

**DEMOCRACY UNRAVELING**

**Political Violence in Haiti 2002**

**February 4, 2003**

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## Introduction

In the past year, thousands of Haitians have sought refuge – often by perilous means – in the United States, the Bahamas, the Dominican Republic, and elsewhere. None of these countries has offered appropriate protection.<sup>1</sup> There may be many reasons for this failure, but to some degree it is predicated on an assumption, either explicit or implied, that the Haitians are predominantly economic migrants without valid claims for protection. This U.S. Committee for Refugees report collects detailed information about human rights conditions in Haiti. It sheds light on possible reasons for departure that may be relevant to claims for protection and asylum.

## Summary

Last year was a tumultuous one for Haiti. The country continued its downward spiral of political devolution since the Multi-National Forces restored the democratically elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1994. Human rights violations were pervasive, including more than 150 political murders, suspicious disappearances or deaths, and quasi political gangland slayings – a tally comparable to all but the worst periods of the 1991-94 coup regime. Perhaps the most disheartening political phenomenon in recent years has been the transformation of many *organizations populaires* (OPs), once the backbone of democratization in Haiti, into heavily armed, quasi political gangs affiliated

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<sup>1</sup> Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children, *Refugee Policy Adrift: The United States and Dominican Republic Deny Haitians Protection*, January 2003, [www.womenscommission.org](http://www.womenscommission.org); Michael Norton, “Bahamian authorities repatriate more than 200 Haitians, many say they’ll keep trying,” *Associated Press* (AP), November 13, 2002; Irene Kahn, Secretary General, Amnesty International, “Letter to Prime Minister of the Bahamas,” February 4, 2002, AMR 14/001/2002, [web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR140012002?OpenDocument](http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR140012002?OpenDocument).

with various factions of the ruling Lavalas Family party (*Fanmi Lavalas* or FL). This has also been one of the more lethal developments, accounting for roughly three-quarters of these killings.

The democratic opposition, formerly only a fractious handful of tiny groups in the capital, became a mass movement by the end of the year, but one without clear leadership. The government and its supporters responded to large demonstrations by the opposition in November and December with increasingly repressive violence and demagogic rhetoric. The international community passed resolutions, set up a Special Mission, and withheld financial assistance to the government, with no discernable effect on the violence.

Facing particular risk throughout the year were political figures (including those of the ruling party), journalists, students, and ordinary citizens who were actually or perceived to be opposed to the more violent political actors. The latter terrorized not only prominent dissident figures but broad sectors of the population. As Pierre Espérance of the National Coalition for Haitian Rights (NCHR) stated:

Before, the targets were well-known activists, people who stood up to the government. Now it's gotten so bad with the government's political gangs, with mob actions and the crime on the street that ordinary people are being killed, disappearing. The government doesn't want any element of society that doesn't agree with them to be able to speak.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Tim Collie, "Haiti: Paralyzed and punished by floundering and corrupt leadership," *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*, November 17, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=310>).

## Notes on the Documentation

Instances of political violence and human rights violations that took place during the past calendar year are listed by category, with brief introductions, below. These are by no means exhaustive lists, nor can all instances of persecution be as neatly categorized as the thematic divisions might suggest. The incidents have been gleaned from human rights monitoring organizations and media reports. But documentation on specific human rights violations and political violence in Haiti, always sketchy at best, was particularly so during 2002 due to the repression of Haitian journalists. (See *Journalists Threatened*, below).

## General Political Violence and Intimidation

### *Introduction*

The year began in the aftermath of the deadly December 17, 2001 attack on the National Palace and the widespread retaliatory violence against the political opposition, which immediately followed.<sup>3</sup> In January 2002, the Organization of American States (OAS) passed Resolution 806 calling for an independent inquiry into those events, prosecution of those responsible, and compensation for the victims.<sup>4</sup> Quasi political gangs also engaged in lethal rivalry early in the year, claiming about 50 lives in the capital's

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<sup>3</sup> A Commission of Inquiry set up by the Organization of American States (OAS) disputed the government's allegation of a coup attempt, finding that the attack on the Palace a) was not carried out by the political opposition, b) involved complicity within the Haitian National Police, and c) could not have been intended to overthrow the government. It also found that the subsequent attacks on the opposition were premeditated and aided by government and party officials and that the police were passive, complacent and, in some cases, accomplices to these attacks. OAS, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Events of December 17, 2001, in Haiti*, July 1, 2002, Sec. III, OEA/Ser. G, CP/INF. 4702/02, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/cpinf4702\\_02\\_eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/cpinf4702_02_eng.htm).

<sup>4</sup> OAS, "The Situation in Haiti," CP/RES. 806 (1302/02) corr. 1, January 16, 2002, [www.oas.org/OASpage/press2002/en/Press98/Press2000/june2000/haitRes806e.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/press2002/en/Press98/Press2000/june2000/haitRes806e.htm).

sprawling slum, Cité Soleil, in little more than a month. (See Organizations Populaires/Armed Gangs below).

In April, French Ambassador Yves Gaudel criticized the Haitian government for failing to cultivate “republican legality and tolerance,” lacking the will to reform, and “us[ing] the resources of the taxpayers to remain in power.” He also stated that “the freedom that Lavalas People’s Organizations have to attempt to impose the regime’s decisions also shows the complete lack of respect of the men in power towards Haitian society.”<sup>5</sup> The government condemned the remarks as interference in Haiti’s internal affairs, in violation of the Vienna Convention, and having “racist connotations.” It summoned Gaudel for an explanation.<sup>6</sup>

In May, U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs Lino Gutierrez stated that “the government of Haiti refuses to adhere to the most basic principles of good governance. ... [T]he political impasse has led to an overall deterioration in respect for human rights and security.”<sup>7</sup>

A pyramid scheme involving lending cooperatives that many Haitians perceived to have been endorsed by the government collapsed mid-year, resulting in more than \$250 million in losses and undermining confidence in the regime.<sup>8</sup>

The government did take two major steps forward by arresting pro-Lavalas OP leaders during the year: Ronald “Cadavre” Camille, of the La Saline quarter of Port-au-

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<sup>5</sup> Radio Métropole, April 22, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, April 24, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> Radio Métropole, April 22, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, April 22, 2002).

<sup>7</sup> “US tells Haiti to get its act together now,” *Agence France Presse*, May 23, 2002.

<sup>8</sup> AlterPresse, “Tempête sur le secteur des coopératives,” *HaitiWebdo* #14, May 27, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=49](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=49); AlterPresse, “Une fin d’été très chaude,” *HaitiWebdo* #22, September 3, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=192](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=192); AlterPresse, “Retour sur une panique qui met à nu la fragilité de l’économie d’Haïti,” *HaitiWebdo* #27, October 22, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=247](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=247).

Prince in March<sup>9</sup> and Amiot “Cubain” Métayer, leader of the Cannibal Army of Raboteau, the sea-side slum of Gonaïves. Supporters of these leaders, however, went on bloody rampages that left dozens dead and removed Gonaïves, Haiti’s fourth largest city, and much of Port-au-Prince from effective government control. Initially, the disturbances in Gonaïves appeared to threaten the stability of the government. But by August 12, Métayer had reversed his position and announced complete reconciliation with the Lavalas regime. (See Organizations Populaires/Armed Gangs, below.)

In its August 29 report, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights found “no progress” since its last visit and expressed “deep concern over the fragile state of the rule of law in Haiti, the Judiciary’s lack of independence, the problem of impunity, the general feeling of insecurity among the populace, the existence of armed groups acting with complete impunity, and the threats made against some journalists.”<sup>10</sup>

On September 4, the OAS passed Resolution 822, calling for establishment of a Provisional Electoral Council, general disarmament, investigation and punishment of the violence of December 17, and compensation for its victims.<sup>11</sup> In late November, the

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<sup>9</sup> AlterPresse, “La conjuncture politique à l’approche de la venue d’une mission technique de l’OEA en Haïti,” *HaitiWebdo* #6, March 25, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=41](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=41); Haiti Press Network, “Des équateurs de la prochaine mission de l’OEA arrivent cette semaine à Port-au-Prince,” March 25, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=229](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=229) (Camille arrested near airport even as he sought meeting with Aristide who was returning from abroad); AlterPresse, “Grogne au sein de la base de Fanmi Lavalas,” *HaitiWebdo* #9, April 16, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=44](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=44).

<sup>10</sup> Organization of American States, “IACHR concerned over lack of progress on human rights issues in Haiti,” CIDH37, August 29, 2002, [www.oas.org/library/mant\\_press/press\\_release.asp?sCodigo=CIDH37](http://www.oas.org/library/mant_press/press_release.asp?sCodigo=CIDH37).

<sup>11</sup> OAS, “Support for Strengthening Democracy in Haiti, September 4, 2002, CP/RES. 822 (1331/02), [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/cpres822\\_02eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/cpres822_02eng.htm).

OAS noted that “the security situation overall has not changed significantly in recent months, including since the approval of Resolution 822.”<sup>12</sup>

The government underwent a serious shakeup in late September. On September 20, Minister Without Portfolio Marc Bazin resigned, faulting the government on human rights, corruption, economic policy, and failure to privatize state enterprises.<sup>13</sup> On September 29, the anniversary of the 1991 coup d’etat, Justice Minister Jean Baptiste Brown resigned, declaring he was “unable to substantively address serious issues such as professionalization of the Haitian police and fighting against impunity.”<sup>14</sup> The next day, Aristide appointed Calixte Delatour, former legal advisor to the de facto and Duvalier regimes, as Minister of Justice. Human rights activists denounced the move as an “encourage[ment of] impunity.”<sup>15</sup> In a speech on the anniversary of the coup, Aristide turned up the rhetorical heat on his opponents by denouncing alleged attempts to “eliminate Haiti’s dignity,” “infiltrators,” and “false patriots” who were prolonging the coup d’etat of 1991-94 and working for “the death laboratory” (a reference to the international intelligence community).<sup>16</sup>

A student movement to defend university autonomy from perceived government encroachment that began earlier in the year in Port-au-Prince, steadily grew in its ambition and scope. Despite violent repression by government supporters (see below), it

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<sup>12</sup> OAS, *First Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of Resolution CP/Res. 822*, November 26, 2002, OEA/Ser. G, CP/doc.3671/02, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/cpdoc3671\\_02\\_eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/cpdoc3671_02_eng.htm).

<sup>13</sup> Michael Deibert, “Marc Bazin Resigns,” *Reuters*, September 20, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=204>).

<sup>14</sup> Michael Deibert, “Justice Minister Resigns,” *Reuters*, September 30, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=221>).

<sup>15</sup> James Joseph, “Cedras Holdover as Justice Minister Means More Impunity,” *Latinamerica Press*, October 31, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=283>).

<sup>16</sup> “Aristide marks 1991 coup, denounces false patriots, false image of Haiti abroad,” *Radio Nationale*, September 30, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, October 1, 2002).

inspired other sectors of society to take action. On November 17, ten to twenty thousand staged a landmark opposition rally in Cap-Haïtien and sparked a wave of similar demonstrations against the government around the country. Lavalas partisans had difficulty suppressing the movement, despite massive and deadly repression (especially on November 20 and 22 and December 3; see below).

In response to reports of the widespread violence of the government's supporters, Secretary of State for Communications Mario Dupuy told reporters, "This is democracy: People, including government supporters may take part in any march they want to."<sup>17</sup> Justice Minister Delatour dismissed the repression of December 3 (see below) as part of the "democratic game," explaining that "Haiti is divided between two groups – the rich group and the poor group."<sup>18</sup> President Aristide himself resorted to a direct appeal to race and class in a December 4 speech in Les Cayes. "You have the same color as I, they [the opposition] don't like you, your hair is the same way as mine, they don't like you, your children are not the children of big shots, they don't like you," he declared to his audience in Haitian Creole.<sup>19</sup>

As of December 9, OAS Assistant Secretary General Luigi Einaudi declared, "the Government of Haiti has not done enough to convince the entities concerned to name their representatives" to the Electoral Council, nor fully compensated the victims of the violence of December 17, 2001, nor made significant progress dealing with its

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<sup>17</sup> Michael Deibert, "Anti-Aristide Protester Shot and Wounded During Demonstration in Petit-Goave," *AP*, December 3, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, [haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm](http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm))

<sup>18</sup> Marika Lynch, "Haitian Strike Steps Up Protest Against Aristide," *Miami Herald*, Decembe 5(?), 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, [haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm](http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm)); Haiti Press Network, "David Lee appelle les autorités au calme," December 5, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=416](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=416).

<sup>19</sup> Radio *Métropole*, "Aristide met face à face les classes sociale en Haiti," December 5, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=380>).

perpetrators. “The security climate has sadly worsened,” he concluded.<sup>20</sup> On December 20, the police banned all demonstrations until the following year.<sup>21</sup>

On December 26, 184 civic organizations issued a joint declaration identifying conditions for free and fair elections, including freedom of association, assembly and expression; disarmament and dismantling gangs; prosecution of the Dominique and Lindor cases; release of political prisoners and beneficiaries of judicial orders; cessation of violent public incitement; and security for journalists.<sup>22</sup>

### *Specific Incidents*

- January 6, Saint-Raphaël – FL Deputy Jocelyn Saint-Louis and his security entourage reportedly kill FL Mayor Fernand Sévère in a gunfight with automatic weapons after Sévère’s partisans kill Saint-Louis’s nephew. Mayor reportedly had threatened to kill Saint-Louis on January 4 over a local lynching.<sup>23</sup>
- January 9, Port-au-Prince – At the Ministry of the Interior, agents of the National Palace Security Unit (*Unité de Sécurité Générale du Palais National* or USGPN) reportedly beat *Baz 57* members seeking jobs for their work on previous year’s elections and arrest five after Minister Henri Claude Ménard refuses to see them.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> OAS, “Notes for a statement to the Permanent Council on Haiti,” December 9, 2002, [www.oas.org/library/mant\\_speech/speech.asp?sCodigo=02-0484](http://www.oas.org/library/mant_speech/speech.asp?sCodigo=02-0484).

<sup>21</sup> Michael Norton, “Hundreds Protest Despite Police Ban,” *AP*, December 23, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=428>).

<sup>22</sup> OAS, *Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of CP/RES. 822 “Support for the Strengthening of Democracy in Haiti” November 4, 2002-January 4, 2003*, January 23, 2003, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm).

<sup>23</sup> Tambours & Résonances, “Le député de Saint-Raphaël nie toute implication directe dans ce meurtre,” Vol. 4, Week 2, January 9, 2002, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%202.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%202.htm); David Adams, “How nation-building has gone awry,” *St. Petersburg Times*, January 14, 2003, p. 1A; Haiti Press Network, “Pour une amélioration des relations entre le gouvernement et la presse,” January 8, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presseprint.cfm?pressID=176](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presseprint.cfm?pressID=176); Haiti Press Network, “Une employée du Sénat détenue dans le cadre de l’affaire du trafic de riz,” January 24, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=188](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=188); Tambours & Résonances, “Rapport de la commission d’enquête parlementaire sur l’assassinat du maire de St Raphaël,” Vol. 4, Week 4, January 25, 2002, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%204.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%204.htm).

<sup>24</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Vive tension au Ministère de l’Intérieur,” January 9, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presseprint.cfm?pressID=177](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presseprint.cfm?pressID=177); Tambours & Résonances, “Le ministère de l’intérieur assiégé par des OP lavalasses,” January 10, 2002, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%202.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%202.htm).

- January 11, Port-au-Prince – Senator Dany Toussaint (FL) reportedly threatens Senator Prince Sonson Pierre (FL) over efforts to lift the former’s parliamentary immunity regarding the 2000 assassination of journalist Jean Dominique. Toussaint alleges Pierre was involved in the December 17 violence against the opposition.<sup>25</sup>
- January 17, Carrefour – At Archachon 32, National Palace security agent Hector Régala reportedly severely beats Hadley Printemps (age 17), who dies in the hospital.<sup>26</sup>
- February 6, Port-au-Prince – Senators Lans Clonès, Gérard Gilles and Prince Sonson Pierre, who had pressed to have Toussaint’s parliamentary immunity lifted, reportedly ask for protective measures after Toussaint accuses them of being CIA agents and Toussaint’s supporters demonstrate at the Senate, threatening to kill them.<sup>27</sup>
- February 9, Port-au-Prince – Police without warrants arrest 13 opposition activists for allegedly belonging to a kidnapping ring. Eleven are members of the Convention for Democratic Unity (*Konvansyon Inite Demokratik* or KID), including former Deputy Jean Mandenave and Radio Magik Editor Genet Morin.<sup>28</sup>
- February 10, Petit-Goâve – Crowd appearing to be linked to opposition reportedly attacks police station, killing Officer Ricardo Benjamin and prompting arrest of Convergence members and three police officers. Other reports indicate fellow officers, including Jean Bernard, may be implicated.<sup>29</sup>
- On or about February 14, Carrefour Feuilles – Unknown gunmen reportedly kill Bruno Rénel, former director of the Salomon Market, several days after merchants are electrocuted by faulty cables.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Haiti Press Network, “La liste de Robert Ménard, Jean Bertrand Aristide en tête,” January 11, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=179](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=179).

<sup>26</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Projet de couverture photographique aérienne d’Haïti,” January 17, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=183](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=183).

<sup>27</sup> Haiti News Briefs, “Three senators from the ruling Lavalas Family party have asked for government protection after receiving death threats that they say are related to the long and contentious Jean Dominique murder inquiry,” February 6, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main9.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main9.html).

<sup>28</sup> AlterPresse, “Arrestations dans les milieux politiques au cours du week-end carnavalesque,” *HaitiWebdo* #1, February 18, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=25](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=25).

<sup>29</sup> *Radio Haiti Inter*, February 13, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, February 13, 2002); Pierre Espérance, *Directeur*, NCHR, Letter to the Inspector-General of the Police, November 29, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=379>).

<sup>30</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Une commission mixte pour lutter contre l’insécurité,” March 4, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=213](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=213) (Aristide visits family March 4, offering personal engagement in quest for justice in his case); Tambours & Résonances, “Visite du chef de l’état à Carrefour Feuilles,” Vol. 4, Week 10, March 6, 2002, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%2010.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%2010.htm).

- February 16-17, Port-au-Prince – Police reportedly attack and threaten to kill Deputy Simson Libéris (FL).<sup>31</sup>
- February 17, Port-au-Prince – Gunman in police uniform on motorcycle reportedly assassinates Gonaïves Deputy Marc André Dirogène (FL) with two gunshots to the head. The assassination occurs in Dirogène's car, on Nazon Street, in the presence of his wife, daughter, and two security agents.<sup>32</sup>
- February 25, Port-au-Prince – Security guard at Plaza Hotel reportedly kills Lavalas activist named Larousse.<sup>33</sup>
- March, Saint-Louis (South) – Bodyguards of Deputy Jean Candio reportedly kill Gerard Fleurimé; Convergence members arrested.<sup>34</sup>
- May 1, Belladère – Heavily armed men reportedly attack police station, kill FL regional coordinator, Jean Bouchette, and burn mayor's office. Winson Salomon, former bodyguard to former Port-au-Prince police chief Michel François, is reportedly among the assailants.<sup>35</sup>
- May 2, Jérémie – Supporters of Father Jude Berthomieux Frederic smash windshields of cars belonging to other priests and stone church radio station Tèt Ansanm, breaking windows, in protest of Frederic's suspension by Bishop Willy Romelus. Police intervene to restore order in following days, after secondary students join in.<sup>36</sup>
- May 7, Cayes-Jacmel – Senator Prince Sonson Pierre (FL) alleges that members of the Face to Face organization, working for FL Senators and former soldiers Fourel Célestin and Dany Toussaint, stone and shoot at his vehicle, severely

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<sup>31</sup> Tambours & Résonances, "Rapports de plus en plus tendus entre policiers et députés lavalas après l'assassinat du député Marc André Dirogène," February 20, 2002, Vol. 4, Week 8, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%208.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%208.htm).

<sup>32</sup> AlterPresse, "Un député lavalas assassiné a Port-au-Prince," *HaitiWebdo* #1, February 18, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=25](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=25); *Radio Vision 2000*, February 26, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, February 27, 2002); *Radio Signal FM*, March 7, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, March 8, 2002); Haiti Press Network, "Le Député de la première circonscription des Gonaïves tué par balles," February 18, 2002,

[www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=202](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=202); Tambours & Résonances, "Rapports de plus en plus tendus entre policiers et députés lavalas après l'assassinat du député Marc André Dirogène," February 20, 2002, Vol. 4, Week 8, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%208.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%208.htm).

<sup>33</sup> Haiti Press Network, "Le dirigeant du MDN Hubert de Ronceray monte au créneau," August 16, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=333](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=333).

<sup>34</sup> *Radio Métropole*, March 27, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, March 28, 2002).

<sup>35</sup> Haiti News Briefs, "During the night a group of heavily armed men attacked the police station in the town of Belladère in the Central Plateau, and then killed the Lavalas Family regional coordinator and burnt down the mayor's offices," May 1, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main10.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main10.html).

<sup>36</sup> Haiti News Brief, "Tension persists in the Grand-Anse diocese in the remote south-west corner of Haiti following Bishop Willy Romelus' decision to suspend a popular young priest," May 13, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main10.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main10.html); *Radio Métropole*, May 3, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Service, May 4, 2002).

wounding bodyguard Robert Blémur in the left eye. Blémur dies after several days in a coma. Departmental Director of Police Jean Neslie Elie suggests bullet may have come from Senator Pierre's own entourage, which ransacked the sealed city hall, shooting Blémur in the process.<sup>37</sup>

- May 27, Saint-Raphaël – Local communal authorities reportedly hack to death, with machetes, Batay Ouvriye organizers Fancilien Exilien and Ipharès Guerrier, in dispute over land use. Police reportedly arrest 11, including journalists Darwin Saint-Julien of Haiti Progrès and Allan Desormes of Radio Atlantic. Six are beaten. Seven are released August 20; two others are released December 2.<sup>38</sup>
- June 22-23, Belladère – Gunmen reportedly kill five family members of regional FL coordinator Cléonard Souverain; 20 suspects arrested.<sup>39</sup>
- On or about June 27, Cayes – Guilbaud communal counsel member Paul Arista and armed accomplices reportedly harass opposition farmers holding a meeting; several arrested.<sup>40</sup>
- July 13, Port-au-Prince – Gunmen reportedly kill National Port Authority (*Autorité Portuaire Nationale* or APN) union leader Jean-Marie Doréus and one other dock worker.<sup>41</sup>
- July 15, Port-au-Prince – Assailants reportedly lynch Lionel Bellevue, head of the warehouse service of the National Port Authority, forcing him into a tire and burning him alive. The lynching is a reprisal for the July 13 slaying of union

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<sup>37</sup> Radio Métropole, May 8, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, May 9, 2002); Radio Signal FM, May 8, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, May 10, 2002); AlterPresse, "Cayes-Jacmel: Des secteurs lavalas face à face," *HaitiWebdo* #12, May 13, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=47](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=47).

<sup>38</sup> NCHR, "NCHR Reports on the Attack at Guacimal on May 27," May 31, 2002, [www.nchr.org/haiti\\_office/pr\\_may\\_31.htm](http://www.nchr.org/haiti_office/pr_may_31.htm); Amnesty International, "Haiti: Violence in St Raphael plantation must be investigated," May 31, 2002, AMR 36/007/2002, [web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR360072002?OpenDocument](http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR360072002?OpenDocument); NCHR, "Victory in the Fight for Justice for the Guacimal Prisoners," August 21, 2002, [www.nchr.org/hrp/haiti\\_office/Guacimal\\_News\\_Flash.htm](http://www.nchr.org/hrp/haiti_office/Guacimal_News_Flash.htm); Radio Métropole, June 3, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, June 4, 2002); NCHR, "Human Rights Situation Report: October, November, & mid-December 2002," December 18, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=423>); Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2003: Haiti*.

<sup>39</sup> Haiti Press Network, "Aide d'urgence accordé à l'Etat haïtien par le gouvernement japonais," June 26, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=294](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=294); Haiti News Brief, "Gunmen shot dead five relatives of a Lavalas Family party official, including a 3-year-old child, in Belladere, a town on Haiti's border with the Dominican Republic," June 26, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main11.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main11.html).

<sup>40</sup> Haiti Press Network, "Harassment of Convergence and Peasants Reported," June 27, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=72>).

<sup>41</sup> Haiti Press Network, "Tentative d'homicide sur le président français," July 15, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=307](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=307).

leader Dorélys. The dock workers' strike reportedly degenerated after gunshots were heard; police were present but ineffectual.<sup>42</sup>

- July 16, Péguy-Ville – Unidentified gunmen reportedly attack Sylvie Bajoux, Co-Director of the Ecumenical Center for Human Rights and wife of Jean-Claude Bajoux, and servants in her home.<sup>43</sup>
- July 20-21, Port-au-Prince – Occupants of vehicles belonging to the National Palace reportedly kidnap Fritznel Charles, member of the opposition group Generation 2004, in his Carrefour-Feuilles neighborhood.<sup>44</sup>
- July 30, Port-au-Prince – Police reportedly jail some 50 asylum seekers deported from the United States, claiming to have confused them with criminal deportees, and charge them \$200 for release.<sup>45</sup>
- August 5, Gonaïves – *Corps d'Intervention et de Maintien d'Ordre* (CIMO) agents reportedly assault opposition Christian Movement for a New Haiti (*Mouvement Chrétien pour une Nouvelle Haïti* or MOCHRENA) member Rigmane Ovilma, recently deported from the United States, and her brother-in-law, and spray her mother's restaurant with gunfire.<sup>46</sup>
- August 13, Pétion-Ville – Police reportedly arrest Evans Nicolas, director of the opposition Union for National Reconstruction (*Union pour le Reconstruction Nationale* or URN).<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Haiti Press Network, "Tentative d'homicide sur le président français," July 15, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=307](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=307); Haiti News Brief, "There is continuing tension at the main port in the capital following the brutal murder of the head of the cargo and warehouse service on 14 July," July 18, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main11.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main11.html).

<sup>43</sup> OAS, "OAS Special Mission for Strengthening Democracy in Haiti," July 17, 2002, SMH/DIRO6E, [www.oas.org/library/mant\\_press/press\\_release.asp?sCodigo=SMH/DIR06E](http://www.oas.org/library/mant_press/press_release.asp?sCodigo=SMH/DIR06E); Haiti Press Network, "Le Rapport mondial du PNUD publié dans une semaine," July 16, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=308](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=308).

<sup>44</sup> Haiti Press Network, "Et un, et deux, et trois... La suite est imprévisible," July 25, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=317](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=317).

<sup>45</sup> Dina Paul Parks, Executive Director, NCHR, Testimony before the United States Senate Subcommittee on Immigration Hearing on "The Detention and Treatment of Haitian Asylum Seekers," October 1, 2002, [http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=483&wit\\_id=1224](http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=483&wit_id=1224); Tanya Weinberg and Thomas Monnay, "Law denies Haitian asylum seekers a fair shot at pleading cases, advocates say," *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*, August 11, 2002.

<sup>46</sup> Dina Paul Parks, Executive Director, NCHR, Testimony before the United States Senate Subcommittee on Immigration Hearing on "The Detention and Treatment of Haitian Asylum Seekers," October 1, 2002, [http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=483&wit\\_id=1224](http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=483&wit_id=1224); Tanya Weinberg and Thomas Monnay, "Law denies Haitian asylum seekers a fair shot at pleading cases, advocates say," *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*, August 11, 2002..

<sup>47</sup> Haiti Press Network, "Manifestation mercredi aux Gonaïves par les membres d'OP pour réclamer le départ du chef de l'Etat," August 14, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=332](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=332).

- August 23, Les Cayes –Police reportedly arrest and severely beat opposition leader of the South Gabriel Fortuné (former Deputy released after several hours and taken to the hospital).<sup>48</sup>
- On or about August 25, Delmas – A security agent of Artibonite Delegate Claudy Jean-Baptiste reportedly kills youth Widmaïer Destin in Delmas 33.<sup>49</sup>
- September 2, Miragoâne – CIMO agents reportedly shoot six, injure more, and destroy livestock while quelling demonstration.<sup>50</sup>
- September 18, Port-au-Prince – Armed CIMO agents reportedly pull plug on Boukman Eksperyans concert on Champs Mars near National Palace as they play song critical of politicians.<sup>51</sup>
- September 23 – Aristide reportedly orders SWAT team and armed civilians to arrest and search home of Rosemond Jean, leader of the National Coordination of Credit Union Victims and critic of government handling of cooperative pyramid scheme. Without judge or other witnesses, they reportedly find grenade and firearms. Student leader Josué Mériilien claims arrest is political frame-up for Jean’s support of the students.<sup>52</sup>
- October 7, Miragoâne – CIMO agents reportedly beat several gravel miners, suppressing demonstration called by OP Gèp Panyòl.<sup>53</sup>
- October 10, Les Cayes – Residents reportedly burn the Quatre Chemins police substation in response to police shooting local youth to death.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Haiti Press Network, “L’ancien député Fortuné arrêté puis libéré peu après,” August 24, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=342](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=342).

<sup>49</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Le deuxième Sommet de la terre a débuté ce lundi,” August 26, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=344](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=344).

<sup>50</sup> Nancy San Martin, “Neglected city feels sting of poverty,” *Miami Herald*, September 17, 2002, [www.miami.com/mld/miamiherald/news/world/haiti/4089361.htm?template=contentModules/printstory.-jsp](http://www.miami.com/mld/miamiherald/news/world/haiti/4089361.htm?template=contentModules/printstory.-jsp); Haiti News Brief, “Riot police have seriously injured five demonstrators in Miragoâne,” September 2, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main12.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main12.html).

<sup>51</sup> Haiti News Brief, “A Boukman Eksperyans concert in the central Champs de Mars square in Port-au-Prince was halted by police on 18 September,” September 25, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main12.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main12.html); Michael Deibert, “Police Shut Down Band for Criticizing Aristide,” *Reuters*, September 19, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=202>); Radio Signal FM, September 20, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, September 20, 2002).

<sup>52</sup> James Joseph, “Cedras Holdover as Justice Minister Means More Impunity,” *Latin America Press*, November 5, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=283>); Radio Galaxie, October 3, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, October 3, 2002); Haiti Press Network, “Josué Milien, porte-parole de l’UNOH réclame la libération de Rosemond Jean,” September 24, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=363](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=363).

<sup>53</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Réouverture universitaire sur fond de crise,” October 8, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=373](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=373).

- October 14 - Mondésir Jean-Latouche, David Barjon, Vanel Pierre, and Patrick Jonaïs, members of opposition KID, reportedly disappear and are believed to be held by the police.<sup>55</sup>
- October 19-20, Liancourt – Partisans of FL Senators Jean-Claude Délicé, former director of the Artibonite Valley Development Organization (*Organisme pour le Développement de la Vallée de l'Artibonite* or ODVA), and Joseph Médard reportedly kill a child and wound several others in gunfight over ODVA jobs and the elevation of the town to the administrative status of commune.<sup>56</sup>
- October 23, Port-au-Prince – Police Commissioner of the Palace Guard Paul Voltaire reportedly is arrested while leaving work, after having uncovered a drug trafficking network, and later disappears.<sup>57</sup>
- October 26, Carrefour – Police reportedly arrest and incarcerate Emmanuel Auguste, former soccer player with alleged political ties, who later disappears.<sup>58</sup>
- November 11, Cap-Haïtien – Unidentified gunmen in military camouflage reportedly shoot at police station. Government reportedly links event to opposition Citizens Initiative but opponents claim it was staged to prevent November 17 rally.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Les EU réclament un rapport complet sur l’application de la Résolution 822,” October 11, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=376](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=376).

<sup>55</sup> Pierre Espérance, *Directeur*, NCHR, Letter to President Jean Bertrand Aristide, November 12, 2002 (AlterPresse, “La NCHR fait part de ses graves appréhensions sur les questions de justice et sécurité en Haïti,” November 15, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=282](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=282)); NCHR, “Human Rights Situation Report: October, November, & mid-December 2002,” December 18, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=423>); OAS, *First Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of Resolution CP/Res. 822*, November 26, 2002, OEA/Ser. G, CP/doc.3671/02, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/cpdoc3671\\_02\\_eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/cpdoc3671_02_eng.htm).

<sup>56</sup> Radio Métropole, “Des secteurs doute de l’efficacité de la campagne de désarmement. Une vingtaine d’armes illégales récupérées à Cité Soleil...,” October 21, 2002, [www.metropolehaiti.com](http://www.metropolehaiti.com); Haiti Press Network, “Gérald Gilles accuse les Américains de racisme,” October 30, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=388](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=388) (Gonaïves Justice and Peace Commission expresses concern about elected officials distributing weapons to partisans in Liancourt).

<sup>57</sup> NCHR, “Human Rights Situation Report: October, November, & mid-December 2002,” December 18, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=423>); OAS, *First Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of Resolution CP/Res. 822*, 26 November 2002, OEA/Ser. G, CP/doc.3671/02, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/cpdoc3671\\_02\\_eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/cpdoc3671_02_eng.htm); Pierre Espérance, *Directeur*, NCHR, Letter to President Jean Bertrand Aristide, November 12, 2002 (AlterPresse, “La NCHR fait part de ses graves appréhensions sur les questions de justice et sécurité en Haïti,” November 15, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=282](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=282)).

<sup>58</sup> NCHR, “Human Rights Situation Report: October, November, & mid-December 2002,” December 18, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=423>).

<sup>59</sup> “Largest Public Demonstration Against Aristide,” *Cable News Network/AP*, November 17, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=308>).

- November 28, Lascahobas – Opposition members reportedly kill Belladère’s pro-Lavalas Justice of the Peace Christophe Lozama as he and 11 others attempt to suppress opposition demonstration in Quimpe. Lascahobas Justice of the Peace issues 70 arrest warrants including some for persons “armed” with anti-Lavalas placards.<sup>60</sup>
- In December, Cayes-Jacmel – Departmental Unit for the Maintenance of Order (UDMO) agents reportedly manhandle demonstrators from Raymond Les Bains protesting the murder of businessman Gerald Khawly.<sup>61</sup>
- December 3, Port-au-Prince – FL leader Annette Auguste and others reportedly lead 2,000 government partisans armed with clubs, scrap metal, rocks, whips, and other weapons as they attack an opposition march of 200. They injure over 50 and smash cars as police look on.<sup>62</sup>
- December 3, Cap-Haïtien – Lavalas sympathizers reportedly erect burning barricades and attack a march of about 2,000 opposition members with rocks and clubs. Police break up demonstration with tear gas grenades.<sup>63</sup>
- December 3, Gonaïves – Five hundred march against government, police arrest at least two.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> NCHR, “What’s Going On Out In Lascahobas?,” December 26, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=442>); Amnesty International, “Haiti: political leaders must reject violence,” December 10, 2002, AMR 36/016/2002, [web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR360162002?OpenDocument](http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR360162002?OpenDocument); Radio Signal FM, December 11, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, December 11, 2002); “Haitian leader believes attack on journalist could be linked to judge’s murder,” *Caribbean Media Corporation news agency*, December 28, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, December 29, 2002).

<sup>61</sup> Radio Signal FM, December 11, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, December 11, 2002).

<sup>62</sup> Amnesty International, “Haiti: political leaders must reject violence,” December 10, 2002, AMR 36/016/2002, [web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR360162002?OpenDocument](http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR360162002?OpenDocument); OAS, “Notes for a statement to the Permanent Council on Haiti,” December 9, 2002, [www.oas.org/library/mant\\_speech/speech.asp?sCodigo=02-0484](http://www.oas.org/library/mant_speech/speech.asp?sCodigo=02-0484); NCHR, “Human Rights Situation Report: October, November, & mid-December 2002,” December 18, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=423>); Michael Norton, “Opposition Party Headquarters Burned in Alleged Arson in Haiti,” *AP*, December 7, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=374>); Marika Lynch, “Haitian Strike Steps Up Protest Against Aristide,” *Miami Herald*, December 5(?), 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, [haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm](http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm)); Jane Regan, “Supporters of Aristide Assault Anti-Government Marchers,” *Miami Herald*, December 5(?), 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, [haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm](http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm)); Paisley Dodds, “Police, Government Supporters Break Up Demonstrations Across Haiti, At Least 16 Injured,” December 3, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, [haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm](http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm)).

<sup>63</sup> Le Devoir, “Haïti – Après les Manifs, la Grève Générale,” December 5, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, [haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm](http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm)); “Aristide backers clash with opposition activists in Haiti,” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, December 3, 2002; Jane Regan, “Supporters of Aristide Assault Anti-Government Marchers,” *Miami Herald*, December 5(?), 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, [haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm](http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm)); Paisley Dodds, “Police, Government Supporters Break Up Demonstrations Across Haiti, At Least 16 Injured,” December 3, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, [haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm](http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm)).

- December 3, Petit-Goâve – Lavalas partisans reportedly shoot and wound five as 10,000 opponents march against impunity for killers of journalist Brignol Lindor a year earlier. Government supporters reportedly attack demonstrators with rocks as they pass the home of an FL Member of Parliament. Police fire tear gas at crowd.<sup>65</sup>
- December 6, Port-au-Prince – Gunmen reportedly open fire on the vehicle of Senator Toussaint (FL) in Pèlerin after the government withdraws his eight-officer security detail. Toussaint reportedly accuses State Secretary for Public Security Jean-Gérard Dubreuil of involvement. Gunmen are also rumored to have shot at Senator Norma Forpe.<sup>66</sup>
- December 6, Port-au-Prince - Two assailants reportedly kill businessman Gérald Khawly (age 62), critically wound son-in-law Jean Edouard Vorbe, and flee without taking anything. Victim's brother is Jacques Khawly, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the South-East Department, who demanded that government protect depositors in failed cooperatives.<sup>67</sup>
- December 6-7, Port-au-Prince - Lavalas supporters reportedly set fire to the headquarters of the opposition Mobilization for National Development, destroying the office's library and conference room two days after they reportedly storm building amid opposition protest strike, slap occupants, and declare they have orders to burn the building.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Paisley Dodds, "Police, Government Supporters Break Up Demonstrations Across Haiti, At Least 16 Injured," December 3, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, [haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm](http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm)).

<sup>65</sup> Michael Deibert, "Violence Escalates in Haiti," *Reuters*, December 7, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=374>); Michael Norton, "Haitian Leader Says He Won't Step Down," *AP*, December 5, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, [haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm](http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm)), Jane Regan, "Supporters of Aristide Assault Anti-Government Marchers," *Miami Herald*, December 5(?), 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, [haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm](http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm)).

<sup>66</sup> Haiti Press Network, "Lavalas Senator Dany Toussaint Accuses a High Official for Attempt on his Life," December 10, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=389>); Michael Deibert, "Violence Escalates in Haiti," *Reuters*, December 7, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=374>); Haiti Press Network, "La Direction Générale des Impôts part en guerre..." December 9, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=418](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=418).

<sup>67</sup> Michael Deibert, "Prominent businessman shot dead in Haiti's capital," *Reuters*, December 7, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=374>); Vario Sérant, *AlterPresse*, "Flashback sur une actualité violente et mouvementée," *HaitiWebdo* #33, December 10, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=323](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=323); Haiti Press Network, "Session ordinaire au Parlement," June 11, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=283](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=283); Haiti Press Network, "La Direction Générale des Impôts part en guerre..." December 9, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=418](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=418).

<sup>68</sup> Amnesty International, "Haiti: political leaders must reject violence," December 10, 2002, AMR 36/016/2002, [web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR360162002?OpenDocument](http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR360162002?OpenDocument); Radio Signal FM, December 10, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, December 11, 2002); Michael Norton, "Opposition Party Headquarters Burned in Alleged Arson in Haiti," *AP*, December 7, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project,

- December 7, Lascahobas – Amos Métellus of the Ministry of the Interior, Justice of the Peace Léonel Dénizard, several Lavalas activists, and others dressed in black CIMO uniforms reportedly shoot and wound Makens André, beat other residents in Quimpe, and ransack houses.<sup>69</sup>
- December 10, Lascahobas – Gunmen reportedly kill Jean Harry Sigué in an attack on the police station, steal weapons, liberate prisoners (including two implicated in the November 28 killing of Belladère Justice of the Peace Lozama, above), and burn a police vehicle in Los Pine. Gunmen reportedly kill, with gunshots to the head, police informants Sincère Joseph, Louisdort Dorsainvil, and Léonie Laverne in nearby Quimpe and Poulie. Investigators reportedly suspect camp of ex-military in nearby Pernal.<sup>70</sup>
- December 21-22, Pernal – Police reportedly make helicopter raid on remote village, routing some 10 former soldiers and 40 civilians responsible for the December 10 Lascahobas attack: No injuries, four arrests, and ten peasant homes burned. The leader of an ex-soldier group, Joseph Jean-Baptiste, alleges that the event was staged as a pretext to avoid paying pensions to former soldiers.<sup>71</sup>
- December 22, Cap-Haïtien – A dozen Aristide partisans reportedly open fire upon and throw rocks and urine-filled bottles at opposition demonstrators. Police and

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<http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=374>); Michael Deibert, “Violence Escalates in Haiti,” *Reuters*, December 7, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=374>); Haiti Press Network, “Aristide de passage dans le Sud: Il a rappelé que son mandat était de 5 ans,” December 4, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=415](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=415) (prior reportage of threat); Haiti Press Network, “La Direction Générale des Impôts part en guerre...,” December 9, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=418](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=418).

<sup>69</sup> NCHR, “What’s Going On Out In Lascahobas?,” December 26, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=442>); NCHR, “Human Rights Situation Report: October, November, & mid-December 2002,” December 18, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=423>).

<sup>70</sup> Jim Defede and Marika Lynch, “Aristide rejects notion his Haitian Government is faltering,” *Miami Herald*, December 13, 2002; *Agence Haïtienne de Presse*, “New reactions on the armed attack against the Lascahobas police station,” December 12, 2002; OAS, *Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of CP/RES. 822 “Support for the Strengthening of Democracy in Haiti” November 4, 2002-January 4, 2003*, January 23, 2003, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm).

<sup>71</sup> Michael Norton, “Police Raid Village to Evict Armed Group,” *AP*, December 23, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=430>); Haiti News Brief, “Police raided the remote village of Pernal near the border with the Dominican Republic, and fired shots as they chased away a band of around 50 armed men led by former soldiers opposed to the government,” December 21, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main14.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main14.html); Haiti Press Network, “Noël de solidarité et de partage c’est le souhait du Premier Ministre,” December 23, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=428](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=428); OAS, *Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of CP/RES. 822 “Support for the Strengthening of Democracy in Haiti” November 4, 2002-January 4, 2003*, January 23, 2003, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm).

firefighters break up the demonstration with tear gas, pursuant to edict prohibiting demonstrations until January 8.<sup>72</sup>

## Organizations Populaires/Armed Gangs

### *Introduction*

The transformation of many of Haiti's *organizations populaires* (OPs) into quasi political armed gangs noted above is only a recent manifestation of the long-standing demagogic tradition in Haitian political culture, also exemplified by Daniel Figinolé's *rouleau compresseur* and François Duvalier's *tontons macoutes*. As one source notes, "For more than a century, Haitian autocrats have created personal armies in the slums to retain power."<sup>73</sup> According to the Commission of Inquiry into the events of December 17,

Popular organizations which had hitherto been heterogeneous mechanisms for community defense have undergone changes in the last seven years. Initially they represented the birth of civil society becoming involved in national political objectives. This initial role assumed by these Organizations to serve as civilian mechanisms for the preservation of democracy now seems to have become a mechanism at the service of strong political interests or of other illegitimate interests.<sup>74</sup>

According to Amnesty International, "armed gangs supporting political activists or locally elected officials have been allowed to consolidate their presence and now constitute a serious challenge to the rule of law in the country."<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Michael Norton, "Hundreds Protest Despite Police Ban," *AP*, December 23, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=428>); Haiti Press Network, "Noël de solidarité et de partage c'est le souhait du Premier Ministre," December 23, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=428](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=428).

<sup>73</sup> Letta Tayler, "Critics Blame Aristide for Gang Violence," *New York Newsday*, September 17, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=196>).

<sup>74</sup> OAS, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Events of December 17, 2001, in Haiti*, 1 July 2002, Sec. II(B)(1), OEA/Ser. G, CP/INF. 4702/02, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/cpinf4702\\_02\\_eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/cpinf4702_02_eng.htm).

<sup>75</sup> Matthew Hay Brown, "Gangs try to rid Haiti of President; Urban militants, tired of poverty and corruption, demanded Jean-Bertrand Aristide's resignation," *Orlando Sentinel*, August 11, 2002, p. A1.

The OPs generally operate as political agents of the ruling Lavalas Family party and Aristide.<sup>76</sup> Members of René Civil's Young People's Power (JPP), for example, reportedly wear National Palace ID cards in demonstrations.<sup>77</sup> Even after gangs had killed dozens in Cité Soleil and wounded 16 in Gonaïves (see below), Aristide held cordial meetings with their leaders in which they frankly acknowledged their role as heavily armed defenders of the government.<sup>78</sup> Similar meetings were held with gang leaders from Gonaïves, Fort Mercredi, La Saline, and Cité Soleil.<sup>79</sup> According to some observers, "the National Palace has become a veritable tribunal where rival armed groups of the popular quarters of the country make peace after war."<sup>80</sup>

The OPs became increasingly split in 2002 among those remaining loyal to Aristide, those in league with his sometime ally/sometime rival Senator Dany Toussaint, and those acting on their own authority altogether.<sup>81</sup> As Dina Paul Parks of the National Coalition for Haitian Rights (NCHR) stated,

The country's many armed gangs, the popular organizations, are primarily loyal to the Aristide government, but not necessarily to Aristide. They are loyal to other popular or local leaders within Lavalas such as Senator Dany Toussaint, former military officer, and Senator Medard Joseph of Gonaïves, whose loyal gangs include the Cannibal Army, responsible for August's spectacular jailbreak,

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<sup>76</sup> Haiti Press Network, "Des manifestants demandent aux hommes d'affaires de payer les taxes," February 25, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=208](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=208) (Jean-Claude Bajeux of Ecumenical Center for Human Rights imputes governmental responsibility for Cité Soleil gang violence).

<sup>77</sup> Scott Wilson, "In Haiti, a Stalled Turn Toward Democracy; Silencing of Opposition Blocks Foreign Aid That Could Ease Unrest and Poverty," *Washington Post*, February 12, 2002, p. A21.

<sup>78</sup> Haiti Press Network, "L'insécurité continue de semer le deuil au sein des familles haïtiennes," February 28, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=211](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=211); AlterPresse, "Feu aux poudres à Port-au-Prince et aux Gonaïves," *HaitiWebdo* #2, February 25, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=27](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=27).

<sup>79</sup> Tambours & Résonances, "Le chef d'état rencontre des chefs de bandes rivales qui s'affront aux Gonaïves," February 25, 2002, Vol. 4, Week 9, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%209.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%209.htm).

<sup>80</sup> Tambours & Résonances, "Le chef d'état rencontre des chefs de bandes rivales qui s'affront aux Gonaïves," February 25, 2002, Vol. 4, Week 9, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%209.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%209.htm).

<sup>81</sup> Scott Wilson, "Popular Haitian Lawmaker Worries U.S.; Onetime Ally, a Suspect In Journalist's Death, Is Also Rival of Aristide," *Washington Post*, 4 March 2002.

and others. In fact, with the arrests this year of Cannibal Army leader Amiot “Cubain” Metayer and Ronald Camille, known as Ronald Cadavre, leader of one of the most powerful Cite Soleil gangs, there is a sense that the Lavalas government has begun to betray their “loyal supporters.” As William Joseph, a Cannibal Army leader warned shortly after the jailbreak, “We are letting Lavalas know who we are. We helped them get up the mountain. Now we are telling them to pull us up, too.”<sup>82</sup>

The OPs have also been generally hostile to the international community and efforts to mediate Haiti’s political divide. In response to the July 1 report of the OAS Commission of Inquiry into the events of the previous year, Paul Raymond, leader of the pro-Lavalas Little Church Movement (*Ti Kominote Legliz* or TKL), invoked the specter of foreign intervention by declaring that “1915 would not recur,” a reference to the year the United States began a twenty-year occupation of Haiti. He further accused the OAS of distributing weapons to the opposition and demanded that opposition members be searched.<sup>83</sup>

Besides seeking jobs in the civil administration, OPs and gangs often battle one another to control the extortion of retailers in various popular markets (see below). They reportedly have also become major adversaries of the more formal business class in pressing the tax administration for more vigorous collections. The authorities reportedly enforced tax collections selectively in retaliation for political opposition.<sup>84</sup> Many of the

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<sup>82</sup> Dina Paul Parks, Executive Director, National Coalition for Haitian Rights (NCHR), Testimony before the United States Senate Subcommittee on Immigration Hearing on “The Detention and Treatment of Haitian Asylum Seekers,” October 1, 2002, [http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=483&wit\\_id=1224](http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=483&wit_id=1224).

<sup>83</sup> Radio Signal FM, July 10, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, July 10, 2002).

<sup>84</sup> Tambours & Résonances, “Offensive des OP proches du pouvoir lavalas contre le secteur des affaires” and “Le secteur privé choqué par la pression exercé sur les contribuables par les OP lavalas,” February 28, 2002, Vol. 4, Week 9, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%209.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%209.htm); Tambours & Résonances, “Les organisations populaires ne lachent pas le secteur des affaires,” March 5, 2002, Vol. 4, Week 10, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%2010.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%2010.htm); Radio Métropole, “Le secteur patronal condamne l’anarchie, réclame l’arrestation des principaux chefs d’OP et met en garde le Pouvoir Lavalas,” November 25, 2002; Haiti Press Network, “La Direction Générale des Impôts part en guerre...,” December 9, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=418](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=418); “Note de

pro-Aristide armed OPs responded to the disarmament program by calling for disarmament of the wealthy.<sup>85</sup> OP leaders, even the most politically connected, were often allegedly involved in general criminal activities as well. For example, TKL leader Paul Raymond, responsible for much of the violent repression of the opposition, reportedly has also been implicated in the arming of a car theft ring in l'Acul.<sup>86</sup>

Upon his prison break, Cannibal Army leader Métayer initially called for Aristide's overthrow, making common cause with former soldier and fellow-escapee Jean "Tatoune" Pierre (ironically in prison for the 1994 Raboteau massacre in the area which had targeted Métayer and his supporters).<sup>87</sup> The OPs of Cité Soleil also reportedly received a fresh infusion of leadership from the Gonaïves prison break, stimulating renewed fighting that claimed another 20 lives in the second half of August (see below). Soon after his escape, Métayer reportedly rejoined the Lavalas fold upon payment of \$5,000 and an offer of no-show government jobs for his followers.<sup>88</sup> In December, Aristide reportedly acquiesced to Métayer's recommendation of Ketlin Télémaque for the post of Departmental Delegate, replacing Kénaze Jean Baptiste (whom Métayer had

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Press du Secteur Privé des Affaires," December 7, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project Reprint, "Regime Using Tax Office Against Strikers," <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=386>).

<sup>85</sup> Haiti Press Network, "Célébration de la mort de Dessalines," October 18, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=380](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=380).

<sup>86</sup> Haiti Press Network, "La dévalorisation de la monnaie locale par rapport au dollar s'accroît," October 28, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=386](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=386).

<sup>87</sup> Don Bohning, "Haiti's immutable laws," *Miami Herald*, August 8, 2002, [www.miami.com/mld/miamiherald/news/opinion/3819464.htm](http://www.miami.com/mld/miamiherald/news/opinion/3819464.htm); *Radio Métropole*, August 9, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=108>); *Radio Métropole*, "Gonaïves, ville sous haute tension, s'apprête à vivre une nouvelle journée de manifestation anti-gouvernementale," November 28, 2002, [www.metropolehaiti.com](http://www.metropolehaiti.com).

<sup>88</sup> Letta Tayler, "Critics Blame Aristide for Gang Violence," *New York Newsday*, September 17, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=196>); Haiti Press Network, "La présidence a applaudi le retour de manivelle du chef de l'Armée cannibale Amiot Métayer," August 9, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=329](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=329); *Radio Métropole*, "Gonaïves, ville sous haute tension, s'apprête à vivre une nouvelle journée de manifestation anti-gouvernementale," November 28, 2002, [www.metropolehaiti.com](http://www.metropolehaiti.com).

reportedly pressured into resigning).<sup>89</sup> Later, Tatoune also converted and he and Métayer, both purportedly wanted men, stood in front of the Gonaïves police station to declare their support for Aristide.<sup>90</sup>

### *Specific Incidents*

- January 14, Port-au-Prince – OP members reportedly attack National Congress of Democratic Movements (*Congrès Nationale des Mouvements Démocratiques* or KONAKOM) official Micha Gaillard at airport.<sup>91</sup>
- Mid-January - mid-February, Port-au-Prince – Rival gangs fighting in Cité Soleil reportedly kill 30. Residents reportedly accuse the police of tolerating violence from well known gang leaders and the government of giving them money.<sup>92</sup>
- January 20, Gonaïves – Aristide supporter Amiot “Cubain” Métayer reportedly opens fire on carnival marchers, killing two and wounding others.<sup>93</sup>
- January 27, Port-au-Prince – CIMO agents reportedly fire upon Cité Soleil activists ransacking APN warehouses. The activists demand a share of rice

<sup>89</sup> Haiti Press Network, “L’essence tire sa reverence pour Noël,” December 24, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=429](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=429); Haiti Press Network, “Le Pape Jean-Paul II exhorte les acteurs politiques locaux à se ressaisir,” November 27, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=409](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=409); OAS, *Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of CP/RES. 822 “Support for the Strengthening of Democracy in Haiti” November 4, 2002-January 4, 2003*, January 23, 2003, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm).

<sup>90</sup> “Jean Tatoune et Amiot Métayer manifestent en faveur d’Aristide,” *Radio Métropole*, January 23, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=542>).

<sup>91</sup> Signal FM Radio, January 14, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, January 15, 2002).

<sup>92</sup> AlterPresse, “Persistence de la violence à Cité Soleil,” *HaitiWebdo* #1, February 18, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=25](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=25); Haiti Press Network, “Projet de couverture photographique aérienne d’Haïti,” January 21, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=185](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=185) (five killed, 20 wounded, January 19-20 fighting); Haiti Press Network, “Le ‘Riz pour la paix’ suscite encoure des remous,” January 25, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=189](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=189) (eight killed so far in gang warfare); Radio Signal FM, January 25, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, January 26, 2002); Haiti Press Network, “Une nouvelle mission de l’OEA en Haïti!,” February 14, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=200](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=200) (six killed in February 9-10 fighting in Belekou, Sous Rail, and Boston, two of them children); Haiti News Briefs, “Violence in Cité Soleil over the last few days has claimed 13 lives and dozens of people wounded by gun shots, some seriously, according to the Committee of Victims of 9 January 2002,” February 21, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main9.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main9.html) (clashes between gangs from Boston, Soleil 4 and Soleil 13).

<sup>93</sup> NCHR, “Human Rights Decline in Aristide’s First Year Back,” February 7, 2002, Sec. 1(B) (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=136>).

imported duty-free by the FL-affiliated cooperative Pou Nou Tout for distribution by elected officials to constituents.<sup>94</sup>

- February 18-24, Gonaïves – Armed gangs from rival Raboteau and Descahos neighborhoods reportedly wound 16 in fighting over the arrest of Guy Louis Jacques for the attempted murder of Raboteau leader Métayer. Two buses are burned. Police reportedly flee the scene; presidential spokesman Jacques Maurice reportedly alleges that unspecified foreigners and Haitians are orchestrating a destabilization movement and distributing arms in order to provoke the intervention of foreign forces.<sup>95</sup>
- February 23-25, Port-au-Prince – Rival gangs fighting in Cité Soleil reportedly kill 20.<sup>96</sup>
- March 30-31, Port-au-Prince – Followers of jailed OP leader Ronald “Cadavre” Camille and his brother Franco, and rival Fort Touron group reportedly kill four in battle for control of extortion of merchants in La Saline’s Tête Bœuf market. CIMO units patrol with no effect.<sup>97</sup>
- April 8, Port-au-Prince – Partisans of Ronald Camille demanding his release reportedly injure several in La Saline fighting.<sup>98</sup>
- April 9, Port-au-Prince – Rival gangs with apparent political and police connections reportedly wound at least 10 as they continue gun battle over La Saline market.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> “Haitian Warehouses Ransacked by Crowd,” *New York Times*, January 27, 2002, p. A5; Haiti Press Network, “Le successeur de Chérestal bientôt connu?,” January 28, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=190](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=190). For background on the rice scandal, see NCHR, “Human Rights Decline in Aristide’s First Year Back,” February 7, 2002, Part II(4) (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=136>).

<sup>95</sup> AlterPresse, “Feu aux poudres à Port-au-Prince et aux Gonaïves,” *HaitiWebdo* #2, February 25, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=27](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=27); Tambours & Résonances, “Calme précaire aux Gonaïves,” February 25, 2002, Vol. 4, Week 9, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%209.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%209.htm).

<sup>96</sup> AlterPresse, “Feu aux poudres à Port-au-Prince et aux Gonaïves,” *HaitiWebdo* #2, February 25, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=27](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=27); Radio Métropole, February 25, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, February 26, 2002); Radio Vision 2000, February 26, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, February 27, 2002).

<sup>97</sup> *Radio Métropole*, April 1, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, April 2, 2002); AlterPresse, “La conjuncture politique à l’approche de la venue d’une mission technique de l’OEA en Haïti,” *HaitiWebdo* #7, April 1, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=42](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=42); Radio Signal FM, April 1, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, April 1, 2002); Tambours & Résonances, “La tension persiste à la Saline, la police patrouille sur les lieux,” April 2, 2002, Vol. 4, Week 14, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%2014.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%2014.htm).

<sup>98</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Vive tension à la Saline,” April 9, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=239](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=239).

<sup>99</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Le sénateur Norma Forté demande à RSF de retirer son nom de la liste ‘Wanted en Haïti No. 5,’” April 10, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=240](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=240); Haiti News Briefs, “Violent confrontations between rival gangs in and around the La Saline area of downtown

- On or about April 26, Port-au-Prince – Gang members from Cité Boston area of Cité Soleil reportedly kill seven in Drouillard and Bois Neuf areas.<sup>100</sup>
- April 29, Port-au-Prince – In Martissant area, OPs and police reportedly exchange gunfire, killing a 12-year old child and wounding several others. Incident is part of a reportedly “vast protest movement of members of OPs close to the government across several areas of the capital to force President Jean Bertrand Aristide to honor his agreements to create jobs for the members of the popular organizations.” In a closed-door meeting on May 2, Aristide reportedly does offer the OP members government jobs.<sup>101</sup>
- May 4, Port-au-Prince –Camille brothers’ gang and their Fort Tourond rivals, led by Ronald Bèbè, reportedly kill two in fighting over control of La Saline’s Tête Bœuf market. Bèbè later disappears.<sup>102</sup>
- May 6, Port-au-Prince – Armed gangs affiliated with Camille brothers reportedly wound several with gunfire. Gangs also stone and chase Télé-Haïti cameraman and journalist after youths announce demonstration against violence in La Saline. Police had announced a disarmament program weeks earlier to no effect.<sup>103</sup>
- May 12-13, Gonaïves – Métayer reportedly burns down several homes of opposition members in Jubilee neighborhood.<sup>104</sup>

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Port-au-Prince have left at least 10 people wounded,” April 9, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main10.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main10.html).

<sup>100</sup> Haiti News Briefs, “The residents of Drouillard and Bois Neuf in the north of the capital, Port-au-Prince, are protesting against a reign of terror carried out by armed bandits,” April 30, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main10.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main10.html).

<sup>101</sup> AlterPresse, “L’agitation sociale gagne du terrain à travers le pays,” *HaitiWebdo* #10, April 29, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=45](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=45); Haiti Press Network, “Le juge d’instruction de Saint-Marc fait la lumière sur le mandat d’arrêt lancé contre Prosper Avril,” April 30, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=254](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=254); Haiti Press Network, “Le chef d’exécutif a vivement souhaité le retour du Juge Claudy Gassant,” May 2, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=255](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=255); Tambours & Résonances, “Mouvement de protestation des membres d’OP à Martissant: Un mort et quatre blessés,” April 30, 2002, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%2018.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%2018.htm).

<sup>102</sup> AlterPresse, “Poursuite des actes de violence à la Saline,” *HaitiWebdo* #11, May 6, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=46](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=46); Haiti Press Network, “Le Président Aristide pourrait comparaître devant le Tribunal International en juillet prochain,” May 6, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=257](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=257); Haiti Press Network, “Le foyer de tension de la Saline fait encore parler de lui,” May 7, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=258](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=258); Pierre Espérance, *Directeur*, NCHR, Letter to President Jean Bertrand Aristide, November 12, 2002 (AlterPresse, “La NCHR fait part de ses graves appréhensions sur les questions de justice et sécurité en Haïti,” November 15, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=282](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=282)).

<sup>103</sup> AlterPresse, “Poursuite des actes de violence à la Saline,” *HaitiWebdo* #11, May 6, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=46](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=46).

<sup>104</sup> OAS, *Report of the Secretary General in response to CP/INF. 4724/02*, August 27, 2002, Sec. II(b), [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/cpd0c3643\\_02\\_eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/cpd0c3643_02_eng.htm).

- May 13, Port-au-Prince – Armed groups reportedly kill two and injure several in La Saline gunfire; CIMO agents intervene with tear gas grenades. Persons close to the victims denounce the persistent failure to punish gang attacks as evidence of government backing.<sup>105</sup>
- May 18-19, Port-au-Prince – Baz Kapab and An Gran Moun groups reportedly kill two in Carrefour Feuilles fighting. Residents denounce failure of police to intervene.<sup>106</sup>
- May 25, Port-au-Prince – Delmas police reportedly kill Cité Soleil gang leaders Rosemond Titus, “Mackentoch,” and “Soupa” in gunfight near airport. Partisans of the deceased reportedly dispute police version, accuse Aristide of conspiracy, and refuse to disarm.<sup>107</sup>
- July 8, Gonaïves – Police reportedly shoot one man dead in demonstration for Métayer’s release.<sup>108</sup>
- August 2, Gonaïves – Cannibal Army gunmen reportedly break down prison walls with a tractor, freeing Army leader Amiot “Cubain” Métayer. Métayer, a former FL activist, was jailed July 2 for burning down an opposition member’s home on May 12 (see above). One reportedly killed. Police present but unable to intervene or to enter gang stronghold Raboteau. Initially, Métayer partisans denounce FL for having betrayed him but soon negotiate for money, jobs, and amnesty for December 17 events. Both Métayer and Tatoune remain openly at liberty at year’s end.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> AlterPresse, “Pas de renversement de la logique de la violence dans les quartiers populaires,” *HaitiWebdo* #12, May 13, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=47](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=47); Haiti Press Network, “Deux morts et plusieurs blessées à La Saline et au bas de Delmas,” May 13, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=262](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=262).

<sup>106</sup> Haiti Press Network, “La CARICOM invite les protagonistes haïtiennes à sortir le pays de la crise,” May 20, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=268](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=268).

<sup>107</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Trois chefs de bandes tués par la police à Cité Soleil,” May 27, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=274](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=274); Haiti Press Network, “Les bandits de Cité-Soleil donnent une troisième fois de la voix,” May 29, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=276](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=276).

<sup>108</sup> Haiti News Brief, “A demonstration organised in Gonaïves by popular organisations from the Raboteau area who want Amiot Métayer, alias Cubain, released from jail, ended with one dead and the town customs office set on fire,” July 8, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main11.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main11.html).

<sup>109</sup> Amnesty International, “Haiti: Human rights and rule of law must be upheld,” August 7, 2002, AMR 36/011/2002, [web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR360112002?OpenDocument](http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR360112002?OpenDocument); NCHR, “Haitian Coalition Expresses Grave Concern Over growing Violence in Haiti,” August 7, 2002, [www.nchr.org/hrp/haiti\\_office/Nchr\\_Expressed\\_Grave\\_concern\\_release\\_.htm](http://www.nchr.org/hrp/haiti_office/Nchr_Expressed_Grave_concern_release_.htm); Gerry Hadden, “Political Instability in Haiti,” *National Public Radio*, August 13, 2002; OAS, *First Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of Resolution CP/Res. 822*, November 26, 2002, OEA/Ser. G, CP/doc.3671/02, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/cpdoc3671\\_02\\_eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/cpdoc3671_02_eng.htm) (“He appears now to be living quietly but openly in Gonaïves, reinforcing the impression of a pattern of weakness by police compounded by indications of appeasement of high profile criminals”); Nancy San Martin, “Haitians’ growing discontent with Aristide may force U.S. to act; President Aristide’s promises go unfulfilled, and unrest grows,” *Miami Herald*, August 19, 2002, p. A1; Radio Galaxie, August 7, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, August 7, 2002); Letta Taylor, “Haitians Frustrated by

- August 14, Cap-Haïtien – OPs demanding electricity for Cité Lescot reportedly smash windshields and throw stones and bottles, injuring several passersby.<sup>110</sup>
- August 19-September 4, Port-au-Prince – Ten gangsters led by Maxo “Colonel” Moreau (an escapee during the August 2 prison break in Gonaïves), reportedly move to Bon Repos and kill Valentin Michel and Maurice Louis (age 60), breaking months of peace in Cité Soleil. Rival gangs fighting over a cache of arms reportedly kill 18, wound 100, and burn 400 houses in the Boston, Brooklyn, and Soleil 9 areas in the following two weeks.<sup>111</sup>
- September 3, Gonaïves – Unidentified gunmen reportedly open fire on anti-Lavalas demonstrators in upper Descachos, wounding six.<sup>112</sup>
- September 10, Port-au-Prince – Police at the National Palace reportedly tear gas, chase, and beat demonstrators from Cité Soleil protesting government inaction against gangs.<sup>113</sup>
- September 17, Port-au-Prince – Persons in cars bearing government license plates reportedly abduct former National Cemetery director and Lavalas partisan Felix Bien-Aimé and associates Dial Normil and Paul Louis-Jacques. Victims’ car is later found at *Titanyen*, a dumping ground for bodies of assassinated political enemies.<sup>114</sup>

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Decline; Strife shows waning faith in Aristide,” *New York Newsday*, August 29, 2002, p. A06; Letta Tayler, “Critics Blame Aristide for Gang Violence,” *New York Newsday*, September 17, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=196>); Haiti Press Network, “La présidence a applaudi le retour de manivelle du chef de l’Armée cannibale Amiot Métayer,” August 9, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=329](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=329); Radio Métropole, “Gonaïves, ville sous haute tension, s’appête à vivre une nouvelle journée de manifestation anti-gouvernementale,” November 28, 2002, [www.metropolehaiti.com](http://www.metropolehaiti.com); Radio Métropole, “Jean Tatoune et Amiot Métayer manifestent en faveur d’Aristide,” January 23, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=542>).

<sup>110</sup> Haiti News Brief, “Protesters from neighborhood organisations in Cité Lescot, a poor area of Cap-Haïtien, mounted a violent demonstration to press their demand for an electricity service for the zone,” August 14, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main12.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main12.html).

<sup>111</sup> Haiti News Brief, “Twenty people have been killed, many have been injured, and some 400 houses have been set on fire in the latest wave of violence that has swept Cité Soleil since 19 August, according to a resident interviewed on Radio Haiti Inter,” September 4, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main12.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main12.html); Radio Signal FM, September 5, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, September 6, 2002); Haiti News Brief, “Police killed seven gang members when they stormed a gang base in the Soleil 17 district of the Cité Soleil neighbourhood,” November 8, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main13.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main13.html); Dina Paul Parks, Executive Director, NCHR, Testimony before the United States Senate Subcommittee on Immigration Hearing on “The Detention and Treatment of Haitian Asylum Seekers,” October 1, 2002, [http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=483&wit\\_id=1224](http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=483&wit_id=1224).

<sup>112</sup> Radio Nationale, September 3, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, September 3, 2002).

<sup>113</sup> Michael Deibert, “Haitian Police Disperse Demonstrators at Palace,” *Reuters*, September 11, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=181>).

<sup>114</sup> Haiti Press Network, “La tension a viré au rouge Jeudi dans la quartier de Martissant,” September 19, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=360](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=360); Radio Signal FM, September 20, 2002,

- September 18, Port-au-Prince – One killed, three wounded, and one government vehicle burned in Martissant disturbances related to disappearance of Félix Bien-Aimé (see above).<sup>115</sup>
- September 19, Port-au-Prince – Police reportedly injure at least one in exchange of fire with heavily armed group threatening to set fire to Martissant gasoline station in protest of Bien-Aimé’s disappearance.<sup>116</sup>
- September 21-22, Port-au-Prince – Armed gangs, including partisans of Franco Camille, reportedly kill two in battle over control of the La Saline market.<sup>117</sup>
- September 23, Port-au-Prince – CIMO agents and counter-demonstrators at the National Palace reportedly attack demonstrators from Cité Soleil seeking suppression of neighborhood gangs and compensation for homes destroyed in the fighting.<sup>118</sup>
- On or about October 25, Port-au-Prince – La Saline gunmen reportedly open fire on passersby, killing three and wounding four.<sup>119</sup>

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2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, September 20, 2002); Michael Deibert, “Radio Station Suspends Broadcasts After Death Threats,” *Reuters*, September 28, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=218>); AlterPresse, “Aristide promet de faire la lumière sur la disparition de Félix Bien-Aimé,” *HaitiWebdo* #29, November 12, 2002, [www.communica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=276](http://www.communica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=276) (history of Bien-Aimé’s implication in 2001 Grand Ravine violence); OAS, *First Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of Resolution CP/Res. 822*, November 26, 2002, OEA/Ser. G, CP/doc.3671/02, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/cpdoc3671\\_02\\_eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/cpdoc3671_02_eng.htm); NCHR, “Human Rights Situation Report: October, November, & mid-December 2002,” December 18, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=423>).

<sup>115</sup> Haiti Press Network, “La tension a viré au rouge Jeudi dans la quartier de Martissant,” September 19, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=360](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=360); Haiti Press Network, “Un journaliste de HPN frappé par des policiers à Martissant,” September 19, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=203>); Haiti Press Network, “Des hommes lourdement armés réclament la liberation de M. Felix Bien-Aimé,” September 19, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=205>).

<sup>116</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Un journaliste de HPN frappé par des policiers à Martissant,” September 20, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=203>); Haiti Press Network, “Des hommes lourdement armés réclament la liberation de M. Felix Bien-Aimé,” September 19, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=205>).

<sup>117</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Les sociétaires de la Coopérative Cœurs Unis réclame à nouveau la libération du PDG David Chéry,” September 23, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=362](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=362).

<sup>118</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Les sociétaires de la Coopérative Cœurs Unis réclame à nouveau la libération du PDG David Chéry,” September 23, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=362](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=362); Haiti Press Network, “Josué Mériilien, porte-parole de l’UNOH réclame la libération de Rosemond Jean,” September 24, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=363](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=363).

<sup>119</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Evans Paul dénonce l’arrestation de deux militants de son parti,” October 25, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=385](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=385).

- November 8, Port-au-Prince – Police reportedly storm gang base, killing seven, including leader Maxo “Colonel” Moreau. Residents say vigilantes killed the gang members.<sup>120</sup>
- November 21-22, Gonaïves – Cannibal Army members reportedly wound five, including two students, and force nine journalists into hiding. Police are present but do not intervene.<sup>121</sup>
- November 22, Port-au-Prince – Pro-government OPs, with assistance of police and other officials, reportedly throw rocks, fire automatic weapons, and erect burning tire barricades to counter growing anti-government demonstrations, paralyzing the city. Police are present but do not intervene, claiming spontaneous demonstration took them by surprise.<sup>122</sup>
- November 25, Gonaïves – Cannibal Army members reportedly fire upon anti-Aristide demonstrators, wounding five, including Jacky Similien of College Chretien, another student, and three other anti-Aristide demonstrators in Descahos.<sup>123</sup>
- November 26, Gonaïves – Two gunmen on motorcycle reportedly shoot two residents of Raboteau. Government spokesperson Mario Dupuy alleges the assailants to be members of the opposition Democratic Convergence.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Haiti News Brief, “Police killed seven gang members when they stormed a gang base in the Soleil 17 district of the Cité Soleil neighbourhood,” November 8, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main13.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main13.html).

<sup>121</sup> Pierre Espérance, *Directeur*, NCHR, “Open Letter to Police Inspector-General,” November 29, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=379>); AlterPresse, “Aristide au creux de la vague: issue problématique,” *HaitiWebdo* #31, November 25, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=294](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=294).

<sup>122</sup> NCHR, “Human Rights Situation Report: October, November, & mid-December 2002,” December 18, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=423>); Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, “IACHR concerned by recent events in Haiti,” November 27, 2002, Press Release No. 46/02, [www.cidh.org/comunicados/english/2002/46.02.htm](http://www.cidh.org/comunicados/english/2002/46.02.htm); Marika Lynch, “Changing dynamics threaten Haitian president’s administration,” *Miami Herald*, December 1, 2002; Michael Deibert, “Violence Escalates in Haiti,” *Reuters*, December 7, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=374>); Vario Sérant, AlterPresse, “Aristide au creux de la vague: Issue problématique,” *HaitiWebdo* #31, November 25, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=294](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=294).

<sup>123</sup> Michael Deibert, “Supporters, Critics of Haiti’s President Protest,” *Reuters*, November 25, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=336>); Michael Norton, “Haiti Crowds Call for President’s Ouster,” *AP*, November 25, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=335>); Pierre Espérance, *Directeur*, NCHR, “Open Letter to Police Inspector-General,” November 29, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=379>).

<sup>124</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Les nerfs sont à fleur de peau aux Gonaïves ce mardi,” November 26, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=407](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=407); Haiti Press Network, “Le Pape Jean-Paul II exhorte les acteurs politiques locaux à se ressaisir,” November 27, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=409](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=409).

- November 26, Gonaïves – Gunmen reportedly shoot at vehicle carrying members of OAS Special Mission, hitting it twice. Another armed group blocks Mission members' passage and attempts to force them out of their vehicle at gunpoint to be searched.<sup>125</sup>
- November 26, Gonaïves – Gunman reportedly wounds Roberto Fils-Aimé of College Union.<sup>126</sup>
- November 26, Gonaïves – Ten armed Convergence members reportedly set up burning barricades and fire into crowd (no injuries reported).<sup>127</sup>
- November 28, Gonaïves – Aristide partisans led by Métayer reportedly attack anti-government demonstrators (led by erstwhile ally Tatoune) with stones, spikes, and metal-studded rawhide whips. One police officer is shot in the head.<sup>128</sup>
- November 29-December 1, Gonaïves – Tatoune partisan reportedly kills a member of Métayer's pro-Lavalas Cannibal Army. The latter reportedly retaliates, killing three among Tatoune's anti-government group in upper Raboteau and setting fire to at least 20 homes.<sup>129</sup>
- December 8, Fonds Baptiste – Three police officers reportedly lynched and one civilian killed in five-year land dispute.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>125</sup> OAS, "Incident aux Gonaïves: Communiqué de la Mission Speciale de l'OEA," November 28, 2002, F-113/02, [www.oas.org/library/mant\\_press/press\\_release.asp?sCodigo=F-113/02](http://www.oas.org/library/mant_press/press_release.asp?sCodigo=F-113/02); OAS, *Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of CP/RES. 822 "Support for the Strengthening of Democracy in Haiti" November 4, 2002-January 4, 2003*, January 23, 2003, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm); Haiti Press Network, "Le Pape Jean-Paul II exhorte les acteurs politiques locaux à se ressaisir," November 27, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=409](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=409).

<sup>126</sup> Pierre Espérance, *Directeur*, NCHR, "Open Letter to Police Inspector-General," November 29, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=379>).

<sup>127</sup> "Former Congressman, Haiti's Government Counsel Respond to Recent Protests in Haiti," *PR Newswire Association*, November 27, 2002 (citing *Agence Haitienne de Presse*).

<sup>128</sup> Haiti News Brief, "Amid another day of demonstrations, President Jean-Bertrand Aristide said that he would not step down and would not be overthrown in another coup," November 28, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main13.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main13.html); Haiti Press Network, "Le chef d'Etat rappellé à ses adversaires que son mandat était de 5 ans," November 28, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=410](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=410); *Radio Métropole*, "Gonaïves, ville sous haute tension, s'apprête à vivre une nouvelle journée de manifestation anti-gouvernementale," November 28, 2002, [www.metropolehaiti.com](http://www.metropolehaiti.com).

<sup>129</sup> OAS, *Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of CP/RES. 822 "Support for the Strengthening of Democracy in Haiti" November 4, 2002-January 4, 2003*, January 23, 2003, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm); Deutsche Presse-Agentur, "Roundup: Aristide backers clash with opposition activists in Haiti," December 3, 2002; NCHR, "Human Rights Situation Report: October, November, & mid-December 2002," December 18, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=423>).

<sup>130</sup> NCHR, "Human Rights Situation Report: October, November, & mid-December 2002," December 18, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=423>); Haiti Press Network, "Fritzto Canton a formulé plusieurs propositions pour sortir Haïti de la crise," December 10, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=419](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=419).

## Students

### *Introduction*

The student movement has always been a potent force in Haiti, playing a catalytic role in the mass movements that resulted in the ousters of Jean-Claude Duvalier in 1986 and Prosper Avril in 1990. Last summer, Education Minister Myrtho Célestin Saurel ousted the independent Executive Council of Haitian State University and the popular vice chancellor, Pierre Marie Paquiot.<sup>131</sup> The move, allegedly in response to a hunger strike by seven pro-government students, was denounced as a totalitarian gesture, setting off waves of protest and violent repression in August (see below).<sup>132</sup> After thousands of students marched on the campus in mid-November the decree was reversed and Minister Saurel was dismissed, but the student movement inspired discontent in other sectors around the country, setting off the largest opposition demonstrations the Lavalas government had ever seen.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> AlterPresse, "L'Université publique haïtienne en crise" and Ronald Colbert, "Tentative de mise en coupe réglée de l'université d'état d'Haïti," *HaitiWebdo* #21, July 29, 2002, [www.communica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=56](http://www.communica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=56).

<sup>132</sup> Haiti Press Network, "L'ambassadeur de la République de Chine en Haïti," July 31, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=322](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=322).

<sup>133</sup> Gotson Pierre, AlterPresse, "Conjoncture politique: viendra-t-il enfin, le CEP?," *HaitiWebdo* #30, November 20, 2002, [www.communica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=287](http://www.communica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=287) (five thousand march on Port-au-Prince November 15); NCHR, "Human Rights Situation Report: October, November, & mid-December 2002," December 18, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=423>); Michael Deibert, "Students March on Parliament," *Reuters*, November 9, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=293>); Michael Deibert, "Student Demonstration in Port-au-Prince," *Reuters*, November 14, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=299>); Vario Sérant, AlterPresse, "Aristide au creux de la vague: Issue problématique," *HaitiWebdo* #31, November 25, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=294](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=294).

*Specific Incidents*

- February 25, Port-au-Prince – Students protesting corruption and mismanagement at the ethnology department of the Haitian State University reportedly throw rocks to close it. Dean Yves Dorestal reportedly accuses them of working for rival Jean Emmanuel Eloi.<sup>134</sup>
- March 10-11, Port-au-Prince – Gunmen reportedly surround the ethnology department of the Haitian State University and chase security guard away. Police intervene to restore order.<sup>135</sup>
- On or about July 5, Gonaïves – Supporters of gang leader Amiot “Cubain” Métayer reportedly shoot at schools, preventing exams, and demand Métayer's release from prison.<sup>136</sup>
- July 30, Port-au-Prince – Pro-Aristide militants reportedly stone National University students who are protesting the government's removal of the university president and its infringement on university autonomy.<sup>137</sup>
- August 14, Port-au-Prince – Government supporters reportedly attack Haitian State University students, injuring three. The students are engaged in a sit-in at the Ministry of Education, protesting state interference with university autonomy.<sup>138</sup>
- August 22, Port-au-Prince – Pro-government activists reportedly block the gates of Haitian State University Teachers' College for hours. They throw rocks, bottles, and urine-filled bottles at students and faculty inside, who are protesting government interference with the university's autonomy. The pro-government activists assault several who attempt to leave. The government praises police who are present but do not intervene for eight hours.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Tambours & Résonances, “Les étudiants ferment les portes de la faculté d’Ethnologie,” February 26, 2002, Vol. 4, Week 9, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%209.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%209.htm)

<sup>135</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Quatre députés haïtiens au Forum des parlementaires de l’Amérique,” March 13, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=221](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=221) (Rector Pierre-Marie Paquiot dismisses dean’s assistant Emmanuel Eloi who was in dispute with Dean Yves Doréstal).

<sup>136</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Mouvement de grève maintenu par les commerçants du centre-ville,” July 5, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=301](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=301).

<sup>137</sup> Michael Deibert, “Government Backers Halt Student Protest,” *Reuters*, August 22, 2002; Michael Deibert, “Students March on Parliament,” *Reuters*, November 9, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=293>); Dr. Dunois Erick Cantave, General Secretary of KONAKOM du Renouveau, “Attention aux manipulations ! Étudiants, étudiantes, prenez vos responsabilités,” Press Release, July 30, 2002.

<sup>138</sup> AlterPresse, “Une fin d’été très chaude,” *HaitiWebdo* #22, September 3, 2002, [www.communica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=192](http://www.communica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=192); Micheal Deibert, “Government Backers Halt Student Protest,” *Reuters*, August 22, 2002; Letta Taylor, “Haitians Frustrated by Decline; Strife shows waning faith in Aristide,” *New York Newsday*, August 29, 2002, p. A06; Radio Signal FM, September 5, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, September 6, 2002).

<sup>139</sup> Micheal Deibert, “Government Backers Halt Student Protest,” *Reuters*, August 22, 2002; AlterPresse, “Urgent – Crise de l’Université: des étudiants assiégés par des partisans de pouvoir,” August 22, 2002;

- November 13, Port-au-Prince – A police car reportedly injures one in a student demonstration outside Parliament. The demonstrators are protesting a proposed law on the management of Haitian State University.<sup>140</sup>
- November 20, Petit-Goâve – Police reportedly open fire on student demonstrators protesting increased examination fees and the Lavalas regime, wounding nine between the ages of 10 and 23. Police defend the use of force, declaring that students intended to lower the flag in front of the police station to half-mast.<sup>141</sup>
- November 21, Gonaïves – Aristide partisans reportedly shoot into the air and throw stones at students protesting the shooting of Petit-Goâve students the day before. Police are present but do not intervene.<sup>142</sup>
- November 25, Port-au-Prince – Pro-Aristide demonstrators reportedly march on and stone the ethnology department of the Haitian State University, where anti-government students are gathering. Three of the pro-Aristide demonstrators are shot. Police reportedly enter the school, arrest, and beat two students.<sup>143</sup>

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Letta Taylor, "Haitians Frustrated by Decline; Strife shows waning faith in Aristide," *New York Newsday*, August 29, 2002, p. A06; Radio Signal FM, September 5, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, September 6, 2002); Michael Deibert, "Police Shut Down Band for Criticizing Aristide," *Reuters*, September 19, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=202>); AlterPresse, "Une fin d'été très chaude," *HaitiWebdo* #22, September 3, 2002,

[www.communica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=192](http://www.communica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=192); Haiti Press Network, "Le gouvernement applaudit l'attitude de la police jeudi," August 23, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=338](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=338).

<sup>140</sup> Haiti Press Network, "Etudiants et professeurs de l'UEH ont manifesté ce mercredi devant le Parlement," November 13, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=398](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=398).

<sup>141</sup> NCHR, "Human Rights Situation Report: October, November, & mid-December 2002," December 18, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=423>); Amnesty International, "Haiti: political leaders must reject violence," December 10, 2002, AMR 36/016/2002, [web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR360162002?OpenDocument](http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR360162002?OpenDocument); OAS, "Communiqué of the OAS Special Mission on recent events in Haiti," November 25, 2002,

[www.oas.org/library/mant\\_press/press\\_release.asp?sCodigo=HAI112502E](http://www.oas.org/library/mant_press/press_release.asp?sCodigo=HAI112502E); OAS, "La CIDH se dit préoccupée par les récents événements en Haïti," November 27, 2002, CIDH-46, [www.oas.org/library/mant\\_press/press\\_release.asp?sCodigo=CIDH-46](http://www.oas.org/library/mant_press/press_release.asp?sCodigo=CIDH-46); "Haiti: thousands protest shooting of students in Wednesday demonstration," *AP*, November 21, 2002; Pierre Espérance, *Directeur*, NCHR, Letter to Police Inspector-General, November 29, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=379>) (names, schools, grades, ages, and injuries of eight of the students listed).

<sup>142</sup> Haiti News Brief, "Students in Port-au-Prince took to the streets demanding President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's resignation," November 21, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main13.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main13.html)

<sup>143</sup> Michael Norton, "Haiti Crowds Call for President's Ouster," *AP*, November 25, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=335>); Michael Deibert, "Supporters, Critics of Haiti's President Protest," *Reuters*, November 25, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=336>); AlterPresse, "Poursuite de l'agitation," *HaitiWebdo* #31, November 25, 2002, [www.communica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=294](http://www.communica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=294).

- November 27, Gonaïves – CIMO agents reportedly fire into the air and arrest several on the eve of demonstrations marking the anniversary of the shooting deaths of three student demonstrators. The 1985 event is widely held to have led to fall of Jean-Claude Duvalier two months later.<sup>144</sup>
- December 3, Port-au-Prince – Riot police and Aristide partisans reportedly raid Haitian State University, beat students, and raise a flag lowered to half-staff in protest.<sup>145</sup>
- December 8, Carrefour – In the early morning hours, Saint-Charles police officers involved in community extortion reportedly abduct students Andy Philippe, Angelo Philippe, and Vladimir Sanon, whose bodies are later found in the morgue with gunshot.<sup>146</sup>

## Journalists Threatened

### *Introduction*

Journalists were repeatedly threatened and assaulted throughout the year. As the assassinations of journalists in recent years remained unpunished, journalists were obliged to take merely verbal threats seriously in 2002. In January, Figaro Désir, leader of the pro-Lavalas OP, *Bale Wouze*, in Saint-Marc, reportedly threatened to burn Guyler Delva (leader of the Association of Haitian Journalists, or AJH) alive should he enter the area as he had planned. Désir described Delva as a “stateless person in the service of the white colonialists.”<sup>147</sup> Also in January, OP leader René Civil reportedly called on the

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<sup>144</sup> Radio Métropole, “Gonaïves, ville sous haute tension, s’apprête à vivre une nouvelle journée de manifestation anti-gouvernementale,” November 28, 2002, [www.metropolehaiti.com](http://www.metropolehaiti.com).

<sup>145</sup> Michael Deibert, “Haitian Businesses Close in Protest Against Aristide,” *Reuters*, December 5(?), 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, [haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm](http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/news20021206.htm)); AlterPresse, “Appel à la grève contre l’intolérance et la violence des partisans de Aristide,” *HaitiWebdo* #32, December 3, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=309](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=309).

<sup>146</sup> Marseille Charlot, *PNH Inspecteur Principal*, “Rapport sur les événements survenus à Waney 89 dans la nuit du 07 au 08 décembre 2002,” *Police Nationale d’Haiti, Direction Départementale de l’Ouest*, December 20, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, [haitipolicy.inxil.com/policereport.htm](http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/policereport.htm)), *Radio Signal FM*, December 11, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, December 11, 2002); NCHR, “Human Rights Situation Report: October, November, & mid-December 2002,” December 18, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=423>).

<sup>147</sup> Haiti News Briefs, “Members of the St. Marc popular organization, *Bale Wouze*, have threatened to kill Guyler Delva, the secretary-general of the Association of Haitian Journalists,” January 17, 2002,

government to take steps to prevent further “acts of interference,” such as RSF’s critique. He also referred to AJH leader Guyler Delva as a “slave commander... selling our journalists to a foreigner who wants to tarnish the reputation of the country and even tear off the flag.”<sup>148</sup>

In April, Communication Minister Mario Dupuy proposed regulations restricting freedom of the press, arguing that “one cannot be for the rule of law and hostile to the establishment of laws at the same time.”<sup>149</sup>

On May 3, World Press Freedom Day, Reporters Without Borders (RSF) named President Aristide one of the 38 press predators in the world.<sup>150</sup> The President responded by accusing RSF of racism.<sup>151</sup> On September 4, the OAS Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression expressed concern regarding “the murders, threatening, and harassment of journalists” in Haiti and restrictive press legislation incompatible with the American Convention on Human Rights.<sup>152</sup> On the September 30 anniversary of the 1991 coup d’etat, Aristide likened negative Haitian press reports to a continuation of the coup.<sup>153</sup>

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haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\_news\_main8.html; Gerry Hadden, “Political violence against journalists in Haiti,” *National Public Radio Morning Edition*, January 25, 2002.

<sup>148</sup> Radio Signal FM, January 14, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, January 15, 2002); Gerry Hadden, “Political violence against journalists in Haiti,” *National Public Radio Morning Edition*, January 25, 2002; Haiti Press Network, “Projet de couverture photographique aérienne d’Haïti,” January 14, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=183](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=183).

<sup>149</sup> Radio Métropole, April 19, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, April 20, 2002).

<sup>150</sup> Radio Métropole, May 3, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, May 4, 2002).

<sup>151</sup> AlterPresse, “Les journalistes haïtiennes disent non à l’impunité,” *HaitiWebdo* #11, May 6, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=46](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=46).

<sup>152</sup> OAS, “Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression of the OAS expresses concern over the situation of journalists and the media in Haiti,” CIDH/6202, September 4, 2002, [www.oas.org/library/mant\\_press/press\\_release.asp?sCodigo=CIDH/6202](http://www.oas.org/library/mant_press/press_release.asp?sCodigo=CIDH/6202).

<sup>153</sup> Dina Paul Parks, Executive Director, NCHR, Testimony before the United States Senate Subcommittee on Immigration Hearing on “The Detention and Treatment of Haitian Asylum Seekers,” October 1, 2002, [http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=483&wit\\_id=1224](http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=483&wit_id=1224).

According to Michael Norton of the AP, as of October 11, “some 30 journalists have been attacked or harassed, allegedly by Aristide partisans, and more than a dozen journalists have fled the country.”<sup>154</sup> In December, the Association of Haitian Journalists put the total number of journalists threatened during the year at 64: 62 by government actors and two by the opposition.<sup>155</sup>

### *Specific Incidents*

- January 11, Port-au-Prince – OPs led by René Civil and Paul Raymond reportedly attack a presentation on press freedom by Guyler Delva (AJH) and Robert Ménard (RSF) at Le Plaza Hotel, forcing Ménard to flee.<sup>156</sup>
- January 14, Mirebalais – OPs close to the government reportedly force Radio Eben-Ezer to halt news broadcasts with threats.<sup>157</sup>
- January 21, Port-au-Prince – Gunmen reportedly wound Canadian journalist Mathieu Prud’Homme, who is investigating gang warfare in Cité Soleil for the Haiti Press Network.<sup>158</sup>
- January 27, Pétion-Ville – Police Commissioner Frantz Lochard reportedly manhandles and threatens to kill Tropic FM journalist Bernard Baptiste for hostile reporting on police handling of a merchant demonstration.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Michael Norton, “Democracy is threatened in Haiti, U.S. ambassador says,” *AP*, October 11, 2002.

<sup>155</sup> Reporters Without Borders, “Haiti: Seven journalists take refuge in Port-au-Prince,” December 5, 2002, [www.rsf.fr/print/php3?id\\_article=4390](http://www.rsf.fr/print/php3?id_article=4390).

<sup>156</sup> OAS, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Events of December 17, 2001, in Haiti*, July 1, 2002, Sec. II(D)(2), OEA/Ser. G, CP/INF. 4702/02,

[www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/cpinf4702\\_02\\_eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/cpinf4702_02_eng.htm); Gerry Hadden, “Political violence against journalists in Haiti,” *National Public Radio Morning Edition*, January 15, 2002; Haiti Press Network, “La liste de Robert Ménard, Jean Bertrand Aristide en tête,” January 11, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=179](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=179); Haiti Press Network, “Overture de la deuxième session ordinaire de la 47e législature,” January 14, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=180](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=180).

<sup>157</sup> Haiti News Briefs, “Journalists at Radio Eben-Ezer in Mirebalais have decided to stop their news broadcasts after receiving numerous threats from organizations close to the government,” January 15, 2002, [haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea\\_news\\_main8.html](http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/fea_news_main8.html)

<sup>158</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Riz et Parliament: des membres d’OP réclament leur part,” January 22, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=186](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=186).

<sup>159</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Nouvelle agression contre la presse,” January 29, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=191](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=191); Tambours & Résonances, “Le reporter de Tropic FM, Bernard Baptiste, affirme avoir été molesté par le commissaire de Pétion Ville Frantz Lochard,” January 29, 2002, Vol. 4, Week 5, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%205.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%205.htm).

- On or about February 11, Cayes – OP member Jean Michel Millien reportedly assaults Radio Excelsior journalist Grégory Alméida Délisca for collaborating with Senate candidate Yvon Feuillé.<sup>160</sup>
- July 1, Port-au-Prince – Depositors of the CEI cooperative reportedly attack a Haiti Press Network journalist, destroying his camera.<sup>161</sup>
- July 15, Delmas – Four armed and masked assailants reportedly abduct, beat, and interrogate Radio Caraïbes journalist Israël Jacky Cantave and his cousin Frantz Ambroise. The victims' car is found with dents, blood stains, and Cantave's cell phone. The kidnappers release them the next day, reportedly declaring that their decision not to kill them is "so as not to cause more blame to the government." Cantave, Ambroise, and other family members go into hiding because of anonymous threats. Judicial Police Director Jeannot François contradicts their account.<sup>162</sup>
- August, Grand-Goave – Mayor Rigaud Xavier, heavily armed and accompanied by bodyguards, reportedly assaults Radio Zaka journalist Claudy Milord in public for criticism of a land deal.<sup>163</sup>
- September 10, Miragoâne – Police reportedly attack Radio Vision 2000 journalist Anne Myriam Loiseau.<sup>164</sup>
- September 19, Port-au-Prince - Police reportedly arrest and beat Haiti Press Network journalist Rodson Josselin as he covers Martissant disturbances. Police also reportedly seize his equipment.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>160</sup> Tambours & Résonances, "Nouveau cas d'agression contre un membre de la presse," February 11, 2002, Vol. 4, Week 7, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%207.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%207.htm).

<sup>161</sup> Haiti Press Network, "Manifestation ce lundi des épargnants de la coopérative CEI," July 1, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=297](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=297).

<sup>162</sup> OAS, "OAS Special Mission for Strengthening Democracy in Haiti," July 17, 2002, SMH/DIR06E, [www.oas.org/library/mant\\_press/press\\_release.asp?sCodigo=SMH/DIR06E](http://www.oas.org/library/mant_press/press_release.asp?sCodigo=SMH/DIR06E); *Radio Signal FM*, July 25, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America, July 26, 2002); Reporters Without Borders, "Haiti: Judicial police director makes worrying statements about journalist Jacky Cantave's abduction," August 21, 2002, [www.rsf.fr/print.php3?id\\_article=3479](http://www.rsf.fr/print.php3?id_article=3479); AlterPresse, "Pressions et agressions contre la presse haïtienne: le cycle infernal se poursuit," *HaitiWebdo* #19, July 16, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=54](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=54); AlterPresse, "Jacky Cantave... dans le maquis," *HaitiWebdo* #20, July 23, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=55](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=55).

<sup>163</sup> Radio Signal FM, August 22, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America, August 22, 2002); Haiti Press Network, "Marche pacifique des étudiants du Front de refus jeudi dans la capitale," August 21, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=336](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=336).

<sup>164</sup> Association of Haitian Journalists, "Call for End to Attacks on Journalists," September 12, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=185>).

<sup>165</sup> Haiti Press Network, "Un journaliste de HPN frappé par des policiers à Martissant," September 20, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=203>); *Radio Signal FM*, September 20, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, September 20, 2002).

- September 26, Port-au-Prince – Anonymous sources reportedly threaten radio stations Kiskeya, Caraïbes, Ibo, and Tropic, causing them to shut down. Kiskeya reportedly is targeted because of its coverage of the September 18 disappearance of Felix Bien-Aimé and the arrest of Rosemond Jean, an advocate for investors who lost money in a cooperative pyramid scheme (see above).<sup>166</sup>
- September 27 – Three strangers reportedly ambush Roger Damas of Radio Ibo as he arrives at the station. They threaten to burn it down.<sup>167</sup>
- On or about October 16 – The Association des Militants de Bel-Air reportedly sends threatening letters to radio stations Signal, Caraïbes, Ibo, Métropole, Vision 2000, and Kiskeya accusing them of working for the opposition and the international community.<sup>168</sup>
- In October – Secretary of State for Communication Mario Dupuy reportedly threatens journalist Gerin Alexandre on Radio Caraïbes.<sup>169</sup>
- November 17, Cap Haïtien – Pro-government OP members reportedly attack Radio Maxima journalists Péguy Jean and Joël Joseph and give the station a 48-hour ultimatum to shut down. General Director of Ministry of Interior Angelot Bell reportedly makes threatening statements on nearby Radio Africa. Police are accused of violence and acquiescence to pro-government mob violence at related demonstrations in Saint Marc and Gonaïves.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>166</sup> Reporters Without Borders, “Haiti: Two radio stations suspend broadcasting after threats,” September 30, 2002, [www.rwf.fr/print.php3?id\\_article=3924](http://www.rwf.fr/print.php3?id_article=3924); OAS, *First Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of Resolution CP/Res. 822*, November 26, 2002, OEA/Ser. G, CP/doc.3671/02, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/cpdoc3671\\_02\\_eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/cpdoc3671_02_eng.htm); “UN expert alarmed by impunity granted armed militants in Haiti,” *Agence France Presse*, October 4, 2002; Michael Deibert, “Radio Station Suspends Broadcasts After Death Threats,” *Reuters*, September 28, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project Reprint #218); Haiti Press Network, “Caraïbe FM, Signal FM, Ibo et Kiskeya ont été menacées,” September 27, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=366](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=366).

<sup>167</sup> Reporters Without Borders, “Haiti: Two radio stations suspend broadcasting after threats,” September 30, 2002, [www.rwf.fr/print.php3?id\\_article=3924](http://www.rwf.fr/print.php3?id_article=3924); Haiti Press Network, “Caraïbe FM, Signal FM, Ibo et Kiskeya ont été menacées,” September 27, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=366](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=366).

<sup>168</sup> “De nouvelles menaces planent sur la liberté de la presse en Haïti,” *Radio Signal*, October 16, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=241>).

<sup>169</sup> Radio Signal FM, October 18, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, October 18, 2002).

<sup>170</sup> NCHR, “Human Rights Situation Report: October, November, & mid-December 2002,” December 18, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=423>); Amnesty International, “Haiti: political leaders must reject violence,” December 10, 2002, AMR 36/016/2002, [web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR360162002?OpenDocument](http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR360162002?OpenDocument); OAS, “La CIDH se dit préoccupée par les récents événements en Haïti,” November 27, 2002, CIDH-46, [www.oas.org/library/mant\\_press/press\\_release.asp?sCodigo=CIDH-46](http://www.oas.org/library/mant_press/press_release.asp?sCodigo=CIDH-46); Marika Lynch, “Changing dynamics threaten Haitian president’s administration,” *Miami Herald*, December 1, 2002; Reporters Without Borders, “A radio station set on fire and nine journalists threatened in the north,” December 5, 2002, [www.rsf.fr/print/php3?id\\_article=4390](http://www.rsf.fr/print/php3?id_article=4390).

- November 21, Gonaïves – Cannibal Army partisans reportedly threaten nine journalists, including Radio Étincelle Director Esdras Mondélus, in telephone calls and face-to-face (both in the street and at the studio), for their live coverage of the November 17 Cap-Haïtien protests and a local student march in Gonaïves that day. The journalists and family members are forced into hiding. Source reportedly threatens to burn down Radio Étincelle, which ceases broadcasting.<sup>171</sup>
- November 24-25, Gonaïves – Arsonists reportedly set fire to Radio Étincelle.<sup>172</sup>
- November 28, Gonaïves – Gunmen reportedly open fire outside the hotel where AJH meets with threatened journalists and police.<sup>173</sup>
- In December – Opposition demonstrators reportedly rough up reporters for pro-government Télévision National d’Haïti and Télé Timoun.<sup>174</sup>
- December 1, Cap-Haïtien – Aristide supporters reportedly threaten Radio Maxima journalists (station suspends programs).<sup>175</sup>
- On or about December 20, Port-au-Prince – Police reportedly issue warrant for the arrest of journalist Israël Jacky Cantave for abuse of judicial process.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>171</sup> OAS, “Communiqué of the OAS Special Mission on recent events in Haiti,” November 25, 2002, [www.oas.org/library/mant\\_press/press\\_release.asp?sCodigo=HAI112502E](http://www.oas.org/library/mant_press/press_release.asp?sCodigo=HAI112502E); Committee to Protect Journalists, “Haiti: CPJ concerned about recent attacks against journalists,” December 2, 2002, [www.cpj.org/news/2002/Haiti02dec02na.html](http://www.cpj.org/news/2002/Haiti02dec02na.html); Reporters Without Borders, “Haiti: Seven journalists take refuge in Port-au-Prince” and “A radio station set on fire and nine journalists threatened in the north,” December 5, 2002, [www.rsf.fr/print/php3?id\\_article=4390](http://www.rsf.fr/print/php3?id_article=4390); Marika Lynch, “Four Haitian journalists hiding from pro-Aristide gang: Plight of group underlines peril facing profession across nation,” *Miami Herald*, December 10, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=389>); Radio Signal FM, December 10, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, December 11, 2002); Pierre Espérance, *Directeur*, NCHR, Letter to Police Inspector-General, November 29, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=379>) (journalists listed).

<sup>172</sup> Committee to Protect Journalists, “Haiti: CPJ concerned about recent attacks against journalists,” December 2, 2002, [www.cpj.org/news/2002/Haiti02dec02na.html](http://www.cpj.org/news/2002/Haiti02dec02na.html); Reporters Without Borders, “A radio station set on fire and nine journalists threatened,” December 5, 2002, [www.rsf.fr/print/php3?id\\_article=4390](http://www.rsf.fr/print/php3?id_article=4390); NCHR, “Human Rights Situation Report: October, November, & mid-December 2002,” December 18, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=423>); AlterPresse, “Poursuite de l’agitation,” *HaitiWebdo* #31, November 25, 2002, [www.communica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=294](http://www.communica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=294).

<sup>173</sup> Committee to Protect Journalists, “Haiti: CPJ concerned about recent attacks against journalists,” December 2, 2002, [www.cpj.org/news/2002/Haiti02dec02na.html](http://www.cpj.org/news/2002/Haiti02dec02na.html); Reporters Without Borders, “Haiti: Seven journalists take refuge in Port-au-Prince,” December 5, 2002, [www.rsf.fr/print/php3?id\\_article=4390](http://www.rsf.fr/print/php3?id_article=4390).

<sup>174</sup> OAS, *Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of CP/RES. 822 “Support for the Strengthening of Democracy in Haiti”* November 4, 2002-January 4, 2003, January 23, 2003, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm).

<sup>175</sup> Reporters Without Borders, “Haiti: Seven journalists take refuge in Port-au-Prince,” December 5, 2002, [www.rsf.fr/print/php3?id\\_article=4390](http://www.rsf.fr/print/php3?id_article=4390).

<sup>176</sup> Haiti Press Network, “La PNH a émis un mandat d’arrêt contre le journaliste Jacky Cantave,” December 20, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=427](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=427).

## **The Judicial Sector: Impunity, Intimidation, Impotence**

### *Introduction*

The Haitian judicial sector, never very strong, continued to demonstrate its inability to prosecute politically motivated killings or to effectively ensure the lawfulness of incarceration.<sup>177</sup> The Commission of Inquiry's July 1 report on the events of December 17, 2001 identified 20 suspects involved in the violence, mostly FL members or government officials. By year's end, however, few had been interviewed, let alone prosecuted.<sup>178</sup> Although ten persons were charged in the December 3, 2001 slaying of journalist Brignol Lindor, the most prominent suspect was not charged and, of the ten, only two were arrested.<sup>179</sup>

The legislative branch was also implicated in the continuing impunity for human rights violations. The Haitian Senate refused to lift parliamentary immunity from Dany Toussaint, the lead suspect in the assassination of journalist Jean Dominique.<sup>180</sup> The lower chamber, however, did distinguish itself by lifting the immunity of Deputy Jocelyn

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<sup>177</sup> William G. O'Neill, Elliot Schrage, *Paper Laws, Steel Bayonettes: Breakdown of the Rule of Law in Haiti*, Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 1990; Pierre Espérance, *Directeur*, NCHR, Letter to President Jean Bertrand Aristide, November 12, 2002 (AlterPresse, "La NCHR fait part de ses graves appréhensions sur les questions de justice et sécurité en Haïti," November 15, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=282](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=282)).

<sup>178</sup> OAS, *Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of CP/RES. 822 "Support for the Strengthening of Democracy in Haiti" November 4, 2002-January 4, 2003*, January 23, 2003, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm).

<sup>179</sup> OAS, *Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of CP/RES. 822 "Support for the Strengthening of Democracy in Haiti" November 4, 2002-January 4, 2003*, January 23, 2003, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm).

<sup>180</sup> Tambours & Résonances, "Affaire Jean Dominique: le sénateur Dany Toussaint garde son immunité parlementaire," Vol. 4, Week 5, February 1, 2002, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%205.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%205.htm).

Saint-Louis, accused of January's murder of Saint-Raphaël mayor Fernand Sévère (see General Political Violence and Intimidation, above).<sup>181</sup>

The police demonstrated a similar pliancy to the wills of political actors. The Commission of Inquiry established by the OAS to look into the December 17, 2001 events concluded

the administration of justice is heavily influenced by the authorities and the Popular Organizations that work with them. There is a clear denial of justice for those who do not support the ruling party.<sup>182</sup>

President Aristide praised the police inactivity in Gonaïves as “an intelligent strategy to maintain peace without the loss of one drop of blood.”<sup>183</sup> By November, Director of the Judicial Police Jeannot François said that the police were awaiting instructions before arresting Métayer.<sup>184</sup> Police arrested Hinche mayor Dongo Joseph for assaulting a judge, but Minister of the Interior Henry Claude Ménard intervened to obtain his release without trial. (President Aristide ordered Joseph's removal but the mayor refused to recognize the President's decision.)<sup>185</sup>

Although the police played a constructive role in protecting the November 17 opposition marchers in Cap-Haïtien, in most cases of violent confrontations between

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<sup>181</sup> Tambours & Résonances, “La chambre basse vote la levée de l'immunité du député Jocelyn Saint-Louis,” February 7, 2002, Vol. 4, Week 6, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%206.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%206.htm).

<sup>182</sup> OAS, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Events of December 17, 2001, in Haiti*, July 1, 2002, Sec. III, OEA/Ser. G, CP/INF. 4702/02, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/cpinf4702\\_02\\_eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/cpinf4702_02_eng.htm).

<sup>183</sup> Global Marketing Solutions, “Haiti's President Aristide Weaves Theme of Peace, Non-violence And Reconciliation Through Speech Made at Historic City of Petit Goave,” *PR Newswire*, August 19, 2002.

<sup>184</sup> Vario Sérant, AlterPresse, “Aristide au creux de la vague: Issue problématique,” *HaitiWebdo* #31, November 25, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=294](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=294).

<sup>185</sup> AlterPresse, “Grogne au sein de la base de Fanmi Lavalas,” *HaitiWebdo* #9, April 16, 2002, [www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id\\_article=44](http://www.comunica.org/medialternatif/alterpresse/article.php3?id_article=44); NCHR, “Human Rights Decline in Aristide's First Year Back,” February 7, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=136>).

political groups they simply stood aside.<sup>186</sup> Police leaders have also shown a disturbing tendency to minimize the political implications of much of the recent violence.

Originally, for example, authorities suggested that the December 6-7 attack on opposition MDN headquarters (see General Political Violence and Intimidation, above) was accidental or self-inflicted, though initial information suggested, and later investigation confirmed, that it was arson.<sup>187</sup> They have offered similar speculation regarding the December 26 attack on Michèle Montas (see below) and the July 15 kidnapping of journalist Jacky Cantave (see Journalists Threatened, above).

For those in the hands of the penal system, justice was rare and conditions were abysmal. According to the NCHR, “over [82 percent] of the incarcerated population [is] awaiting judgment and only [18 percent] hav[e] been tried and sentenced.”<sup>188</sup> According to Human Rights Watch,

Prison conditions were extremely poor. With space for about 1,260 inmates, the country’s prisons held a total of more than 4,100, or more than three times their capacity. Prisoners received only one meal a day, resulting in high levels of malnutrition. Many prisoners suffer from diseases, including serious ailments like tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS.<sup>189</sup>

### *Specific Incidents*

- January 8 – Claudy Gassant, investigative judge in the assassination of journalist Jean Dominique, reportedly flees the country after being relieved of the keys to his office, held at gunpoint outside the National Palace, and informed that his name was on a death list. Two days later, suspect senator and former soldier

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<sup>186</sup> OAS, *Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of CP/RES. 822 “Support for the Strengthening of Democracy in Haiti” November 4, 2002-January 4, 2003*, January 23, 2003, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm).

<sup>187</sup> OAS, *Report of the Secretary General to the Permanent Council on the Implementation of CP/RES. 822 “Support for the Strengthening of Democracy in Haiti” November 4, 2002-January 4, 2003*, January 23, 2003, [www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti\\_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm](http://www.oas.org/OASpage/Haiti_situation/CPdoc.3683-0-3eng.htm); *Radio Signal FM*, December 10, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, December 11, 2002).

<sup>188</sup> NCHR, “Human Rights Situation Report: October, November, & mid-December 2002,” December 18, 2002 (Haiti Democracy Project, <http://haitipolicy.inxil.com/page.php?cat=art&articleID=423>).

<sup>189</sup> Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2003: Haiti*.

Dany Toussaint reportedly declares that “Whether the judge comes back or not, he will never take testimony from Dany Toussaint again, with or without immunity.”<sup>190</sup>

- February 15, Port-au-Prince – Judges reportedly refuse to hear the case of opposition members arrested February 9 for kidnapping (see General Political Violence and Intimidation, above). The government continues to hold them despite the lack of charges and later judicial rulings in their favor. On May 23, the government releases them, allegedly in order to resume negotiations with opposition.<sup>191</sup>
- March 26, Port-au-Prince – Supporters of FL Popular Organization associate Ronald “Cadavre” Camille, set for trial in the killing of activist Fritzner Jean, reportedly demonstrate outside Parliament, threaten government opponents, and stage violent demonstrations outside the prosecutor’s office, demanding Camille's release and causing a postponement.<sup>192</sup>
- March 27, Pétion-Ville – Police officer Sylvio François reportedly threatens the life of head judge Carvel Joseph, seeking the release of a colleague arrested for trafficking in U.S. visas. Court employees erect burning barricades in protest.<sup>193</sup>
- April 15, Port-au-Prince – National Security Undersecretary Jean-Gérard Dubreuil, Saint-Marc Prosecutor Fréno Cajuste, Minister of Justice Calixte Delatour, and Josué Jean Pierre reportedly force St. Marc investigative magistrate

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<sup>190</sup> David Adams, “Haitian whodunit embarrasses government,” *St. Petersburg Times*, January 27, 2002; Jacqueline Charles, “Haiti Judge in Murder Case Flees Country Amid Fears,” *Miami Herald*, January 18, 2002, p. 1A; Haiti Press Network, “Riz et Parliament: des membres d’OP réclament leur part,” January 22, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=186](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=186).

<sup>191</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Une délégation de l’IRI en Haïti ce week-end,” February 15, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=201](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=201); Haiti Press Network, “Le Directeur de la PNH à la Chambre des Députés,” February 20, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=205](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=205); Radio Métropole, February 19, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, February 20, 2002) (No charges filed as of February 15); Radio Métropole, February 20, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, February 23, 2002) (*Doyen* of Civil Court declares arrest illegal, orders release February 19), Radio Métropole, February 21, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, February 22, 2002)(defendants still not released); Radio Métropole, February 22, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, February 23, 2002) (Deputy Public Prosecutor Rocky Pierre authorized release of three of 11); Radio Métropole, May 24, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, May 26, 2002); Radio Signal FM, May 24, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, May 26, 2002); Tambours & Résonances, “Convocation des onze militants de la KID au parquet de Port-au-Prince,” February 22, 2002, Vol. 4, Week 8, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%208.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%208.htm).

<sup>192</sup> Amnesty International, “Haiti: Moving forward towards accountability,” March 28, 2002, AMR 36/005/2002, [web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR360052002?OpenDocument](http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/print/AMR360052002?OpenDocument); Radio Signal FM, March 27, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, March 28, 2002).

<sup>193</sup> Haiti Press Network, “Vive tension au tribunal de paix de Pétion-Ville,” March 28, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=232](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=232); Radio Signal FM, March 28, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, March 29, 2002); Tambours & Résonances, “L’enceinte du tribunal de paix de Pétion-Ville investie par un groupe de policiers,” March 28, 2002, Vol. 4, Week 13, [www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%2013.htm](http://www.haitiglobalvillage.com/sd-letambour-1999/Semaine%2013.htm).

Henri Kesner Noël to sign a pre-written arrest warrant for Prosper Avril, whose release had been ordered April 11. Avril is released and immediately rearrested. Later, Judge Noël flees the country, claiming risk to his life.<sup>194</sup>

- September 18, Petit Goâve – Judge Fritzner Duclair reportedly indicts 10 suspects in the December 3 killing of journalist Brignol Lindor. The indictment excludes Dumay Bony (FL), who had publicly called for “zero tolerance” against Lindor.<sup>195</sup>
- December 25, Port-au-Prince – Two gunmen reportedly kill Maxim Séide, bodyguard to Michèle Montas, head of Radio Haïti Inter and widow of slain journalist Jean Dominique, in an attack on her home. The attack occurs days before Judge Saint-Vil (the fourth investigative judge to take up the case) is expected to announce completion of his inquiry into the Dominique killing. Judicial Police Commissioner Jeannot François reportedly minimizes the incident as a “settling of accounts.”<sup>196</sup>

### **Past as Prologue: Haiti's Chronic Political Instability**

The 1994 intervention is the second time the United States has sent troops to Haiti. The first was in 1915 and lasted 19 years. “When the Americans left,” one observer noted,

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<sup>194</sup> Michael Norton, “Lawyers desert courts in protest over alleged corrupt judicial system,” *AP*, May 7, 2002; Radio Métropole, April 19, 2002 (BBC Monitoring International Reports, April 20, 2002); Haiti Press Network, “Le juge d’instruction de Saint-Marc fait la lumière sur le mandat d’arrêt lancé contre Prosper Avril,” April 30, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=254](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=254); “Haiti: Judge flees fearful for life, says was pressured to sign arrest warrant for former military dictator,” *AP*, April 29, 2002; Michael Norton, “Lawyers desert courts in protest over alleged corrupt judicial system,” *AP*, May 7, 2002.

<sup>195</sup> Reporters Without Borders, “Haiti: 3 December 2001 – 3 December 2002 Murder of journalist Brignol Lindor One year of impunity,” December 3, 2002, [www.rsf.fr/print.php3?id\\_article=4433](http://www.rsf.fr/print.php3?id_article=4433); Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2003: Haiti*; For background on the Lindor killing, see Reporters Without Borders, “Haiti: Zero tolerance for the media: an enquiry into the murder of journalist Brignol Lindor,” September 10, 2002, [www.rwf.fr/print.php3?id\\_article=3755](http://www.rwf.fr/print.php3?id_article=3755).

<sup>196</sup> Amnesty International, “Urgent Action 03/03, Michèle Montas (f) radio journalist, Staff at Radio Haïti Inter station,” January 6, 2003, AMR 36/001/2003; Reporters Without Borders, “Haiti: Radio station chief survives apparent murder attempt,” December 26, 2002, [www.rsf.fr/print.php3?id\\_article=4615](http://www.rsf.fr/print.php3?id_article=4615); “Haitian leader believes attack on journalist could be linked to judge’s murder,” *Caribbean Media Corporation news agency*, December 28, 2002 (BBC Monitoring Latin America – Political, December 29, 2002); Haiti Press Network, “Un pétrolier est arrive dans la rade de Port-au-Prince ce dimanche,” December 30, 2002, [www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=432](http://www.haitipressnetwork.com/presse/presseprint.cfm?pressID=432).

“the system reverted to its old ways – political thuggery, a farrago of tyrants, 29 dictators assassinated or overthrown in two centuries.”<sup>197</sup>

Frederick Douglass, the great former slave and abolitionist of the nineteenth century, served as U.S. ambassador to Haiti. In a lecture January 2, 1893, Douglass made observations concerning the political situation in Haiti:

No other land has brighter skies. No other land has purer water, richer soil, or a more happy diversified climate. She has all the natural conditions essential to a noble, prosperous and happy country.

Yet, there she is, torn and rent by revolutions, by clamorous factions and anarchies; floundering her life away from year to year in a labyrinth of social misery. Every little while we find her convulsed by civil war, engaged in the terrible work of death; frantically shedding her own blood and driving her best mental material into hopeless exile.

Port au Prince, a city of sixty thousand souls, and capable of being made one of the healthiest, happiest and one of the most beautiful cities of the West Indies, has been destroyed by fire once in each twenty-five years of its history.

The explanation is this: Haiti is a country of revolutions. They break forth without warning and without excuse. The town may stand at sunset and vanish in the morning. Splendid ruins, once the homes of the rich, meet us on every street. Great warehouses, once the property of successful merchants, confront us with their marred and shattered walls in different parts of the city.

When we ask: “Whence these mournful ruins?” and “Why are they not rebuilt?” we are answered by one word – a word of agony and dismal terror, a word which goes to the core of all this people’s woes; it is “revolution!” Such are the uncertainties and insecurities caused by this revolutionary madness of a part of her people, that no insurance company will insure property at a rate which the holder can afford to pay.

Under such a condition of things a tranquil mind is impossible. There is ever a chronic, feverish looking forward to possible disasters. Incendiary fires; fires set on foot as a proof of dissatisfaction with the government; fires for personal revenge, and fires to promote revolution are of startling frequency.

This is sometimes thought to be due to the character of the race. Far from it. The common people of Haiti are peaceful enough. They have no taste for revolutions.

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<sup>197</sup> Jonathan Power, "Dangers still lurk for Haitians - and for the US," *Boston Globe*, December 8, 1997.

The fault is not with the ignorant many, but with the educated and ambitious few. Too proud to work, and not disposed to go into commerce, they make politics a business of their country. Governed neither by love nor mercy for their country, they care not into what depths she may be plunged. No president, however virtuous, wise and patriotic, ever suits them when they themselves happen to be out of power.<sup>198</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The seemingly perpetual Haitian refugee “crisis” is not a phenomenon that will cease any time soon. The prospects for development of pluralistic Haitian democracy with respect for human rights in the foreseeable future do not appear promising. Haitian politics continue to revolve around competition for the distribution of patronage and will likely remain a winner-take-all struggle, inhospitable to independent sectors of civil society, economic development, and respect for human rights. Haitians who defy or resist this tendency will remain at risk.

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<sup>198</sup> Frederick Douglas, "Lecture on Haiti," January 2, 1893, pp. 15-16 (reprinted in *African American Perspectives: Pamphlets from the Daniel A.P. Murray Collection, 1818-1907*), [lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/murray:@field\(FLD001+02012340+\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/murray:@field(FLD001+02012340+).).