



Government of Canada

In January of 2003, Liberal Minister Denis Paradis organized a gathering of US, French and OAS officials to discuss the future of Haiti. According to a *l'Actualité* report published one year before the coup, a consensus was reached that "Aristide must go".

CIDA

The Canadian International Development Agency is the primary vessel for delivering over \$200 million in funding to the Haitian "interim government" and "civil society organizations" since the 2004 coup.

Over 50 per cent of Alternatives' budget comes from CIDA.

Alternatives

In 2005, François L'Écuyer, who was then in charge of Alternatives' Haiti file, told the *Dominion* that all 15 groups that Alternatives works with in Haiti are actively anti-Aristide. Alternatives' newspaper, which is directly sponsored by CIDA and reaches 50,000 Quebec residents, covered events in Haiti extensively, but did not discuss Canada's role in the coup or human rights violations under the Canada-backed 'interim government'.

In 2004-05 NCHR received \$100,000 every six months from CIDA.

NCHR

The National Coalition for Haitian Rights (now RNDDH) is a "human rights group" that has been widely-discredited for fabricating evidence to justify the imprisonment of constitutional Prime Minister Yvon Neptune, who has since been released. Immediately after the coup, Yolene Gilles, second in charge of NCHR, went on elite-owned radio to name wanted Lavalas "bandits," contributing to a climate of anti-Lavalas terror.

Paramilitary Groups

The coup was precipitated by a well-funded military campaign. Armed groups went from city to city, killing hundreds, burning police stations, and terrorizing activists and politicians tied to the elected government. Key leaders were trained by American military, and were armed with new rifles.

Canada's federal government is FOCAL's principle benefactor.

FOCAL

Nominally an NGO, the Canadian Foundation for the Americas has played a key role in crafting Canadian policy in Haiti. The limited information available reveals that this secretive organization has pushed for a UN trusteeship of Haiti and advocated for an expanded Canadian role. In a private document acquired by the *Dominion*, FOCAL urges the Canadian government to endorse a "privatization programme" in Haiti.

Once adopted, policy first drafted by FOCAL is implemented by CIDA.

Most of R&D's annual budget comes directly from Parliament.

Over \$100 million in Canadian aid went to the interim gov't. Canada pressured the Caribbean Community to recognize the unelected government.

"There are no political prisoners in Haiti."
—Prime Minister Paul Martin to journalists in Haiti, November 14, 2004

The day the insurrection began, former Foreign Minister Pierre Pettigrew met with Paul Arcelin, right hand man the leader of principle paramilitary groups, and self-described intellectual author of the armed attacks.

Several members of the G-184 received CIDA funding.

Group of 184

Referred to as the "civil society opposition" to Aristide's government, the G-184 called regular demonstrations calling for the overthrow of the elected government.

"I believe the United States has, right now, such a bad image, the work would proceed much better, and it would be a better investment, for NED if FOCAL does the job because Canada, Canadians don't elicit these kinds of feelings of rejection that Americans do now."
—FOCAL board member **Beatrice Rangel** †

Rangel used NED connections to procure a \$94,516 grant for FOCAL. †

FOCAL board member Alan Stoga has long-standing ties to Henry Kissinger, who was integral to the founding of the NED.

R&D shares a database of "democracy projects" with the NED. The NED lists R&D as a "counterpart institution," and notes that the NED was consulted during the establishment of R&D.

"[IRI's] leader in Haiti, Stanley Lucas, an avowed Aristide opponent from the Haitian elite, counseled the opposition to stand firm, and not work with Mr. Aristide, as a way to cripple his government and drive him from power."
—*New York Times*, January 29, 2006

Interim Deputy Justice Minister Phillipe Vixamar was appointed to his position and paid by CIDA.

An R&D report lauded the G-184 as "promising civil society movement."

"Interim Government"

After US and Canadian troops forced Aristide and the constitutional government from office, a new government was appointed by a seven-person council, which was set up by the US government. Under its rule, hundreds were illegally imprisoned, and thousands were killed and forced into hiding.

IRI effectively created the G-184 and was a major financier of most of its member groups.

NED

In the words of National Endowment for Democracy founder Allen Weinstein, "A lot of what we do today was done covertly 25 years ago by the CIA." Millions of dollars were disbursed to Haitian groups and political parties for the purpose of "democracy promotion," channeled through intermediary groups. Almost all of the groups funded were virulently anti-Aristide, and much of the funding was disbursed through the IRI. The NED, along with USAID and the "Office of Transition Initiatives," disburse hundreds of millions every year to political parties and "civil society" organizations worldwide, though nearly always indirectly.

The NED is one of IRI's primary donors.

IRI

The International Republican Institute is a branch of the Republican Party dedicated to "democracy promotion" abroad. With a budget of over \$90 million—mainly in grants from the US government and the NED—IRI funds find their way to political parties in Haiti and around the world, it runs political training programs, and even organized candidates' debates in Haiti's last election.

PROMOTING DEMOCRACY?

In the case of Haiti, the Canadian government and Canadian NGOs worked closely in line with organizations implementing a US-initiated coup against a democratically elected government. This diagram reveals a glimpse of the network of "democracy promotion" that is active around the world. The IRI's Stanley Lucas, for example, now works in Afghanistan. Information about "democracy promotion" is extremely limited, but has been thoroughly documented by a few persistent journalists.

Recommended reading:

William Robinson's *Promoting Polyarchy & A Faustian Bargain*, William Blum's *Killing Hope*, Edward Herman and Ed Broadhead's *Demonstration Elections*, Eva Golinger's *The Chavez Code*.

† Quoted in Anthony Fenton's forthcoming article in *Canadian Dimension*.

MAY 21 & JULY 9, 2000

Haiti holds the first and second rounds of Local and Parliamentary elections. Fanmi Lavalas, the party of Jean-Bertrand Aristide, wins overwhelmingly. The Organization of American States (OAS) initially proclaims the elections "a great success for the Haitian population." Most international election observers reach the same conclusions. Some opposition parties, with little base amongst Haiti's poor, contest the results of these elections, claiming fraud. Their accusations centre around eight Senatorial seats, which they claim should have gone to a run-off vote. From this point onwards, the political opposition, united under the US government-funded Democratic Convergence (DC), calls for

NOVEMBER 26, 2000

Aristide is elected president during Presidential elections with 92 per cent of the popular vote. DC boycotts the election.

JUNE 8, 2001

Seven of the eight disputed Senators step down, following pressure from Aristide. The DC maintains its insistence that Aristide resign and that it lead a non-elected "transition" government.

SEPTEMBER 4, 2002

The OAS adopts resolutions 806 and 822, effectively requiring the Aristide government to give the un-elected Democratic Convergence a veto on aid disbursements.

JANUARY 31, 2003

Canadian Secretary of State for

the return of the Haiti's hated military, disbanded by Aristide in 1995.

JULY 2003

Haiti uses more than 90 per cent of its foreign reserves to pay \$32 million in debt service to its international creditors, requiring Aristide's government to end fuel subsidies and slash spending on health and education programs.

DECEMBER 2003

Relatively small protests demand Aristide be removed. Organizing groups are supported and funded by the US-funded Haiti Democracy Project.

FEBRUARY 5, 2004

A rebel force composed of members of the deposed

speculation about working with members of Haiti's former military.

FEBRUARY 26, 2004

Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister Bill Graham calls for Aristide to step down; US Secretary of State Colin Powell makes the same demand.

FEBRUARY 29, 2004

President Aristide is escorted by armed US Marines to the airport. Canadian Forces personnel are observed "securing the airport" by international journalists. Aristide later claims he was kidnapped by the Marines, an account corroborated by several eyewitnesses. Both Aristide and his wife are taken to the Central African Republic where they are held for several days;

in Haiti, mandated to provide training and logistical support to the Haitian National Police (HNP), as well as oversee its vetting of new officers. Canada contributes 100 RCMP officers, and the UN CIVPOL will be lead by Canadian personnel throughout the next two years, when members of the ex-military become integrated into key command positions of the HNP. Canada's 550 troops withdraw from the country in August.

NOVEMBER 15, 2004

During a visit to Haiti, Paul Martin claims "There are no political prisoners in Haiti." At the time, the Catholic Peace and Justice Commission estimated that there were 700 political prisoners in the capital alone.

Parliamentary elections. Canada will spend \$30 million on the 2006 elections, much of which will go to the Haitian government's electoral body, the Provisional Electoral Council (CEP).

JULY 6, 2005

More than 300 heavily-armed United Nations peacekeeping troops carry out a major military operation in Cité Soleil, a densely populated residential neighbourhood. Twenty-three civilians are killed, including several children.

DECEMBER 20, 2005

RCMP member Mark Bourque is killed in Cité Soleil.

FEBRUARY 7, 2006

Haiti holds Presidential elections. These elections are

Thousands of ballots, most bearing a mark for Preval, are found by Haitian television reporters within a dumpsite, some still smoldering from failed attempts to burn them. During protests in the capital, MINUSTAH soldiers shoot into crowds of protestors, killing one. Protestors storm the Hotel Montana, the luxury hotel where the vote tabulation is taking place under UN supervision. Once inside, protestors hold a peaceful occupation of the hotel, some taking the opportunity to swim in the hotel's heated pool.

FEBRUARY 16, 2006

Rene Preval is declared the winner of the presidential election following negotiations between the CEP, his 'Lespwa' party, and international gov-

media scarcely report it.

MAY 14, 2006

Rene Preval is inaugurated as president of Haiti amid a break-out at the National Penitentiary of prisoners, most of whom have not been charged with any crime. Prisoners later claim that 10 are killed after MINUSTAH forces fire at unarmed detainees inside the prison

JUNE 2006

Several high-profile political prisoners are released from prison, including So Ann Auguste and Yvon Neptune. Most of these individuals had remained in prison for two years. More than 4000 prisoners who have not been charged or tried remain in Haiti's jails.

No Time for Democracy Six years of Canada in Haiti

Canada's involvement in Haiti since the 2004 coup d'état has been characterized by uncritical support of repression of poor Haitians, support for partisan and elite "civil society" organizations, and complicity in electoral fraud. Not by accident, Canada's official role in Haiti is couched in terms like "humanitarian assistance." This timeline, although far from comprehensive, outlines some of the key aspects of Canada's involvement in Haiti from the year 2000 to the present. **by Stuart Neatby**



2002: Wilson House at Meech Lake, where the Ottawa Initiative took place.



2004: Canadian Forces helicopter flying above Haiti's Presidential Palace.



2005: RCMP officer in Port-au-Prince.



2005: Bodies in Port-au-Prince



2005: RCMP officer training Haitian National Police recruits.



2006: Released political prisoners.



2006: Protesters occupy hotel.

the complete annulment of the May elections, despite the fact that by all accounts Lavalas was the clear winner.

SUMMER 2000

United States suspends all aid to the government of Haiti as a result of the "flawed" May elections. Subsequent to this, international aid donors, including Canada and the European Union, withhold over \$400 million in aid and loans to Haiti, a country whose annual budget in 2001 was \$361 million. Canadian and international "aid" continues to find its way exclusively to partisan anti-Aristide non-governmental organizations and political parties.

Latin America and La Francophonie Denis Paradis convenes a meeting of the "Ottawa Initiative on Haiti" at the Meech Lake Resort. The invitees of the meeting include Canadian officials, US Assistant Secretary of State for the Western Hemisphere Otto Reich, OAS President Luigi Einaudi, and officials from throughout Latin America. No Haitian representatives are present. In an interview conducted with the Quebec magazine *L'Actualité*, Paradis confides that the consensus within the meeting was that "Aristide should go." Paradis also says that military occupation might be necessary after an international intervention and that delegates contemplated bringing about

military crosses into Haiti, taking control of northern Haitian cities and begins moving towards the capital. Pierre Pettigrew meets Paul Arcelin, paramilitary boss Guy Phillippe's "political lieutenant," in Montreal.

FEBRUARY 7, 2004

100,000 Haitians protest in Port-au-Prince, calling for the government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide to fulfill his five-year mandate.

FEBRUARY 11, 2004

18 days before the coup. Internal government memos reveal that Canadian officials planned to invoke the "Responsibility to Protect" doctrine to justify taking control in Haiti. Memos also seem to indicate

Photos this page: Government of Canada

Canadian, US, and French governments authorize a "stabilization" force to be deployed in Haiti. Canada contributes 550 troops. An unelected "interim government" is imposed.

MARCH-MAY 2004

Haitian police and ex-military members, often with the direct support of Canadian, US, and French troops, jail and murder Lavalas supporters and residents of poor neighbourhoods. A report issued by the National Lawyers Guild finds that the morgue in Port-au-Prince receives 1000 bodies during the month of March 2004 alone.

SUMMER 2004

Canada takes over the leadership of the UN Civil Police Force

JANUARY 2005

A Canadian UN Civil Police Commander interviewed by human rights investigators claims that all he has done in Haiti has been to "engage in daily guerrilla warfare."

FEBRUARY-JUNE 2005

Violence and targeted killings against suspected Lavalas supporters continue; following the killing of nine demonstrators on April 27 during a peaceful pro-Lavalas march, Canadian spokesperson Dan Moskaluk defends the actions of the HNP.

JUNE 16, 2005

Canada announces that Elections Canada will oversee election monitoring for upcoming Presidential and

preceded by a campaign of voter discouragement within poor urban and rural areas, largely coordinated by the MINUSTAH Election Security Team, lead by Canadian Col. Barry Macleod. Despite this, turn-out is high, and exit polls give Rene Preval, former President and favoured candidate amongst Haiti's poor, a lead with more than 60 per cent of the vote.

FEBRUARY 13, 2006

Despite initial vote counts that show Preval above the 50 per cent mark, the CEP reduces Preval's total to 48.7 per cent. Protests flood Haiti's streets as poor voters cry foul; Preval declares that "massive fraud and gross errors" occurred.

ernments. A deal is brokered in which 85,000 blank ballots are not counted in the final tally.

MARCH 10-12, 2006

Despite the outcome of the February elections, the Harper government welcomes outgoing Haitian President Gerard Latortue in a state visit to Canada. Protesters, who accuse Latortue of human rights abuses, dog Latortue during visits in Ottawa and Montreal.

MAY 1, 2006

Rene Preval makes a state visit to Canada. Canada bars entry into the country to several officials accompanying him. The Harper government keeps the visit quiet, and Canadian

SEPTEMBER 2, 2006

The British Medical Journal the *Lancet* releases the results of a survey of human rights abuses within Haiti's capital during the 22 months following the 2004 coup. The study reveals that during this time period there were 35,000 rapes and 8000 murders. The vast majority of the politically-motivated murders, 4000 in total, are attributed to forces aligned with the interim government, such as the Canadian-trained Haitian National Police, and members of the former military. A significant number of physical threats and threats of sexual violence are attributed to MINUSTAH soldiers, including Canadian personnel.

Photos this page: Haiti Information Project