



HAITI

AN OPPRESSED STATE



DELEGATION REPORT

LATIN AMERICAN SOLIDARITY COALITION

INTRODUCTION

A delegation of 11 academics, journalists, and Latin America solidarity leaders from the United States and Canada visited Haiti prior to the recent earthquake, from Dec. 28, 2009-Jan. 7, 2010. The delegation was organized by the U.S. Latin America Solidarity Coalition (LASC) [www.lasolidarity.org] to investigate reports of human rights abuses by the UN stabilization mission, known by its French acronym, MINUSTAH.

The delegation met with over 70 individuals and organizational representatives in Port-au-Prince, including the two most impoverished neighborhoods, Cite Soleil and Bel Air. We took recorded testimony from twelve victims of MINUSTAH violence (people who themselves were wounded by UN troops), or whose family members were killed during UN attacks on their communities. The delegation also spent two days in Jacmel visiting sustainable development projects.

Five days after our return to the U.S. and Canada, Haiti was devastated by a 7.0 earthquake, the most powerful to hit the island in two centuries. Over 200,000 Haitians perished and two million were made homeless. The enormity of the disaster raised questions about how and to what purpose the information gathered during our visit should be compiled and communicated. In many cases, we do not know whether the Haitians who gave testimony or information to us survived the earthquake. This is especially true in Bel Air, an impoverished community just uphill from the Presidential Palace. Reports are that Bel Air was particularly hard hit with hardly any buildings still standing.

We decided that we owed it to the victims of UN repression, whether they are today living or dead, to tell the stories they told us at considerable risk to their own personal security. In addition, reports since the earthquake include every criticism of the U.S. and international community's relations with Haiti that we heard before the tragedy. The natural disaster has exacerbated all the elements of the political disaster that has been imposed on Haiti since it threw off its French slave-masters in 1804 and became the first independent

African republic.

Near universal complaints and demands that we heard include:

1. The demand for the return of former President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who was removed from office and flown into exile by the U.S. military on Feb. 29, 2004.
2. The charge that MINUSTAH (and now the U.S. military) has become a force of repression and criminality rather than stability and that Haiti's security and stability would be better guaranteed by expenditures on schools and human resource development than on the foreign occupation.
3. The charge that international aid is not reaching the poor majority, where it is most urgently needed, but has instead been spent on building prisons, or for salaries and vehicles for international NGOs, or has been siphoned away into the pockets of political cronies of the current government.
4. Charges that economic development plans for Haiti are strictly in line with a failed neoliberal model of privatization and low wage assembly plants that will keep Haiti from developing, while driving down wages in other countries of the hemisphere, including those in the U.S. and Canada.

Therefore, we decided to publish the information and conclusions of our delegation's research, with the inclusion of a brief history of Haiti's relations with the international community, in the hope that it will help orient U.S. and Canadian citizens who have become aware of Haiti as a result of the humanitarian crisis caused by the Jan. 12, 2010 earthquake. We encourage activists, academics, journalists, and politicians to use the information in this report to avoid the errors of the past and to help Haiti build a stable economy and infrastructure that concentrates on the development of human resources, jobs, and food security in a sovereign nation, with peaceful and respectful relations within the community of nations.

For over 200 years the U.S., France, and Western Europe joined in an actively hostile program to

HAITI'S HISTORY

bleed and exploit Haitians and prevent the only nation born of a slave revolt from becoming successful. This plan included military invasions, economic embargoes, gunboat blockades, trade barriers, diplomatic quarantines, subsidized armed subversions, U.S.-armed black dictators, and finally, two U.S.-supported coups against a democratically elected and highly popular president.

In 1804, after a bloody twelve-and-a-half-year revolt and 150,000 deaths, Haitian slaves freed themselves from the oppression of the French sugar plantation masters and established the second independent nation in the western hemisphere – the United States being first. French slavery in Haiti was both the most profitable and most cruel for the French worldwide, and Saint-Domingue was the wealthiest colony. At the time, there was a mulatto and free black population that wanted to be equal to the whites and to control the country after the revolt. Out of this group was born an elite, a corrupt business class that later allied with the U.S. to control the country.

During the long rebellion, American support for the French slave system was strong. Thomas Jefferson, himself a slave owner, said, “If this combustion can be introduced among us under any veil whatever, we have to fear it,” and his son-in-law, Senator Eppes of Virginia, pledged “to venture the treasury of the U.S. that the negro government should be destroyed.” Fearing the influence of a successful rebellion on its own slave economy, the new United States of America was hostile to this new black nation, proposed an embargo of the island, and refused to grant diplomatic recognition until 1862. This attitude continues to the present. From its inception, the newly freed nation of Haiti had a boot on its neck denying it the resources and “an opportunity of breaking our fetters, and of constituting ourselves as a people, free, civilized and independent,” as stated in their 1805 constitution.

In 1825, France forced Haitians to pay reparations of 150 million francs (later reduced to 90 million francs) and to reduce tariffs by 50%

for French ships docking in Haiti— payment for confiscating French property, including themselves as slaves. It took Haiti until 1947 to pay the reparations, including bank loans needed to pay France, equaling approximately \$21 billion in 2004 dollars. In 1915, 80% of the government’s resources were still being paid out in debt service. Haiti never recovered from this financial bankruptcy, leaving it unable to build an infrastructure including schools, roads, housing, safe drinking water, and hospitals.

The U.S., under President Wilson, invaded Haiti in 1915 and occupied it until 1934 to “protect their citizens.” From the U.S. perspective it was a “humanitarian intervention,” but from the perspective of many Haitians it was an occupation that supported the business community, sharpened class divisions, exploited the peasantry, and made Haiti economically dependent on the U.S. An act of the U.S. Congress created the brutal Haitian National Guard, and dismantled the constitutional system by imposing a new constitution that eliminated the article forbidding foreign ownership of Haitian land.

When the Haitian National Assembly refused to ratify the U.S.-imposed constitution because they didn’t want to turn over land to foreigners, the U.S. dissolved the Assembly. This allowed the U.S. to impose a development model which eventually destroyed the agricultural-based economy in favor of an export-based manufacturing economy. This in turn forced people to move to Port-au-Prince for low-paying jobs sewing clothing, baseballs, and assembling other products. The U.S. also appropriated land so U.S. corporations could establish rubber, sugar, sisal and mahogany plantations. After the Marines left, the U.S.-created National Guard continued to terrorize and brutalize the peasantry in support of maximizing corporate profits.

When the dictator Francois “Papa Doc” Duvalier came to power in 1957, the U.S., for nearly thirty years, provided considerable economic support for Duvalier, and later, his son, “Baby Doc.” Rather than building infrastructure, the Duvaliers raided the country of

its riches, exported its resources, and neglected the infrastructure. Duvalier and his black successors gave the white and mulatto upper class a free hand to exploit the illiterate black labor force, unhindered by decent wages, taxes, or full utility fees. In the 1970s, Baby Doc officially signed off on allowing sweatshops to come into Haiti duty-free and tax exempt. The Tonton Macoutes—Duvalier’s death squads—tolerated no labor unions, so the companies were free to pay however little they wanted.

After the people drove out Baby Doc, unelected U.S.-backed interim rulers were kept in office by the U.S.-created army. In the 1980s, President Reagan’s Caribbean Basin Initiative supported low wage off-shore assembly zones for investors, again enforced by the brutal military. (One Haitian described globalization as a movement against the unions. We heard many stories of repression of the workers and co-option of labor leaders.)

Historically, Haitians had their own small plots of land on which they could independently sustain their families and have a little to sell in the local market for cash, so they were self-sufficient. We learned that government support for agriculture was eventually withdrawn, causing peasants to give up their self-sustaining farming. They told us of farmers being displaced, through violence and killings, from the good soil because of transnational interests. We learned that when farmers get desperate to feed their children, they can’t wait for the avocado tree to produce fruit but cut it down to sell as charcoal.

The food crisis is a manufactured crisis, an imposed starvation. By the 1980s the peasantry, about 80% of the population, was under direct attack, decreasing the ability of the people to feed themselves. We learned that, claiming to protect Haitian agriculture from swine fever, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Prime Minister had the entire Kreyol pig population wiped out in one year – the root of sustainability. The promised new breed of pigs couldn’t survive Haitian conditions, causing \$600 million in losses for the peasants. From a history of self-sufficiency in agriculture, Haiti now imports most of its food.

Agricultural development in the U.S. called for subsidized export-oriented production, which resulted in dumping of surplus agricultural products in Haiti, thus impoverishing local farmers and forcing them to migrate to the city as low wage labor. One man’s opinion was that protecting the local market was the first thing

a government should do, and that when the government doesn’t do this, it doesn’t want the local people to have a chance. We saw the resultant overcrowding in Port-au-Prince and the shacks jammed on steep hillsides and in slums.

In 1990, Haiti finally enjoyed a democratic election which brought to power a former priest, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. He was deposed six months and three weeks after taking office on Feb. 7, 1991.

Clinton returned Aristide to power in 1994 after the military transformed Haiti into the major transshipment point for cocaine bound for the United States. The Haitian military also began to self destruct over internal battles for drug profits amid increasing reports of armed resistance growing among the population. Pressure from an international solidarity movement combined with this to force Clinton to commit 20,000 U.S. troops to ostensibly return democracy to Haiti. However, Clinton severely undermined Aristide’s ability to govern by insisting on amnesty for the Haitian military and the wealthy elite that backed the coup. His government also forced Aristide to sign the now infamous Paris Accords before intervening to stop the atrocities of the Haitian military. The accords committed the Haitian government to terms of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund including austerity measures, reducing public spending on social programs and privatization of state-owned industries.

Since President Aristide couldn’t succeed himself, his Prime Minister, Rene Preval, was elected president. Aristide was again elected in 2000 with 90% support in free and fair elections.

Aristide’s two interrupted terms were the first time in two hundred years the Haitian masses had a president of their own choosing, who finally encouraged the empowerment of excluded sectors of the population. While the U.S. had openly supported the violent and oppressive Duvaliers, it immediately stopped an already approved International Development Bank (IDB) loan to Haiti that was designated for schools, hospitals, clean drinking water, and roads. In spite of the refusal of the international banks to grant Haiti a loan, President Aristide built more schools than in the previous 200 years, opened a medical school (the Brazilian and US militaries later closed the school and appropriated the building for their headquarters), raised the minimum wage, and provided tools, credit, technical assistance, and fertilizers to farmers.

The Demand for Aristide to Return

To the surprise of some members of the delegation, we heard, over and over again, the demand for the immediate return of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. “We want Preval to send President Aristide a passport. If Obama wants that to happen it will, because Preval takes his orders from the powerful nations.” We were told that Aristide represents hope for the poor majority of Haitians. “He values social justice and would be an inspiration to the grassroots majority. When he was president, there were more jobs, healthcare and education for our children.”

When Aristide was democratically elected president in 1990 and inaugurated in Feb. 1991, he took steps to turn the Haitian army away from corruption and repression, raise the minimum wage and tax elite businesses, questioning the U.S. neoliberal model.

In less than seven months, he was overthrown by the Haitian military, which took power. The U.S. was quick to recognize the military regime. President Clinton returned Aristide to power in 1994, succumbing to pressure from the US progressive movement and the international community.

In 2000, Aristide was again overwhelmingly elected, with 90 percent of the vote. After his 2000 election the U.S. immediately began a campaign to destabilize the Aristide government and his Fanmi Lavalas party by funding opposition parties and organizations. It channeled U.S. taxpayer funds through the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and USAID. The generous funding by the Bush administration through the International Republican Institute (IRI -- an arm of the NED) led even previous supporters of Aristide to align with the opposition. In early February 2004, the U.S. managed to arm some of the former Haitian military with weapons brought through the Dominican Republic, and an armed insurrection unfolded. Under the guise of protecting the president, the U.S. marines removed him from power in late February.

The coup was orchestrated by the powerful nations—the U. S., Canada, and France. Aristide was transported to the Central African Republic, resided briefly in Jamaica, and eventually ended up in South Africa, where he lives today with his wife Mildred and two daughters. After a puppet government was installed for two years, René Preval was elected to the presidency in 2006. The U.S. marines left and the UN mission known as MINUSTAH took over to help the often-brutal Haitian police keep the marginalized population under control, and arrest members of Aristide’s Fanmi

Lavalas Party.

Common complaints heard by the delegation were: “Our government does not care about us; they don’t hear our demands for better education, healthcare, better roads, and an end to malnutrition.” “Where does the international aid go; we don’t see it?”

“Preval is weak and corrupt, we want him to listen to us” “We want the return of Aristide, and Preval should change and not exclude Lavalas.”

Now that a devastating earthquake has occurred, the country is in chaos. We found that many Haitians feel that this is an especially critical moment to bring Aristide back. He has expressed his desire to return. Now, more than ever, the people of Haiti need hope, and Aristide appears to represent the best chance of fulfillment of that hope.

UN PEACEKEEPING MISSION: PART OF THE PROBLEM

Mandate

The United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) was established on June 1, 2004 by Security Council Resolution 1542, following the Feb. 29, 2004 removal of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide by the United States. MINUSTAH’s stated mandate is to restore a secure and stable environment, to promote the political process, to strengthen Haiti’s government institutions and rule-of-law-structures, as well as to promote and to protect human rights. (www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/minustah/)

MINUSTAH’s mandate was extended through Oct. 15, 2010 by Security Council Resolution 1892 on Oct. 15, 2009. MINUSTAH’s budget for July 1, 2009-June 30, 2010 is \$611.75 million. As of Nov. 30, 2009 MINUSTAH’s strength included 7,031 soldiers, 2,034 police, 488 foreign civilian personnel, 1,212 Haitian civilian staff, and 214 United Nations volunteers. Countries contributing military personnel are: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Ecuador, France, Guatemala, Jordan, Nepal, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Sri Lanka, United States and Uruguay. Brazil commands the UN Mission which has been augmented since the earthquake. (www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/minustah/facts.shtml)

Haitians' Hope for Stability Unrealized

The primary purpose of our delegation to Haiti was to investigate disturbing reports of serious human rights abuses by MINUSTAH, reports that have seldom appeared in the U.S. press. One incident that did receive international media attention was in November 2007 when 108 Sri Lankan troops were sent home for "sexual misconduct and abuse." http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7076284.stm

Our delegation met with more than 70 individuals and organizational representatives. We took direct testimony from 12 victims and witnesses of UN human rights abuses—four in Bel Air and eight in Cité Soleil, two of Port-au-Prince's most impoverished neighborhoods—bastions of support for ousted President Aristide's Fanmi Lavalas party. What we heard were stories and testimony about UN human rights abuses even more serious than sexual misconduct and abuse.

To place the stories and testimony in context, we heard from many that Haitians initially welcomed the UN Mission. In the months following the U.S.-engineered coup, violence escalated sharply. Haitians feared a return of the three-year bloodbath carried out by the Front for the Advancement and Progress in Haiti (FRAPH), the coup government which overthrew Aristide in 1991, only eight months into his first term.

But Haitian welcoming of MINUSTAH quickly turned to dismay. Minto Philistine, a Lavalas organizer in Cité Soleil and a National Assembly candidate in the February legislative election on the Solidarity Party ticket said: "The situation after the coup [2004] was really difficult financially and socially, and especially in terms of security. People thought the UN would improve public safety but it actually got worse. There were daily shootings. You can see the 50-caliber bullet holes in the houses."

Monique Fritz Joseph, of Fanmi Prizonye Poltik, told us: "After Feb. 29 we started a women's group to demand the release of our husbands and sons. We thought the UN Mission would stop the violations but instead, like in Cité Soleil, they killed people. UN soldiers sometimes rape girls 12-14 years old."

Yves Pierre Louis, journalist with Haiti Liberté, told us, "Since 2004, the only human rights violations are by the UN. In Cité Soleil, they break into houses and kill people. They shot into a protest by students. At Jean Juste's funeral, the UN shot one mourner. People from the Central Plateau were demonstrating for electricity and the UN killed two of them. They commit rape and

sexual abuse. They steal peasants' goats. They stole a bronze cannon from an old ship wreck. Most recently, a helicopter landed late at night and people gathered thinking it was drugs. The UN shot people. They are protecting the elites by terrorizing the population." Louis added, "MINUSTAH is handicapping Haiti's opportunity to develop. It is a repressive force. MINUSTAH has cost the UN \$5 billion over the last five years. If that money had been used to build schools, they wouldn't need to build prisons."

A man in Cité Soleil told us: "Now that there are no bandits, the UN are the bandits. If they search you and find jewelry, they steal it. They make women take off their clothes to humiliate them."

Raymond Davius, representing Governail de Liaison des Organisation de Bases (GloBs said, "If the UN is here for peace, it doesn't make sense that they are committing abuses. Is it about fear or stabilization?" We asked him what percentage of the soldiers speak Kreole? He answered, "None. Some speak French, and sometimes they have a translator."

William Clerville, President of the Association Nationale pour Defense des Marchands et des Consommateurs Haitiens, an association to defend street vendors, described another attack by MINUSTAH. He said: "On April 12, 2008, a Nigerian UN soldier, not in uniform, was killed in a robbery. The UN came and shot up the market, killing some and wounding some. Vendors lost everything and couldn't pay back their loans. Vendors have been demanding compensation and the UN refuses. They have sent letters to human rights groups and the U.S. and Canadian embassies but there has been no response. Over 260 vendors were affected. The bodies of two who were killed have never been found. A woman who was wounded was sent to the hospital in Del Mar. The UN came and took the bullet. Nigerian soldiers beat a man so badly he would have died if not rescued by the Haitian Police. The UN said it would investigate but it has been more than a year, and nothing."

We met with four leaders of the September 30 Foundation, a human rights organization founded by Lovinsky Pierre-Antoine, to work with the victims of the 1991 and 2004 coups. Lovinsky was disappeared on Aug. 12, 2007 after announcing his candidacy for the Senate. Lovinsky was organizing demonstrations and sit-ins denouncing the United Nations for human rights violations in Haiti the week before his abduction and disappearance. Neither the

self-determination
rape Imperialism
democracy
rights sovereignty
relief INDEPENDENCE
fear colonialism
Oppression
foreign rule control
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hope invasion
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Preval government nor MINUSTAH have released any information about his disappearance. We were told that cell phone and rental car evidence has subsequently disappeared. We find it disturbing that the United Nations leadership has failed to even recognize Lovinsky's abduction and disappearance. According to a report delivered to the U.N. General Assembly on January 10, 2008 by the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances (WGEID), there were no reported instances of persons disappeared in Haiti during the year 2007.

Wilson Meselein, one of the September 30 Foundation leaders said: "Haiti used to be independent. Now we are under the occupation of the international community. MINUSTAH violates our rights, even the most basic 'right to life.' Their very presence violates our rights. They arrest whoever they want. They detain them without any hearing. They commit sexual abuses. The victims cannot denounce them because they are constantly repressed." Co-leader Vaudre Abelard told us: "It is clear to us that Haiti's problems are caused by the U.S., French, and Canadian governments, not the people. I'm a witness of MINUSTAH at a checkpoint watching an attack and not doing anything."

René Civil, a top level Lavalas organizer, summed up the sentiments we heard from dozens of people. He said: "The occupation is killing and humiliating the people. At any time it could explode into a revolt. MINUSTAH has incited the people to be violent. They live and eat well while we are hungry, homeless, and without schools. The occupation is not here to help the country but to defend the interests of the minority. Haiti wants to defend its freedom and its second independence [Aristide's democratic election]. If not for the UN guns, Haiti would already have its freedom."

JUSTICE SYSTEM

While in Haiti our delegation had an opportunity to see the consequences of several dysfunctions of the legal system. We are interested in discussing these four areas:

Legal Recourse

There were disturbing reports from many elements of Haitian society about lack of legal recourse. Some of these stories involved people wounded in MINUSTAH

raids. Injured bystanders reported that they were pressured to drop any claims for compensation or redress. A similar example involved MINUSTAH troops engaging in vigilante revenge against merchants of a neighborhood where a United Nations soldier was killed.

In other cases, especially among the informal sector ("Ti machann"), citizens report that they are targeted by business rivals—that their stock would be destroyed, essentially ruining them financially, and that they have no legal recourse. They have regularly reported disinterest by the police to investigate such crimes.

Lastly, even when groups are able to launch law suits, the court system disadvantages the poor. In one example, a case was moved to Gonaives, even though the original incidents took place in Port-au-Prince, and the victims of the pyramid scheme all lived there. The added cost and burden of traveling to Gonaives to give testimony seems a clear ploy to discourage the plaintiff's case.

Legal Limbo

We took testimony from several organizations concerned with the significant backlog of cases. Although Haitian law indicates that prisoners are entitled to see a judge within 48 hours of arrest, in practice waits of three months were routine, and longer waits were frequently observed. Amnesty International reports that, nationally, fewer than 20% of the 8,800 prisoners in the country have been brought to trial.

We have heard two primary stories about causes for the delays: either police paperwork was not available in a timely fashion, or there would be severe delays assigning a judge to the case.

The case of Ronald Dauphin is particularly concerning. On January 4, we visited Dauphin in prison. He has the unfortunate distinction of being Haiti's longest-serving prisoner who has never been sentenced. Arrested on March 1, 2004, his case has been stuck in legal limbo for years.

There are two aspects of Mr. Dauphin's case that are especially disturbing. First is that at least one of his co-defendants has died while awaiting trial. Second is that he has been accused of a crime that has been thrown out of court in another case. Like Mr. Dauphin, former President Yvon Neptune was arrested on allegations that he orchestrated a massacre at La Scierie. Neptune was ultimately freed and sought justice from the Inter-American Court. It found that the Haitian government

violated 11 provisions of the American Convention on Human Rights, and its 60-page judgment denounced nearly every aspect of the state's treatment of Neptune, declaring his imprisonment illegal and inhumane.

While Neptune was released from prison in 2006 and received this judgment in 2008, Dauphin is still in prison on the same charges.

Prisons

We had an opportunity to visit the prison in downtown Port-au-Prince, where conditions can only be said to be unconscionable. Overcrowding is clearly a significant issue: the Port-au-Prince facility holds over 4300 people (originally built for 800) and the average amount of space per prisoner is half a square meter. This shortfall means that prisoners must sleep in shifts. Some members of our delegation have visited other prisons in Haiti, and feel confident that prison overcrowding is national issue.

As we arrived at the gate we noted that families were delivering food for inmates. We were told that prisoners receive two meals a day – breakfast and lunch – and that the diet is both bland and low in nutritional value. To maintain a healthy diet, prisoners must depend on outside support – family members or friends who, without compensation, supplement their meals.

Additionally, we have been told by prisoners that the unsanitary water in the shower facilities has led to skin problems and rashes. Finally, inmates have reported a lack of access to adequate medical treatment. Although the prison maintains a dispensary, many medical conditions have gone undiagnosed and some treatment regimens have been incorrectly administered. Ronald Dauphin reports that every month, someone dies in the dispensary.

Lovinsky Pierre-Antoine

Lovinsky was a psychologist, human rights activist, and political organizer. He is best remembered as the founder of the September 30 Foundation (Fondasyon Trant Septamn), a group that worked with victims of the 1991 coup.

In August 2007, he was guiding a delegation of American and Canadian activists on a fact-finding mission around several Haitian cities. Half-way through this mission, on August 12, 2007, Lovinsky was abducted as he was traveling alone. Although his abductors originally made ransom demands, they broke off contact after a few days, and Lovinsky has not been seen or heard from since.

During our visit, we were repeatedly reminded of Lovinsky's legacy. We had discussions with various groups that he had helped found and learned of important stances he took, for example, denouncing the sexual abuses by members of MINUSTAH. We are aware that international activists have long called for an open investigation into Lovinsky's case. Many of the people and organizations that we met also called for some indication that either the police or the government had seriously investigated the crime.

Lovinsky was an extremely high profile political activist. One cannot help but speculate that his abductors never intended to return him, a conclusion that suggests that his disappearance was entirely political. Further, other political activists involved in similar work were also threatened and we had the opportunity to speak to some of them. It is a stain on the government of Haiti (and countries like Canada and the U.S.) that the Haitian people have not been updated on his case.

We call upon the Government of Haiti to launch a full, open investigation into Lovinsky Pierre-Antoine's disappearance.

ELECTIONS AND THE EXTENSION OF THE 2004 COUP

Haiti has had two elections since the 2004 coup—a general election in 2006, and a partial senate election in 2009 for a third of Haiti's senate seats. A third election, for 98 of 99 congressional seats, and another third of senate seats, was slated for February 28, 2010. All of these elections excluded, or were set to exclude, candidates from the Fanmi Lavalas party from participating, as well as candidates from other, smaller parties. Lavalas is widely recognized as the largest political party in Haiti.

2006 election

The 2006 election was held during the transition from the coup government of Gerard Latortue. The Lavalas party boycotted these elections, citing arrests and violence targeting its members and candidates as making their participation impossible. Many of its prominent candidates, including a former Prime Minister, Yvon

Neptune, as well as a prominent activist, Father Gerard Jean Juste, were illegally held in jail. Preval's Lespwa party had no electoral base of its own. The same Lavalas electorate that twice elected Aristide in 1990 and 2000, and Preval once in 1995, threw their support behind Preval with three expressed objectives: 1. end the repression of the 2004 coup, 2. free Lavalas political prisoners, and 3. return Aristide from exile.

This election was marred by further controversy. Less than one thousand voting stations were set-up throughout Haiti, compared to several thousand previously. No voting stations were opened in the Lavalas stronghold of Cité Soleil, forcing voters to leave their neighborhoods to vote.

Vote counting was also suspect. In the first round of voting, Preval failed to reach the 50% of votes needed to avoid a run-off election, despite widely held expectations that he would easily win the first round. Soon after, residents of Port-au-Prince, discovered large numbers of ballots and ballot boxes in a garbage dump. These discards, and other irregularities that worked against voters in poor neighborhoods, led the international community to factor in the lost votes and grant Preval a first-round victory.

Our delegation heard from groups who supported Preval and Lespwa in 2006. Florence, a women's group leader in Cité Soleil told us, "We were the ones who found the burnt ballots in the dump; we were the ones who supported Preval." Several groups told us that their support of Preval rested on the expectation that he would free Lavalas political prisoners, arrested during the coup, and allow Aristide to return from South Africa. Preval did neither. Instead, he began to enact an unpopular neo-liberal economic program.

2009 election

The April 2009 partial senate elections were organized under Preval. Although the Haitian Constitution stipulates that a Permanent Electoral Council, made up of representatives of various groups of Haitian society (labor, religious, etc.), select candidates for the elections body, no such council exists. Instead, a Provisional Electoral Council, the CEP, selected candidates for the election.

The CEP, which was handpicked by Preval, announced it would exclude Lavalas candidates for the April 2009 elections. This was widely seen in the Haitian media, and among international scholars, as a purely political move meant to ensure that Preval's Lespwa party would win. Soon after the CEP decision,

a judicial tribunal ruled that Lavalas candidates should be reintegrated into the elections. The CEP ignored their ruling, and Preval's Minister of Justice fired the judge who headed up the tribunal.

As a response to exclusion, the Lavalas movement called for a "Closed Door" boycott of the elections. Both Haitian and international media reported extremely low turnout. The CEP issued an official participation rate of 11%, although most media sources estimated the turnout was closer to 2-5%. Nonetheless, the elected senators were seated, and the international community recognized the results, including U.S. ambassador Janet Sanderson and Canadian ambassador Gilles Rivard. Both blamed low turnout on voter disinterest. The U.S. and Canada paid for the bulk of the election.

Our delegation heard anger still directed at the international community. People asked why, despite initial criticism of the exclusion of Lavalas, the international community funded and recognized the election. Particular anger was expressed at Canada for playing a leading role in organizational and funding efforts.

U.S. financial and political support for the 2009 election was a major turning point in Haitians' views of President Barack Obama. Several groups told us that they had supported his election; indeed, our delegation saw Obama campaign stickers, in Haitian Kreyol, affixed to walls in Cité Soleil. As one Cité Soleil organizer told us, "The first Black President [of the U.S.] owes the first Black Republic [Haiti] something." Obama's decision to accept the election meant that, "We might as well have [George W.] Bush."

2010 election

The elections scheduled for February 28, 2010 have been indefinitely delayed by the earthquake. Yet the pattern of the April 2009 election, with the exclusion of Lavalas and with the full support of the international community, seemed set to repeat.

On January 1, we witnessed a demonstration held by many civil society groups in front of the Organization of American States (OAS) headquarters. Placards demanded the inclusion of Lavalas, and for the U.S. and Canada to cease funding the "electoral masquerade."

Our delegation heard from groups who deeply care for and believe in democracy. They demanded that their candidates be allowed to participate freely in elections, and that the U.S. and Canada withhold funding from elections that failed to allow inclusive

participation. We heard from many groups who said that excluding Lavalas in Haiti would be like excluding either the Democratic or Republican Party from an election in the U.S. We heard that elections held under exclusionary conditions were a continuation of the 2004 coup d'état against the Lavalas government.

NGOS

In the aftermath of the January 12 earthquake, the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that provide development aid to Haiti has taken on a heightened level of importance. Although the outpouring of international aid is truly impressive, the reality remains that the earthquake was more of a political than a natural disaster. The similarly powerful 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake in California killed only 63 people, while the death toll in Haiti may soar to 250,000. While Haiti has an urgent short-term need for assistance, the country's political structures must also be changed to prevent the repeat of another such disaster. All too often, we heard from social movements that NGOs reinforce systems of oppression and exclusion rather than ameliorate the economic and political conditions that lead to poverty and inequality.

Repeatedly, we listened to complaints that NGOs make material donations to Haiti, but that this aid rarely filters down to grassroots activists who could make most effective use of it. In the marginalized community of Cité Soleil, local activists complained that they see no concrete results from the donated money. Residents do not have new schools or hospitals, but instead there seem to be new police stations. We witnessed this effect as we visited Florence in her one-room schoolhouse with light streaming in through holes scattered along the walls and ceiling, while up the street the police enjoyed a huge new compound.

Our last visit was to a school that provides food and educational opportunities for street children. Here the contrast between grassroots efforts and international NGOs was most striking. Save the Children had a huge compound across the street, but they did not provide the school with any assistance. The administrators of the school said that when they pressured Save the Children on this stark contrast, the NGO offered them materials that they did not need, such as a roof and latrine, but refused to address the needs the school had identified as priorities—such as assistance with ongoing administrative costs and salaries. The school declined

the tokens because it would allow the NGO to claim it was supporting the school when, in reality, it provided no useful assistance. School administrators concluded that most NGOs do not really care for people, but instead target their funding to large-scale projects that bring them more renown.

Often, a more fundamental problem that NGOs create is that their type of aid undercuts Haiti's ability to develop economically. A peasant group complained that aid groups such as CARE dump cheap rice on the country. While this can help feed the urban poor, it has the unfortunate side effect of destroying the local agricultural economy, and ultimately Haiti's ability to feed itself. Not only does this lead to rural-urban migration, with all the accompanying problems in urban slums, it also assures Haiti's ongoing economic dependency on industrial nations.

Large international aid agencies collect funds for administrative salaries, vehicles, and office support, but little of this money filters down. Rural economist Georges Werleigh told us that much of the money that development agencies like World Vision and USAID "give" is spent in the donor country to purchase materials, rather than rebuilding the recipient. Youth Popular Power leader René Civil added that too often international aid is used to co-opt social movement leaders, and too little is used to empower Haitians.

In the aftermath of the earthquake, we see NGOs scrambling to use this disaster to assure their fiscal solvency and solidify their institutional survival rather than to create conditions under which Haitians can regain sovereignty and rebuild their own country. NGOs are too often, we learned, motivated by anything but humanitarian desires. Rather, grassroots organizations asked us to work directly with them to stand in solidarity with the Haitian people. Just now that call is more urgent than ever.

LABOR AND THE ECONOMY

Below are statistics reflecting Haitian labor and economics. Please note that these data are all from before the earthquake. It is likely that the problems they expose will only be magnified by the tragedy. Unfortunately some engaged nations and multinational corporations seem intent on deepening Haiti's dependent and semi-colonial status.



Data regarding life in Haiti:

- The unemployment rate is 70-80%.
- About 80% of Haitians live beneath the poverty line, with 54% living in abject poverty.
- The minimum wage is equal to about \$5 a day, \$3 a day in the free-trade zone.
- Haiti's per capita income is \$450 per year, compared to \$4,045 in Latin America and the Caribbean, and \$736 in sub-Saharan Africa.
- Approximately 66% of the labor force is in the agricultural sector, 25% in services, and 9% in industry.
- Employment in the early 1980s in the industrial sector hovered between 80,000 and 100,000. It had dropped to 14,000 by 2006, and rose to 22,000 in 2008.
- Between 200,000 and 350,000 of Haiti's nine million people have permanent paid work. Most rely on street peddling, temporary jobs, and remittances.
- There are 300,000 children living in the streets, and some 225,000 working in various forms of servitude. No more than 40% are attending school, and there is 50-60% illiteracy among adults. Thus, unskilled labor abounds, but little skilled labor and little prospect for improvement. These conditions attract sweatshop, low-wage industries such as those proposed by former President Clinton.

A prostrate economy:

- The GDP languishes at \$4.5 billion, with \$1.5 billion a year coming in the form of remittances, plus \$400 million in-kind such as clothes and food.
- Two-thirds of Haiti's exports are from the apparel sector and constitute nearly a tenth of the GDP, while remittances equal one third of the GDP.
- Main agricultural products are coffee, mangoes, sugarcane, rice, corn, sorghum, and wood.
- Main industries are sugar refining, flour milling, textiles, cement, and light assembly based on imported parts.
- Industrial growth rate: -2%
- Exports: Apparel, manufactures, oils, cocoa, mangoes, and coffee.
- Natural resources: Bauxite, gold, diamonds, probable oil deposits.
- Haiti's main export partners are the U.S. (72.9%), the Dominican Republic (8.8%), and Canada (3.3%).
- Haiti's main import partners are the U.S.

(41.2%), Netherlands Antilles (14.9%), China (4.7%), and Brazil (4.4%).

- Haitian exports equal \$491 million; Haitian imports equal \$2.09 billion.

- Until the 1980s, Haiti was self-sufficient in rice. In 1987, it produced 75% of its own needs. Today, this status has been reversed, with 75% of the rice coming from foreign (mostly U.S.) sources. This collapse was due to IMF-imposed deep cuts in Haiti's agricultural spending, and corporate-friendly trade arrangements that favored U.S. rice imports by cutting tariffs. U.S. rice growers also receive government subsidies, making imports from the U.S. artificially cheaper than local product.

From the above one can easily discern that even before the earthquake the Haitian economy had grown completely dependent on foreign interests, especially those of the U.S., much to the detriment of the labor force, infrastructure development, and job diversity. This foreign-imposed dependence has often split and weakened Haitian popular democracy and labor movements. The purposes of this scheme include the following: to insure a cheap, unskilled labor pool for sweatshop industries; to pursue privatization designed to assure access to labor and natural resource development by foreign corporations; and to take advantage of Haiti's strategic geo-political location, particularly in relation to Cuba, Venezuela, and Nicaragua.

Most Haitians toil on small, subsistence farms. Our delegation heard repeatedly of the abandonment of the rural population and agricultural workers. Peasants in the countryside receive little support from the government and are only contacted at election time. Under President Aristide some modest reforms had begun to help farmers and to provide access to markets. However these were ended with the U.S./French/Canadian-sponsored coup of 2004.

In 2006 the Preval administration set up a committee for agricultural reform. But, according to the farmers and farm workers we interviewed, this committee led to little other than some jobs to friends of the government. There are still no decent roads for peasants to get crops to market. Often, farmers must transport their crops to urban centers on their own backs or balanced on their heads. This delay increases spoilage and reduces market value.

As in many nations, this lack of support for rural communities has caused a mass migration to the cities. Port-au-Prince alone has received as many as

two million migrants displaced from the countryside. Many of these subsequently join the ranks of street vendors constituting Haiti's informal sector. A consistent issue for these workers is the many fires that are set to destroy their kiosks and roadside stands. According to witnesses, these fires are usually started by thugs working either for the government or for local, established merchants who want to "clean up the streets" and remove sales competition.

Rural displacement is also caused by rich families claiming ownership of large tracts of land where peasants have been living and working for generations. Those who resist are subject to violence and other repression. There are ten main families in Haiti who control both national agriculture and industry.

The second largest source of employment is in the service area. By definition, this area of employment is not a direct beneficiary of infrastructure development and thus does little to advance Haiti's economic independence. It also is the area of work most likely to employ children, with as many as 225,000 who work in conditions that are best described as slavery.

The seemingly surprising rebound of industrial workers from 14,000 in 2006 to 22,000 at present is largely due to the passage by the US Congress of the HOPE Act in 2006, along with its continuation, HOPE II, in 2008. HOPE is designed to provide duty-free U.S. access for textile products, to be manufactured via low-wage factories in Haiti from imported materials. While this system does provide some job creation, it fails to provide for infrastructure development so that Haiti might become more economically autonomous and self-sufficient. The only development is for low-wage factories completely dependent on foreign sources.

Laborers under HOPE work for wages equivalent to \$2-\$5 a day. Furthermore, while there are provisions made for certain core labor standards as monitored by the International Labor Organization (ILO), what we heard again and again from Haitian workers was that, "If you talk about unions, you get fired.

But even with an increase in industrial employment, 22,000 workers are far less than the 80,000-100,000 who were employed in the 1980s. What has driven this depletion of industry in Haiti? As noted above—privatization. The selling of the wharf in Cité Soleil, the poorest section of Port-au-Prince, led to a decrease in the number of workers from 1,800 to 700, and a decrease in the daily wage from 535 gourdes to 150, equivalent to a decrease from a little over \$13 to a little under \$4. Leaders of the organization of those

laid off have been repeatedly threatened with violence.

Privatization of the telephone company, Teleco, led to a series of lay-offs, starting with 2,000 in March 2004 (immediately following the Feb. 29, 2004 coup), followed again by 1,500 under the Preval government in 2006, followed further by the firing of 1,500 in January 2008, and once more by the loss of 500 additional jobs in January 2009.

Most of the pool of unemployed is the result of Haiti's agricultural displacement. The jobs created through neo-colonial economic schemes only further entrench poverty and dependency.

Our delegation met with numerous rank and file workers, and with labor advocates and peasant organizations. Repeatedly we heard statements such as, "Today there is something new with the unions. Unions are co-opted and it is difficult for workers to trust unions in Haiti now."

And now, in this period of near total despair, formerly independent labor organizations appear to be drifting into alliance with the U.S. money sources: the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), USAID and the State Department, in order to survive. Obviously this decision is compromising their effectiveness in challenging the pressure for corporate multinational control of their country.

Lawyer and pro-democracy activist Mario Joseph told us how the IRI-funded umbrella group for the 2004 coup, Democratic Convergence, is now part of the Provisional Electoral Council. He went on to say that, "Preval and the government, the U.S. and the UN are working to divide Lavalas and the labor movements, using funding tactics via USAID, the IRI, and the NDI [National Democratic Institute, another core agent of the NED] to split groups, to disperse them, and to weaken unity." He told us how the IRI funds radio stations such as Radio Galaxy, which carry commentary almost every night from Stanley Lucas, the main IRI contact in Haiti in laying the groundwork for the coup. But we also did visit a progressive radio station and heard from other progressive groups receiving funding from USAID.

For the people of the U.S., Canada, France, and other countries that have been working so hard to keep Haiti down, what is incumbent on us is not to condemn those in Haiti laboring under almost impossible circumstances, but to expose our own governments and their oppressive policies.



Haiti Testimonies in Bel Air

From English translation of testimony given in Kreyol on Sunday January 3, 2010.

(Original voice recordings with Kreyol available for study)

Bel Air #1

The Man Who Met Us in the Street (Name Unknown)

Youth in this neighborhood disappeared. Many were killed. Still now some people want to come back to live in the houses but some of the houses are all destroyed and they cannot come back to the houses. There was shooting every day. People couldn't go on the street on their daily activities. As you will be able to see it now there still people who have the handicap from the shots they received from the different events after 2004. Still now this neighborhood is facing threat from the UN soldiers from MINUSTAH, They want to start again with all they used to do in this neighborhood after 2004. The way these neighborhoods are built there is no porch or backyard where people could stay to relax. So most of the time the youth are outside in the street just for a little talk or just to relax themselves.

When the UN soldiers are coming into this neighborhood they shoot in the air so everyone could just go crazy going everywhere. Like recently a woman was shot with a -how you call this bullet again- a woman was hit close to her heart with a hollow tip. A long time ago the people in BelAir decided they will be a peace for the neighborhood. Much of what happened in BelAir after 2004 in terms of violence was not the people from BelAir who were involved in this. After 2004 there were different jail breaks. There were people from all the neighborhoods like Cite Soleil and other places who really came into the neighborhood and really held it as hostage. So the people in the neighborhood finally decided that they would [unintelligible] the people who were involved in the violence so they could really establish peace in the neighborhood. The activities are back in BelAir now and there are several NGOs that are supporting the youth in BelAir so that's why you can see it this way

Bel Air #2

Azy Jean Delanio

Born in Port-au-Prince, July 22, 1983.

Incident: August 8, 2005

He was sitting down in the neighborhood in a house next to his partner because he has a partner who lives in the neighborhood. So the UN soldiers started shooting and people were just going crazy everywhere so I didn't want to just run because I could get face to face with them and it would be worse for me. I raised my hands just to show that I am with no gun. While I lifted my hand they could come they check if I had any gun on me and they didn't find any gun on me. They told me I could go so while I was going one of them pushed me and so I fell. One of them took a pistol and shot at me in the neck. I was shot on August 8, 2005. It was 4 in the afternoon. This happened in [unintelligible] which is like a street in Bel Air.

So my partner who saw me like in the floor was trying to take me to the hospital but the UN soldiers didn't want her to do this. They really beat her. And finally they took me to the hospital and they never came back to see me in the hospital. I used to work and I have a family and what they did to me is really unfair and now I cannot take care of myself. I remember that I took a lawyer to help me with the case and nothing ever happened. I even received a threat from the UN so I would not pursue the case because they felt that it was so wrong what they did that I could win the case. I could get a lot of reparations and they don't want to see that happen. But if I have a chance to have people to help me with a case I would sue them because I know that I was not wrong. They should have not shoot at me like this and put me in this condition.

Translator summarizing: He can't walk and that's why he's thinking about all the other victims of the UN operation. He's one of them who is paralyzed and handicapped after he was shot but there are other people who still have scars from the bullets they received. Some of them can walk but still if you as a delegation could provide some help so they could really get justice. He's asking about our mission and why we're here in Haiti. He compliments you.

So something more direct is I am the only one in this block who was so affected by the UN operation. Some of the people can still walk so they have a chance to work and to go on with their activities. But myself is condemned just sitting down here. Do you have anything that you could do even if it's little in terms of helping me with my daily activities?

Again thank you for coming that far in Bel Air just to see some victims. This shows us clearly that the victims of Bel Air are not forgotten. So thank you for coming. Bless your work.

As you could notice in Haiti the unemployment situation is very bad. You can imagine that even for someone who has all his aptitudes for working and goes everywhere it's difficult to find a job. So for the handicapped after the UN operation it's even worse because it's very difficult on the handicapped or the people who are paralyzed from shootings from different operations. Translator summarizes: He wants to know what kind of assistance can he get from you? More like.[unintelligible] Financial support not only for him but for the handicapped people and people hit by [unintelligible].

I don't have crutches. Just crutches is not the main need for now. What I'd like is to get the bullet out of my body because I still have it inside. If there was a way to get surgery it would

be very useful as you know as we're from Bel Air the financial situation is very difficult so we cannot afford the surgery. If there could be way to coordinate something so I could get the bullet out.

Q. Where did the bullet enter? Translator summary: He was lying down as he told you so the bullet hit him from the neck and go down to his skeleton, the spine. The bullet's still there and they couldn't make the surgery so that's why they just sent him home. They just cleaned the cut so it was not getting more infected. He just had several antibiotic shots so he would go back home. So if you want to take pictures of where he was shot feel free to take them.

Bel Air # 3**Bernard Maudler****b. 1979 May 18****Incident: June 22, 2009**

In Bel Air the situation was that every so often the UN soldiers would come and just shoot on everyone. If you run away you get caught in the middle of crossfire and you could get hurt. As you can see my legs, I was shot in my legs and feet. I still can't move my toe. I still have iron in my leg just to fix the bone. So this is something I have from the event.

Q. You used the term crossfire does that mean someone else was shooting besides the UN? A. Like it was not really crossfire. More like they just shooting. The way it was if they were shooting and three people were sitting down, if two run and one didn't they would come to the one who didn't and ask him to tell why the two run away.

Translator summary: He was beneficiary of a reinsertion and [unintelligible] program in Bel Air. They encouraged him to have to build peace and to promote peace in the neighborhood. But he never got anything as compensation. They just had to run away all the time because of the UN operations. One thing he would like to have as assistance is to be able to remove the iron that they put to fix the bone because it painful at night when it's cold. They put a metal pin in his leg. So it's very painful with the metal pin inside. So how do we plan to make follow-up on this? When they went to Doctors Without Borders they said they don't have orthopedist. They had to go to a different hospital which is not well equipped for the surgery so that's why he has to use a cane now. So the only concern we have in dealing with Doctors Without Borders is that Doctors Without Borders can mostly help to save life. At this point that the life is saved the Doctors Without Borders doesn't have enough equipment to help with removing a bullet from the spine or removing the metal pin so that why you want to have like a different strategy. So the work of Doctors Without Borders is more first aid and they don't have enough equipment and their sophisticated equipment is more in their original country and they couldn't come with them here with it. So that's why they might not be able to help you.

Azy Jean Delanio spoke. Translator summary: He's explaining how the bullet went in. It's too close to the spine for Doctors Without Borders. They don't have the equipment to deal with it. It went down in the stomach. Sometimes he gets cramps.

Bel Air # 4

Moussingnac Evans

Born: January 14, 1983

Homeless

Incident: April 25, 2005

Translator summary: On April 25th he was shot going to a protest because he's a Lavalas supporter. After February 2004 the people from the popular mass were always on the street to show they didn't accept what happened in February. He was shot in both of his feet and one bullet hit close to his heart. About 85 people died this day. Now he still has the metal pin in his leg. He doesn't have enough possibility to afford surgery so he could remove the metal pin. He is homeless now because he lost his job and he cannot afford to pay for a new place to stay. Also the UN is after him and they want to arrest him or kill him. He has an association that works with the people who are handicapped from the different operations after Aristide came back. He coordinated this association and he's the spokesperson for it. He doesn't know how you can help him with the popular movement and also the association of the handicapped. And himself who is now homeless who cannot pay for [unintelligible]. Name of his association: AJHB Association de Jeunes Handicap de Bel-Air.

Haiti Testimonies in Cite Soleil

From English translation of testimony given in Kreyol on Sunday January 3, 2010.

Cite Soleil #1

Jean-Baptist Ristil

Incidents of July 6, 2005 –

which he recorded with his camera

I am Jean-Baptist Ristil, July 6th was very sad in Cite Soleil community. I was sleeping when I could hear a lot of shooting. I came outside so I could take a look at what was going on. What I could see was Jordanian soldiers and Brazilian soldiers in the street. It was difficult for me to get out from my house. Each little alley in the neighborhood had a tank, an MPV. There was a helicopter surrounding the neighborhood. I could hear a lot of screams from the people in the neighborhood.

To be able to go through I went like a handicapped person in the street but I had my camera with me. I knew if I go like a handicapped person maybe the UN soldiers would not hurt me but this day even the handicapped were not void from what happened.

They shoot in different directions but hopefully I was not hurt even if I was in the middle of all the shooting. It was very sad to see all I could see that I have footage for. I could see a gentleman, a young guy named Ony. I was filming and there was a guy next to me and it could be me taking this bullet because I was just filming when I could hear the noise and he was the one who got hurt. All his mouth was paralyzed. His name is Ony Dumay. He was 36.

I was going from dead bodies to get different footage. Even people who were blind were hurt from this massacre. It is because I could call different media in the country to show up that the UN soldiers had to stop this because they could finally see that some of the journalists couldn't go out with all the shooting going on. Finally they decided that they would calm

down a little bit. I could call the Red Cross in Cite Soleil but even then they were not allowed to get into the neighborhood even if I called them.

The same day an old guy was shot and before they kill him, before the UN soldiers kill him, they put like doo doo fecal from a goat on bread and ask him to eat it and then they killed him.

[Kevin Pina comments that some of the footage in his film came from Jean-Baptist. The woman whose husband was killed under the bed in my film who screams "My god" -that's her (pointing to the woman). Kevin asks question in Kreyol. Response: The one thing that I could see on July 6th is most of the people who got killed were killed inside of their houses and they were just civilians who were sleeping inside of the house. Like this woman, she was just in her house and she was hurt from a bullet that came from a helicopter because it came through the roof and she was pregnant.

Pina: Did they shoot from helicopters to below? A. Yes and she is a survivor from being shot from a helicopter.

Pina: I saw many victims in the footage he shot. The one guy who was sitting on his side and you could see the blood coming out. MINUSTAH said they only fired on people who fired on them. I'm asking did these people have guns in their hands? A. Not a single victim that I filmed in that footage had a gun in their hands. Would you think this blind old man had like a weapon with him would get shot on July 6th?

Pina: I said that MINUSTAH said that those people who were shot were victims of the gangs. They were reprisals against the community who was happy that the UN had raided to try to remove the gangs. A: [unintelligible] those who celebrated the UN operation that the gangs were responsible for killing them and not UN bullets.

City Soleil # 2

Marie Therese Gazie

Born: Nov 22, 1957

Her husband's name: Mura Alexis

Incident: July 6, 2005

It was MINUSTAH operation from 3 in the morning to 12:30 in the afternoon. MINUSTAH was involved in all the shootings and it was not the gangs who killed the people in the streets. So a cannon bullet got in the wall of my house and broke a big part down. My husband who was inside was killed. I could only get back in the neighborhood after 12:30 when the UN operation stopped and that's how I get to get inside my house and saw my husband bathing in his blood.

Translator summary: Since her husband died she is a single mom with three children. She cannot afford to send the children to school, cannot pay her house rent, cannot give food to the children. This is one of the children her husband left behind. The tragedy left her with many difficult situations. She is now losing a lot of weight. She feels pain all the time and different other problems that she didn't have before. It was after the tragedy that she experienced them.

Translator summary: She was not in the house. Her husband was a mechanic. She was coming to see everyone in the house but there was shooting everywhere. She could only get in at 12 and when she gets in the house she could see her husband

bathing in his blood and there was a big cannon bullet that hit him on his belly and he died. She could only make a funeral after twenty-six days and she is still paying for the cost of the funeral because she borrowed money from many people. Now she cannot afford to pay for a place to stay and she is a victim of humiliation every day.

My husband used to be the one in charge of everything in the house. Now that he is no longer alive he leaves us with nothing. I cannot take care of the children and myself is sick. I have sore eyes. I cannot see well. Everywhere I go I have to go with my little boy and I feel in pain after all that happened. So the situation is very difficult. Now I live with someone because they kicked me out of my house where I was with the children. I could go back to the country where I'm from but even the tap tap fare I don't have to head back to my hometown. I am from Southwest D'Ainault.

Cite Soleil # 3

Lelene Morice

Born: December 18, 1982

Incident: December 22, 2006

Translator summary: On July 6th at 3 in the morning there was a lot of shooting in the neighborhood and it was really hot. Everywhere there was screaming. She was in a room by herself because her child Juliet was somewhere else in a different house. At one point at 6 in the morning she was talking to a neighbor who said you better not stay in the room just by yourself. She decided that she would get outside. While trying to go to outside so she could know more about her child Juliet who lives in a different house next by, she was getting in the street and what she could feel is a bullet going through her finger and through her stomach, On July 6th she was five months pregnant. So the bullet got in her stomach and her intestines could get out from the hurt. She felt really hurt and she was screaming Jesus and Juliet. Juliet is the name of her daughter. She's still half conscious but she felt she was in pain and she stayed on the ground until 12 when someone was about to take her to the hospital close to where we had a meeting last time in the [unintelligible] St. Catherine Hospital. When she was taken there no one could do anything for her and she was really in pain. She felt the hot sun and she was screaming and she said if she has to die just let her die cause the pain is too hard. Finally someone took a sheet and covered her with the sheet.

Pina: It was not July 6th it was Dec 22, 2006 the second massacre.

Translator summary: People thought she would die after this incident and she spent one month in the hospital. Couldn't eat, couldn't drink anything. It was only after one month that the physician in charge Dr. [unintelligible] had her to at least eat something. In Cite Soleil she doesn't have any relatives. Her only contact was her little daughter. So after the one month in the hospital when she tried to eat something it was an egg and banana. It was so painful so she had to be on an injection so she could feel better. After the month [unintelligible] was the only one who knew her from the neighborhood who could take care of her because no one of her family knew about this situation. The baby died and the doctors told her if she wasn't pregnant she would die because what happened was the baby received

the bullet and that was how she was not dead. Q. When did they remove the baby? A. The same day of the operation.

Cite Soleil # 4

Edline Pierre Louis

Age 33

Incident: July 6, 2006

Translator summary: On July 6th she was sleeping. She was on her bed and she received a bullet right in her belly and she was pregnant at the moment. She was hurt in her arms, in her belly, and in her breast. She was 7 months pregnant. So on July 6th 2006 she was shot. On July 7th she was in the hospital to have a surgery and at the same time she delivered the baby but the baby died. There were other children in the house sleeping next to her but it was only her hurt by the bullet. The children were screaming cause they thought they were the one to get hit, But thank God it was not them it was her.

Cite Soleil # 5

Duval Sainterne 58 years old

Incident: July 6, 2006

It was on July 6th there was a lot of shooting going in the neighborhood and when I could wake up I could feel the house very hot. I decided I would move from my bed to get closer to the door. I could ask one of my daughters to get me some water so I could wash my face but she didn't want to because with so many shootings she didn't want to get outside and get the water. So I called a different one to get me the water then I could hear a big noise and the noise was from something hitting the roof and there is a big hole still in the roof of my house. You can see it and I still leave it open so people can see it as evidence.

She is one of his daughters who was hit by a bullet the same day and the bullet hit her on her stomach going from the right side to the left side. They were both inside of the house and both were hurt and this young guy was hurt in both his feet and you can see the scars still from his ankle. Both are his children. He was hit in his legs and his belly Q. Who was hit? Which is his child? A. Both are his children.

It was like a bomb going in the house. I lost many things that were broken and they even start burning something. It was like a grenade that has different little fragments and it was shots from the cannon. I used to have it but it was lost. I had it for evidence but it was lost after all these years.

Cite Soleil #6

Pierre Jean Bernard Age 29

Incident: July 6, 2005

I used to live in this neighborhood but after what happened in July 6th Mom was not feeling OK so we moved to different neighborhood named Sarthe.

Translator summary: His older brother was killed by a single bullet from MINUSTAH in the jaw. His brother was never into banditry, never had any guns, never owned a gun. He was a domestic worker and played casino in the streets but not someone who was involved in any gangs activity or any crimes in the neighborhood. You might have seen the footage of his brother with his jaw falling apart from the DVD that Kevin put out. That was his brother Juannie.

So the UN soldiers claimed to come after the bandits

but they didn't get any bandits or any guy who was involved in action against the UN. They only get like civilians. People who were going on their peaceful daily activities like my brother. Many families are seeing sad from all their relatives and family members. As human beings we deserve respect because we should be treated just like they treated people. The UN would never do this in Petionville where the wealthy people live. So it doesn't make sense that they did it in Cite Soleil where there are also citizens who are from this country. That's why we call this government to consider the situation of the people who lost their property, who lost their relatives, and family members should have something.

Translator summary: Since the tragedy his mom is kind of crazy because of what happened and also his brother who died left four children. Now they can't go to school and can't have the basic minimum for daily life. This is really unfair and unjust that families lost their close family and nothing has been done on their behalf. So that's why in the name of all the victims from the different massacres of the UN we call either the government or the national community to work for justice or reparations for all these victims.

To finish I will say when the UN just showed up the mission was not to do any bad to the population but then they start looking for bandits and never get the bandits. They were only involved in killing innocent people and civilians that didn't have anything to do with what was going on in the neighborhood. My brother was shot July 6, 2005.

Cite Soleil # 7

Lumane Etienne

Age 42

Incident: June 7, 2007

I have two children one is 21 and the other 22. I remember my two children were going to visit a cousin and while they were going there two of them were shot in the street. Translator summary: Both of her sons are dead. Sons: Michael Sanon age 22, Wilson Sanon age 21. I have five other children and life is very difficult for me with five others because of the difficulties in Haiti.

Pina: Who killed the two children? Translator summary: She said it was Evans. Evans used to be a nothing, a gangster who used to work for Group 184 that was run by [Andre] Apaid. [Group 184 was US-supported anti-Aristide group.] It was June 7, 2007.

Cite Soleil # 8

Cine Mirlande Age 28

Incident: October 5, 2008 and October 15, 2008

On October 15, 2008 the UN soldiers killed my father. I have an 8 year old little boy and who was going to school and received a bullet while going to school. His name is Josnelson Cine. Translator summary: The little boy was going to school with another one while mom was downtown for her daily activities. It was the UN that shot at her little boy. The little boy died after being bullet injured.

I can know it was MINUSTAH who kill him because there were people who were there when it happened. My father died before my son. When he was coming just coming from his

activities in downtown. While there was shooting he received a bullet and he died.

Translator summary: Not the same day. Her father died on Oct 5, 2008. Her son died Oct 15, 2008.

For my son they said it was the UN soldiers who were shooting and that's why he was killed. For my father I can't tell. There was lot of shooting kind of like war at the moment. He could have been in the middle of cross fire but I can't tell exactly if it was MINUSTAH. There were guys in [unintelligible] neighborhood close by with other guys from Boston which is more opposite Cite Soleil. At the moment there were bandits involved in shooting against UN soldiers and the soldiers were retaliating against them so that's how he might have been shot in [unintelligible] which is a neighborhood close by.

Q. Who are the bandits? Translator summary: She's giving different names of guys involved in shooting in the neighborhood.

Some guys in the neighborhood were like MINUSTAH was asking them to drop off the guns. They didn't want to because they said they bought the guns with money and they will not drop them for MINUSTAH. So sometimes they just shot at MINUSTAH and MINUSTAH shot back of them and that's maybe how my father could get in the middle of them and was shot.

APPENDIX II

Members of the Delegation

Leaders:

Dale Sorenson, Director, Marin Task Force on the Americas
Kevin Pina, Assistant Professor, California State University at Hayward

Members:

Marc Becker, Associate Professor, Latin American Studies, Truman State University
Diana Bohn, Haiti Action Committee
Bill Collins, syndicated columnist
George Freimoth, Board, Marin Task Force on the Americas
Stewart Hammond, Haiti Action Network (Canada)
BC Holmes, Haiti Action Network (Canada)
James Jordan, National Coordinator, Campaign for Labor Rights
Chuck Kaufman, National Co-Coordinator, Alliance for Global Justice
Norman Masonson, Professor of Music, College of Marin
Camilla Schneider, Board, Marin Task Force on the Americas

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QUESTIONS OR LEARN MORE ABOUT US AT:

INFO@LASOLIDARITY.ORG

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