been beaten or otherwise mistreated. The students refused to do as she had asked.

After two or three days in detention, the authorities began releasing students in small groups. Some of the students were held as long as two weeks.

April 1992 Repression

On April 3 and 10, FENEH organized noise-making protests, or *bat tenèb*, at all university faculties. In the weeks that followed, students banged pots and pans in spontaneous *bat tenèb* protests at individual faculties. Each time students protested the de facto regime, armed soldiers encircled the school and beat students who tried to leave.

On April 3, fifteen heavily armed soldiers, some in uniform and some in plainclothes, arrived in pickup trucks at the ENS shortly after the students began a noise-making protest. While the soldiers did not enter the compound, the lieutenant in charge asked all those present to leave. As all of the students and most of the professors left together, soldiers beat people on the edges of the crowd, clapping their hands together on some people's ears and hitting others with nightsticks.

On April 10, soldiers held students hostage in the Science Faculty from 10:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. following a *bat tenèb*. When the students decided to try to leave together, the soldiers beat those on the edges of the crowd with nightsticks.

ENS students had a spontaneous *bat tenèb* demonstration on April 29, at which they yelled slogans such as "Down with Cédras" and "Bring back Aristide." Soldiers came again and sealed in the students. According to FENEH leaders, the soldiers arrested one first-year student who had not participated in the demonstration. Putting a gun to the youth's head, they drove him to the Anti-Gang Service headquarters. They demanded to know who was behind the demonstration and who was on "the committee." They showed him a series of photographs of students and asked him to pick out the leaders. He was released the same day.

In late May, FENEH held a meeting at ENS to discuss how to prevent hostile students from infiltrating the organization. Government-operated Radio Nationale reported the meeting and criticized the decisions taken, singling out a student named Edgard. The next day soldiers went after Edgard at his house but did not find him.

June 1992 Repression

At around 10:45 a.m. on June 19, as Marc Bazin was being installed as de facto prime minister a few blocks away, students at ENS decided to hold a demonstration. Two ENS students told us that after blocking the entrance to the school, about 250 students banged pots and pans, sang songs, gave political speeches, and chanted against Bazin, the U.S. government, the Vatican (which alone in the diplomatic community recognized the coup government), the Catholic hierarchy, the bourgeoisie and the army.

By 11:00 a.m., at least twenty blue-uniformed troops and forty men in plainclothes had surrounded the ENS compound to stage what would become an eighteen-hour drama. They took up positions and aimed their weapons into the school grounds, menacing the students. The soldiers beat several people on the

street, including at least one woman, and sent scores of others fleeing. They threatened and turned away professors who tried to enter the faculty.

About 250 students and four professors (one of whom was a member of the school's administration) remained trapped in the compound. At one point the four professors went to negotiate with the officer commanding the troops at the gate. The commanding officer told them that none of the students would be allowed to leave because "they were creating disorder." He said that "since the students said Bazin fell in shit, I have to send in fire trucks to clean up the shit." His soldiers would not kill the students or teachers, he said, but would beat them. The professors returned to the group of students and told them that, for the moment, there was no hope of negotiating a nonviolent end to the siege.

At approximately 1:30 p.m., a school guard tried to enter the compound. The soldiers beat him with their gun butts, kicked him repeatedly, and seized his keys to the locked gates of the school. The standoff continued through the afternoon. At about 4:00 p.m., the students decided to try to leave. They retreated to the courtyard after soldiers waiting outside the gates said they would beat the students if they came outside. Around 9:00 p.m., the army sent reinforcements and distributed nightsticks to the troops. At 9:30 p.m., the soldiers attacked the school with rocks and concrete slabs that they had brought to the site by truck. Rocks rained down on the school from the roofs of surrounding buildings for about thirty minutes. The students fled into the auditorium and hid under desks and chairs and against the shoulder-height walls.

At about 11:00 p.m. a diplomatic vehicle drove up. Its occupant spoke with the officer in charge and the school administrator. The officer in charge then invited the students to leave the compound. Seeing the number of soldiers that were waiting outside the gate, the students refused to leave. While some of the soldiers started to leave at this point, they did not pull out entirely. Vehicles the students considered suspicious continued to drive by every few minutes.

At about midnight Captain Jackson Joanis, the commander of the Investigations and Anti-Gang unit of the police, appeared on the scene. He returned the keys the soldiers had taken from the guard and said "if something bad happened here, don't say it was the police." The students were too afraid to leave during the night. It was not until the next morning at 6:30 a.m. that they dared to leave the campus.

When we toured the ENS building on July 8, glass and debris were still strewn about in many of the facility's rooms. Some of the rocks and concrete slabs were left where they fell as a memorial to what had happened. One of the slabs

that had smashed through a classroom door measured eight inches long, five inches wide, and almost two inches thick.

July 2, 1992 Repression

On July 2, FENEH held an assembly for all interested students at the medical faculty of the State University in Port-au-Prince. According to a FENEH leader, about 400-500 students from the public and private faculties attended. The meeting began at about 10:00 a.m. with a demonstration inside the compound. Shouting slogans such as "No to Bazin," "No to privatization of the University," "Yes to democracy," and "Yes to university autonomy," the students draped banners bearing political slogans around the premises.

Armed, uniformed soldiers surrounded the school within minutes. Later other uniformed and plainclothes soldiers arrived. Some of the plainclothesmen carried nightsticks covered with protruding nails. They chased away people in the street near the entrance of the medical faculty, as well as students trying to enter. They ripped down and confiscated a banner with anti-Bazin and anti-imperialist slogans which students had hung near the school's entrance gate.

At about 10:30 a.m. soldiers asked the students inside for a key to the locked gate. The students refused to provide one. The soldiers parked several pickup trucks immediately in front of the gate to prevent anyone from leaving.

The students inside were frightened by the appearance of the troops but decided to continue their meeting since they could not safely escape. They discussed the political situation in the country and their inability to meet without being attacked by the army. They decided to convene again on July 15 to release a statement on the university and the nation.

After their discussion, the students went out into the courtyard and attempted to leave, but the soldiers prevented them. At about 2:00 p.m., the soldiers found a school guard, forced him to give them his keys, backed up the trucks, and partly opened the gate. About a half-hour later, the students began leaving by ones and twos through the gate and in larger numbers through the connected university hospital. The siege had lasted over four hours.

July 15, 1992 Repression

On July 15, FENEH had its last major meeting of the school year, and once again the army refused to let the students demonstrate peacefully. After the

attack on their publicized July 2 meeting, FENEH members decided not to publicize their plans for the July 15 demonstration. According to FENEH members, only those present at the July 2 meeting and other trusted organization members knew about the plans for July 15.

Between 10:00 and 10:30 a.m. on July 15, students assembled in the medical faculty courtyard, made placards, and put bandannas over their faces to conceal their identities. They sang and chanted slogans such as "People power" and "Aristide or death!" FENEH leaders distributed leaflets, banners and spray paint cans for writing graffiti. Members of popular organizations that the students had contacted were waiting outside the faculty gates with pictures of President Aristide.

At 10:35 a.m., with only one or two plainclothes military attachés in sight, the students marched into the street. This was the first time FENEH had attempted a university-wide street demonstration since the September 1991 coup. There were about 200 students in the crowd as they marched to the Solomon market. As they passed, market vendors cried out "Long live Aristide!" and asked for pictures of the deposed president that were being distributed by leaders of various neighborhood committees. After about five minutes in the market, the marchers went on to Place Karl Brouard, where they paused briefly to sing and chant.

As the last marchers left to walk back to the medical school, soldiers arrived in the Solomon market, where they randomly beat and arrested many people. We learned of two porters who work in a stall in the market who were beaten and jailed at the Cafétéria police station. They were released several days later. We received unconfirmed reports that more than thirty other non-students were arrested in the market.

At the same time, the rest of the protesters—now about 500 strong—retraced their steps and arrived in front of the medical school gate. According to students we interviewed, a wave of euphoria swept the crowd as they thought they had succeeded in expressing their political opinions in the street without military interference. Students spoke to the crowd through a megaphone. They were preparing to go out on another brief march when soldiers started to arrive.

First came the plainclothesmen, carrying clubs. Truckloads of heavily armed soldiers in blue uniforms were close behind. The students and others who had joined the demonstration scattered in every direction as the plainclothes officers beat anyone within reach. Uniformed soldiers started firing into the air. According to students present, Anti-Gang Commander Captain Jackson Joanis, who was wearing a uniform covered by a windbreaker that read "POLICE,"

supervised the operation.

As the soldiers chased students into the courtyard and into the medical school building itself, several students were shot and many were beaten, according to eyewitnesses we interviewed. Kesner Blaise, an ENS student, was shot in the shoulder blade and hit many times with nightsticks. He sustained a number of blows to the head from which he had not fully recovered by the end of July. After he was shot and beaten, soldiers searched for him in the medical school and the adjoining university hospital, asking for him by name. A doctor hid Blaise in a closet until the soldiers left the hospital.

At the end of July, FENEH leaders were still trying to confirm two reported deaths from gunshot wounds. One was a young man from Cap Haitien named Wilfred who is said to have been returned home and soon after died of his wounds. The other was a male student from the Port-au-Prince area who was shot in the stomach.

Many students were hit with nightsticks and clubs. At least thirteen received serious beatings which left scars and required medical treatment, including agronomy student Valéry Laguerre and medical student Rénel Desir. According to the Justice and Peace Commission, students Roosevelt Millard, Ronald Léon, Claude Lucien, Désir Rosette, and Canez Prévault also were beaten.

A 23-year-old ENS student ran through several rooms in her attempt to flee from the attacking soldiers. Twelve students ran into an S-shaped room deep within the medical school. There was one door at each end of the S. Two soldiers came and knocked on the front door. As the students fled out the other door, the soldiers banged the front one open and fired into the room at waist level. The students were saved from injury only by the shape of the room.

Soldiers caught four students and made them stand and face a wall in the courtyard as they trained their rifles on them. Other students nearby screamed and the soldiers refrained from harming the four.

Students we interviewed saw about twenty people being arrested in and around the medical school and university hospital. Most were non-students whom they could not identify. At least two students were arrested. They told us of being taken to the office of Anti-Gang commander Joanis for an interrogation. While the two students were in Joanis's office, soldiers walked in with spray paint cans, FENEH leaflets, pictures of Aristide and a banner from the demonstration saying "Students Rise Up to Resist the Coup Plotters." They said these items constituted evidence against the two young men, although nothing linked them to the materials. After five hours in a cell, the two university students were sent to see Joanis a second time. The commander said they had been arrested for

"subversive activities," and he listed many countries in which communist regimes had recently fallen and asked why Aristide and the students were still communists. Speaking loudly, he lectured them:

Aristide can't come back to Haiti. The streets are in my hands. No one can go out in the street without my permission. You are behind the times. You won't get what you're looking for. I have spies in all the faculties who pose as students.

He concluded by admonishing them, "Don't engage in politics and demonstrations – stick to your lessons!" and released them.

On July 16, the day after the incident, the Platform of Haitian Human Rights Organizations sent two lawyers to investigate the incident at the Medical School. The lawyers gathered some students and went to the justice of the peace for the southern section of Port-au-Prince on Rue d'Ennery to request that he conduct an investigation and write an official report (*constat*). The judge demanded \$150 for the job, even though the faculty was only a short distance from the courthouse. (The law sets the fee for this service at \$20.) The students gathered \$100 and offered it to the judge, which he accepted.

The judge then went to the faculty and interviewed students who had participated in the rally and other eyewitnesses. Despite the unanimous testimony of victims and other witnesses, and despite pressure from the two lawyers, the judge refused to write down that it was soldiers in blue uniforms from the Investigations and Anti-Gang Service who had entered the school's courtyard. When we interviewed the lawyers on July 27, they told us that some students and bystanders arrested in the Solomon market were still being held in the Investigations and Anti-Gang Service. "We can't do anything to get them out," they said. "If we tried, if we told Anti-Gang leaders we don't believe their claims that they arrested no one they would arrest us and beat us."

Northwest Students Association

The Northwest Students Association (*Association des Etudiants du Nord Ouest*, AENO) is a regional student organization that was founded after the failed elections of November 1987 to address the problems faced by students from northwestern Haiti who attend the national university in Port-au-Prince as well as those in school in their home province. In Port-au-Prince, AENO's fifty members work on student welfare issues such as room and board and social activities. In

the Northwest, AENO targets social problems: the organization set up education projects in Port-de-Paix high schools to advise students about their college options and to help them prepare for university entrance exams. AENO also launched a health education campaign in the high schools, teaching students about cholera, AIDS, and other preventable diseases.

AENO flourished under President Aristide's government. We interviewed a 26-year-old founding member of AENO in late June 1992. AENO's success during the Aristide period, the student said, was a function of the political and social changes taking place in Haiti: the country was becoming less authoritarian and the government was making a real effort to meet the needs of the people. Students felt that they could make a difference.

Since the coup, he explained, the organization had been unable to continue its activities because of the army's repeated attacks on student groups. Three AENO members were among those imprisoned on November 12, 1991, after soldiers broke up a student assembly at the Science Faculty. Three or four members of AENO from Port-de-Paix were unable to return to the city because they feared arrest. As a result, AENO has been forced to suspend its public service programs in the Port-de-Paix high schools. Many members from rural areas, especially the rural sections of Jean Rabel, could not go home because they feared that the local section chiefs would immediately arrest them as student organizers.

The only time the students have attempted to meet was in late May 1992, when AENO held an emergency gathering to discuss the wave of student arrests in Port-au-Prince. The founding member of AENO said he was too scared to hold a meeting at his house because it would draw attention to him and possibly spark reprisals from the military.

National Institute for Professional Training

In 1988, students at the Pilot School for Vocational Training (*Centre Pilote de Formation Professionnelle*) in Port-au-Prince organized a student group affiliated with the state-run National Institute for Professional Training (*Institut National de Formation Professionnelle*, INFP). Berthony Jean François, 26, enrolled in the school in 1989 and quickly became an INFP delegate. He and the other delegates in the school met weekly among themselves and monthly with leaders from other schools. In late 1991, Jean François said, INFP organized demonstrations against the de facto government in Port-au-Prince.

Jean François came home to La Gonâve immediately after the coup and

went into hiding with his entire family. On March 16, 1992, he returned to his school in Port-au-Prince. The entire staff running the school had been replaced, including the headmaster, the discipline leader, and his teacher. When he met with the new director, the man questioned him about his participation in organizations and in the 1991 INFP demonstrations.

I could say neither yes nor no because by this time it was clear where he was going. I told him this. He said '*Gen yon jou pou chasè, yon jou pou jibye* (There's a day for the hunter and a day for the prey). He was saying, 'you radical students had your day in the sun; now is our time, we who are willing to collaborate with the regime.' He told me to go, and expelled me from school.

At the time of this meeting, Jean François was a third-year student about to get his diploma. He returned to La Gonâve and then tried unsuccessfully to flee to the United States to continue his education.

High School Students

High school students participate in a national organization called Students' Concerns (*Zafè Elèv Lekòl*, ZEL). Like FENEH, ZEL includes students from both public and private schools and focuses on national issues. ZEL is complemented by a number of regional high school student organizations that plan social events and work on regional social issues. In spring of 1992, high school students in Port-au-Prince and in the provinces held demonstrations against the de facto government on the grounds of their schools. While protests by university students had been part of the political scene for decades, this activism by younger students had been less prominent.

In late April and early May 1992, students at the public high school Lycée Philippe Guerrier, in the southern town of Les Cayes, staged peaceful anti-military demonstrations. As the students shouted slogans such as "Down with Cédras" and "Long Live Aristide," soldiers encircled the schools and held the students hostage for several hours, according to a teacher at the College Numa, Paul Yves Joseph.

On May 14, students held a pro-Aristide demonstration on the grounds of the College Mixte de Sion, a private high school in Les Cayes. Soldiers with automatic weapons surrounded the school compound and blocked off the street. A math teacher at the school named Frantz Guillite drove by during the standoff. Soldiers forced their way into his car and ordered him to drive to the police station, where he was arrested and detained.

On May 22, students at high schools Lycée Pinchinat and College Suisse, in the southeastern town of Jacmel, held peaceful demonstrations inside their school courtyards, chanting political slogans such as "Down with the army" and "Long live Aristide." Troops surrounded the schools and held the students hostage for several hours. Soldiers threatened, arrested and beat passersby, including activist Marie-Ange Noël.

Interclass High School Student's Movement

We interviewed 18-year-old Nicodème Clermont, of the northern village of Moustique, near Plaine du Nord. Clermont was a student at the public high school Lycée National Philippe Guerrier, and a member of the Moustique Youth Association (*Association Jeunes de Moustique*, AJM) and the Interclass High School Student's Movement (*Mouvement Interclass des Elèves de Lycée*, MIEL). The AJM and MIEL still manage to meet secretly but with difficulty since the director of his school under Aristide, Joseph Jasmin, was replaced by Lorimé Dieudonné, who

she described as a Macoute. Jasmin has not been able to return to Cap Haïtien since the coup.

Clermont was studying by the road on the morning of February 8, 1992, when Corporal Maculay François, the top officer in Plaine du Nord, passed by.

He hit me with his stick on my arms and head. He cut my head. As a student, I was in different organizations and he recognized me. The section chief of Morne Rouge, Lebo, was with him and told him to arrest me. But Lebo was the one who let me go eventually, because he is close with my grandparents. I went back and laid down in my house and then later I went to see the doctor. Still today, I have headaches because of that beating. My arms are in pain, too.

Association of Grand Goâve Students in Port-au-Prince

We interviewed Soeurrette Paul, a student at College Gérard Douger, a private high school in Port-au-Prince. Paul is a member of the Association of Grand Goâve Students in Port-au-Prince (*Asosyasyon Elèv Grangwav nan Pòtoprens*, AEGP). After the military coup, Paul and other members of AEGP were threatened with arrest and forced to leave their schools. The majority of AEGP members have missed a year of school because of the post-coup violence, Paul said, and the organization has been largely immobilized. AEGP joined another student organization, the Grand Goâve Students' Organization (*Oganizasyon Elèv Grangwav*, OEG), and other popular organizations in publishing a clandestine report on human rights violations called the "File on Repression and Torture in Grand Goâve from 30 September 1991 to 6 March 1992."

Teachers Harassed

Many teachers were targeted by the military during the spring of 1992, a period in which numerous student protests against the de facto government were taking place. We heard several first-hand reports of primary and high school teachers being arrested and detained by government troops. In many of the cases, the teachers were accused of distributing pro-Aristide leaflets. One of the founding members of AENO told us that he knew five professors from Port-de-Paix who were unable to return to the city because they feared arrest. Clearly, some teachers are active in the struggle for democracy. Others however, appear to be

singled out by the military because they are presumed to incite student radicalism. Quite possibly, the army hopes to deter student organizing and chill student speech by mistreating these authority figures.

Elementary School Teacher Sought by Army

We interviewed a Catholic elementary school teacher in the village of Alè, in the Artibonite. He told us that church workers and teachers in Alè started having problems with the army in December 1991.

On December 8, a group of soldiers led by Corporal "Twenty-one Nations" Eldumé came to his house looking for him. They also sought Leures Sidor, an organizer with a Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) development group, and Presnel Prophète, the local communal police agent under Aristide. All three were able to escape, but soldiers occupied the area for five hours.

The teacher told us that he had to leave Alè again on February 8, 1992, after the corporal and others arrested MCC worker Pierre Burkhalter and forced him to drive the soldiers to the home of the teacher and Leures Sidor. The teacher said:

Luckily, we weren't there. They actually passed me in the road, but Pierre pretended he didn't know or notice me and he sped by so I wouldn't call out to him by mistake...I spent a week in hiding that time, outside. I hate being in hiding and I came back. The only protection I have is that they just don't know me, so it's very hard for them to take me by surprise.

High School Teacher Eximé Arrested

Sulfrid Jeune Eximé is a high school teacher in the town of Gros Morne, in the Artibonite. According to the Justice and Peace Commission, Eximé was arrested on April 25, 1992 for allegedly distributing leaflets in the streets of Gros Morne. He was imprisoned for twelve days, part of the time in Gonaïves. He was released after a hearing before a judge.

Teacher and Lawyer Threatened

Paul Yves Joseph, a lawyer and educator, was targeted at the time of demonstrations at high schools in Les Cayes in late April and early May 1992,

although students at Joseph's own school did not demonstrate. Joseph founded the private high school College Edgard Néré Numa, and was appointed by the Aristide government to be the director of education for the South.

Joseph told us that on May 5, two uniformed soldiers arrived at his house armed with machine guns, revolvers, grenades and nightsticks. They approached the gate and spoke with Joseph, who told them that they could enter only if they left their weapons outside and that they could arrest him only if they had a valid warrant. Before leaving, the soldiers pointed their machine guns at him and at the house and threatened to shoot him.

Joseph and his family finally were forced to flee Les Cayes on May 30, when soldiers ransacked his home, including the office he uses for his law practice, while he was out. He later returned, but according to the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, Joseph was arrested on September 8 by three soldiers as he argued a case at the City Tribunal in Les Cayes. He was questioned about acts of supposed "terrorism" in the area and later released.

Teacher Arrested and Tortured

A teacher at a private high school in Les Cayes, *Ecole Normale Privée*, and the director of the Regional Teaching Center (*Centre de Pédagogie Régionale*), told us about his arrest in February 1992. He supervised literacy work in each Catholic parish in the South for the Diocesan Literacy Committee, and was a coordinator for the Lavalas movement.

On February 6, one uniformed soldier and three in plainclothes searched his house under the direction of Lieutenant Pyram. The soldiers, who were armed with automatic weapons, were accompanied by a justice of the peace. The teacher had been warned that they were coming after him. He had made sure his house contained no pictures of Aristide, or other "damaging" documents such as political leaflets. The soldiers found nothing and did not arrest him. After this incident he fled into hiding, sleeping in a different place each night, and only rarely at home.

The teacher was arrested on May 30 and held in army custody until June 8. On June 2, army officers interrogated him and had soldiers torture him. He said that the officers accused him of writing a leaflet that they had found in Port Salut and of creating disorder in Les Cayes. After the teacher denied the charges, he was beaten on the ears, back, one arm and side.

Teacher Arrested and Beaten

Edzer Félix, a primary school teacher in Cayes Jacmel, in the Southeast, was arrested and beaten the evening of July 17, 1992, following the celebration of the town's festival for its patron saint, Mont Carmel. That evening, leaflets bearing Aristide's picture were distributed. Félix was accused of distributing the leaflets, and was arrested in the street. He was released the next morning. In early June, Félix had gone into hiding in Port-au-Prince after he was accused of distributing leaflets. He had returned to Cayes Jacmel right before the festival, in part because of de facto prime minister Marc Bazin's assurances that he would end human rights abuses in the country.

Spanish Class Harassed

In March 1992, a Spanish class being taught by Sister Hersilia Carrascal in the Alè church, near Verrettes in the Artibonite, was interrupted several times by armed men. At the first class meeting on March 15 the chief of the third section came to the church dressed in civilian clothes with two armed deputies. Sister Hersilia asked the three men to enter, but they said, "no, we're just watching."

At the next meeting of the class on March 18, two soldiers in uniform and two in plainclothes appeared and asked "What are you doing? Is this a Lavalas meeting?" According to a student who was present, the soldiers said they came to the class "because people from Desarmes are coming to Alè to create disorder."

The class was canceled after a last session on March 22, when the section chief sent a message to Sister Hersilia saying, "If you want to meet, you will have to do it in front of the barracks."

French Class Cancelled

Two eyewitnesses told us of an incident that occurred in the Artibonite around the beginning of January 1992. During a period when regular schools were closed, Father Max Dominique was teaching a French class for secondary school students at the *Centre Formation Communautaire Paul Win Pont Sondé*.

At 9:00 a.m., about twenty uniformed soldiers from the barracks, including Corporal "Twenty-one Nations" Eldumé and Sergeant Reynand, arrived in a pickup truck and a four-door Toyota jeep. The soldiers were armed with revolvers, automatic weapons, grenades and tear gas. The soldiers disrupted the class, saying, "We heard this was a political meeting to talk about Aristide." They confronted Father Dominique and told him, "you're doing politics here, and pro-Aristide stuff."

After Father Dominique talked to the soldiers for a while, they left the school. But many parents of the eighty students were thereafter afraid to send their children to the class. It stopped meeting two weeks later.

Chapter 9 THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Priests and lay church activists have suffered unprecedented persecution since the coup. Haiti is 70-80 percent Catholic and the church is one of the strongest institutions in the country; it has commanded respect, sometimes grudging, from a long succession of regimes in Port-au-Prince. The Catholic Church is widely credited with providing crucial institutional support and moral leadership in the struggle against the dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier in the early and mid-1980s. Much of the Haitian church enthusiastically adopted the "preferential option for the poor" and began community organizing and grass-roots development projects alongside its traditional evangelical and pastoral work.

Under previous Haitian regimes, the church occasionally came under attack; foreign priests were expelled from the country under the Duvaliers; in 1987 and 1988, armed gunmen tried to assassinate Father Aristide; mass-goers were massacred at his Church of St. Jean Bosco in September 1988; and there have been other incidents. But in no other period have large numbers of priests, Haitian and foreign-born, been arrested; never before have churches and rectories been illegally searched by armed soldiers; and never before have gunmen opened fire around and upon churches with impunity.

The Haitian church's response to the continuing attacks has been muted. When priests have been arrested, their bishops have appealed directly to the provincial military commanders involved, usually obtaining their release swiftly, but have not made public protests. The Bishops' Conference has criticized the OAS-sponsored trade embargo of Haiti more directly than it has the harassment and violence of its members.

Attacks on churches, priests and lay activists have continued steadily since the coup. The victims are usually church workers who assist popular organizations, work with the church's Justice and Peace Commission, support the *Ti Legliz* or favor the return of President Aristide.

In a recent incident, a priest's refusal to offer blessings to the army led to an attack. Not long after midnight on November 19, 1992, the rectory of the Catholic church in Aquin, near Les Cayes in the south, was the target of heavy gunfire. At least 35 bullets struck the building, some of them shattering windows in the parish priest's bedroom. Local church people believed the attack was linked to the refusal of Father Michel Briand, a Frenchman, to offer a *Te Deum* mass (implying

the church's blessing) on November 18, Armed Forces Day in Haiti.

Priests, Nuns and Religious Workers

The list of clerics arrested or otherwise harassed is long and continues to grow. A September 1992 report by the Karl Leveque Center (*Sant Kal Levè*), a member of the Platform of Haitian Human Rights Organizations, provides preliminary statistics on persecution of religious workers in the country since the September 1991 coup.¹ The document lists over seventy-five religious workers who have been victims of military repression -- including intimidation, threats, beatings and arrests. Of the forty-two priests included in the list, eight were arrested, three were beaten, ten were forced to abandon their parishes due to threats, fourteen were pressured or threatened by armed soldiers during mass, and six had their churches searched. Of the twenty-one lay organizers listed as victims of military abuse, thirteen were arrested.

We learned first hand about several religious workers who were harassed and arrested:

Priest, three nuns and fifteen others arrested in church

On November 16, 1991, the section chief of Banane, near the border town of Anse-à-Pitre, in southern Haiti, arrested a priest, three nuns and some 15 lay persons during a mass in the village church. Yelling insults, he accused them of fomenting revolution.

According to Sister Hersilia Carrascal, a Colombian nun and member of the *Religiosas Dominicanas de la Presentación* who lives and works in the Alé section of Verettes, she, two other nuns and Father Julio Acosta, from the Dominican Republic had come to celebrate a mass in Banane.

The bells rang three times for the mass. At 12 noon we went in. There were not many people there because it was a market day. In the middle of the mass the chief came in furiously. There were two other police, one at each door, wearing uniforms and carrying rifles. He marched out onto the floor of the church, stopped the mass and ordered us all to go to the center of the

¹ See Appendix A.

church. The chief told the Father to take off his robe and ornamental sashes. He put everyone in a line and told us to walk in line to the *caserne* (military outpost).

The four clerics and some 35 local people were marched to the military post. The chief took three local activists off to another room and "hit them hard with his hand on their heads until blood began to flow." Most of the locals were let go, followed by the nuns. "They yelled insults at us, said we came to heat up the people's heads, to make revolution," Sister Hersilia recounted. The chief accused the priest of working with Radio Enriquillo, which he said was insulting General Cédras and the army.

I asked him what he accused us of and why he had arrested us. 'You never asked us anything, you never conducted an investigation,' I said. He said, 'You came here to incite the people to revolution. We spent seven months in silence (during Aristide's government) but we were preparing this coup, and now we have the power and we won't let it go.'

The priest was freed that evening, after intervention by the Dominican army commander in Pedernales and a Dominican bishop. The three organizers were let go the following day, after receiving very bad beatings.

Priest and Seven Religious Workers Arrested After Letter to Pope

Father André Launay, a French priest of the Monfortain order, working in Gros Morne in the Artibonite, told us about his arrest on July 10, 1992. The trouble started when the section chief in Pendu, Benjamin Prophète, found out that an open letter signed by hundreds of Haitians, including some residents of Gros Morne, was being sent to Pope John Paul II. The letter criticized the Vatican's recognition of the post-coup government. Section chief Prophète pressured the leader of the Catholic church in Pendu, layman François Amylcar, to send him a copy of the letter on July 7. Then he asked Amylcar to meet with him to explain the letter. When Amylcar informed the parish clergy about what had happened, Father Launay and a young Haitian priest named Dessier Predelus decided to meet with Prophète in Amylcar's place. On July 10, they went to the army post. Commander Ludovic Toussaint arrested Father Launay, who had signed the letter, but let go Father Dessier, who had not. He then decided to transfer Launay to the army base

in Gonaïves, the departmental capital. He himself and another soldier accompanied the priest on the hour-long bus trip. An officer there swore copiously at him and then marched Launay, still under arrest, to the bishopric where he was questioned by the provincial commander, Colonel Bellony Groshomme, and eventually authorized to return to his parish. Six others active in the Catholic church in the Pendu section were arrested by section chief Prophète or his deputies for having signed the letter: Hubert Jeannot, 64, leader of the catholic chapel of Bérard which is part of Pendu, and a member of the Justice and Peace Commission; Benajamin Jean, 46, leader of adult catechism at the Bérard chapel; Mme. Inotès Simeon, 44, a member of the Catholic church; Léonie Vernet, 23, and Marie Virtha Charleston, 24, both leaders of the Catholic youth group *Enfant de Lumière*, and François Mondésir, a member of the Justice and Peace Commission.

Bishop Willy Romélus

Willy Romélus, the Bishop of Jérémie and the president of the Catholic church's human rights group Justice and Peace Commission, has been the victim of military harassment and threats on several occasions.

- o On September 20, as Bishop Romélus returned to Jérémie from Port-au-Prince, his vehicle and baggage were meticulously searched for more than thirty minutes at the police headquarters by soldiers who threatened him.
- o On September 23, as Bishop Romélus left for an ordination in Irois, his vehicle was stopped in Anse d'Hainault in front of the army post. A sergeant searched his vehicle and baggage, saying "Orders from our superiors, all vehicles must be searched."
- o On September 24, at 1:00 a.m., soldiers banged on the door of the rectory. One of them shouted, "We're here for the Bishop! Give us the Bishop of Shit." (*Nou bezwen Monsenyè! Bannou Monsenyè kaka a!*). The curate of the parish, Father Joël Calas, opened the door and found four soldiers in plainclothes armed with .22 caliber pistols and a uniformed sergeant with an M16. At one point, the five drew their weapons and seemed that they would fire. Finally, they left the parish after a corporal intervened.
- o On September 20 and 23, soldiers stopped his vehicle and searched its

interior and Bishop Romélus's baggage.

- o On September 24, five armed soldiers went to the rectory at 1:00 a.m. and demanded to see the bishop.

Father Phillip Jean-Pierre Arrested

One of those mentioned in the Karl Leveque Center's report is Father Phillip Jean-Pierre, the parish vicar in Léogâne, south of Port-au-Prince. We learned from a second priest in Léogâne, who asked to remain anonymous, that soldiers arrested Father Jean-Pierre on May 21, tied his hands behind his back, threw him into a truck, and drove him to the local prison. The priest was put in a three-by-four-meter cell with thirty other people, most of whom had been arrested for trying to flee the country by boat.

When the district commander from Petit Goâve arrived, he had Father Jean-Pierre transferred to a tiny cell. The next day he was taken to court in Petit Goâve. The soldiers accused the priest of "inciting the people to violence" and "delivering subversive sermons." They presented some leaflets and pictures of Aristide as proof of their allegations. The priest's lawyer was able to secure the soldiers' admission that none of this evidence actually was found in Father Jean-Pierre's possession. After the court session, Father Jean-Pierre was "provisionally released," meaning that he was freed but not cleared of any charges against him.

The priest who told us this story emphasized that "the church is the *only* place where people can meet in Léogâne. But even the church is not immune from attack." He recounted an incident in which soldiers entered the church yard during a meeting of parish leaders from satellite chapels. When he went out and told them it was only a church meeting, the soldiers agreed to leave. It is common for soldiers to come to mass in plainclothes to conduct surveillance. Such activity, he believes, may have led to Father Jean-Pierre's arrest.

Father Marcel Bussels

On June 2, a Belgian parish priest in the town of Balan, in Morne Rouge, the first section of Plaine du Nord, was arrested. At least nine uniformed and heavily armed soldiers from the northern city of Cap Haïtien attacked Father Marcel Bussels's quarters, smashing a mimeograph machine, two typewriters, two radios and a tape recorder. The soldiers broke a door off an armoire in the sacristy, searched every room in the building and took documents pertaining to

Bussel's involvement in the Balan Movement of Honor and Respect (*Mouvement Honneur et Respect Balan*, MOREB), an organization comprising peasants, merchants and fishers in the Morne Rouge section. They confiscated documents, newspapers, and the clandestine newsletter *Kawoutchou*. The soldiers also searched the house of several nuns who work with Father Bussels and destroyed two of their typewriters. Father Bussels was imprisoned in Cap Haitien and freed only on June 5 after the intervention of Bishop Gayot.

Cornelia Konrad, a German volunteer who works with Father Bussels and the nuns, witnessed the incident. She told us that the group that arrested the priest included a colonel, soldiers in khaki uniforms, and two men in civilian clothes. Konrad told us that it was not the first time that Father Bussels had been a target of the Haitian military. She showed us a chair with a bullet hole through the back from a November 1991 attempt to assassinate the priest.

Nun Detained and Searched

A nun who heads the Catholic sewing school near Hinche in the Central Plateau told us about her encounters with the army. Her school, which is inside the parish church compound, had not opened in October 1991 because of the post-coup violence. Three different times in November 1991, a corporal came into the school courtyard in uniform and threatened the staff. Once he banged a desk with his fist and screamed at one of the nuns: "I'm mad at Aristide and I'm mad at you! You don't want the country to advance! Open the schools already!" The schools did not start functioning until January 1992.

On June 22, 1992, the nun was returning to the Central Plateau from Port-au-Prince on public transportation. During a search at the military outpost at Hinche, the soldiers found in her bag a copy of the church's magazine, *Bon Nouvèl*, with a tiny photo of Aristide. They flew into a rage and ordered her to go to army headquarters in Hinche, where she was reprimanded by commander Josel Charles and told "not to bring magazines like this" into the area anymore.

Father Gilles Danroc and Others

The Pastoral Council of the La Chapelle parish in the Artibonite had called for a meeting of church leaders in the area. Father Gilles Danroc, a French priest who is the coordinator for the Justice and Peace Commission in the Artibonite, advised the La Chapelle magistrate of the meeting and the mass that was to follow the next day.

On June 6, 1992, the meeting began with introductions and a morning prayer. At about 10:00 a.m., two armed soldiers, Corporal Claude and Fanfan, burst into the room, proclaimed the meeting "prohibited," and arrested all fifteen people present, including Father Danroc. They imprisoned the whole group at the La Chapelle army post.

That afternoon, eight of the prisoners including Father Danroc were transferred to the barracks at Verrettes. On arrival, the four women (Guerda Exinor, Janise Laroche, Marie-Guirlaine Mondésir and Georgette Redasse-Dantès) were put into the women's cell, and the four men (Father Danroc, Luckner Simeus, Mathuren Elusma and Sixto Dantès) into the men's cell.

Around midnight, commander Pierre-Noël Brisse had the four men brought before him and heard their version of what they had been doing in the church. The commander announced that the prisoners would be transferred to the St. Marc prison, and Father Danroc was handcuffed. They arrived at St. Marc around 6:00 a.m. In the guard room, soldiers harassed the prisoners, calling them "communists" and "Lavalas," and denigrating the church. Anti-foreigner insults also followed toward Father Danroc.

At 10:00 a.m., the major called the prisoners into his office. Though accusing Father Danroc of organizing illegal meetings, he announced that he would free the foreigner. But Father Danroc refused to leave without the other detainees. Soldiers told the priest that the others would be beaten if he stayed, so he left the barracks, after informing the soldiers that one of the women, Georgette Redasse-Dantès, was pregnant.

After Father Danroc's departure, the seven other prisoners including the pregnant woman were forced to lean against the wall on their toes, supported only by their fingers. They were violently beaten with batons on the buttocks and back. They were also beaten on the soles of the feet. The prisoners were released during the afternoon of June 7.

Father Serge Pardo

According to the secretary and the officer of international relations for the *Comité d'Action Démocratique Contre la Répression* (CADCREP), a human rights organization in the Southeast department, Father Serge Pardo was attacked numerous times in the weeks after the coup by soldiers at the Marigot barracks. A band of thugs attacked the priest's Marigot home several times, showering the rectory with stones. Faced with these threats, the priest had to leave Haiti for over

a month. He returned to Marigot in July 1992, but continued to be subjected to verbal threats and taunts by military supporters.

Father Valéry Rébecca

Father Valéry Rébecca, the parish priest in Lomon in the Belle Rivière section of Miragoâne, in the Grande Anse department, was arrested without a warrant on August 24, 1992 by three armed civilians and a soldier. The priest was brought to the barracks in Miragoâne, and eventually released, after the intervention of the Bishop of Cayes, Monsignor Alix Verrier.

Ti Kominote Legliz

Ti Kominote Legliz (TKL) groups form the base of the *Ti Legliz* or popular church movement. They hold bible and prayer meetings which are led by laypersons, and encourage broad democratic participation in church activities. Although some members of the Haitian Catholic Church's leadership have encouraged *Ti Legliz* groups, the TKL in general exists outside the traditional hierarchical structure of the church. The TKL movement was closely identified with Aristide both before and after his election as president.

Los Palis

In the Los Palis district of Hinche, TKL organizing began in 1982. By 1991, there were roughly forty TKL groups associated with the parish, each with an average of twenty members. Members met weekly, and the group leaders met monthly. Every year, the parish sent eight to ten TKL activists to a four-week training session at the diocesan training center, the Emaïste Center. Typically, TKL group meetings included a discussion of the week's events, a Bible reading, and a talk about how the lesson could be applied to improve the participants' lives and limit their suffering.

Church leaders in Los Palis told us in July 1992, that none of the TKL groups had been able to meet since the coup because of specific statements by the notorious provincial officer Charles Josel (alias Commander Z), that "there will be no more TKL in the Central Plateau", and because of arrests and beatings of TKL leaders. A TKL organizer whose group used to meet each week after church under a big tree confirmed that neither her group nor any other she knew had been able to get together since the coup.

Thomonde

TKL groups in Thomonde in central Haiti emerged in 1984, and by the November 1987 elections numbered 94. After those elections were canceled amid armed assaults by military and paramilitary gangs, TKL leaders were accused of having supported Gérard Gourgue for president, and the military junta ruthlessly repressed them. Activists started organizing again in 1990, during the Trouillot presidency. They had rebuilt to the point of having thirty groups, each with thirty to sixty members, by the time of the September 1991 coup.

The resulting repression completely destroyed TKL's organization in Thomonde. Father Bien-Aimé told us in July 1992 that none of the TKL groups had been able to meet. He estimated that over 250 people from the Thomonde parish went into hiding after the coup. When we visited the area in July 1992, at least 100 people were still "displaced," meaning that they were unable to live at home.

Pandiassou and Dos Palais

The Little Brothers of Incarnation, a group of monks founded 15 years ago to work with poor peasants, organized over ten TKL groups in the Pandiassou and Dos Palais areas in central Haiti, each of which functioned as the main institution of the Catholic Church in its area. The groups met in their zones for mass and reflection on the second and fourth Sunday of the month and attended general assemblies in Pandiassou on the first and third Sundays.

As of early July 1992, virtually none of these TKL groups had been able to meet, let alone to hold a general assembly. The sole exception was a few rural areas where groups held some Easter activities. Since TKL had been effectively outlawed in the area, these groups had begun calling themselves "catechist centers."

The twenty-five organizers for the Brothers' TKL groups all remained in hiding. Some of them stayed near their homes, but all slept in a different location each night. Brother Simeus told us that some organizers, like the general organizer who worked out of Hinche, "have left the region and won't be able to return for five years if things don't change."

Jacmel

A 40-year-old unemployed tailor who has been an active lay priest in Jacmel in southern Haiti since 1982 reported that TKL groups around Jacmel were unable to hold open meetings or any large gatherings. He explained that he was no longer able to travel through the countryside to teach catechism, because a gathering of three or more people was considered a forbidden meeting. He had resorted to secretly visiting with chapel leaders in the hills. He emphasized that he did not dare to take even one person with him because they would be considered suspicious and followed.

The lay priest told us that the authorities closely monitored the church services. They check the hymns chosen and sermons given in the churches and harass the priests if there is too much political content. Yonel Saint Germain, another lay priest, was persecuted for leading a song decrying the plight of poor workers at the Church of Saint Phillip and Saint Jacques in Jacmel.

Before the coup the catechist used to visit prisons in the Southeast to say mass for the prisoners and to "help them live like human beings," especially on holidays like Christmas and New Year's. He has had to suspend these activities, fearing even to set foot in areas like Cayes Jacmel, where "the soldiers will beat

and arrest you just because they don't recognize you."

Pont Sondé

We met with a TKL leader in Pont Sondé in the Artibonite. He explained that his TKL group had continued to meet after the coup until mid-December 1991.

Then a pickup truck carrying soldiers came by during our meeting. We would meet at 5:00 p.m. on Thursdays and the truck came by at 6:00 p.m. They stopped in front of the house we were meeting in and looked at us. They did this two times and so we stopped meeting.

In July 1992 the group, reduced in size, began to meet again. Our informant commented: "We will keep meeting, although some people are afraid. We need to pray, that's why we decided to begin our meetings again."

Limbé

We met with several catechists and TKL members in Bois de Chêne, the fourth section of Limbé, in northern Haiti. They said that in the six sections of Limbé that they know well, there were 280 TKL groups involving about 8,500 active members, including twenty-four TKL groups in the fourth section itself. When we asked the group about their ability to meet, they explained: "Our groups cannot meet at all. If you published our names with this information, we'd have to leave Haiti completely." During our interview, they kept lookouts in several directions. We had to stop the conversation several times when people they did not trust came by. When darkness fell, they hurried us away. The group agreed that they were taking a substantial risk in meeting with us, and it was clear that they did so only because they considered it an opportunity to spread truthful information about their area to the outside world.

They told us that on the day of the coup, the chief of section three, Magloire Prophète, led a mob that destroyed a manioc press belonging to a TKL group and ransacked its building. Seven TKL members in this section were arrested in December 1991. On December 10, Corporal Sales Adesca, section chief Jean Ganier Aludor, and a gang known as the *Groupe Parallele* arrested TKL leader Frederick Ylus at his house. One of the soldiers hit his wife with the butt of his gun. The man was marched to the main road, where the soldiers extorted \$32 dollars

from him by threatening him with imprisonment and torture. On December 11, six TKL members were arrested by Sergeant Adesca, section chief Aludor and other armed civilians.

Trou du Nord

In Roche Plate, the third rural section of Trou du Nord, in the northeast province, Jasmin Prophète led two TKL groups – one for seniors and one for young people – with a total of about eighty members. Since the coup, Prophète reported in July 1992, these groups were unable to function or meet. Prophète himself had to go into hiding for three weeks after two armed and uniformed soldiers came to his house to arrest him on December 21, 1991.

Port-au-Prince

Guilnord Télisma, 25, of the Thorland district of Carrefour, had been active in the TKL movement in the Notre Dame du Mont Carmel parish of Port-au-Prince since 1982. His case is an example of the targeted repression faced by leaders in the Christian base community movement in the capital. After the coup, Télisma fled into hiding in Grand Anse. On November 22, 1991, he decided to return to Carrefour, where he continued his church work, which consisted of writing and delivering sermons connecting the liturgy with the contemporary situation in the lives of the parishioners. He gave these talks at the masses each Sunday at the church of Notre Dame du Mont Carmel. Télisma told us that he had been doing such work for a decade, and had never had serious political trouble until after the September 1991 coup.

In the first three months of 1992, Télisma said he was regularly accosted after mass by men who made ominous comments to him like "watch your step." They included plainclothes soldiers from the *Cafétéria* police station, the *Camp d'Application* in Lamentin, Carrefour, the training camp for enlisted men, and the Haitian Marines.

On May 19, 1992, Télisma was followed by an unknown man as he took a friend's children to the Charité St. Louis School in the St. Charles neighborhood of Carrefour. When Télisma evaded his pursuers, the man followed a woman to whom Télisma had stopped to talk and questioned her about him.

On May 27, during a meeting of his church's Permanent Parish Council, of which he was a member, a white pickup drove into the church courtyard and three

armed plainclothes soldiers jumped out and took up positions to keep the premises under surveillance. Télisma appeared to be the target of this action because one of the soldiers gave chase on foot when the French parish priest at Télisma's church, Jean François Fagot, whisked him away in his car. Father Fagot told Télisma that it was too dangerous for him to appear at church anymore. Thereafter, Télisma went in hiding, cutting his hair differently, calling himself by a different name when he phoned his family and providing a false location.

Télisma applied for refugee status in the United States in July 1992. He continued to be persecuted during the period in which his application was being considered. On July 14, he went to visit his mother in Bizoton, Carrefour, at the house where he had lived before the coup. He came and went by different routes, stayed only about an hour. About two days later, three men in plainclothes, one with a walkie-talkie, appeared on his block and asked residents whether he was around.

On July 21, while his application for refugee status was still pending, Télisma attended a meeting of the Permanent Parish Council. A man with a walkie-talkie walked in with Madame Marcel, a supporter of the army who has a job in the Carrefour city hall. She told a friend of Télisma's that she was there "on an investigation," so Télisma was again swept out of the church and back into hiding. Moments later, several more unidentified plainclothesmen arrived at the church.

In late July 1992, Télisma was granted refugee status in the United States.

Justice and Peace Commission

The Justice and Peace Commission (*Commission Justice et Paix*) is the human rights arm of the Catholic Conference of Bishops. Although present in each Haitian diocese, it is most active in the Artibonite, Central Plateau and Grand Anse departments. Artibonite Justice and Peace Secretary Father Daniel Roussière told us that "in general, Justice and Peace has been crushed by the repression. Our legal training pamphlets and all our written material are considered subversive."

The organization has its strongest network in the Artibonite, where it has delegates in each of the fifty sections in that department. Its delegates, who are trained in basic human rights law, participate in gathering information for detailed human rights reports published by each of the parishes. Its excellent reports are distributed within Haiti and abroad. A number of Justice and Peace members have been arrested, including Father Gilles Danroc, coordinator for the Artibonite, whose arrest is recounted above.

On June 12, 1992, François Mondésir, 45, a leading Justice and Peace member,

was arrested at the order of Benjamin Prophète, section chief of Pendu, the fifth section of Gros Morne. The arrest occurred after he had an argument with a police-aide, Fucien Georges, over a dog. Georges beat Mondésir after accusing him of "getting involved in politics" and being a Lavalas partisan. Mondésir was released five days later, after a family friend intervened on his behalf. The Justice and Peace Commission reports that Commander Toussaint told a friend who came to the barracks to pick up Mondésir: "Take him, leave with him, but we'll get him again."

Mondésir was arrested a second time on July 10, along with five other church activists.

Soldiers accused them of signing a June 16 "Open Letter to the Pope" that criticized the Vatican's recognition of the coup government. Mondésir and three others were detained briefly and released. Two other church activists were imprisoned in Gros Morne.

The Emaïste Center

The Emaïste Center, the Hinche diocese's main educational and conference facility, is located just next to the ruins of the Papaye Peasant Movement (MPP) compound in Papaye. Father Guy Casséus, 33, has been in charge of the Center since January, when he transferred there from the parish of Thomassique near the Dominican border.

The Center, normally so busy with trainings, meetings and conferences that an organization wishing to use its facilities had to reserve them many months in advance, was completely shut down from the coup at least until early August 1992. Armed soldiers have searched the Center twice since the coup, in January and in February 1992. They were especially interested in a room that had been inhabited by one of MPP leader Chavannes Jean-Baptiste's brothers. There was no question of the Center continuing operation after the coup, since the entire neighborhood was paralyzed by the army's virtual occupation of the MPP headquarters nearby.

Chapter 10

ARISTIDE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Many mayors and other local officials who were appointed by or came to power under the Aristide government have been subjected to brutal treatment at the hands of the Haitian military. Among those singled out have been elected members of the administrative councils of communal sections (*Conseils d'Administration de la Section Communale*, or CASECs), as well as appointed communal police agents who were accountable to the Justice Ministry, both of whom replaced corrupt and violent rural section chiefs. These important symbols of the Aristide government's success in curbing arbitrary rule have been arrested, imprisoned and physically mistreated. Many abandoned their posts and fled into hiding shortly after the coup. Despite a vow by de facto Prime Minister Bazin at his June 1992 inauguration to reinstate all local elected officials, many remain out of office and fearful of resurfacing.

Town and City Council Officials

Each medium-to-large-sized town in Haiti has an elected communal mayor, or magistrate (*magistrat*), who is assisted by two deputy mayors (*deuxième et troisième magistrats*). Together, these three people form the town or city council (*conseil municipal*). Mayors and their associates have been targeted for repression because they are viewed as supporting Aristide or because local military figures or their associates have other political or personal reasons for removing them from power. In some cases, mayors have been harassed because of their access to funds: Frantz Guillite, a deputy mayor in Les Cayes in southern Haiti, told us that one of the reasons for attacks on him was that he administered Haiti's only toll station, at the entrance to the city, established in early 1991. The station collects one gourde from each vehicle coming into town to generate revenues for road improvement.

Deputy Mayor Frantz Guillite, Les Cayes

Frantz Guillite is a 34-year-old high school math teacher and a deputy mayor of Les Cayes, the country's third largest city. Guillite was affiliated with the National Agricultural and Industrial Party (*Parti Agricole et Industriel National*, PAIN) of Louis Déjoie. On May 14, 1992, Guillite taught a class at the private high

school College Mixte de Sion. Sometime after he left the school to go to the city hall, students at the high school staged a pro-Aristide demonstration on school grounds. Around 2:00 p.m., Guillite left his office and drove by the school, which is near a police station. By this time, soldiers with uzis and other automatic weapons had surrounded the school and blocked off the street.

According to Guillite, two of the soldiers got into his car and ordered him to drive to the police station. He described what followed:

When we arrived they told me to strip to my pants. Soldiers humiliated me with taunts and insults. A plainclothes officer nicknamed "Smoker" because he smokes a lot of cigarettes and drugs was at the station. He is the one who tortures people at the military headquarters. He punched me hard two times as he walked by me.

The commander gave orders to take Guillite to military headquarters. He was handcuffed so tightly for the trip that marks were still visible on his wrists when we interviewed him six weeks later. A soldier forced him to march across town toward the military post barefoot, with no shirt and with his pants falling down. When they had covered half the distance, a soldier on a bicycle overtook them with new orders. Guillite was allowed to return to the police station, gather his clothing, and leave.

The Ministry of the Interior of the Nerette/Honorat government launched an investigation into Guillite's arrest. When the government representative arrived from Port-au-Prince, he interrogated Guillite about an alleged attack on the military post at Bergeaud two or three days before his arrest. He suggested that Guillite should abandon his elected post. No report explaining or condemning Guillite's warrantless arrest and abusive treatment was ever issued, and none of the soldiers responsible was held accountable.

After he was released, Guillite went to the studios of the Les Cayes television station RTMS to denounce his arrest. Although RTMS had eliminated all controversial programming since the coup, its programmers evidently felt that they could not deny his request to go on the air. Guillite ended his statement with the phrase: "The struggle continues."

Guillite was rearrested on May 30 in the aftermath of the attack on the Camp Perrin outpost. Trucks of soldiers passed his house three times that day, as if, he said, "they wanted me to flee rather than to arrest me."

On May 30, two soldiers known as Lorcy and Eliscar did arrest him. They

ripped off his shirt, pulled off his belt, and brought him to prison. Guillite, who was sick, vomited twice. The soldiers responded by beating him each time, but did not beat him thereafter.

During his interrogation, Guillite was told that he had been arrested because he had gone on television to denounce his May 14 arrest. He was also accused of meeting with Port-au-Prince mayor Evans Paul, an Aristide ally and pro-democracy organizer. Officers asked him about how he had disbursed city funds, but he refused to discuss city finances on the grounds that the appropriate channel for reviewing such matters was the government accounting office. Other officers simultaneously questioned Les Cayes Mayor Madame Edouard Hall. She also received anonymous telephone calls while Guillite was in jail advising her not to intervene to help Guillite and to let the army "break him."

The commission sent by the post-coup government of Joseph Nerette and Jean-Jacques Honorat to investigate the Camp Perrin incident stopped at the prison to see Guillite and the other prisoners, but did nothing to expedite their release. Nor did it comment publicly on the beatings and warrantless arrests. On the contrary, members expressed to the prisoners the de facto government's support for the army's crackdown. Commission member Benoit Laguerre, Port Salut's representative in the Chamber of Deputies, made sarcastic comments about the "wonderful" conditions in which the captives were being held. "I didn't realize people relaxed so in prison," he said. "I expected to see you all covered in blood."

Mayor Jackson Bien-Aimé, Cerca Carvajal

Jackson Bien-Aimé was one of the mayors of Cerca Carvajal, in the Central Plateau, elected on the FNCD ticket. According to his brother, Father Lévêque Bien-Aimé, Jackson was arrested in Cerca Carvajal in December 1991 and released the next day after the bishop intervened on his behalf.

In February 1992, Bien-Aimé was arrested for a second time in Hinche. Soldiers beat him and released him the same day. Soldiers alleged that he had supplied peasants with the stones they used to kill a soldier in Cerca Carvajal on July 1, 1991. The soldier was stoned to death after he and other soldiers shot into a crowd, killing four people.¹ No proper legal proceedings or charges were ever brought against Jackson.

¹ See Americas Watch, National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, Caribbean Rights, "Haiti: The Aristide Government's Human Rights Record," November 1, 1991, pp. 35-36.

Mayor Emanès Jean, Gros Morne

Emanès Jean was the mayor of the commune of Gros Morne in the Artibonite. Parish priest André Launey told us that on March 21, 1992, section chief Prophète Benjamin and his cousin and deputy, Walta Rémy, went to the mayor's house at 10:00 p.m. Jean's wife, who was in late stages of pregnancy, answered the door. The men asked for the mayor, and she said that he was not at home. Walta grabbed the wife by the collar, shook her and threatened her with his revolver.

Hearing their exchange, Jean ran out the back door. The section chief said to his wife: "If he doesn't leave the section, I'll burn down his house." Jean fled to Port-au-Prince, where he enlisted the help of his cousin, who is a soldier in the Haitian army. The cousin reportedly confronted the section chief so that Jean was able to return to Gros-Morne.

Mayor Carlo Louis, Baptiste

On July 4, 1992, Radio Métropole broadcast a report about Carlo Louis, mayor of the Central Plateau village of Baptiste, which lies south of Belladère near the Dominican border. Louis was elected in the December 1990 elections on the FNCD ticket. After the coup, local military authorities accused him of "engaging in subversive activities." He went into hiding, and was still underground when de facto Prime Minister Bazin was installed on June 19. When Bazin assumed office, he asked the elected mayors to come out of hiding and resume their work, promising that they would be protected. Louis decided to resurface in Baptiste around June 29 and was immediately arrested.

Deputy Mayor Alland Simon, Cap Haïtien

Alland Simon, the deputy mayor of Cap Haïtien, Haiti's second largest city, has had to leave his post since Bazin's inauguration. According to the Cap Haïtien-based Legal Assistance Group (*Groupe d'Assistance Juridique, GAJ*), although Simon was critical of the coup, he returned to office shortly afterward. About ten days after Bazin's inauguration, the de facto prime minister came through Cap Haïtien. Simon was among those receiving him at city hall. But the next day, Simon was accused of having torn up a photograph of Bazin. Uniformed soldiers attempted to arrest him at city hall but Simon received a warning and was able to escape.

A few days later, Simon went back to his office. Later that day, a young man warned him that six armed civilians were approaching the city hall. He was able to escape by crawling out the window. The man who cried out the warning was briefly arrested and beaten by the armed gang.

CASEC Members

Each rural section has an elected three-person administrative council, or CASEC. CASEC officials were elected in December 1990. Some CASEC officials helped to install the communal police agents who had been selected by local government officials to replace many of the corrupt and violent section chiefs. After the coup, when old section chiefs returned to office, CASEC officials were often persecuted.

Annessoir Annélus, Verrettes

In Verrettes, in the Artibonite, we interviewed Annessoir Annélus, 26, a member of the local CASEC. He also worked with peasants in the Desarmes Young Peasant Association (*Asosyasyon Jèn Peyizan Dèzam, AJEPAD*) and was an organizer for a local federation of *Ti Kominote Legliz* groups called *Fraternité*.

Following the coup, Annélus was harassed and twice arrested by local soldiers and the section chief. On December 5, 1991, he was arrested by Corporal Eldumé, known as "Twenty-one Nations," who was in civilian clothes and accompanied by five attachés. The corporal struck Annélus in the head with his revolver. The soldiers tied him up while the corporal called him "Communist" and "Lavalas" and kicked him.

Annélus was taken to the army headquarters at Desarmes and forced to

lie on the ground on his stomach. Corporal "Twenty-one Nations" told him that he could pay money to "save his ass." Annélus had no money, his wife having been hospitalized recently. The soldiers clubbed him with their nightsticks for an hour. Annélus said, "Even now, over seven months later, my back is still painful because of that." Annélus was released three hours later and taken to the hospital in Des Chapelles, where he stayed for five days.

On March 27, 1992, Annélus went to the local market and was approached by Motel Pierre-Louis, an attaché-policeman of the Desarmes army post. Pierre-Louis, who was wearing a hat with a badge on it and carrying a nightstick, told Annélus that he was under arrest. When Annélus resisted, Pierre-Louis grabbed his collar and ripped his shirt off. The policeman then pulled off Annélus's pants and made off with \$79 that had been in his pocket. Annélus ran to Verrettes and complained to a lieutenant named Tertil, who sent for the policeman. When Pierre-Louis arrived, he denied the whole story. The commander said he would launch an investigation, but Annélus told us that this never happened and he never recovered his money.

On May 8, section chief Claudi Félix and six attachés from the local army post went to Annélus's house. He escaped and ran to the Catholic church in Verrettes. The soldiers searched the house and told Annélus's mother and sister that he was "guilty of distributing tracts calling for the return of Aristide." Annélus told us in July that since that May incident he had not been able to return home. Annélus believes that the army is after him because of his work on the CASEC. Local priests confirmed that he used his position to defend his constituents against extortion and arbitrary arrest.

Cemoyon Anestil, Mahotièrè

Residents of Mahotièrè, the seventh section of Port-de-Paix, told us that on May 20, 1992, the president of the CASEC, who is also a member of the FNCD and Tèt Kole, was beaten and arrested. A commando unit of soldiers tied him up and took him in a military vehicle to the Port-de-Paix prison, where he was jailed for six days.

Ifrandieu Guerrier and Amony Lordéus, Môle St. Nicolas

Mare Rouge activist Seloncoeur Joseph told us that two CASEC officials from section one of Môle St. Nicolas, in northwestern Haiti, Ifrandieu Guerrier and Amony Lordéus, were repeatedly threatened by section chief Wilfrid Théodoris. One day the section chief went to their office, stole their chairs to signal that the men did not belong there, and threatened to beat them. Guerrier and Lordéus fled the country on May 15 in a small boat. They perished with eighteen others when their boat sank off the coast of Cuba. Joseph, who was also on board, survived the disaster.

Other Government Officials

Municipal Registrar Carl Henri Richardson, Jean Rabel

Richardson, 36, was a deputy mayor in Jean Rabel, in the northwestern province, from 1983 to 1986. In the fall of 1990, he and other activists formed an FNCD/Lavalas committee to run Aristide's presidential campaign in Jean Rabel. Richardson was in charge of public relations and distributed mandates to poll observers for the FNCD party. After Aristide's election, he was named municipal registrar (*officier d'état civil*).

Between late October and early December 1991, Richardson told us, men who had been arrested during the Aristide government for their roles in the 1987 Jean Rabel massacre were released from prison by the coup government. These included Nicol Poitevien, Patrick Lucas, Loudy Hérard and Gentilhomme Prosper. Others reportedly involved in the massacre, such as Jean-Michel Richardson, Rémy Lucas and Léonard Poitevien, returned to Jean Rabel from the United States, where they had fled to avoid prosecution by the Aristide government. At the same time, the army began to attack systematically the *Lavalas* community. Richardson's committee was a particular target for its role in organizing a movement to demand the conviction of those responsible for the massacre.

On November 10, 1991, troops from Môle St.-Nicolas under the direction of Captain Laroche searched Richardson's house and those of several other committee members. Richardson was not at home at the time. The soldiers took some documents and left a bullet on a dresser as a warning. After these searches, all of the members of the committee, except for Richardson, went into hiding.

The next morning, November 11, 1991, Richardson went to his municipal job and found Sergeant Renard Jean Tima waiting for him. The sergeant arrested

Richardson without a warrant and took him to the Jean Rabel prison, where he was held for thirteen days. On November 13, soldiers brought five suspected members of the peasant organization Tèt Kole into Richardson's cell, beating them in front of him and stomping on them with their boots.

On November 14, Richardson was interrogated. The next day, he and fellow committee member Jean Robert Milly were taken to Port-de-Paix, where they were accused by soldiers of being *Lavalassiens*, supporting President Aristide, and "badmouthing" the army.

Richardson and the others were released on November 24. They were never formally charged or tried for any crimes. Richardson immediately went into hiding outside the region.

In February, Richardson returned to the area but did not sleep at home. Soldiers under the command of warrant officer (*adjudant*) Antonio Jasmin, known as "Wise Grip," showered the committee members' homes with rocks during the night and distributed leaflets attacking the army in the name of the committee. After one of Richardson's children was attacked on the street in Jean Rabel, Richardson decided to return to hiding.

Delegate Amantes Caesar, Central Plateau

Amantes Caesar was the Aristide government's delegate for the Central Plateau. (Delegates represent the executive branch in each department of the country.) After the coup, according to a foreign priest with many years' experience in the Central Plateau, Caesar continued to return to the Central Plateau from the capital almost every weekend to denounce the repression occurring there. On January 22, 1992, the top-ranking officer for the region, Commander Z, announced that Caesar was not to return to the area because of his outspokenness. As a result, as of early July, he had stopped visiting the Central Plateau.

Senator Guy Bauduy and Mayor Patrick Robinson, Anse-à-Pitres

On the evening of November 1, 1992, Senator Guy Bauduy, Mayor Patrick Robinson, Justice of the Peace Andris Décatte and a dozen local citizens were arrested in the southeastern town of Anse-à-Pitres because they were taking part in a meeting to discuss local projects including road construction and the establishment of a chamber of commerce. The commander of the Anse-à-Pitres military district, Warrant Officer Valdius Pierre, arrested the senator and the others, according to several sources, because they had not given the army prior

notice of the meeting. Pierre transferred Bauduy and the others to Thiotte, where they were freed the next day by that town's military commander. An independent who originally supported the coup but then became highly critical of the de facto regimes that succeeded it, Bauduy called the incident a clear message that the military is hostile to the organization of meetings. FNCD Senator Wesner Emmanuel commented, "If even members of parliament cannot meet, what about ordinary citizens?" In a highly unusual follow-up to such an incident, owing surely to Bauduy's prominence, Warrant Officer Pierre was arrested not long afterwards by the commander of the Southeast.

Judges Magdaline Paul and Chesnel Pierre, Grand Goâve

Many of the local officials installed by the Aristide government in Grand Goâve, southwest of Port-au-Prince, have faced severe persecution. Magdaline Paul and Chesnel Pierre were selected by local popular organizations as justices of the peace, and they served several months in office before the coup. Father René Poirier talked to us about Chesnel Pierre, whom he has known for years. Only twenty-five years old, Pierre was from a peasant family in Saint Martin, about fifteen kilometers from Grand Goâve. "He wasn't sophisticated – he certainly had never had a law course -- but he was honest. He accepted no money to render judgments, which was a first for this area. He formed a small group of clerks who helped process cases. He made them agree not to take money. It was fantastic."

On the night of the coup, the courthouse in Grand Goâve was burned. Poirier is convinced that the military was responsible. He told us that he believes the bonfire was an attack on Chesnel Pierre, who had replaced a corrupt justice of the peace. At 4:00 a.m. on the morning of October 1, 1991, Poirier went to the courthouse. There he saw many men who he recognized as Macoutes, all in civilian clothes and none with visible weapons, standing around watching the fire. They were doing nothing to stop the blaze. There was no one around from Kòmilfo or the other pro-change organizations to which the military government later attributed the fire.

We interviewed Paul and Pierre north of Port-au-Prince. Magdaline Paul's family home was burned down after the coup; Magdaline is the sister of journalist Jean Mario Paul. Both she and Chesnel Pierre had been in hiding since a few days after the coup, and both have been pursued by the army. Titanyen, they told us, was their fifth hiding place. On July 4, Chesnel Pierre and Magdaline Paul both fled Haiti for the Dominican Republic.

Communal Police Agents

Under the Aristide government, military section chiefs were gradually replaced by "communal police agents" who were unarmed and under the supervision of the local judiciary. The majority of these new police agents were nominated by local popular organizations and community groups. This radical transformation of rural Haitian life, which would have brought the country into line with its 1987 Constitution for the first time by separating the police from the armed forces and putting the police under civilian control, had not been completed by the time of the coup. A new police agent had been nominated in the vast majority of Haiti's rural sections, but many had not yet been installed. After the coup, all communal police agents were removed from office after an official decree reestablished the old section chief system on November 14, 1991. A number were arrested or forced into hiding by the former section chiefs and their associates.

Cherenfant Miratel, Trou du Nord

According to *Tèt Kole* members in Trou du Nord, Cherenfant Miratel, a communal police agent appointed by Aristide who was also a member of *Ansanm Peyizan Ròch Plat* (APRP) was arrested shortly after the military coup and beaten. He was released after paying some money.

Madame Irama, Los Palis

Madame Irama was a communal police agent who replaced section chief Saveur Felph in the third section of Los Palis, in the Central Plateau, after Aristide came to power. Madame Irama was a member of the Papaye Peasant Movement (MPP). Like the other communal police agents, she did not carry weapons and reported to the justice of the peace. Local church leaders say she did not extort money from the citizens or beat them during her tenure. She fled into hiding immediately after the coup and had not been able to return home as of July, 1992.

Chapter 11

THE PRESS

In Haiti, radio broadcasts are the most important sources of news and information for most people, particularly in rural areas. After the fall of Jean-Claude Duvalier in 1986, radio stations began to report abuses by the authorities. Some stations opened their microphones to the victims of violence and arbitrary arrest, providing an extremely important forum for communicating information about human rights conditions in the country and for stigmatizing those responsible for abuse.

Since the September 1991 coup, army attacks on radio stations have a drastically restricted press freedom. Nine radio stations were destroyed or shut down after the coup.¹ As of late November 1992, only two of these, Radio Lumière and Radio Caraïbes, were back on the air, and only Radio Caraïbes had resumed news reports.²

Only eight of the fifteen radio stations in operation in Port-au-Prince at the time of this report were broadcasting news.³ Even then, self-censorship remained the order of the day. People we spoke with in Haiti in June and July 1992 agreed that there was less news on the radio than at any time since Jean-Claude Duvalier fled the country in 1986.

As of late November 1992, only four radio stations – Radio Nationale, Radio Métropole, Radio Soleil and Radio Tropic FM – continued to have correspondents in the provinces. The Catholic Church's Radio Soleil, in an abrupt

¹ These were Radio Antilles-Internationale, Radio Cacique, Radio Caraïbes, Radio Galaxie, Radio Haïti Internationale (Inter), Radio Lumière, Radio Port-au-Prince, Radio Tèt Ansanm, and Radio Voix du Nord.

² For a fuller account of press conditions in Haiti since the coup, see the report by the Committee to Protect Journalists, "*Bouch Pe. The Crackdown on Haiti's Media since the Overthrow of Aristide*," September 1992, and "*La presse sous la mitraille (Haïti: 30 septembre 1991)*" by the Agence Haïtienne de Presse, September 1992, CIDIHCA.

³ These are: private stations Radio Caraïbes, Radio Magique Stereo, Radio Métropole, Radio Plus, Radio Signal FM and Tropic FM; the Catholic Church-operated Radio Soleil, and the government station, Radio Nationale.

departure from the central role it had played in legitimizing the reporting of human rights information during the 1980s, has largely avoided reporting information that is critical of the de facto government. State-run Radio Nationale has served as a propaganda organ of the de facto government since the coup. The station does not report on anything that would "offend" the army, such as human rights abuses or anti-government demonstrations. Indeed, in December 1991, under the guise of reporting news, it rebroadcast lists of names of people to be silenced or "eliminated."⁴ Tele Haïti, the leading privately owned television station in Haïti, had to stop its news broadcasts in October 1991 and again between December 1991 and February 1992, after several reporters were threatened.

While the broadcast media have been the main target of censorship efforts since the coup, newspapers also have been pressured to sanitize their news coverage, and several publications have ceased to function. Because weekly and daily newspapers in Haïti have a combined circulation of only 20,000 copies – due to cost and widespread illiteracy – they are not as critical to the availability of news and information as are radio broadcasts. In apparent recognition of this lesser importance, the government has attacked and arrested few print journalists since the coup.

Three major weekly newspapers are published in the United States. *Haïti Observateur* has been favorable to de facto government, while *Haïti Progrès* and *Haïti en Marche* support President Aristide. The latter two weeklies can be sold on the streets of Port-au-Prince, but in many parts of the country their possession is considered subversive. *Haïti en Marche*, one lawyer from Cap Haïtien told us, is considered the equivalent of a pro-Aristide leaflet in the provinces. In the Central Plateau, several individuals told us that the military is restricting the distribution of *Haïti Progrès* and *Haïti en Marche*. People are searched at various military checkpoints and if a person is caught with either paper she or he is beaten.

Numerous small bulletins have been published clandestinely since the coup and distributed at great risk. But they do not begin to fill the void created by the absence of an independent media.

⁴ In December 1991, the Volunteers for National Security (the formal organ of the Tontons Macoutes) called on Haitian citizens to kill at least 100 people, including eleven Haitian journalists. The statement, which was aired on Radio Nationale for several days, urged Haitians to eliminate "those who organize the chaos in this country...Go and do your job...Crush them, eat them, drink their blood." See Americas Watch, NCHR, "Return to the Darkest Days: Human Rights in Haïti Since the Coup," December 1991.

Radio Reporters in Port-au-Prince

Radio reporters in Port-au-Prince have been arrested, threatened and beaten for criticizing the army or government or for discussing human rights abuses.

Guy Delva, Voice of America

On May 22, Voice of America correspondent Joseph Guy C. Delva was attacked while he covered an anti-government student demonstration outside the *Lycée du Tricinquantaire* in Port-au-Prince. According to *Haiti Information Libre*⁵, a police officer struck Delva in the stomach with a rifle butt, slapped him, and pushed him. Four men in civilian clothing joined in the beating. They accused him of being a reporter who advocated the return of Aristide. His tape recorder and short-wave radio were confiscated. Delva wrote a protest letter to the de facto Minister of Information, Gérard Bissainthe, denouncing the de facto government for allowing such incidents against the press. Bissainthe's reply was published in the government-operated daily *l'Union* four days later. The letter accused Delva of being "an American government agent," an "enemy collaborator," and a "propagandist for the adversary":

Enemy collaborator in a war of fratricide that your allies unleashed, you wish that my Ministry guarantee you the liberty to exercise your position as a so-called journalist, but in reality, as a propagandist for the adversary? How can I do this in this context?

Huggens Voltaire, Collectif Quisqueya

Huggens Voltaire, a journalist with Radio Haiti Inter and the group collective Collectif Quisqueya, was arrested on June 1, 1992, by two armed civilians at Haiti's state university hospital. *Haiti Information Libre* reported that Voltaire was arrested as he interviewed two students from Marie Jeanne High

⁵ Chanel, Ives Marie, "Presse Haïtienne: Entre le Baillonnement et le Devoir d'Informer", *Haiti Information Libre*, Vol.VII, No. 76, p. 4.

School who were shot by police during a student protest. The students were demonstrating against a government plan to end the school year early. Voltaire was released the same day.

Lilianne Pierre-Paul, Collectif Quisqueya

Lilianne Pierre-Paul, founder and reporter for Collectif Quisqueya, was detained by the military on August 7, 1992 in the town of Malpasse, on the Dominican border. She was traveling to Santo Domingo to attend a conference organized by the Association of Professional Journalists. After being held for five hours in Malpasse, she was transferred to the barracks in Croix des Bouquets, where she was detained for another two hours, questioned about the purpose of her trip, and searched. She was told that Police Chief Michel François had issued an order in June prohibiting her from leaving the country. She was released after two military officials from Port-au-Prince intervened and apologized for the arrest.

Robinson Joseph, Radio Lumière

Following a wave of armed attacks on soldiers in the capital in late July 1992, Port-au-Prince was dotted by army roadblocks and soldiers conducted house-to-house searches in the Carrefour zone. Robinson Joseph, the director of Radio Lumière from 1989 to 1991, was shot and killed by a uniformed police officer on August 3, 1992, as he backed his car away from an army roadblock to avoid the lineup of cars it was causing. Although it seems likely that his identity was not known by his killer, there was no justification to use lethal force in such a manner. Nonetheless, during an interview on Tele Haïti on August 28, 1992, Gen. Raoul Cédras defended the shooting: "One must understand the soldier's perspective. A search is underway. All of a sudden, a car leaves the crowd, passes the roadblock. The soldier's normal reaction is that he is in the presence of a delinquent."

Sony Estéus, Tropic FM

Tropic FM reporter Sony Estéus was arrested by three plainclothes policemen while he was covering a religious ceremony that had turned into a pro-Aristide rally on April 12, 1992 in Port-au-Prince. As the three men brought him by taxi to the Investigations and Anti-Gang Service of the police, they began to beat him. At the station, police accused him of being a reporter for a radio station that "mobilizes the people, fights for the return of Aristide, and tells lies." During three

separate interrogations, the third by Anti-Gang chief Captain Joanis Jackson, police tried to get Estéus to confess to distributing pro-Aristide leaflets, claiming that Tropic FM reporters were paid by Aristide and elected Port-au-Prince mayor Evans Paul. More than ten police slapped him, struck him with the butts of their guns, scratched him with their fingernails around his ears, and forced him to lie on his stomach while they beat him with a stick on his back, head and buttocks. He suffered fractures in his left arm, right hand and two fingers of his left hand. Estéus said that while he was not beaten during the interrogation by Jackson himself, the Anti-Gang chief could easily hear his screams as others abused him. Joanis freed him late that day, affecting to have just discovered that he was a reporter and saying that he should not have been beaten. Estéus had to remain in bed for three months with his arms in slings.

The attack on Estéus came ten days after Radio Nationale had begun making daily attacks on Tropic FM and its news director, Henri Alphonse, criticizing the station's "fondness for the deposed government." After six days of these virtual invitations to violence, Alphonse fled to the Dominican Republic. Following Estéus's arrest and under continuing threats, Tropic-FM ceased broadcasting temporarily on April 14.

Other Incidents:

- o On April 10, 1992, journalists Adrien Chenet and Gérard Compère (of the magazine *Inferno*), Thony Bélizaire (a photographer for Agence France-Presse, AFP), Marie Yolène Gilles (of Radio Cacique), and free-lance photographer Antoine Boussejuste were arrested by armed civilians as they tried to cover an anti-government demonstration. Gilles was struck by a rifle butt, and Chenet was hit with a stick. Film, a notebook, and a tape recorder were confiscated from the group. The journalists were released the same day.**

- o Beginning on April 30, the government-owned radio, television and newspaper repeatedly condemned Radio Métropole and Agence France-Presse's long-time Haiti correspondent Dominique Levanti. Radio Métropole had conducted an opinion poll and Levanti had reported the results. The poll showed no public support for then de facto President Nérette and considerable support for ousted President Aristide. The authorities confiscated Levanti's passport, journalist's accreditation, and residency permit on May 11, and held them until June 23. Radio**

Métropole's news director Clarens Renois and reporter Rothschild Jean-François were regularly menaced on the phone and had to stop speaking on the air.

Broadcasting in the Provinces

In our interviews in rural Haiti, we spoke to several journalists who had been intimidated, arrested or beaten by soldiers, section chiefs or their deputies. Radio Antilles-Internationale reporter Jean Mario Paul told us of his torture and imprisonment in November 1991. Michel Ajasse, a reporter for Radio Nationale (which had been an outlet of the Aristide government while it was in power), said that he has been silenced since the coup. The director of Radio Bwakayiman, Prévelus Justin, told us that his station was forced to close in October 1991. Justin was beaten by armed soldiers in March 1992 and received a death threat from two armed civilians who came to his house in July. Their accounts follow.

We interviewed many others who described how local radio stations have been silenced: none was independently reporting on news and politics in late July. They told us that most correspondents for national stations had been withdrawn from the provinces, and those that remained had their reports sanitized to remove controversial or political content before broadcast.

For example, Radio Soleil and Radio Nationale are the only national stations that continue to have correspondents in the area around Léogâne and Grand Goâve. Correspondents from Radio Cacique, Radio Arc-en-Ciel, Radio Antilles-Internationale, Radio Haïti Inter and Radio Métropole have all left the region. For the most part, reports from the department of the West outside of Port-au-Prince ignore the repression that continues to effect people in this region.

Jean Mario Paul, Grand Goâve

Jean Mario Paul, 26, worked for Radio Haïti-Inter from 1987 to 1989, then as a correspondent for Radio Antilles-Internationale in Grand Goâve from 1989 until his arrest on November 9, 1991. Paul often reported stories that were critical of government activities and the military.

In an interview at his hiding place in Port-au-Prince, Paul told us that in August 1991, he was targeted by a military-supported group known as *Les Brulants* whose leader is a civilian attaché to the military, Jorel Demosthènes. Les Brulants members carrying daggers stopped Paul on the street, threatening to kill him if he did not stop his radio work.

On September 30, 1991, the night of the coup, hundreds of people took to the streets of Grand Goâve in protest. Paul was covering the demonstration. Angry demonstrators burned down the police barracks in Grand Goâve and ransacked the house of Sergeant Hilaire Frantz. The army blamed the arson on the popular organization *Konbit Kòmilfo* (Kòmilfo), and on Paul, who was one of its founding members. The next day, the army burned down Paul's family home in Grand Goâve, forcing his parents and siblings into hiding. Paul fled to Port-au-Prince.

On November 9, 1991, Paul was arrested in Port-au-Prince by eight to ten armed plainclothes troops from the Investigations and Anti-Gang Service. He was taken to the Anti-Gang unit where the soldiers gave him, in Paul's words, "one huge blow on the temple." After three days, Paul was transferred to the Petit Goâve prison, where he was interrogated by sub-district Commander Israel Pierre-Fils, known as *Ti Rachor* little hatchet because of his practice of beating people with a hatchet. The next morning, Paul was tortured badly. He was put in the djak position and was beaten on the back and buttocks with nightsticks over 250 times. Soldiers also forced him to lie on the ground on his stomach with his arms stretched out while they stomped on his head and back. During this beating, Paul lost consciousness three times.

Paul spent the next fifteen days in a cell with about thirty others. There was no opportunity to bathe, and the only food and water was what the prisoners received from home. On November 21 or 22, Paul was taken to court and charged with burning the police outpost and a local court in Grand Goâve; fraudulently removing an M1 rifle, two .38 caliber revolvers and ammunition; pillaging the home of soldier Hilaire Frantz; and inciting violence.

In early December, Paul was treated for internal bleeding at the Petit Goâve hospital, where he was kept handcuffed to his bed. Paul was sent back to prison after five days, over his doctors' objections. According to local Army commanders, there was "insufficient security" in the hospital.

In February 1992, Judge Eugène Napoléon ruled that there was sufficient evidence to send Paul's case to a criminal court. Lawyer Camille LeBlanc appealed Napoléon's decision to the Court of Appeals in Port-au-Prince. On April 2, Paul was transferred to the National Penitentiary, where soldiers beat him on the back with nightsticks. They told him that if he screamed, they would beat him some more. Then they punched him in the stomach.

On April 29, the appeals court dismissed the case against Paul due to lack of evidence. He was released that day and immediately went into hiding in Port-au-Prince. As of late October 1992, Paul, his girlfriend, his children, his parents, and four of his siblings were either in hiding or had left Haiti.

La Gonâve

Before the coup, Radio Lumière, Radio Soleil, Radio Galaxie, Radio Cacique and Radio Nationale had correspondents on the island of La Gonâve. According to Radio Nationale correspondent Michel Ajasse, virtually no news of La Gonâve has been reported on the national stations since these correspondents left the island.

Ajasse worked as a correspondent on La Gonâve for Radio Antilles-Internationale in 1986 and 1987, and for Radio Nationale from 1987 to September 1991. He broke a story about the assistant commander of La Gonâve, Lieutenant Georges Métayer, having shot and killed a man named Jonas Lindor in September 1991 near Anse-à-Galets. Ajasse told us that he has not been able to work since the coup. "Radio Nationale considers me an Aristide partisan and won't hire me back under the current regime," he said. After the coup, Ajasse received warnings that Métayer was looking for him, and escaped into the countryside. When we asked Ajasse about the possibility of working again as a reporter, he said:

There is no way I would start sending dispatches from La Gonâve under current conditions. Thus, even if a radio station wanted me to...I am prevented from reporting because my life would be in danger. And what could I report? Everyone would talk to me, but not for the radio.

Artibonite

Only two of four radio stations in the town of Gonaïves were broadcasting in August 1992. These were Radio Indépendance and Radio Trans-Artibonite, and they had resumed only their music programs. Many radio correspondents from the Artibonite were in hiding. For example:

- o Exile Noël Edilès, 26, a former correspondent for Radio Soleil and the director of Radio Provinciale in Gonaïves, went into hiding in October 1991 after army soldiers came searching for him at his home. In June 1992, he fled to the Mexican embassy and in August was granted safe conduct to Mexico.**
- o Radio Trans-Artibonite and Radio Soleil correspondent Andresi Robentz went into hiding after soldiers came to his house and his parent's houses**

looking for him in October 1991. Four months later he resumed his work, but fled Gonaïves in April 1992 after hearing that he was sought by the authorities for broadcasting a press release from a popular organization. The press release denounced the arrest and beating of a student in Gros Morne for allegedly distributing pro-Aristide leaflets.

Central Plateau

Virtually all the principal radio stations had correspondents in the Central Plateau before the coup: Radio Métropole, Radio Haïti-Inter, Radio Lumière, Radio Soleil, Radio Cacique, Radio Antilles-Internationale, Radio Arc-en-Ciel and Radio Nationale. An avid listener would hear news of the region on the national stations every day.

For several months after the coup, only Radios Soleil and Nationale continued to have correspondents working in the Central Plateau, and these correspondents reported only pro-government or non-controversial news. For example, Radio Soleil reported a demonstration supporting de facto Prime Minister Marc Bazin in Hinche shortly before his inauguration, but has not reported on any protests against the coup or human rights violations resulting from it.

There are also two local stations in the Central Plateau, Radio Lumière and Radio Plateau Central. Neither replaces the national stations as a source of local or national news. Radio Lumière has been unable to function because of a lack of electricity, and Radio Central Plateau is heard only in Hinche and was not carrying any controversial news at the time of our visit in early July 1992.

Northwest

The case of Radio Bwakayiman (in French, Radio Bois Caiman) and its director, Prévelus Justin, 37, is illustrative of military repression of independent radio stations in Haiti. Justin told us that Radio Bwakayiman began broadcasting from Mare Rouge, a rural section of Môle St. Nicolas, on July 14, 1991, and was the first radio station in the country to operate from a rural section. The station broadcast for four hours a day, and could be heard almost everywhere in the Northwest department.

The station aired news, children's programs, and programs on popular education, public health, law and civics, music, and Haitian culture. National and international news stories were drawn from stations that were not receivable by

ordinary radios in the area, such as Radio Haiti-Inter and Voice of America. Regional and local news stories were written and produced at the station. Radio Bwakayiman continued to function until October 3, 1991, when broadcasters hid all of the equipment after hearing that soldiers were coming to destroy the station.

On November 10, 1991, five soldiers came to arrest Justin at his house in Mare Rouge, but found no one home. Justin was able to escape to a town in the Artibonite with his wife and three-month-old son. Justin told us: "We spent about two months there. I would get messages telling me not to come back [to Mare Rouge]. We were hopeful that Aristide would return."

In January 1992, after the soldiers had not come back to his house for some time, Justin returned to Mare Rouge with his family. In February, Justin still heard rumors that the army wanted to arrest him.

On March 29, Justin was walking home from a training session for market women in La Montagne organized by the People's Movement of Mare Rouge (*Mouvman Nèg Mawouj*, MONEM), of which he is president. A jeep with six armed soldiers and a driver stopped him on the road. The soldiers grabbed him by the collar, hit him three times on the head with their open hands, and accused him of being a partisan of Aristide. They ripped Justin's shirt and put a gun in his ear and under his chin. While the soldiers argued about what to do with him, he was able to duck into a house and escape out the back.

On July 16, two armed civilians came to Justin's house asking for him. The men told a friend of Justin's that the radio director was an Aristide supporter and they would kill him when they found him. Justin still lives in Mare Rouge, but he rarely leaves his house.

South

The national radio stations report controversial news about the South only if international organs like the Voice of America have already given it prominent coverage, according to Les Cayes Deputy Mayor Frantz Guillite. Such reports usually come out several days after the international story. For example, a wave of arrests in Les Cayes on May 30 and June 1, 1992, which was reported on the Voice of America in early June, was not reported on Haitian radio until four days later.

Correspondents have been routinely harassed by military troops. Telimpson Borga, a former correspondent for Radio Haiti-Inter and Collectif Quisqueya in the south, who after the coup filed stories for the New York-based

Radio Tropicale, was arrested on May 27 by uniformed policemen in Les Cayes who accused him of distributing leaflets calling for the return of President Aristide.

The Les Cayes correspondent for Radio Soleil and Radio Métropole is Ronald Duperval. He has continued to work since the coup but has covered only noncontroversial stories. News of sporting events is sure to be reported; news of demonstrations, arrests and torture is sure not to be.

Just after the coup, the small local television station in Les Cayes, Radyo Televizyon Metropol Sud (RTMS), announced on the air that it was not going to show a scheduled film on the Cuban revolution because "the military base says now is not the time for that." Several weeks later, RTMS cut all the political content out of its local and national news. Les Cayes Deputy Mayor Frantz Guillite told us in July 1992 that RTMS still did not report any information about demonstrations, arrests or the national political scene.

Southeast

Before the coup, most national radio stations -- including Radio Haiti-Inter, Radio Soleil, Radio Antilles-Internationale, Radio Métropole and Radio Nationale -- had Jacmel-based correspondents. Of these, only Radio Nationale and Radio Soleil had correspondents as of late June 1992, and their coverage was limited.

According to *Agence Haïtienne de Presse*, several journalists working in this region were forced to flee after being harassed and threatened by soldiers. Wilder Thibaud, a correspondent for Radio Soleil and Voice of America, was arrested in the week after the coup after he reported on a military raid at the Exima Gilles school on the Voice of America. He was taken by soldiers to the Jacmel barracks where he was threatened and imprisoned for several hours. He went into hiding for several months following this incident. Luc François, a correspondent for Radio Haiti-Inter, and Béune Nicole, a correspondent for Radio Galaxie, were arrested and detained by police in Jacmel for about eight hours on December 1, 1991. François left the country after his release. Nicole went into hiding.

Local Jacmel stations Radio Express and Radio Jacmel also used to report regularly on political topics. Since the coup, these stations avoid independent reporting, even on local stories not related to controversial topics. The news they do report is limited to occasional stories provided by national radio stations such as Radio Soleil or Radio Nationale.

Marigot is a town about twenty miles from Jacmel along the southern coast. Correspondents based in Jacmel used to come frequently to Marigot

interviewed in July 1992, no correspondents for the national radio stations had come to their town since the coup and no news of Marigot was known to have been reported on the national stations for almost a year.

We have received numerous reports of people in Cayes Jacmel and Marigot being harassed, shot, and arrested in their homes for listening to the Voice of America's Creole programs. For example, on the afternoon of October 2, 1991, two soldiers fired on a group of youths who were listening to Voice of America at the home of the Jeudy family of Marigot. None of the young men was injured, but all went into hiding. According to a dossier on repression by the Democratic Action Committee Against Repression (*Comité d'Action Démocratique Contre la Répression*, CADCREP), on January 30, 1992 Lucien Tulis was shot and killed by a corporal named Alexandre in the Seguin quarter of Marigot. Tulis was accused of commenting on an interview with Evans Paul, the mayor of Port-au-Prince, which had been broadcast the night before on the Voice of America.

Providing information to the Voice of America can be dangerous as well: CADCREP reported that a Marigot activist named Edwich Sanon was arrested and beaten by Sergeant Mathieu Schiller in November 1991. He was accused of having provided Voice of America with "subversive information" about conditions in the region. Two Marigot activists with whom we spoke were accused by the authorities of providing Voice of America with information on local human rights conditions and were told that this was a "crime."

Chapter 12 REPRESSION OF DISSENTERS

Much of the material in the preceding chapters has dealt with repression directed toward individuals as members of organizations. It is equally clear that the space for individual freedom of speech has become severely limited in post-coup Haiti. Not only the press itself is affected. Public dissent – particularly in the form of support for the return of President Aristide – is a dangerous affair in Haiti today. Since the coup, many have been arrested and beaten merely for talking about Aristide. Others have faced similar mistreatment for listening to radio stations like the Voice of America, or Radio Enriquillo from the Dominican Republic. Fierce repression has been meted out to people possessing or suspected of distributing pro-democracy leaflets or caught writing graffiti. Many have been arrested after warrantless searches of their homes allegedly turned up pictures of Aristide. The aim is to silence the voice of dissidents who might spark resistance to military rule. The following are representative examples of this effort.

Possession or Distribution of Pro-Aristide Leaflets and Publications

- o Three Aristide supporters were summarily executed in Port-au-Prince on August 17, 1992, when they were caught pasting up pictures of Aristide. Matiné Rémiilien, a 31-year-old mechanic, Jacquelin Gabriel, a 35-year-old chauffeur and student, and Ancy Philippe, a 34-year-old electrician and communications student, were killed by a group of uniformed and plainclothes soldiers who arrived in two pickup trucks.**
- o "Doki" Joseph, a peasant farmer in his mid-thirties, was arrested in Limonade in November 1991 and imprisoned at the Cap Haitien army post. Church leaders we interviewed in that northern town told us that Joseph was accused of having pro-Aristide tracts and of being a Lavalassien. Soldiers beat him severely, and when his wife and mother visited him in January 1992, he had large, unhealed sores on his hands. He was finally freed in July after the intervention of a lawyer.**
- o On July 21, 1992, soldiers arrested Paul Raphaël and Jean Alerte as they were putting up pictures of Aristide in the area of Carrefour Drouillard in**

Port-au-Prince. The Platform of Haitian Human Rights Organizations reported that the young men were believed to have "disappeared" while in army custody. On August 10, their parents still had no word of their whereabouts.

- o Soldiers in Hinche, under the command of Major Josèl Charles (known as Commander Z), arrested Altide Louisdor, who had once worked with the Papaye Peasant Movement, on June 7, 1992, after she returned from Port-au-Prince, where she had been living. Louisdor was held in the prison at the Hinche army base for twenty-three days. After her release she told the *Agence Haïtienne de Presse* that military authorities had charged her with distributing leaflets in the region calling for the return of Aristide and with burning tires in Cité Soleil in Port-au-Prince. Commander Z informed her at one point that army headquarters in Port-au-Prince had already ordered her execution at Titanyen, a notorious dumping ground for bodies of victims of military violence north of Port-au-Prince, if she refused to collaborate with the army. She revealed that she had received several kicks in the stomach. "I received another volley of blows for having refused to smoke a cigarette that the commander offered me." "Other soldiers burned me with cigarettes and summoned my husband to hand over a large sum of money to obtain by freedom."**

- o Two brothers from the island of La Gonâve, aged 17 and 18, drew up leaflets in mid-April 1992 calling for the ouster of General Raoul Cédras. They put up these leaflets in the windows of their school, the College Henri Mathieu, in Anse-à-Galets. The next day, Lieutenant Georges Métayer went to their school and then their rural home, looking for the young men. Failing to find them, he and two other soldiers beat and raped their 12-year-old sister. The brothers immediately left Anse-à-Galets and went into hiding in a part of the island called Dorglas. Twice they tried to flee the country by boat, but each time U.S. authorities sent them back. They later returned to La Gonâve, where we interviewed them in mid-June 1992, by which time Métayer had gone on to a post in the Central Plateau. One of the young men is the president and the other the secretary of the *Gwoup Evanjelik de Legliz Wezleyen*, a church youth group. The brothers told us that their political positions are well known in the community because of their church work.**

- o **A man known as Fénel was arrested on March 10, 1992 in Boudèt Ti-Plas, a village near Verrettes in the Artibonite. A deputy of section chief Krenio Masselin accused Fénel of possessing the clandestine resistance journal *Kawoutchou*, or Tire. Fénel was forced to pay \$110 to be freed.**
- o **On December 15, 1991, in the southeastern town of Marigot, Sergeant Mathieu Schiller ordered the arrest of Jacques Simain, accusing him of illegal possession of leaflets. He spent more than one month in custody, including 22 days in the St. Michel Hospital, recovering from torture wounds. In February 1992, Schiller arrested Félix Gédéon, Adrien Toussaint and Jaurès Tranquillien, accusing them of distributing pro-Aristide leaflets. According to two officers of the Democratic Action Committee Against Repression (*Comité d'Action Démocratique Contre la Répression*, CADCREP), a local human rights group, the three young men were also beaten.**
- o **In mid-October 1992, the inhabitants of Saut d'Eau in the Central Plateau found leaflets reading, "Long live Aristide for five years! Democracy or death!" According to the Platform of Haitian Human Rights Organizations, soldiers immediately occupied the zone, and arrested magistrate Enord Mastiné, who had been elected on the FNCD ticket in the 1990 elections. Mastiné was released after several hours of detention at the army post. The justice of the peace, the municipal registrar and many young people went into hiding to escape harassment by the military.**
- o **Soldiers arrested, beat and imprisoned a 30-year-old bus driver named Gracia on July 27, 1992. The employee of the Men Orel bus line had left Port-au-Prince with a busload of passengers. When he turned off the national highway toward Petite Rivière de l'Artibonite, his bus was stopped by soldiers who forced the passengers to disembark. The soldiers beat Gracia violently, accusing him of distributing pro-Aristide leaflets along the road. They brought him to the prison in St. Marc, where he remained incarcerated as of August 4, 1992.**

Alleged Support for Aristide or the Lavalas Movement

- o **We interviewed Aristide supporter Henriques Alcé at his hiding place in the Western department. Alcé told us that he had decided to vote for**

Aristide during the 1990 elections and had put up a pro-Aristide poster on his house in Limbé, in the North. After Marc Bazin's campaign came through Limbé in late 1990, two of Alcé's neighbors, Delama Sentilus and Emanuel Louis, tried to convince him to distribute Marc Bazin posters, but Alcé refused. On November 24, 1991, the two neighbors led twelve uniformed soldiers to Alcé's house. The soldiers shot at him as he ran away. Alcé was able to escape, but two of his friends were beaten to the point that their heads were bleeding. Alcé spent two months hiding in the woods near his home. On December 28, section chief Claudin Jean and several of his deputies went to the house of Alcé's parents-in-law. Two of the deputies grabbed Alcé's father-in-law by the collar and searched the house in vain for Alcé. Jean told the parents-in-law that if he had found Alcé, he "would have plucked his eyes out before questioning him about Aristide." After this incident, Alcé fled the zone for a safer hiding place in the Western department.

- o Rémy Prédessin, a 24-year-old farmer and tire repairman, told us that he has been targeted by soldiers in the Limbé area in northern Haiti who accused him of supporting Aristide. Prédessin is a member of the Morne Rouge Association of Youths Pressing Demands (*Association des Jeunes Revendicatifs de Morne Rouge, AJRM*) in Moustique. On December 25, 1991, he was driving in a bus to Labrouille, in the Morne Rouge section of Limbé, where he hoped to sell a goat. Two uniformed soldiers on a motorcycle stopped him. They had a bottle of *clairin* [raw rum] that they were drinking. They told me to get out of the vehicle and they said they'd give me 25 blows with a nightstick. They made me lie down on the ground. After 17 blows I moved my arm and then they gave me 42 more, all on my buttocks. They also hit me with their guns on my head and cut my ear. While they were beating me they said that I had tracts and that I sold tires to people to burn other people.

After this incident, Prédessin hid in the mountains for eight days, during which time the soldiers came once to his house to arrest him. Since the beating, Prédessin told us, he suffers from continual headaches and has trouble sitting. A large lump behind his ear and a scar on the ear itself were clearly visible during our July 1992 interview.

During the first week of February 1992, Prédessin said, demonstrators

burned many rubber tires in the Limbé streets. On February 10, a team of soldiers in Carrefour Moustique arrested him without a warrant. A soldier named Macaron beat him with his nightstick as he forced him to walk to Plaine du Nord, where Préddestin was imprisoned. "They said they would pay me if I told them who the Lavalas people in the zone were. I said no. They said, 'Now the power is in our hands. Before, you had it and you burned tires and people.' This is not true." Préddestin was released later that day.

- o Valentin Villard worked at a low level job in the city hall of Fort Liberté, the capital of the Northeast department. Soldiers who accused him of being a supporter of Aristide arrested him on May 17, 1992 in Roche Plate, the third section of Trou du Nord, also in the Northeast, according to Father Guy Reynaerts, the Belgian parish priest in the section. On May 21, his wife and three other young women went to the local army post to see him, and were told by a sergeant, "This kind of person we don't allow anyone to see, this bum. If it was up to me, I'd give him twenty-five baton blows a day." A letter from a group call the Popular Movement of Young Nationalists of Fort Liberté (*Mouvman Popilè Jèn Nasyonalis Fò Libète*) explained that Villard was a member of a popular organization and that he was arrested by Corporal Alpha Augustin at the instigation of soldier Folson Edouard.
- o A soldier nicknamed "Fanfan" was responsible for the arrests of five people on May 31, 1992 in Platon, near La Chapelle, in the Artibonite. Okta Tivilia, Luc François, Yfosa Lendi, Valsine Senfo and Exuma Lendi were accused of being Lavalassiens, and were tied with a cord and forced to march down the mountain about two hours to the La Chapelle barracks. At the barracks, soldiers tied their hands and feet and beat them severely. On June 1, the group collectively paid \$110 to the soldiers to avoid further beatings. The soldiers told them "this [\$110] is for the fact that you are Lavalassiens." On June 2, the detainees had to pay \$5 to be taken before the tribunal, where the justice of the peace ordered their release.
- o On July 14, 1992 section chief Mercurieu Jeune encountered some peasants talking about Aristide in Grand Source, a rural section of Jean Rabel in the northwest. Leaders of the People's Movement of Mare Rouge

(MONEM), located in an adjacent town, told us he arrested one of them, known as Montilus, tied him up, beat him and took him to Jean Rabel. When a woman he encountered on the road asked, "What has he done to be tied up?" Jeune struck her. Montilus was released after the sergeant-in-charge in Jean Rabel said he did not understand why the man had been beaten and brought there.

- o At 5:00 a.m. on August 3, 1992, a young man named Jean-Baptiste Espérance was arrested on his way home from his job at a Port-au-Prince pizza parlor. In an interview with the Platform of Haitian Human Rights Organizations, Espérance said that a truckload of soldiers was driving down John Brown Avenue, systematically arresting young men on the street. Nine others, including a man named Delva who lived in the Delmas area of Port-au-Prince, were picked up. Those arrested were taken to the Pétionville barracks and thrown into a cell containing twenty-three other detainees, who had either their arms or their feet tied together and had been beaten. Later that morning, the ten young men were interrogated by the captain. During the interrogation, Espérance was beaten by four soldiers. The ten prisoners were accused of "preparing for the return of Aristide." Espérance was released that day. When he was interviewed, the rights group reported, he showed visible wounds from the blows he had received and had difficulty breathing and sitting down.**

Chapter 13

U.S. POLICY

Preoccupied with stemming the flow of Haitian boat people, the Bush administration made little if any effort to protect civil society in Haiti from systematic attack. After strongly condemning military repression in the month following the coup, the Bush administration largely stopped public denunciation of human rights violations once Haitians started to flee by boat in large numbers in early November 1991. Strong condemnations of these abuses, the administration feared, would hamper its efforts to portray the boat people as economic migrants who could be forcibly repatriated. The sole exceptions to this policy of silence were in response to violent attacks that threatened to disrupt political negotiations,¹ and the once-a-year findings of the State Department's report on human rights worldwide. Pleading a lack of influence in Port-au-Prince, the Bush administration also made little progress in securing the deployment of an international observer mission, which would have deterred attacks on civil society. And the administration openly opposed efforts by President Aristide to bring to justice those who are responsible for the slaughter since the coup – a step that would signal that attacks on civil society cannot continue with impunity.

While the Clinton administration has yet to speak out about Haitian army abuses since its inauguration, it has produced substantial progress in another area. Even before taking office, the Clinton transition team worked with Aristide to enlist the support of the United Nations to bolster the largely ineffectual diplomatic efforts of the Organization of American States. A joint US-UN approach, in turn, secured the Haitian army's hesitant agreement in principle to the deployment of a large international observer force. Until then, the Haitian army had agreed to the deployment under OAS auspices of only 18 observers, who were refused permission to travel outside Port-au-Prince, where many of the attacks on civil society take place. By contrast, while its precise terms of reference have yet to be worked out, the proposed UN-OAS observers may number as many as 500 and

¹ For example, in January 1992, as negotiations for Aristide's return were underway, the Bush administration condemned the police murder of Yves Jean-Pierre, the bodyguard of the apparent prime minister-designate, René Theodore. Similarly in August 1992, the Bush administration denounced the murder of three Aristide supporters while a high-level OAS delegation was in Haiti.

will have the right to travel unimpeded throughout the country.

If the army keeps to its commitment, the UN-OAS observer mission will be significant in a number of ways. As with the largely successful UN-sponsored peace process in El Salvador, the observers in Haiti will be deployed before a final political accord is worked out, with the hope of building the climate of confidence needed to reach a settlement. By seeking to uphold freedom of expression and association, the observer mission should also go a long way toward deterring military attacks on civil society.

The presence of an observer force is also intended to reassure the army that it will not face popular reprisals. One of the claims of the officers who led the coup against Aristide was that he encouraged popular violence against his opponents. The army clearly fears that Aristide's return will cause an explosion of *Père Lebrun*, the Haitian term for "necklacing."² From exile in Washington, Aristide has broadcast repeated pleas to his supporters in Haiti to refrain from any violent retaliation. But whether he continues to do so, and whether his supporters will be willing to heed him, is likely to depend on whether a lawful way can be found to punish members of the army who have been responsible for the many killings since Aristide's ouster.

Aristide's insistence on accountability has been the sticking point in negotiations for his return. The accord worked out in February 1992 had granted a "general amnesty" to the army except for "common criminals." Aristide accepted the accord but, despite the Bush administration's opposition, interpreted the term "common criminals" to include the army commander-in-chief, Gen. Raoul Cédras, and other officers for their part in the bloodshed. Although Cédras is far from alone in his guilt for the killings – as this report details -- Aristide is particularly intent on punishing him. This partly reflects personal animosity: having promoted Cédras for his efforts in safeguarding the December 1990 elections that swept Aristide into office, he considered it a deep betrayal when Cédras then led the army that overthrew him and ruthlessly suppressed his followers.

Still, Aristide's insistence on accountability for the post-coup murders is justified. Aristide fears, understandably, that it would be a death sentence for him to return to Haiti while Cédras remains at the army's head. Moreover, while a state may appropriately forgive crimes against itself, such as participation in a coup, serious crimes against persons, such as murder, are an altogether different matter. Finally, the failure to subject serious human rights violators to the rule of

² For a discussion of Aristide's role in threatening the use of *Père Lebrun*, see our report, *Haiti: The Human Rights Record of the Aristide Government*.

law sets a precedent of impunity that will endanger any civilian government in Haiti, let alone any effort to rebuild civil society.

Aristide, who has long insisted on prosecuting or exiling senior army commanders, appears recently to have quietly moderated these demands, but he continues to press for accountability at least through the dismissal of these officers from the army. "How can we ask the Haitian people to accept at the helm of the armed forces leaders who symbolize the repression and brutality brought by the coup?" he wrote in *The Washington Post* on January 10. Or, as he put it in a broadcast on the Voice of America the day before, the Haitian people should not "have to see General Cédras with his bloodstained uniform."

So far, Cédras has rejected any consideration that he might resign, and has proposed instead unspecified "structural reforms" of the military. The suggestion is bizarre coming from a man who, following the coup, presided over the dismantling of the most important structural reform of the military to date – Aristide's replacement of the corrupt and often vicious section chiefs by civilian police officials.

Whether the Haitian army can be pressed to accept dismissal of the murderers within its ranks will depend in large part on the position to be taken by the Clinton administration. Clinton's advisers have spoken of the need to "professionalize" the army – a term that Aristide also uses – but officials of the new administration have yet to make clear what that means. They favor creating a police force independent of the army and answerable to civilian authorities, as required by the popularly approved Haitian constitution, as well as providing "training" for the army and the police. But so far they have avoided speaking about removing commanders who are responsible for murder. Training has its place in countries where security forces are well-intentioned but lack the technical knowledge to comply with human rights standards, but that hardly describes the Haitian army. Unless those already responsible for murder are removed, a training program will only produce more skillful murderers.

In adopting a position on accountability, the Clinton administration will undoubtedly hear arguments that purges cannot be risked because the army is the only institution capable of governing Haiti and holding it together. That argument should be soundly rejected. The sophistication and capacity of civil society in Haiti in the years preceding the coup far surpassed the abilities of any state institution, be it civilian or military. From self-help projects in remote rural areas to literacy programs in Haiti's cities, ordinary Haitians showed themselves remarkably capable of filling the void left by a corrupt and ineffectual government, and of assuming responsibility for improving their own lives. The

state has offered little or no assistance to these efforts. Indeed, through the army, it has often impeded them. This form of grassroots, popular organization holds the key to Haiti future. The Clinton administration should make its top priority in Haiti the protection of this civil society.

Karl Leveque Center (Sant Kal Levek)

Provisional and incomplete alphabetical list of priests and pastors, members of the seminary, nuns and monks, lay persons, and activists in parish movements or *Ti Legliz* who have been victims of repression since the coup of September 30, 1991.

I. Bishops, Priests, Pastors:

1. Acnis, Father: vicar in Plaisance (North). Victim of a brutal search of his car, October 2, 1991.

2. Beldor, Father Emile: parish priest in Marchand-Dessalines. Victim of repeated pressure and threats. Had to leave his parish.

3. Chéry, Father: Cap Haïtien. Attacked while celebrating mass.

4. Constant, Mgrs. Emmanuel: Bishop of Gonaïves. Victim of search at Bigot on December 15, 1991. The bishopric and the cathedral were also raided several times. On November 4, the army fired inside the Cathedral when the bishop was present for the celebration of patron saint day. Soldiers then tried to arrest several priests.

5. Danroc, Father Gilles: coordinator of Justice and Peace Commission, Gonaïves. Arrested in the church of La Chapelle on June 6, 1992. Handcuffed. Transferred to Verrettes.

6. Devalcin, Father Edner: parish priest of Saintard (West). Arrested at 9:30am on August 8, 1992 at the Montrouis military outpost. Taken to Saint Marc prison, released after heavy blows to the face.

7. Dieudonné, Father Léobert: Justice and Peace Commission, Petite Rivière, Gonaïves. Victim of repeated pressure and threats. Had to leave the parish.

8. Dieudonné, Father Luc: Terrier Rouge. Presbytery attacked on the night of September 30, 1991. Had to leave the parish.

9. Dominique, Father Max: parish priest of Pont Sondé, Gonaïves. Victim of pressure at Bocozele, 5th section, on October 20, 1991, and victim of strict surveillance. Pressure and threats resumed at Pont Sondé military outpost in mid-November, then again on December 5, 1991. Landing of a military commando on December 15 at Pont Sondé presbytery. The commando left stating it was a warning.

10. Dormevil, Father Gérard: Gonaïves. Victim of threats on October 15, 1991, then attempted arrest during mass on November 14, 1991.

11. Dron, Father Régis. Victim of pressure as he was going to celebrate mass at Desarmes, Verrettes.

12. Exantus, Father Benjamin: Aquin. Victim of pressure on January 5, 1992.

13. Favet, Father Yves: parish priest at Les Cayes-Jacmel. Search of presbytery.

14. Garçons, Father Barthelemy: Gros Morne, Gonaïves. In charge of the Caritas parish. Victim of threats and pressure on February 2, 1992. Under strict surveillance.

15. Germain, Father Renan: Hinche. Victim of an ambush, car riddled with rocks.

16. Guerisol, Father Burnet: St. Michel de l'Attalaye. Pressure during mass on Sunday, October 27, 1991 at St. Michel. Presence of plainclothes military. Victim of threats and false charges.

17. Jean-Baptiste, Pastor Antoine: of the Christian Church in Dessalines. Victim of threats and pressure on September 19, 1992.

18. Jean-Baptiste, Father Eden: Saint Marc. Victim of severe pressure. Intense gunfire around the presbytery on the night of October 17-18, 1991. Insults and threats of arrest on the night of November 14, 1991 around 7pm. Threats and insults on the night of November 19 to 20, 1991. Had to leave his parish on November 25, 1991.

19. Joseph, Father Annick: Gonaïves. Victim of threats and pressure on October 15,

1991. Had to leave his parish.

20. Joseph, Pastor Robinson: Radio Lumière, Port-au-Prince. Killed in cold blood by a soldier during a car search on rue Poupelard, Port-au-Prince, on August 3, 1992.

21. Julien, Father Eddy: Léon, Jérémie. Diocesan director of Caritas and director of the Regional Education and Development Project (PRED). Threatened several times. Arrested and jailed at the Jérémie military barracks on January 27, 1992. Had to appear in court with an attorney. PRED was searched by soldiers looking for weapons on August 14, 1992. Assault against person and property.

22. Kebe, Father Archange: Hinche. Threatened in November 1991.

23. Lampi, Father: Laborde (Les Cayes). Search.

24. Launey, Father André: Gros Morne (Gonaïves). Victim of severe pressure on November 24, 1991. Automatic weapon gunfire near the church during mass at 6:30pm.

25. Massac, Father Yvon: parish priest of Fermathe. Professor at the Notre Dame Seminary at Port-au-Prince. Held for several days at the National Penitentiary in Port-au-Prince.

26. Merat, Father Jean Devius: Ennery, Gonaïves. Pressure, gunshots. Surrounding of the presbytery on the night of December 15-16, 1991. Had to leave his parish.

27. Mesidor, Father Max Leroy: Petite Rivière (Gonaïves). Threats, pressure. Had to leave his parish.

28. Michel, Father Rénoïd: Terrier Rouge (North). Presbytery attacked on the night of September 30-October 1, 1991. Had to leave the parish.

29. Pelissier, Msgr. Jean: vicar general of Gonaïves. Attempted arrest on Patron Saint Day, November 4, 1991.

30. Pericles, Father Sos: Terrier Rouge (North). Presbytery attacked on the night of September 30-October 1, 1991. Had to leave parish.

31. Pierre, Father Rexilien: Bas Limbé parish priest. Arrested on the afternoon of

Sunday, November 10 by soldiers who entered the presbytery without a warrant. Tied up with ropes, gun-whipped, jailed under the charge of "having criticized the military government in his sermon." Rexilien was released upon intervention of the Vicar General.

32. Pierre Philippe, Father: vicar in Léogâne (West). Arrested as he was going to teach a class at the town school where the students were demonstrating. Charged with having instigated the demonstration, insulted, manhandled and had his bicycle destroyed. Held overnight in the Petit Goâve jail.

33. Prédélus, Father: Gros Morne, Gonaïves. Pressure and threats of arrest on November 9, 1991.

34. Rebecca, Father Valéry: parish priest at Belle Rivière, Les Cayes diocese. Arrested with six other parishioners on August 24, 1992 at Lomon Chapel where he was preaching. Released upon intervention of Les Cayes bishop, Msgr. Alix Verrier.

35. Romelus, Msgr. Willy: Bishop of Jérémie, president of the Justice and Peace Commission. Victim of continuous harassment, pressure, threats and insults by the de facto regime. For example, on National Radio on November 9, 1991, and in his bishopric on November 17, 1991, soldiers tried (to no avail) to force him to organize a celebration for Army Day on November 18. On August 17, 1992 his bishopric was systematically searched by the Jérémie tactical battalion in full battle dress.

36. Roussière, Father Daniel: Gonaïves. Secretary of Justice and Peace Commission. Victim of pressure (October 2, 1991) and attempted arrest (November 4, 1991). Under strict surveillance.

37. Salvetti, Father: Verrettes parish. Threats, pressure.

38. Sauvaget, Father: Thomazeau parish priest. Beaten by soldiers. Under surveillance.

39. Simoli, Father Joseph: Hinche. Repeated pressure and threats. Had to leave parish.

40. Trudeau, Father Pierre: Gonaïves. Attempted arrest on November 4, 1991.

41. Verdier, Father Denis: Director of Caritas diocese, Les Cayes. Arrested, manhandled and jailed.

42. Vilsaint, Father Francky: parish priest, Léon (Jérémie). Soldiers entered the presbytery when Francky was conducting a religious ceremony. They forced open the door of the file cabinet and manhandled the presbytery guard.

II. Members of the Seminary, Nuns and Monks

1. Ascano, Sister Clemencia: Venezuelan religious worker in La Chapelle parish, Artibonite diocese. Arrested with two women associates on April 27, 1992 upon returning from a stay in the Dominican Republic. Handcuffed, manhandled and held several days at the National Penitentiary in Port-au-Prince.

2. Daniel, Jean-Musset: St. Viateur Cleric. Arrested on July 2, 1992 at Passe Reine, Gonaïves.

3. Felix, Jean-Michel: St. Viateur Cleric. Arrested on July 2, 1992 in Passe Reine, Gonaïves.

4. Fils-Aimé, Nestor. St. Viateur Cleric. Arrested on July 2, 1992 at Passe Reine, Gonaïves.

5. Monfortain: seminarian traveling through Gonaïves. Victim of attempted arrest in the town's cathedral on November 4, 1991.

III. Lay Persons and Activists in Parish Movements or Ti Legliz

1. Aide, Jamil: Marchand Dessalines parish, member of Pastoral Council and Justice and Peace Commission. Victim of pressure and threats since February 1992.

2. Aide, Raymonde: Marchand Dessalines parish, member of the Justice and Peace Commission. Victim of pressure and threats since July 19, 1992.

3. Antoine, Estiverne. Arrested in the La Chapelle church on June 6, 1992 at the same time as Father Gilles Danroc. Transferred to Verrettes.

4. Casséus, Simone: Marchand Dessalines, member of Ti Legliz. Has had to remain in hiding since July 19, 1992.

5. Charité, Clemencia. Arrested in the La Chapelle church on June 6, 1992 at the same time as Father Gilles Danroc. Transferred to Verrettes.

6. Cinéus, Luckner. Arrested in the La Chapelle church on June 6, 1992 at the same time as Father Gilles Danroc. Transferred to Verrettes.

7. Elusma, Frisner. Arrested in the La Chapelle church on June 6, 1992 at the same time as Father Gilles Danroc. Transferred to Verrettes.

8. Elusma, Mathurin. Arrested in the La Chapelle church on June 6, 1992 at the same time as Father Gilles Danroc. Transferred to Verrettes.

9. Exinor, Guerda. Arrested in the La Chapelle church on June 6, 1992 at the same time as Father Gilles Danroc. Transferred to Verrettes.

10. Guard at the Léon (Jérémie) presbytery on August 14, 1992. Threatened with a firearm by a soldier who put a gun to his temple to force him to say that the priests were involved in a plot.

11. Joseph, Rubens: Marchand Dessalines, member of Justice and Peace Commission. Went into hiding after threats and pressure.

12. Joseph, Rudon: professor at the Congregationalist School in Dessalines and member of the parish Pastoral Council.

13. Laroche, Janize. Arrested in the La Chapelle church on June 6, 1992 at the same time as Father Gilles Danroc. Transferred to Verrettes.

14. Louis, Banes: guard at the PRED (Léon). Beaten by a soldier on August 14, 1992.

15. Louis, Célius. Arrested in the La Chapelle church on June 6, 1992 at the same time as Father Gilles Danroc. Transferred to Verrettes.

16. Michael: Father Emile Beldor's driver. Had to go into hiding as a result of threats and pressure on July 19, 1992.

17. Milius, Gilbert. Arrested in the La Chapelle church on June 6, 1992 at the same time as Father Gilles Danroc. Transferred to Verrettes.

18. Mondésir, Marie-Guirlaine. Arrested in the La Chapelle church on June 6, 1992 at the same time as Father Gilles Danroc. Transferred to Verrettes.

19. Neius, Navilla. Arrested in the La Chapelle church on June 6, 1992 at the same time as Father Gilles Danroc. Transferred to Verrettes.

20. Pierre, Veronique. Arrested in the La Chapelle church on June 6, 1992 at the same time as Father Gilles Danroc. Transferred to Verrettes.

21. Sixto, Dantes. Arrested in the La Chapelle church on June 6, 1992 at the same time as Father Gilles Danroc. Transferred to Verrettes.

IV. Groups Hit by Military Repression

1. October 1991. Priests and nuns at Dondon leave their residence after soldiers fire on it.

2. October 1991. A military commando occupies the courtyard of the Gonaïves Bishopric.

3. October 31, 1991. A military commando invades the property of the Little Brothers of Incarnation in Pandiassou (Hinche).

4. November 4, 1991. Attempted arrest of several members of the clergy as they were leaving mass on Patron Saint Day celebrated under the chairmanship of Mgrs. Constant, Bishop of Gonaïves. They were accused of owning and bearing guns.

5. December 17, 1991. Seven youths arrested at the end of mass conducted by Father Antoine Adrien at St. Michel (Rue Tiremasse), Port-au-Prince.

6. May 24, 1992. A military commando attacks the house of the parish priests and sisters of Petite Rivière de l'Artibonite.

7. August 24, 1992. Father Valéry Rebecca and six assistants arrested in Lomon, at the chapel of the Belle Rivière parish, part of the Les Cayes diocese.