



CHRONOLOGY

EVENTS IN HAITI, OCTOBER 15, 1990– MAY 11, 1994

Haitian Information Bureau

Since 1991, the Haitian Information Bureau, an independent, alternative news service based in Port-au-Prince, has documented and analyzed the course of events in Haiti. Its bi-weekly publication, *Haiti Info*, has often been the first—and sometimes the only—source of published information in English about what is going on inside post-coup Haiti. The bureau compiled the following chronology, which covers over three and a half years.

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October 15, 1990 In a surprise move three days before the candidate registers close, Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide announces he will run for president. Hundreds of thousands rush to register to vote. After Aristide announces his candidacy, U.S. Ambassador Alvin P. Adams says, ominously, “*Aprè bal, tanbou lou*” (“After the dance, the drums are heavy”). Many interpret this as a warning. Aristide continues his campaign, responding, “*Men ampil, chay pa lou*” (“With many hands, the burden is not heavy”). (Since his arrival as ambassador, when he declared, in reference to the electoral process, “*Bourik chaje, pa kanpe*” [“A loaded donkey cannot stop”], Adams has been popularly referred to as “*Bourik Chaje*,” or “Loaded Donkey.”)

One of the most brutal incidents during the campaign was the bombing attack on a meeting of young pro-Aristide people in Pétionville on December 5, leaving five dead and fourteen maimed.

On the eve of elections, former U.S. Ambassador to the UN Andrew Young, reportedly with the backing of former President Jimmy Carter, visits Aristide and asks him to sign a letter accepting Marc L. Bazin, the U.S.-backed and funded candidate, as president should Bazin win. Young reportedly says there is fear that if Aristide does not win, people will take to the streets and reject the results. The letter and the incident are widely seen as yet another attempt by the U.S. government to influence internal politics in Haiti.

December 16, 1990 Elections are held. Aristide is swept into office with over 67 percent of the vote after a campaign wrought with terror and intimidation. Millions dance in the streets across the country.

January 6 and 7, 1991 Roger Lafontant, the former head of the VSN (Volontaires de la Sécurité Nationale), or Tonton Macoute corps, attempts a coup d'état against presidential incumbent Aristide. Angry crowds take to the streets, amassing in front of the palace and the headquarters of Lafontant's Duvalierist party, which was involved in the attempted coup. When people inside the party headquarters shoot at the crowds, the crowds retaliate, attacking the building and killing several party members. Crowds also attack and kill ex-Tonton Macoutes. A total of about 65 die.

February 7, 1991 Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the first democratically elected president in the history of the Republic of Haiti, is inaugurated. In his inaugural speech, Aristide proposes "a marriage between the army and the people"—a reshaping of the Haitian military to bring it under civilian control. Soon after, he obtains the resignations of six of the military's top seven commanders, and promotes then-Colonel Raoul Cédras to the position of chief of staff. Before long, Aristide will also embark on efforts to dismantle the system of "section chiefs" that wields power throughout the Haitian countryside, and to raise the minimum wage.

June 14, 1991 Joaquín Balaguer, president of the Dominican Republic, announces he will expel all Haitians over the age of 60 and under the age of 16. The Dominican military rounds up thousands of Haitians, some of whom are Dominican citizens, robs them, and force them across the border. About 20,000 are expelled in the next three months.

August 13, 1991 Thousands of people gather in front of the parliament with signs bearing slogans like "Down with Macoutes in parliament" to protest the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, which are threatening to demand that Aristide's prime minister, René Préval, step down. In press releases and on radio and television programs, many individuals and organizations of the democratic movement denounce the parliament's two houses for voting on only three of over 100 laws they have been asked to consider since Aristide's inauguration. Several parliamentarians, including Deputy Robert Mondé, are denounced as former members of the Tonton Macoute.

August 20, 1991 In the aftermath of unrest and instability in the parliament, the head of the executive committee of the Chamber of Deputies, a member of FNCD (the coalition party of Aristide, with a majority in parliament), steps aside to Duly Brutus of PANPRA, a member of the ANDP coalition (the party favored by the U.S. in the 1990 elections). Within a week, the Senate's executive committee has also resigned amidst reports of corruption, and Déjean Belizaire, also of ANDP, has become president of the committee, the most powerful seat in the Haitian parliament. Belizaire's election is made possible in part by the defection of FNCD Senator Thomas Eddy Dupiton,

who had for some time been quietly agitating against President Aristide. All three men will become key “negotiators” after the coup.

September 27, 1991 President Aristide returns from a trip to New York City, where he addresses the United Nations General Assembly, criticizing the Dominican Republic for the expulsion of over 20,000 Haitians. Amidst rumors of an impending coup d'état, he makes a speech in front of the palace, urging the bourgeoisie to “come down from the hills” to join the people and take part in the country’s development by respecting the laws, ending corruption, etc. This is perceived by many members of the upper class as a targeted threat.

September 29 and 30, 1991 Signs of an imminent military takeover grow as the night progresses. Crowds form around President Aristide’s home.

The same night, Lafontant, recently convicted for the aborted 1990 coup attempt, is killed in his jail cell. Sylvio Claude, the president of the PDCH (Parti Démocrate Chrétien Haïtien), is killed by unknown assailants after attending a meeting in Cayes with local people and army representatives. (Both murders will later be blamed on the president. But both victims were troublesome for the military, as they both felt entitled to the presidency. Lafontant had also recently threatened to reveal his military allies in the January coup attempt).

In the morning, Aristide makes his way to the palace. Most members of the presidential guard have vanished. The military, under the leadership of Lt. General Raoul Cédras, takes control. With the intervention of the French ambassador, Cédras agrees to allow Aristide to leave the country. He boards a plane for Venezuela.

At least 1,000 people are killed during the next few weeks, according to a report released on October 21 by the Platform of Haitian Human Rights Organizations. People report seeing mass graves, hundreds of bodies at the Port-au-Prince state hospital, and dogs devouring bodies on the highway outside the capital. At least 1,000 people are also injured in the attacks and hundreds of others—including singer Manno Charlemagne, pro-Aristide businessman Antoine Izmary, and numerous journalists—are beaten and arrested. Soldiers who refuse to cooperate with the coup are locked in the national penitentiary.

Soldiers also search and pillage the homes of various Aristide cabinet officials, offices of popular organizations like the Papaye Peasant Movement, and government offices. Soldiers attack and shut down a number of radio stations in the capital and in other cities. A popular radio announcer and director of Radio Caraïbes is arrested and murdered, and his mutilated body, missing a tongue and an ear, is found two days later. The army takes over the national radio and television, and from this date forward the national media are used to broadcast pro-coup propaganda, disinformation, lists of people to

be attacked, and other “information” deemed necessary to help institutionalize the coup.

Over the following months, numerous human rights violations will be documented daily by local, national, and international organizations throughout the country. (Only some landmark attacks will be listed here.)

October 3, 1991 Port-au-Prince residents begin to flee the capital for the countryside, having endured what one human rights report calls “five days and five nights of continuous massacre” in poor neighborhoods like Cité Soleil, where the popular movement and Aristide have had wide support. Eventually about 200,000 will leave the capital. Over time, 25,000 will head across the border into the Dominican Republic.

October 5, 1991 Following an emergency session of the Organization of American States in Washington, D.C., an OAS delegation comes to Haiti for two days of meetings. Soldiers rough up some members of the delegation and those receiving them, including Port-au-Prince Mayor Evans Paul.

October 7, 1991 After the OAS mission visits Haiti, the OAS officially condemns the coup and votes for an embargo on Haiti to punish the military regime. In the following days, various international organizations working in Haiti close down their offices. Almost immediately, human rights monitors and others report a brisk and steady flow of merchandise across the Dominican border.

October 9, 1991 Outspoken enemy of Aristide and Duvalierist Jean-Jacques Honorat, director of CHADEL (Centre Haitian de Défense des Libertés Publiques), a human rights organization which in the past received numerous grants from the Ford Foundation, the National Endowment for Democracy, and others, is sworn in as prime minister of the illegal regime. The aging Judge Joseph Nerette is installed as “provisional president.” Various Duvalierists and other right-wing people are installed in cabinet positions. The installations occur as the parliament is surrounded by gun-toting soldiers.

October 11, 1991 The UN General Assembly condemns the coup and announces that it does not recognize the illegal regime, further isolating the coup leaders diplomatically.

November 5, 1991 U.S. President George Bush signs a commercial embargo against Haiti on all products and commercial traffic except for humanitarian aid.

November 9, 1991 About 200 people, driving BMWs and other expensive cars, hold an “anti-embargo, anti-return” demonstration at the airport with military “protection.” The group chants obscenities directed at the OAS, President Aristide, and the French ambassador to Haiti.

The same day, about 2,000 people demonstrate in the Bel Air neighborhood, where Aristide has wide support. The crowd is broken up by soldiers who shoot at them, killing one person. The demonstration is only one example of the resistance carried out by people and organizations, who continue to circulate petitions and clandestine newspapers and call for the return of the president during masses, at considerable risk to their lives.

A second OAS mission, headed by Colombian diplomat Augusto Ramirez Ocampo, visits Haiti, holding meetings with many representatives of the political parties and “particules” (insignificant parties with very few, if any, members), and also with members of the army and the business sector. In a November 8 letter, Prime Minister René Préval asks the mission to meet with broader and more representative members of “civil society.”

November 10, 1991 Dominican soldiers dressed in civilian clothing visit Radio Enriquillo, a radio station in the Dominican Republic which has been broadcasting news in Creole across the border into Haiti. It has been practically the only independent source of information since the coup, when many radio stations were attacked and ransacked.

November 11, 1991 Over 15 non-governmental organizations write an open letter to U.S. Ambassador Alvin P. Adams calling him a “pro-consul” and protesting the ambiguity between his statements and the U.S.’s position. Adams has called for the president to be returned in six months, and for the resignation of Aristide’s prime minister and choice of a new one—points which contrast with the supposed official U.S. government position calling for the immediate return of President Aristide.

November 12, 1991 Eight journalists are arrested while covering a press conference given by the student organization FENEH (Fédération Nationale des Etudiants Haitiens). Their tape recorders and other equipment are destroyed. About 250 students are also arrested.

November 13, 1991 A Haitian security guard at the U.S. Embassy is killed by soldiers. The embassy does not protest or call for any investigations. Some feel the assassination is connected to a document, apparently leaked from the embassy a few weeks earlier, which outlines potential strategies to assure Aristide never returns.

November 15, 1991 The U.S. Coast Guard repatriates 538 fleeing refugees, the first boatload since the coup. The refugees are fingerprinted by the army and given about U.S.\$5. Over the next two years, the U.S. will repatriate more than 30,000 refugees.

November 22, 1991 A parliamentary delegation made up almost exclusively of coup supporters leaves Haiti for Cartagena, Colombia, for negotiations with President Aristide. Despite his declarations that no foreign representatives will accompany the group, U.S. Ambassador Adams slips onto the airplane at the last minute. When Aristide refuses to sign the agreement offered by the parliamentarians—which proposes lifting the embargo, but poses no date for the return of the president—he is accused of “intransigence.”

November 28, 1991 In a strategic delivery to a regime quickly losing support, a Liberian tanker delivers 2.5 million gallons of diesel and 1.5 million of gasoline at the Shell port near the capital. Gas has also been received in drums hidden inside containers and from small tankers at regional ports.

The same day, over 60 organizations and socio-professional organizations write an open letter to President Bush, protesting the U.S. Ambassador’s activities.

December 5, 1991 Fifty deputies and senators write to President Aristide urging him not to succumb to what they say are national and international pressures to choose “a prime minister from the right or the extreme right.”

Soon after, the OAS announces its proposed strategy for the return to constitutionality to Haiti: the *de facto* regime steps down, the president names a new prime minister, the prime minister installs a government, and an OAS mission of 500 to 600 people (“OEA-DEMOC”) arrives to prepare the terrain before the president returns.

December 10, 1991 Felix Lamy, director of Radio Galaxie, is kidnapped a few hours after having announced on the air that Police Chief Colonel Michel François had refused to follow army orders that he be transferred to another post or even to a foreign embassy. Lamy is never found, and his family has said they assume he is dead. One of François’ assistants, Captain Jackson Joanis, calls and threatens Radio Tropic FM after it broadcasts the same information.

December 14, 1991 Ocampo returns to Haiti with another OAS mission.

December 15, 1991 The Haiti Commission of Inquiry into the September 30 Coup d’état arrives to investigate the coup and the repression that has followed it. The delegation is headed by ex-U.S. Attorney General Ramsey

Clark and contains union activists, lawyers, and others. At a press conference before they leave on December 18, the group declares “Haiti is a prison and the Haitian people are terrorized.”

December 16, 1991 On the first anniversary of Aristide’s election, soldiers, attachés, former members of the Tonton Macoutes, and others terrorize the population throughout the country. Macoutes broadcast on the radio a list of about 60 people and 200 organizations to be targeted, citing businessman Antoine Izmerly as the “chief trouble-maker.” One parliamentarian is shot and killed. Another’s home is destroyed by fire, along with about 60 neighborhood houses. A third’s neighborhood is terrorized by soldiers who shoot and kill at least two people and beat or arrest many others. Nevertheless, resistance is strong. Walls are covered with pro-Aristide graffiti, people hold demonstrations shouting slogans like “Long live Aristide” and “Up with the embargo,” and 80 Port-au-Prince priests write a letter demanding the return of the president and an end to the U.S. repatriation of refugees.

The same night, two U.S. Air Force airplanes arrive and leave Port-au-Prince for an unknown reason. (This is only one example of the numerous nocturnal flights reported in the clandestine newspapers circulating inside Haiti and in the international solidarity community. When asked, a U.S. Embassy official says the flights are “routine.”)

December 17, 1991 A Florida federal district court judge issues a temporary restraining order halting the forced repatriation of refugees. For a time, Haitians picked up at sea will be taken to the U.S. base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, for asylum “screenings.”

December 21, 1991 Ocampo meets with the Haitian parliament. Despite the fact that President Aristide’s first choice, Victor Benoit, the leader of the CONACOM political party, appears to have the support of the majority of the parliament, the session breaks down when his name comes up for discussion. Pro-coup parliamentarians (one of whom has a hand grenade) threaten to kill anyone who votes to ratify Benoit as prime minister. As a result of this disturbance and others, members of the parliament implore Ocampo to assure their security so that they can vote in safety.

The meeting is suspended and rescheduled for December 23, but Senate President Déjean Belizaire announces that Monday’s agenda will consider the purchase of new cars before taking up the subject of prime minister again. Later in the week he says “the true partisans of ‘the return’ should encourage the choice of [Marc L.] Bazin.”

December 22, 1991 Ocampo leaves Haiti, unilaterally announcing it will be impossible to ratify Benoit and suggesting René Théodore, the president

of the PUCH (Parti Unifié des Communistes Haitiens), as the next best candidate. Théodore is rumored to be one of the choices of the U.S. Embassy, and Ocampo's announcement is hailed as a positive step by the U.S. State Department.

Théodore's candidacy is rejected by a number of Aristide supporters, including Bishop Willy Romelus, who says the Haitian people will never accept him. (In the 1990 presidential elections, Théodore obtained 1.83 percent of the national vote. Although his party is called "communist," he has repeatedly said he opposes any "socialist solution" for Haiti and has advocated a neoliberal economic agenda. His party is not considered to be "radical," nor even "left of center." Théodore supported the brutal regime of General Prosper Avril and was also one of the most vocal opponents of Aristide in the presidential elections.)

December 23, 1991 In a radio address, President Aristide reiterates that Benoit is his first choice. He says that if Benoit is not ratified, he will "accept to consider the case of René Théodore."

December 26, 1991 In a radio interview, Benoit says he believes he has a majority of the votes necessary for his ratification in both houses. But he says, "There are certain local and international sectors, very powerful, who oppose my candidacy."

January 1, 1992 A tanker delivers 22,000 tons of diesel to Shell.

January 6, 1992 Without a vote, the pro-coup presidents of both houses of parliament announce they are extending the term of the "provisional government" beyond its original termination, January 8. Two delegations—one pro-coup and the other favoring democracy—leave Haiti to travel to Venezuela to meet with the president.

January 8, 1992 President Aristide, the OAS, and the presidents of both houses approve the plan accepting Théodore as prime minister.

January 9, 1992 Fresh from Venezuela, pro-coup Senator Thomas Eddy Dupiton says it does not make sense to bring back the president because "there is already a government in place." The same day, U.S. Ambassador Adams visits parliament, for the second time in a week, to, in his own words, "greet . . . the presidents of the two chambers." He announces the U.S. is "ready to collaborate with René Théodore if he is ratified."

January 10, 1992 Another tanker arrives with diesel and other petroleum products.

January 13, 1992 Parliament opens. Belizaire denounces the OAS embargo and calls for the parliament to vote to impose Article 149 of the constitution, which would declare the government “empty” and enable new elections to take place. *De facto* Prime Minister Honorat declares that in the past 100 days his government “has not persecuted anyone, nor arrested anyone, for their political opinions.” That same day, the Organisation Mondiale Contre la Torture (OMCT), an international human rights organization, kicks out CHADEL because of its “evolution,” which betrays the ideals of human rights. (The American Bar Association, on the other hand, would not consider revoking a human rights award given to Honorat a few months before the coup.)

Théodore writes to Aristide to say he will accept the position of prime minister if the embargo is lifted as soon as he is ratified and if all international aid is resumed. Belizaire and Brutus say they will ratify Théodore if all of the *de facto* acts of the past three months are accepted by Aristide, and if Théodore is allowed to formulate the conditions of the president’s return. The next day, Théodore calls for a “government of national consensus.”

January 15, 1992 FNCD Deputy Alex Medard is elected president of the Chamber of Deputies. Baena Suarez, general secretary of the OAS, invites Senators Belizaire and Dupiton, along with Théodore, to Washington to discuss the prime minister question. All three will later refuse. The same day, the *de facto* government announces that the Vatican has a new nuncio for Haiti.

January 18, 1992 Over 90 human rights, popular, development, and other organizations write the international community an open letter entitled: “Haiti: A Case of Conscience? A Case of Unconsciousness? Or a Case of Lack of Conscience?”

January 24, 1992 The Senate creates a “Commission for Conciliation” to continue negotiations under the guidance of the OAS

January 25, 1992 Théodore’s bodyguard is shot dead during a meeting of political leaders at the PUCH office by a police commando, dressed in civilian clothing, from the notorious police “anti-gang” headquarters. The parties had notified anti-gang of the meeting and had asked for protection. Bazin and his party are inexplicably absent from the meeting.

January 29, 1992 The U.S. recalls Ambassador Adams. Threats continue against Radio Enriquillo. Two men are caught photographing inside the studio at night. In a publication the same day, human rights organizations announce that the repression is changing form, to a less “visible” type of harrassment. In the capital, soldiers and attachés are a constant presence in popular neighborhoods. In the countryside, repression is now carried out by

the section chiefs, who were declared unconstitutional in the 1987 constitution and were finally “retired” during Aristide’s term. (One of Honorat’s first acts as *de facto* prime minister was to “reinstate” them.) The repression is physical and also financial, with the section chiefs and their assistants demanding inordinate amounts of money for the release of those they “arrest.”

February 3, 1992 The U.S. Supreme Court annuls the lower court’s decision blocking the forced repatriation of refugees.

The same day, flaming barricades are spotted in at least 25 neighborhoods of the capital to demand the return of the president.

February 4, 1992 The U.S. announces it is “fine-tuning” the embargo to permit the assembly industries operating in Haiti (the majority of which are U.S.-owned or ship to the U.S.) to import and export so that they can resume work.

February 14, 1992 Radio Enriquillo is told it will no longer be allowed to broadcast news in Creole across the Dominican-Haitian border. The station begins to “sing” the news instead.

February 18, 1992 The first of many delegations of U.S. parliamentarians comes to Haiti.

February 19, 1992 The OAS announces it will send civilian observers to Haiti.

February 21, 1992 Three delegations go to Washington to continue the negotiations. Two days later they sign the “Protocole d’Accord à Washington” with President Aristide. The accord calls for amnesty for the army and other authors of the coup and preserves parliamentary legislation ratified after the coup. It does not include a fixed date for the president’s return and it has to be approved by the Haitian parliament.

February 24, 1992 On ABC’s “Nightline,” President Aristide clarifies that the “amnesty” outlined in the new accord is for “political” and not “common law” criminals. He included Cédras in the latter category.

February 25, 1992 U.S. Ambassador Adams returns to Haiti. According to the State Department, Adams will work with all parties to help form a government of consensus. Concerning the army, Adams declares, “I am totally confident that everyone with good will who has in their hearts the best interests of the country will think about the future of their country and look for, together, hand in hand, *tet ansanm*,’ a sustainable solution.”

February 26, 1992 In a radio interview in Haiti, Théodore repeats that it is not possible to fix a return date for the president because “society is torn . . . there are arrangements to be made, guarantees to be given to the sectors implicated in the crisis.”

February 27, 1992 President Aristide addresses the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, denouncing the repression which has claimed over 1,500 victims in Haiti.

February 28, 1992 The Haitian Chamber of Commerce issues a statement supporting the Washington accord. In an interview with a Canadian newspaper, Aristide reiterates that Cédras cannot benefit from a full amnesty “because he has committed a crime against humanity.”

February 29, 1992 The U.S. orders that those Haitians picked up at sea and delivered to the Guantánamo base who test positive for the HIV virus be interrogated at the base rather than in Florida. To date, over 16,000 refugees have been picked up at sea, about 6,000 are being considered for political asylum, and close to 300 are said to be HIV-positive and are being detained at Guantánamo.

March 7, 1992 In a speech to the nation, *de facto* President Nerette warns parliamentarians not to approve the Washington Accord or the presence of the OAS civilian mission, invoking “national sovereignty” and weeping as he finishes.

March 10, 1992 The Association of Haitian Industries (ADIH) announces it favors the Washington Accord and calls for the parliamentarians to vote for it. After a long debate, the Senate approves the Accord with 11 votes for, 10 against, and two abstentions. The accord is now scheduled to be voted on at a National Assembly—where both the Senate and Chamber of Deputies meet together—scheduled for March 18.

March 15, 1992 Three more tankers arrive in Port-au-Prince. One contains what the press calls “toxic gas” because of its nauseating odor. Greenpeace later will announce that it contains extremely high levels of lead, cadmium, and other chemicals.

March 17, 1992 Three lawyers, led by pro-coup lawyer Mireille Durocher Bertin, sign a document declaring the Washington Accord unconstitutional.

March 18, 1992 The National Assembly scheduled for consideration of the Washington Accord is disrupted by a few armed parliamentarians. At a certain signal, many pro-coup parliamentarians leave. The result: no quorum.

March 27, 1992 The Haitian Supreme Court, led by 81-year-old Judge Emile Jonassaint (who was brought out of retirement and installed after the coup), decrees that the Washington Accord is “unconstitutional and inoperative.” Numerous political parties denounce the decree and say the court has no business ruling on the accord.

April 9, 1992 Cédras, in a televised declaration, rejects the Washington Accord.

April 10, 1992 The U.S. government announces it will take away U.S. visas for partisans of the coup.

The same day, hundreds of university and high school students throughout Port-au-Prince protest the regime by banging on pots and other metal objects.

April 13, 1992 The *de facto* government calls for a “national conference.” Both houses later reject the suggestion.

April 15, 1992 During the inauguration of his new cabinet, *de facto* Prime Minister Honorat declares, “We will not negotiate with *blancs*!” (whites, i.e. foreigners). Local newspapers remind Honorat that all of the funding for CHADEL comes from “*blancs*.”

April 20, 1992 The U.S. Embassy in Haiti announces it will examine the cases of refugees seeking political asylum, beginning the “in-country processing” program.

April 27, 1992 The Senate votes against the Washington Accord and in favor of “tri-partite” negotiations between the army, the (*de facto*) executive and the parliament.

April 30, 1992 The new Apostolic Nuncio, Bishop Lorenzo Baldisseri, presents his credentials to the *de facto* government, making the Vatican the first and only government to recognize the illegal regime.

May 8, 1992 The army, the *de facto* executive, and the presidents of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies sign the “Villa d’Accueil” agreement, which calls for a “government of consensus.” The U.S. government announces it still favors the Washington Accord, and the *de facto* government replies by protesting the Embassy’s statements and declaring, “Haiti, love it or leave it.” This slogan will soon appear on bumper stickers and t-shirts donned by partisans of the coup. The same day, the *de facto* minister of information declares that the press is no longer allowed to use the term “*de facto*.”

May 10, 1992 A number of religious and civilian leaders from the democratic movement sign a document rejecting the Villa d'Accueil agreement. In the days that follow, numerous politicians and other leaders will declare the agreement “unconstitutional” and “*civilo-militaire*.”

May 18, 1992 An airplane drops leaflets bearing the Haitian flag and Aristide's picture over cities and towns across Haiti in celebration of Flag Day. Many are arrested and/or beaten as they attempt to gather up and distribute the leaflets. The same day, 29 student, labor, and popular organizations sign a declaration protesting the illegal regime and calling a strike for May 21.

May 20, 1992 The Chamber of Deputies approves the Villa d'Accueil agreement.

May 21, 1992 Many Haitians join in the general strike.

May 26, 1992 George Izmary, brother of the well-known Aristide supporter Antoine Izmary, is gunned down in the street in front of his downtown store. Police take him to the morgue before he is actually dead, and he dies at the morgue. He is only the most well-known of the increasing numbers of recent victims who are members of student organizations, peasant groups, and other groups struggling for democracy.

May 24, 1992 President George Bush signs the “Kennebunkport Order,” under which all Haitian refugee boats will be interdicted and their passengers returned to Port-au-Prince with no prior screening for asylum-seekers.

May 27, 1992 Candidate for president Bill Clinton promises that if elected, he will change the Bush Administration's policy on Haitian refugees and “give them temporary asylum until we restored the elected government of Haiti.”

May 29, 1992 President Aristide meets with UN General Secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali and asks the UN to support the OAS efforts to restore democracy to Haiti.

June 4, 1992 Marc L. Bazin (president of the MIDH party and the ANDP coalition, the U.S.-supported candidate for president in 1990, where he came in second to Aristide with about 13 percent of the vote) is ratified as “Villa d'Accueil” prime minister by the Senate. The same day, two deputies report their houses were surrounded by soldiers and then searched. A third deputy resigns. Numerous organizations issue statements deploring the selection of Bazin. The Chamber of Deputies ratifies Bazin on June 10.

June 14, 1992 La Fanmi Selavi, the home for street children founded in 1986 by Aristide, is attacked by arsonists. Over the next 22 months it will be continually targeted by soldiers and armed attachés who will beat and threaten the boys living there.

June 19, 1992 Bazin is invested in ceremonies at the palace.

On the same day, 250 students and four teachers holding a demonstration at the State Teachers' College to protest Bazin are held hostage for a day and a night by police and armed civilians, who surround the building and break all of its windows. On July 1 and 2, students at other colleges also protest the Bazin regime.

July 14, 1992 Aristide names a ten-member "Presidential Commission" to represent his government inside Haiti.

The same day, the director of the Dominican telecommunications board arrives at Radio Enriquillo with two truckloads of armed soldiers to force the radio to stop all broadcasts—spoken or sung—in Creole.

July 17, 1992 At least thirty would-be refugees drown or are shot when soldiers attack them as they attempt to get from shore to a waiting sailboat about 15 miles north of the capital.

July 21, 1992 A group of U.S. business people, led by the Caribbean/Latin American Action lobbying organization, meet with the U.S. ambassador and the Presidential Commission.

August 17, 1992 Three men, members of a new, pro-Aristide political party, are shot dead as they put up Aristide posters the night before the arrival of an OAS delegation.

August 25, 1992 A U.S. court declares that international and national law do not allow for the interception of Haitian refugees on the high seas.

September 14, 1992 Bazin signs an agreement with "Rice Corporation of Haiti," an American/Haitian venture aimed at supplying Haiti with U.S.-grown rice. The deal is loudly criticized by leaders and organizations of the democratic movement.

September 16, 1992 Eighteen members of the OAS civilian mission arrive in Haiti. One is immediately expelled by the *de facto* regime, almost certainly because of his previous work with the Washington Office on Haiti. The team will be largely confined to the Montana Hotel for the next few months.

September 18, 1992 A huge, unexplained midday explosion at the Vallieres pharmacy in downtown Port-au-Prince kills over a dozen and injures at least 150 people. The pharmacy is owned by Dr. Reginald Boulos, a major recipient of “humanitarian” supplies.

September 24, 1992 Bishop Willy Romelus, an outspoken supporter of democracy and of President Aristide, is nearly kidnapped by soldiers and armed civilians near Jeremie.

October 17, 1992 An airplane drops resistance leaflets over a number of cities, towns, and villages.

October 23, 1992 The *de facto* regime illegally forms an election board to prepare for Senate elections.

November 12, 1992 High school and university students protest the regime, the presence of soldiers in the classrooms, and the general conditions at the schools and colleges. Students and others at one of the colleges are held hostage by soldiers and armed civilians, who surround the building for several hours. Two journalists and four students are arrested.

November 22, 1992 Two well-known members of the CONACOM party are kidnapped. The body of one is found later. A third member, an engineer, will be kidnapped from outside his son's school on December 2 and his body will be discovered in his car near Port-au-Prince.

The murders are indicative of the rapid increase in terror and repression throughout the country. For instance, a peasant group in St. Michel de l'Attalaye in the Artibonite Valley reported that over 200 farmers were arrested, beaten, and forced to pay U.S.\$40 each in early November.

November 24, 1992 The UN Security Council passes a resolution reaffirming its support of Aristide.

November 25 and 27, 1992 The *de facto* government fails to convoke a National Assembly because of a lack of quorum. The same day, the Creole weekly *Libète* begins publication after a 13-month hiatus. Throughout November, popular organizations and others have also been quietly distributing audio and video recordings of an address from President Aristide called “Koze Lakay,” the equivalent of Franklin Roosevelt’s “Fireside Chats.”

December 1, 1992 Soldiers attack students at the agronomy college, beating and injuring over 60 and taking away at least a dozen. The attack comes

after students protest the regime's arbitrary dissolution of the student-elected management councils of the state university's colleges.

December 6, 1992 High school student Jean Sony Philogène is murdered by soldiers. Philogène had been taken with five other youths to be assassinated at the Titanyen burial grounds (frequently used for this purpose by the army), but had managed to crawl to the highway, badly injured, when the soldiers left him for dead. Later that night, soldiers hear he is in a city hospital and finish the job, shooting him in the head and heart in front of his grandmother.

December 16, 1992 A group of U.S. citizens—visitors as well as residents, including many from religious orders—holds a sit-in in front of the U.S. Embassy to protest U.S. policies, the weak embargo, and the continued flow of gasoline, and demanding that the U.S. freeze the assets of the coup leaders. It is the second such demonstration, and will be repeated at least a half-dozen times again in the coming year-and-a-half of the crisis.

December 23, 1992 In a Christmas message, *de facto* Prime Minister Bazin calls for Aristide to meet with him to find a “negotiated solution to the crisis.” Father Antoine Adrien, head of Aristide’s Presidential Commission, later says Bazin’s calls for negotiations are “pure farce.”

December 29, 1992 Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney calls for a naval blockade against the *de facto* government of Haiti.

January 14, 1993 In a move totally contradictory to his campaign promises, U.S. President Bill Clinton announces he will continue the Bush policy of repatriating Haitian refugees. Amnesty International and 34 other organizations criticize the decision. Despite the U.S. government’s action, Aristide acquiesces to Clinton’s request and broadcasts a message to the Haitian people asking them not to “*pran kanntè*,” or take to the sea in boats for Miami. The U.S. deploys “Operation Able Manner,” encircling the island with Coast Guard boats.

January 18, 1993 Bazin’s *de facto* government oversees “elections” (dubbed “selections” by the press and others), which the U.S., the UN, and dozens of local organizations denounce as illegal. Very few people (about one percent of those eligible) vote, and some of the balloting places are attacked with rocks or small fires. The 14 senators and deputies who will later claim to have been elected will become a major block to resolving the crisis.

January 23, 1993 During a visit to Leogane, Jesse Jackson is detained by four armed soldiers who threaten him with hand grenades and guns. On the

same day, businessman Antoine Izmary is arrested at the airport. He will be held at the national prison for three days.

February 1, 1993 Argentine diplomat Dante Caputo, the UN special envoy who replaced OAS envoy Ocampo, arrives and is met by anti-UN demonstrators, who also detain and abuse journalists at the airport and later at a hotel. One journalist disappears for a week. On February 7, after a week of non-stop pleas from his parents broadcast on his radio station, he will be dumped, half-naked, at the station, and will tell of being brutally beaten, interrogated, and shown photo books of those working for democracy.

February 16, 1993 The Neptune ferry boat sinks, killing at least 1,743 people and many livestock en route from Jeremie to Port-au-Prince. The boat was extremely overloaded, in part because the *de facto* government never repaired the state highway between the two cities (as Aristide's government had planned), and because of a total lack of state controls and an entrenched extortion structure at the ports.

February 25, 1993 Bishop Willy Romelus and others are brutally beaten by military attachés, as police watch, after a large memorial service for the Neptune victims. The attachés also hold the cathedral in Port-au-Prince hostage for several hours and arrest and beat a journalist. Members of the civilian mission (now a UN as well as an OAS project), help people leave in groups of five and ten in diplomatic vehicles.

March 2, 1993 Soldiers and police invade parliament and expel 13 legal pro-democracy senators in an attempt to consolidate the position of the pro-coup senators and those who claim they were elected in January.

March 4, 1993 Students and professors at the state university call a general strike in response to the *de facto* regime's illegal measures there. The *de facto* Rector Gérard Bissainthe (former *de facto* minister of information) closes down the teachers' college, and will later close other colleges as well.

March 7, 1993 The UN/OAS Civilian Mission begins to deploy members throughout the country. Over the next few months they will establish at least one office in each of the country's nine departments, where about 240 "observers" will monitor abuses and write reports, mostly for authorities in Washington and New York. After a few weeks, local press and grassroots organizations will begin to criticize the mission for its "neutrality," which often translates into meting out the same treatment to both the repressive military apparatus and its civilian victims.

March 16, 1993 Presidents Aristide and Clinton meet at the White House for what appears to be little more than a “photo opportunity.”

April 12, 1993 U.S. media reveal that the U.S., UN, OAS, and Aristide have reached agreement on the broad outlines of a plan to resolve the crisis.

April 21, 1993 The Haitian army protests accusations in the *New York Times* that it is involved in drug-running. The topic will become an increasingly important one as the crisis proceeds.

April 26, 1993 A national strike called by a number of labor, mass, and neighborhood groups to protest the regime is between 75 and 100 percent successful in cities across the country. However, in the course of publicizing the strike, three labor leaders from the country’s most outspoken union are arrested and severely beaten, one almost to death. The three are later released—one not until a month later—after intense international condemnation.

May 1, 1993 Dozens of people demonstrate in Gonaïves in favor of the return of the president and are attacked by soldiers, who beat and arrest demonstrators.

May 6, 1993 In an interview with a Mexican newspaper, Cédras declares Aristide’s return to power would be unconstitutional “because he violated the constitution more than 100 times while in power.” Cédras’ rhetoric mimics an offensive launched by the pro-coup lawyer Mireille Durocher Bertin the previous month with a series of demonstrations in front of parliament and letters demanding that the president be judged for his alleged violations of the constitution.

May 18, 1993 Soccer fans in Cap-Haitien demonstrate, shouting “Aristide or death!” Police beat dozens and arrest seven. A week earlier, students in Gonaïves demonstrated for several days in a row and were viciously attacked by soldiers, despite the presence of members of the civilian mission.

May 24, 1993 Caputo and U.S. Special Envoy Lawrence Pezzullo leave Haiti after Caputo’s sixth mission here, still with no solution in hand.

May 31, 1993 The Haitian gourde passes the “200 percent” mark, meaning its value has fallen from about 14 cents (under Aristide) to 10 cents, a psychological landmark in the currency’s continuing devaluation. It will bottom out at about seven cents.

June 1, 1993 The U.S.-based National Labor Committee Education Fund in

Support of Worker and Human Rights in Central America releases a report that shows that over the past ten years, U.S. AID spent more than hundreds of millions of dollars in 1990 and 1991 alone “promoting underdevelopment” in Haiti. Among other things, the report documents how U.S.AID fought a minimum wage increase and other changes advocated by Aristide’s government while it was in office. The report also outlines the activities of Haiti’s wealthy “monopolist” families; the Mevs family—accused in the report of supporting the coup—will later threaten to sue the National Labor Committee.

June 4, 1993 The U.S. government announces sanctions against 83 people or institutions that supported the coup and the current regime.

June 8, 1993 Bazin resigns.

June 12, 1993 Cédras announces that he will attend negotiations in New York only if the embargo is lifted and he is permitted to address the UN General Assembly.

June 14, 1993 Fourteen popular and labor organizations call for mobilization of the population to demand the departure of the military regime.

June 16, 1993 The UN Security Council votes to impose a worldwide fuel and arms embargo on Haiti if the military continues to refuse to cooperate with negotiations for the return of democracy. The same day, Dupiton threatens that the pro-coup parliamentarians will vote for the application of Article 149 of the constitution, calling for presidential elections within 90 days. That night bombs go off in the capital and in Pétionville.

June 23, 1993 The sanctions go into effect.

June 26, 1993 Cédras and a delegation leave Haiti for negotiations in New York.

June 27, 1993 Negotiations between the Aristide and Cédras delegations, overseen by Dante Caputo and other UN and U.S. diplomats, begin on Governors Island, in New York City’s harbor. The negotiations are held on the island to avoid massive demonstrations of Haitians and Haitian-Americans at the UN.

The same day, a mass in the capital turns into a pro-Aristide rally and, as television cameras broadcast the images across the country, armed soldiers dressed in riot gear burst in and beat parishioners. The next day residents of Cité Soleil fill the streets of the poor neighborhood to demand the

People in other cities and towns also demonstrate and are beaten and arrested in the same manner.

July 3, 1993 Cédras agrees to the “Governor’s Island” accord at noon, and goes back to Haiti where cheering coup supporters celebrate his return. “Not a single canon shot was heard during my absence,” Cédras proclaims. At about midnight, under extreme and consistent pressure from U.S. and UN diplomats, President Aristide also signs.

The ten-point accord calls for the naming of a new prime minister by Aristide, a series of parliamentary reforms of the police and army under UN supervision, a blanket amnesty for those involved in the coup, and the voluntary retirement of Cédras at some point prior to Aristide’s return, which is set for October 30. Members of Aristide’s government and many leaders and organizations in the popular movement immediately warn of the accord’s dangers, including the lifting of the embargo before the president’s return.

July 12, 1993 In a message to the nation, Aristide calls for peace and reconciliation to ensure justice and security for all citizens.

July 17, 1993 Many politicians representing the political parties in parliament approve the agreements signed in New York, but about half of the pro-democracy camp refuses, noting the pact’s ambiguities concerning the January 18 parliamentarians, and the fact that it has been “forced” on the participants.

July 22, 1993 Aristide and Clinton meet again at the White House. Clinton reaffirms his determination to see Aristide restored to power. The same day, over 70 representatives of the Haitian private sector, as well as representatives of international governmental and non-governmental organizations, meet in Miami with Aristide’s government, including his designated prime minister, U.S.-leaning businessman and publisher Robert Malval.

July 28, 1993 Caputo presents the UN with a letter from Aristide requesting an international presence of 600 police officers to be stationed throughout Haiti, along with another 50 to 60 trainers and 500 engineers and military experts.

August 10, 1993 In accordance with the agreements signed in New York, the parliament is “normalized,” the January 18 group leaves, and new executive committees are elected for both houses. The new committees are a compromise, with the pro-coup forces retaining considerable control.

August 11, 1993 The civilian mission reports an upsurge in repression, with 36 suspicious deaths and arbitrary executions since July 1.

August 17, 1993 A number of members of the group directed by businessman Antoine Izmary, KOMEVEB (which stands for “Committee Working Together to Spread the Truth”), are arrested in Pétienville as they put up photos of Aristide. The campaign (“Operation Put Up Photos”) is part of a nationwide activity organized by KOMEVEB to test the regime’s commitment to the return of democracy.

August 26, 1993 The civilian mission issues another report noting the alarming increase in murders and also in disappearances—ten in recent weeks. Most victims are members of popular and democratic organizations. Those released after being held and beaten report being systematically interrogated in a secret headquarters by people with sophisticated equipment and photo books of leaders of the democratic movement.

August 27, 1993 The UN Security Council suspends the embargo after the parliament ratifies Prime Minister Robert Malval and his new cabinet.

September 2, 1993 Malval inaugurates his cabinet members, calling for “reconciliation.” Outside the palace, attachés violently break up a peaceful demonstration in favor of the return of democracy and of Aristide.

September 6, 1993 Cédras announces that he does not think Malval’s government reflects the broad “concorde” mentioned in the New York pact.

September 7, 1993 Malval’s justice minister, Guy Malary, informs the head of the Supreme Court, retired Judge Emile Jonassaint (appointed illegally by the *de facto* regime), that he has to step down.

September 8, 1993 Attachés as well as soldiers attack a crowd gathered in front of the Port-au-Prince city hall to welcome Mayor Evans Paul, returning to his office for the first time since the coup. At least five people are killed and many more are wounded. Paul will not return to his office again for many months.

September 11, 1993 Antoine Izmary is brutally assassinated after being dragged out of a memorial service for the victims of the St. John Bosco massacre. (St. John Bosco was Aristide’s parish. At least 13 people were killed and 72 injured in the 1988 massacre.) Another man, witness to the well-planned and executed murder, is also shot and killed. The civilian mission will later determine the execution was planned at a high level and carried out by the military and its attachés. Anti-Aristide and anti-democracy propaganda increases, with threats to radio stations, leaflets, and virulent radio broadcasts.

September 12, 1993 Aristide and many others call for the resignation of the heads of the army and police. The same day, Cédras announces that the army is fulfilling its part of the Governor's Island accord and that the president's declarations run contrary "to the spirit and the letter of the accord" and constitute "obstacles to the climate of appeasement." Caputo tells the international press that Police Chief Col. Michel François "is responsible for the wave of political assassinations . . . including that of Haitian businessman Antoine Izmerly."

September 15, 1993 Parliament fails to obtain a quorum for a National Assembly to consider the law for separating the police and the army, because some pro-coup members boycott, claiming they want to vote for an amnesty law first. Aristide declares the army has committed a "second coup" by controlling the country and its institutions, like the state television and radio, through terror.

September 17, 1993 Gun-toting members of a new organization calling itself FRAPH (Front pour l'Avancement et Progrès Haitien) burst into the installation of Malval's foreign minister and demand that Caputo and all other foreign advisors be replaced with U.S. citizens.

September 20, 1993 A delegation of U.S. government officials, including Pezzullo and a general, arrives.

September 22, 1993 Duvalierists, neo-Duvalierists, and the capital's deputy mayor announce the formation of a new political party at a rally on the anniversary of François Duvalier's inauguration. In a related ceremony, men claiming to direct FRAPH organize a march of gun-carrying supporters who hand out photos of the Duvaliers, wave a large U.S. flag, and release doves in the park. FRAPH calls for "reconciliation," while the new party proclaims, "We are demanding power," and expounds on how Duvalier "protected the rural and urban masses." FRAPH is soon recognized as a front group for the army, made up of a number of ex-Tonton Macoutes and other thugs, many of them associated with previous repressive regimes.

September 28, 1993 In New York, Malval tells journalists about a "secret memo" signed at Governor's Island which says members of the army's high command will be sent overseas to diplomatic posts. Cédras announces he knows of no such agreement.

October 4, 1993 In open defiance of the constitutional government, "Judge" Jonassaint presides over an illegal ceremony to open the Supreme Court's session. Cédras and a number of others attend. The same day, armed attachés prevent the opening of the government accounting office, where the *de facto* head has also refused to leave.

In *Newsweek*, published the same day, Malval says he would have no problem if Jean-Claude Duvalier returned to Haiti, and that the Duvalierists could “build up a political party . . . It could be a good thing for this country. I would encourage it.”

October 5, 1993 FRAPH demands that Malval “open” his government. The same day, FRAPH members, police, and attachés attack and arrest former Senator Wesner Emmanuel, a known Aristide supporter, seize his documents, and ransack the parliament-executive liaison office where Emmanuel works. They also make an attempt on Mayor Paul’s life.

October 7, 1993 FRAPH enforces an armed strike in the capital, wounding about a dozen people who venture out. Malval’s defense minister writes a letter to Cédas, criticizing his attendance at the Supreme Court earlier in the week.

October 8, 1993 FRAPH and other right-wing people demonstrate to demand the departure of Caputo and the “broadening” of Malval’s cabinet.

October 10, 1993 On the eve of the arrival of U.S. military trainers in Haiti, U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin tries to fend off critics who fear “another Somalia” by saying the soldiers will be carrying M-16s. Within hours, Cédas tells the press here that he does not agree with Aspin’s declaration.

October 11, 1993 The USS *Harlan County* arrives in Port-au-Prince carrying 200 Canadian and U.S. military instructors. FRAPH “supporters” demonstrate at the port, shoving and threatening reporters and diplomats. At a press conference, Caputo criticizes the Haitian army, while U.S. diplomats claim the boat did not unload for “bureaucratic” reasons. The U.S. then unilaterally orders the boat back to Guantánamo. Caputo discovers the move only when he sees the boat leave from a hotel room window. Cédas declares the FRAPH people are “patriots.”

October 12, 1993 FRAPH demonstrates again as citizens stay home. A visiting U.S. general says he still believes the Haitian army is “on board” and that he trusts them. Clinton declares that Aristide has fulfilled his obligations according to the accord and that Cédas and François should resign.

October 13, 1993 The UN votes to reimpose the embargo if Cédas does not resign by October 15. François announces he has been given the choice of exile or assassination by “a great power.” The new U.S. ambassador to Haiti, William Lacy Swing, presents his credentials to Aristide in Washington.

October 14, 1993 Guy Malary, the minister of justice, is gunned down with two others as he leaves his office. Canada pulls out its 50 police trainers. FRAPH bursts into parliament, demanding “reconciliation” between Cédras and the president and threatening to kill all FNCD members.

October 15, 1993 The embargo is reimposed. The civilian mission pulls out all of its 270 observers. Five U.S. warships arrive in Haitian waters to patrol against boats attempting to break the embargo. Eventually, over a dozen ships from a number of different countries will join the exercise.

October 20, 1993 The U.S. announces it has blocked the funds of 41 Haitians, including Cédras and the FRAPH leaders. Malval announces he will resign if Aristide does not return on October 30 as planned. Swing announces a \$250,000 job program to clean up Cité Soleil, which will employ 800 people for eight months (at an approximate wage of \$4.70 per day). The same day, Swing asks Malval to broaden his government to include two pro-military ministers.

October 22, 1993 The CIA holds a special briefing for U.S. lawmakers on Capitol Hill on Aristide’s so-called “mental instability.” The briefing is only one episode in a lengthy and organized disinformation campaign.

October 24, 1993 In Miami, pro-democracy Haitian journalist Dona St. Plite is assassinated. Reporters and radio stations in Haiti are also being harrassed more frequently.

October 28, 1993 Aristide addresses the UN, calling for a total blockade and labelling the military repression as “genocide.” The same day, in a radio broadcast, Cédras demands amnesty for the entire army and “all of civil society.”

October 29, 1993 The U.S. press reveals that the CIA report on Aristide’s supposed mental health is based on invented doctors at hospitals the president never visited.

October 30, 1993 The country is held hostage by a wave of repression on the days surrounding the president’s planned return. Deputy Samuel Madistin’s parents and brothers are terrorized and flee into the hills. Many others are arrested, beaten, and killed.

November 5, 1993 The army boycotts a three-way meeting (army-executive-international community) called by Caputo.

November 9, 1993 *The New York Times* publishes a front page story, supposedly based on a Harvard University study, claiming the economic embargo is causing 1,000 extra child-deaths in Haiti each month. *Times* reporter Howard French has based his story on a summary of the study he received before all other newspapers, and even before many of the participants. Three days later, doctors from Harvard write to the *Times* to say their study was misquoted, and that the increase in deaths is due to the overall political crisis, including the repression, and not to the embargo alone. On November 23, 1993, Physicians for Human Rights, which also participated in the study, will hold a press conference at the UN to denounce the study's methods and to stress that "human rights abuses, mismanagement and the blatant corruption of the current and previous Haitian regimes—not UN sanctions—are the fundamental causes of the continued deterioration of health in Haiti."

November 14, 1993 *The New York Times* reveals that from 1986 on, the CIA maintained a number of high-ranking army officers, including Lt. General Raoul Cédras, on its payrolls "until the ouster of Father Aristide in 1991." The article also says that the CIA set up and funded (at the rate of \$500,000 to \$1 million per year) the Service d'Intelligence National—which was supposed to fight the drug trade, but in fact carried out political repression. Many U.S. lawmakers begin to openly criticize the CIA and sectors of the State Department for carrying out "their own foreign policy."

November 16, 1993 In an interview with *Le Figaro*, Cédras calls for a "true government of *concorde*" with representatives from the right and the left. After repeated threats from the regime, two of the three international fuel companies decide to distribute the fuel in their tanks. The third soon follows suit.

On the same day, FRAPH threatens to storm parliament and to "tie up" lawmakers if they do not dissolve the two houses.

November 24, 1993 The U.S. embassy announces it supports Malval's recent spate of meetings with representatives of different sectors, including Cédras and other coup supporters. "Washington will be ready to support an eventual enlargement of the government," it says. Meanwhile, Malval comes under increasing criticism from the democratic camp.

November 26, 1993 The civilian mission issues a report on the Izmyer murder directly blaming the army and "political groups opposed to the return of President Aristide" and naming some of the assailants. (In the December issue of the French *Jeune Afrique* magazine, a former mission team member will write that the assassination was planned the night before at the home of coup-supporter and former Senator Eddy Dupiton, but the civilian mission in Haiti will refuse to confirm this.)

The same day, U.S. Congressman Joseph Kennedy and 73 of his colleagues sign a letter to President Clinton asking the U.S. government to enforce sanctions against the coup supporters.

November 29, 1993 The constitutional government and U.S.AID sign a \$32 million agreement authorizing the aid agency to organize garbage collection in the capital.

December 6, 1993 During a visit to Washington, and 11 days before his scheduled resignation, Malval proposes a “national reconciliation conference” between the pro-democracy camp and the coup supporters. The suggestion is immediately criticized by members of the constitutional government and others as yet one more concession to the anti-democratic camp, which has been calling for such a “conference” for over a year.

December 10, 1993 During a visit to the Vatican, Malval affirms his support for a conference. Malval’s visit is criticized by many, including Aristide’s ambassador to the U.S., in part because the Vatican is the only government in the world which has recognized the coup regime.

December 13, 1993 Nine out of Malval’s ten ministers reject the conference idea in a letter later released to the press.

December 14, 1993 After a visit to Haiti, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights John Shattuck declares U.S. policy toward Haitian refugees should be “reviewed.” The next day his superiors refute his statement, saying Shattuck was misquoted.

That same day, diplomats from the “four friends” (Canada, France, the U.S., and Venezuela) meet and declare that if the army does not take steps toward resuming the Governor’s Island process by January 15, 1994, they will strengthen sanctions.

December 15, 1993 Malval returns to Haiti, announces there will be no conference, and resigns.

December 21, 1993 Accompanied by heavily armed soldiers, the *de facto* head of the accounting office retakes his office, which he had ceded to the constitutional head earlier in the fall.

December 23, 1993 As an alternative to the “national reconciliation conference,” President Aristide announces a conference on the refugee issue for January 14–16, 1994, in Miami.

December 27, 1993 Over 1,000 homes in Cité Soleil are burned to the ground in a fire set after the discovery of the body of a FRAPH treasurer. The final toll: 37 dead, 26 disappeared, and 10 injured. Witnesses report FRAPH members helped set the fire and prevented the fire engines from approaching the neighborhood, a stronghold for Aristide and the democratic movement.

Reports from journalists and from Centres de Développement et de Santé (CDS)—a large non-governmental organization which receives over \$2 million in U.S.AID funding for its Cité Soleil programs—put the number of houses destroyed at only 200 or 300, and imply the fire was a reprisal for the supposed “necklacing” of the FRAPH treasurer. U.S. AID immediately announces CDS and a conservative priest will be the sole distributors of post-fire aid. (CDS is the only health provider in the slum, which is home to 200,000, and also has a number of “training” projects. CDS is run by Dr. Reginald Boulos, an open and key supporter of Marc L. Bazin, the U.S.-backed presidential candidate in 1990 and the illegal prime minister in 1992 and 1993.)

January 1, 1994 In a speech from abroad to the nation on the 180th anniversary of Haitian independence, President Aristide adopts a more militant pose, saying “*fè koupe fè*,” or “steel cuts steel,” indicating a potential shift from the passive acceptance of violence from the pro-coup camp and its supporters. Aristide also calls for more mobilization and for people to stand up for their rights and to work together for democracy.

January 10, 1994 Senator Jean-Louis opens the 1994 parliamentary session. Almost immediately, the hall is invaded by the people claiming to have been elected on January 18, 1993, and pro-democratic senators leave. Illegal senators briefly manhandle one democratically elected senator, and armed attachés hold the building hostage for about an hour.

January 13, 1994 A tanker of “humanitarian gas” arrives in Port-au-Prince, to be distributed to non-governmental agencies, hospitals, and others. Right-wing groups who had threatened to block the tanker if the gas was not delivered to gas stations do not intervene. Later reports will say about one-quarter of the gas went to the military.

In a session boycotted by many pro-democracy deputies, former Tonton Macoute and FRAPH member Deputy Robert Mondé is elected president of the Chamber of Deputies.

January 16, 1994 The three-day conference in Miami concludes. The conference was originally called to discuss refugee issues, but was broadened after the U.S. reportedly applied pressure because it feared the event would be a three-day attack on its policy. The meetings were attended by over 500 people from the U.S. and foreign governments, Haitian organizations, and many U.S. hu-

man rights, development, and solidarity groups. The Haitian army and private business sector did not attend. The resolutions harshly criticize U.S. Haitian refugee policy, call for a “truth commission” to investigate crimes committed during and since the coup, and make a number of other recommendations. U.S. lawmakers and others in attendance attacked the U.S. government, causing a State Department representative to get up and walk out twice.

January 17, 1994 A report from Commission Justice et Paix, the human rights group associated with the Catholic church, calls for an investigation into the causes of the Cité Soleil fire, the reports of bodies being carried off and dumped in mass graves, and the constant presence of FRAPH members around CDS offices, where victims are supposed to receive aid. Justice et Paix also says the FRAPH member killed on December 26 was not “necklaced,” that there was evidence he was killed in an inter-FRAPH dispute over money, and that the international media unfairly blamed Aristide supporters for his death.

January 20, 1994 The Conference of the Haitian People for National Rescue, convened by a group of businessmen from the north of Haiti and attended by coup supporters such as former *de facto* Prime Minister Honorat, General Phillipe Biamby, and others, ends with resolutions calling for the dissolution of parliament, the cancellation of the 1987 constitution, and new elections. The following week, some participants will demonstrate in front of parliament, threatening the lawmakers and throwing rocks at the building.

January 22, 1994 A professor at the state university’s school of public administration kidnapped at gunpoint the day before is released. The attack is part of a continuing battle for control of this crucial institution, where almost all public administration employees receive their training.

January 24, 1994 The “four friends” meet, supposedly to plan the tightening of sanctions. In Haiti, the price of gas continues to rise, peaking at U.S.\$10 per gallon, as the effects of the embargo finally begin to be felt. Many businesses reduce hours or close during January, despite an increasing flow of gas across the Dominican-Haitian border.

January 25, 1994 The Chamber of Deputies votes to give President Aristide a 48-hour ultimatum to name a new prime minister or they will invoke Article 149 of the constitution, declaring the government “empty” and calling for new presidential elections. The deadline passes quietly.

January 26, 1994 Yvon Desanges, 28, kidnapped by soldiers and armed civilians from his Port-au-Prince home a few days earlier, is found dead and

profoundly disfigured. He was a refugee who was picked up at sea by the U.S. Coast Guard and then repatriated from Guantánamo in 1992, and he had been hunted, along with his siblings, ever since. He was a member of a neighborhood pro-democracy group.

January 27, 1994 The U.S. visas of 500 Haitian army officers are cancelled. The same day, Canada announces it is willing to help train a Haitian police force, some of whose members might be selected from the Haitian community in Canada. The press release is part of an ongoing struggle between Canada, France, and the U.S. for full control of the training of the hypothetical new police force, which is supposed to replace the army in most of its functions. Also that day, a dozen members of the civilian mission return to Haiti.

January 28, 1994 Fifteen business groups, led by the Centre pour la Libre Entreprise et la Démocratie (CLEDE), a group founded with help from the Washington-based Center for Democracy (CFD), begin a 12-day “strike” aimed at getting the embargo lifted. Most factories and many businesses close, but supermarkets and smaller shops remain quietly open, with reduced hours.

February 2, 1994 At least a dozen young men, all originally from Cité Soleil and most members of pro-democracy neighborhood groups, are murdered in a house where they are hiding a few miles from the capital. Witnesses report the attackers were both soldiers and heavily armed civilians. One of the house’s residents, who decided not to sleep there that night, later says the young men had fled because FRAPH was telling all Cité Soleil residents to either join FRAPH, leave, “or you will be dead.” Repression is rising throughout the country, with well-known peasant leaders and others selectively targeted.

February 4, 1994 About 1,000 people—some of them bussed in from the provinces—led by FRAPH and Hubert de Ronceray, a vehement coup supporter, demonstrate in front of parliament and the U.S. and French Embassies, demanding the installation of Judge Joseph Nerette, installed as *de facto* president in 1991. That same day, Senator Bernard Sansaricq, backed by a few pro-coup senators and the people who claim they were elected on January 18, 1993, declares that he heads a new executive committee of the Senate, and that the other committee (headed by Senator Jean-Louis and supported by the legal majority of the Senate) is “dissolved.” The same day, the national television and radio stations, controlled by coup supporters, function briefly.

February 7, 1994 The day marks the third anniversary of President Aristide’s inauguration and eighth anniversary of Jean-Claude Duvalier’s departure. A delegation of parliamentarians, including Senate President Jean-Louis (FNCD)

and Robert Mondé, president of the Chamber of Deputies, leaves for Washington after being invited by the Center for Democracy (CFD), a semi-government-funded organization.

February 8, 1994 President Aristide, horrified by the recent drowning deaths of four refugees a few yards off a Miami beach, says the U.S. has imposed a “floating Berlin Wall” on Haiti and hints he may suspend the 1981 agreement which allows the U.S. to repatriate “boat people.” U.S. State Department officials say the president’s remarks are “mystifying” and “peculiar.”

February 9, 1994 After their 12-day “strike,” the business groups issue an arrogant and hypocritical resolution calling for, among other things, the lifting of the embargo, the resignation of Lt. General Raoul Cédras and “the return of democracy.” Carnival begins, but will be only moderately attended. Racine or roots music bands do not play, and several bands associated with the military and the coup play lewd songs later criticized by religious leaders. National television broadcasts Carnival live, despite the fact that it was officially closed down by the information minister in September, 1993.

February 10, 1994 Three more bodies are found in Cité Soleil.

February 11, 1994 Armed gunmen kidnap Judge Laraque Exantus and his brother. Exantus had been in the news the previous week when he refused to give Sansaricq the keys to Jean-Louis’ office. The two men will never be seen again.

February 12, 1994 A fire burns in downtown Port-au-Prince for ten hours, destroying about a dozen buildings on one of the main streets where the thriving black market in Dominican gasoline is carried out.

February 15, 1994 In a new offensive, the U.S. government pushes President Aristide to accept a plan, supposedly drawn up by the parliamentarians visiting Washington, which calls for the selection of a prime minister to form a broad “coalition” government, a vote on amnesty and other laws, the retirement of Cédras and “transfer” of Police Chief Col. Michel François, and the lifting of the embargo, but gives no date for the president’s return. The U.S. State Department’s Michael McCurry says the U.S. will support a “comprehensive embargo” (referring to the “strengthening” which was supposed to have taken place on January 15), but only if the president supports the so-called parliamentary plan. Despite the pressure, the president rejects the plan, calling instead for the resignation of the military strongmen and a full embargo. Aristide’s spokesman says appointing a prime minister under current conditions would be sending him “to the butchershop.”

February 19, 1994 Many politicians and leaders from the democratic sector—including Senator Jean-Louis, who bowed out of the Washington meetings—as well as over 15 organizations in Haiti, reject the parliamentary plan and the U.S. State Department's pressure on the president. Victor Benoit, Minister of Education and President of the CONACOM party (which is a member of the FNCD), throws his support in with the plan. (Benoit is well-known for his quest for the offices of president or prime minister; he was originally the FNCD candidate for president in the 1990 elections and stepped down when Aristide entered the race.)

February 22, 1994 Caputo announces he supports the parliamentary plan. The same day, President Aristide presents an eight-step alternative to the plan which would reactivate the Governor's Island accord. The first step is the departure of the army's high command and the police chief.

The same day, the UN/OAS civilian mission issues a press release saying it is preoccupied by the rising number of "disappearances."

February 26, 1994 The Gonaïves branch of Justice et Paix announces its delegation witnessed 40 trucks arriving in Ouanaminthe (on the Dominican-Haitian border) and leaving loaded with gas—importing a total of about 66,000 gallons in only one day.

March 2, 1994 The Chamber of Deputies votes its approval of the parliamentary plan and immediately both the U.S. Embassy and business group CLED issue congratulatory notes.

March 4, 1994 Deputy Madistin and other deputies hold a press conference in which they denounce the Center for Democracy (CFD) as an organization "whose function . . . is to destabilize democratic movements in Latin America," and say that the parliamentary plan affair was planned by the U.S. State Department in order to put pressure on the constitutional government. Mondé denies that the plan was written with or by the U.S. government. The deputies also release a contract illegally signed by Malval's minister of commerce renting part of the historically important Môle St. Nicolas to a tourism company, causing the President and others to publicly criticize the Minister. The deputies are immediately targeted for repression and are forced to sleep away from home for several days.

March 5, 1994 After meeting with UN General Secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali, President Aristide denounces the "ambiguity" and cynicism of certain big powers. He also rejects a proposed Security Council resolution which gives Boutros-Ghali the power to lift the embargo if he feels the president is not taking steps toward the return of democracy. The resolution is never voted on.

March 8, 1994 At a hearing on Capitol Hill, Pezzullo admits the parliamentary plan originated as a State Department document, that he and U.S. Ambassador Swing hand-picked the delegation, and also that U.S. AID, through the CFD, paid for the trip and the delegation's three-week stay in Washington. Other lawmakers attack the U.S. for its refugee policy and its duplicitous behavior regarding President Aristide's return.

March 10, 1994 Nine popular organizations issue a press release attacking the so-called parliamentary plan, as well as Benoit, other supposedly "democratic" politicians, and the U.S. government for blocking the return of President Aristide.

March 11, 1994 Cité Soleil residents find the body of Daddy Pierre, a well-known Aristide supporter, with his face hacked off.

The same day, the head of the UN Security Council says he does not think naming a prime minister would be helpful to the resolution of the crisis. The U.S. Embassy calls for the January 18 people to evacuate the Senate so the elected senators can consider the parliamentary plan.

March 15, 1994 An amnesty law, which includes "fiscal amnesty," goes to the Justice Committee in the Chamber of Deputies. The bill was written together with a leading member of CLED, businessman Bernard Craan.

March 17, 1994 Three more bodies are found in Cité Soleil. Dozens of popular and human rights organizations denounce the wave of violence sweeping the neighborhood, the capital, and the entire country.

March 21, 1994 The Civilian Mission issues a press release denouncing FRAPH and the army for being involved in an increasing number of politically motivated rapes. The mission also says it is investigating 71 murders committed between February 1 and March 15.

March 23, 1994 Members of the Civilian Mission are attacked by FRAPH members in Hinche and threatened with guns.

The same day, at a large press conference attended by a number of Hollywood stars from "Artists for Democracy," the Congressional Black Caucus announces a bill calling for the president to tighten the sanctions on Haiti, cease repatriation of refugees, and other steps aimed at insuring President Aristide's return. The National Coalition for Haitian Refugees (NCHR) issues a press release suggesting the U.S. government reopen Guantánamo as a temporary "safe haven" for refugees.

March 25, 1994 President Aristide meets with Vice President Al Gore, who presents him with what is supposed to be a new plan in which the military, and not the constitutional government, will be forced to make concessions. In reality, the plan is the parliamentary plan, but with some of the steps occurring “simultaneously.” Although Aristide immediately expresses his reservations, the news is “leaked” to the *New York Times* the next day, causing a flurry of news stories about a “new plan” and placing more pressure on the president to avoid appearing “intransigent.”

March 26, 1994 FRAPH, Senator Sansaricq, and their allies demonstrate at the Port-au-Prince port and succeed in preventing the unloading of a ship carrying 300,000 tons of food aid from France. The demonstrators threaten to use “the arms you know about,” and directly threaten French diplomats. After a few days, the boat turns around and leaves, without any public denunciation from either the French or the U.S. Embassies.

March 28, 1994 President Aristide formally rejects Gore’s plan.

March 31, 1994 The German Embassy in Port-au-Prince closes due to lack of security for its employees and “an absence of public order.”

April 4, 1994 President Aristide sends a letter to the U.S. administration announcing he is suspending the 1981 repatriation treaty, which means that in six months it will be illegal for the U.S. government to pick up refugees at sea to repatriate them.

The same day the U.S. embassy issues a press release openly criticizing the Haitian army for “deliberately eliminating their political enemies” with “total impunity.” Other organizations, including the Civilian Mission, go further, accusing FRAPH of being responsible for the steadily rising and violent repression. Many Haitian organizations accuse the U.S. government of complicity and worse, noting that the rise in violence accompanied the recent and well-planned parliamentary plan offensive against President Aristide.

April 6, 1994 An ultimatum that FRAPH, some businessmen from the north, and coup-supporter Hubert de Ronceray gave to the Chamber of Deputies to enact Article 149 passes quietly.

April 8, 1994 Deputy Mondé and the legal executive committee of the Senate meet to discuss how to get the parliament working normally. The pro-democracy senators and their staffs have been prevented from going to work for over a month because the illegal committee has repeatedly threatened them with arms.

April 8 and 9, 1994 In a well-planned attack on the small northern city of Le Borgne (or what some suggest is a clash with armed resisters in the area), the army masses over 250 soldiers to carry out a series of arrests, beatings, and rapes of the local population. Soldiers also burn down over 100 homes and arrest the magistrate. Rumors circulate saying over 200 well-armed guerillas are hiding in nearby mountains.

April 10, 1994 The illegal Senate executive committee and its followers vote for Article 149 of the constitution and declare that Judge Jonassaint is now president of Haiti. The same day, NCHR and Human Rights Watch/Americas release a 52-page report entitled *Terror Prevails in Haiti*, which harshly criticizes the Clinton administration and calls for the replacement of Pezzullo, opposes any broad amnesty for the coup leaders, and calls for an investigation into CIA activities in Haiti. The report takes a somewhat accommodating position vis-a-vis the refugees, and calls for the “establishment of safe havens,” implying they would accept refugee camps rather than pushing for the U.S. to take in all refugees.

April 11, 1994 The “Children of FRAPH” sing, “Down with the embargo! Down with Aristide!” in front of the parliament.

In the U.S., the National Labor Committee issues a report announcing that the U.S. government buys some of the millions of baseballs and softballs made in Haiti by employees earning about U.S.\$1.00 per day under a special loophole in the OAS embargo.

April 13, 1994 In a speech “to the nation,” Deputy Mondé announces he will undertake a series of meetings with different sectors to investigate how to “fill the vacancy at the executive level.” He is accused by many of paving the way for the enactment of Article 149.

April 21, 1994 A number of senators, led by Senate President Jean-Louis, unveil a proposed amnesty law giving full amnesty for all crimes committed beginning with the coup and ending when the law is approved by both houses. The “Women of FRAPH” attempt to demonstrate against the embargo and in favor of Article 149, but end up squabbling amongst themselves when FRAPH does not deliver the usual free food and drink given to its “members” at demonstrations.

The same day, a former Colombian drug trafficker who is serving a federal prison sentence in the U.S. testifies before a U.S. Senate subcommittee, accusing Police Chief François and General Prosper Avril of being involved in drug deals with Colombian dealers.

April 22, 1994 In an alarming press release, the civilian mission announces it is investigating 16 “disappearances” in the capital alone which took place in April. The total number of disappearances reported to the civilian mission since January 31 is 53. Sixteen people have been returned alive, 26 are still missing, and the bodies of 11 have been found.

The same day, in Gonaïves, soldiers and members of FRAPH carry out an assault on the poor neighborhood of Raboteau, killing what human rights monitors and journalists will later estimate is at least 27 residents as they run away from their assailants or try to escape on the sea in small boats. The army later releases a press release saying the people were killed in a fight with “armed subversives.” Local human rights groups, leaders of neighborhood groups, the civilian mission, and even the U.S. State Department denounce this version as a lie, saying the people killed were unarmed civilians.

April 24, 1994 Ninety-four Haitian refugees are repatriated from the Bahamas with the assistance of the UN High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR). A delegation of lawyers and journalists reports that the U.S. government (through the UNHCR) and U.S. soldiers are assisting in the construction and enlargement of the camp there.

April 25 and 26, 1994 Soldiers attack the hamlet of Bassin Caiman, near Le Borgne, burning hundreds of houses, destroying hectares of crops, killing animals and also perhaps peasants. Because the area continues to be occupied by between 250 and 500 soldiers who will not permit access to anyone, including the civilian mission or journalists, the final death toll and amount of property destroyed remains unknown.

April 26, 1994 U.S. Special Envoy Lawrence Pezzullo submits a letter of resignation.

The same day, Mondé announces he will undertake a series of meetings with different sectors in order to figure out how to fill the “political void” at the executive level. Also, the army issues a press release blaming the violence in Cité Soleil, in Gonaïves, and in the north, as well as the “murders and disappearances of soldiers and peaceful citizens,” on the constitutional government.

April 28, 1994 The civilian mission announces 44 executions or “suspicious deaths” during the month of April.

May 1, 1994 The CONACOM party declares it opposes a full embargo.

May 6, 1994 The UN Security Council votes unanimously on a resolution calling for the resignation or retirement of three high-ranking members of the

Haitian army, imposing immediate sanctions on the army, the coup's supporters, and their families, and threatening a tightened embargo in 15 days.

May 7, 1994 A U.S. official leaks an 11-page cable from the U.S. embassy in Port-au-Prince which says that "the Haitian left manipulates and fabricates human rights abuses as a propaganda tool," and that the civilian mission and others have been duped into reporting on violence. Human rights officials and others are outraged at the cynical and arrogant language in the cable.

May 8, 1994 The U.S. government announces a change in its Haitian refugee policy, saying that all refugees picked up at sea will be given a chance to apply for political asylum at sea or "in a third country"—but implying that no more than 10 percent will be accepted. A U.S. government spokesperson in Haiti declares, "The majority of refugees are economic refugees."

May 9, 1994 Because of the split in the parliament, the two houses are not able to meet together in a National Assembly to close the winter parliamentary session, as called for in the constitution. Leaders of the FNCD announce that CONACOM is no longer a member of its political front.

May 11, 1994 The U.S. State Department says it is considering endorsing a UN Peace-Keeping Mission for Haiti.

The same day, in a ceremony attended by the entire army high command and many coup supporters, and led by Senator Sansaricq and his supporters, Judge Jonassaint is installed as "provisional president" of Haiti.

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